

**WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN NIGERIA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: AN
ASSESSMENT OF THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE
8TH AND 9TH ASSEMBLIES**

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the research work in this dissertation titled Women’s Representation in Nigerian National Assembly: An Assessment of Their Contributions to Legislative Activities (A Case Study of the 8th and 9th Assembly) is the original work carried out by Eke Blessing Onyinyechi under the supervision of Dr. Terfa W. Abraham of the university of Benin/National Institute for Legislative and Democratic studies (NILDS) post graduate. I further declare that the information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and their references.

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CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled Women’s Representation in Nigerian National Assembly: An Assessment Of Their Contributions To Legislative Activities (A Case Study Of The 8th And 9th Assembly) has been duly presented by Eke Blessing Onyinyechi (PG/NLS/1900055) of the NILDS/UNIBEN graduate school, Abuja. Copies of the dissertation are submitted for evaluation by panel of examiners and subsequent oral defense by the candidate.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project work to God Almighty and to my family for their love and support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|--|
| CEDAW..... | Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women |
| FEC..... | Federal executive council |
| NAWOJ | National Association of Women of Journalists |
| NCWD | National Committee on Women Development |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNICEF | The United Nations children’s fund |
| UNESCO..... | The United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organization |
| UNDP..... | United Nations Development Programme |
| PDP | People’s Democratic Party |
| PRS..... | Performing Rights Society |
| APC..... | All progressive congress |
| HIV..... | Human Immune virus |
| AIDs..... | Acquired immune deficiency syndrome |
| WIN | Women in Network |
| SHA..... | State House Assembly |
| SDG..... | Sustainable development goals |
| UNIFEM..... | The United Nations Development Fund for Women |
| NEPU | The Northern Elements Progressive Union |
| MDG..... | Millennium Development Goals |
| BLP..... | Better Life for Rural Women |
| CPA..... | Commonwealth Parliamentary Association |

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|
| CWP..... | Commonwealth women parliamentarians |
| nPDP | New people’s democratic party |
| NDP..... | National Democratic Party |
| ANC..... | Action Congress of Nigeria |
| NGP..... | National Gender Policy |
| ADC..... | African Democratic Congress |
| TOYP | The Outstanding Young Persons |
| JMA..... | Jammiyyar Matan Arewa |
| NPC..... | Northern People’s Congress |
| NGC | National Gender Policy |
| DAW..... | Discrimination against Women |
| CDD | Centre for Democracy and Development |
| CAN..... | Clean Nigeria Associates |
| WPRC..... | Women’s Political Resource Centre |

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ABSTRACT

The contributions of women participation in the Nigerian National Assembly following the country's return to democracy in 1999 has brought into new focus, questions about the factors hindering women's political participation in the country. Twenty-three years and counting (1999 – 2022) after the transfer of power from the military regime to a civilian democratic administration, women still remain at the side-line of Nigeria's politics, hence the need to undertake a study of women's representation in Nigeria's National Assembly and assessing the contribution to Legislative activities in the 8th and 9th National Assembly.

This study used both the qualitative and the quantitative methods of data analysis. These included descriptive statistics analysis using frequency tables and simple percentages in analyzing and interpreting the data collected. Objective one of the study was analyzed using secondary data while objective two was analyzed using both primary and secondary data generated from the course of the study.

It was found that female political representation in the 2015 and 2019 elections was negligible relative to the approximately half of the population they constitute, with 2,970 women on the electoral ballot, representing only 11.36 percent of elected candidates (NBS 2019). There were 7 Female Senators in the Senate in 2015 and 2019 elections, while in the House of Representatives in 2015 the number of women was 22 (6.8%) out of 360 members and declined to a mere 11 in 2019 (3.05%). The study also found out that despite the low representation of woman in the National Assembly, the bills sponsored by female legislators has had significant impact on the lives of all Nigerians. Women's lack of adequate participation in Legislative processes has negatively impacted promotion and enforcement of their rights. An example is the Gender and Equal Opportunity Bill which was

presented at the Nigerian Senate for a second reading on 15th March, 2016 and was rejected. One could argue that one of the reasons why the Bill was not passed is because only seven of the 109 senators were women. Men's efforts, if any, to promote these rights are not sufficient, because they are not direct beneficiaries. Discrimination against women resulting in their exploitation was traced to so many militating factors from tradition – culture, to male supremacy and preference in resource generation. The 8th National Assembly consisted of only 7 females out of 109 senate seats available, 22 females out of the 360 House of representative's seats available and also in the 9th National Assembly, there were only 7 females out of 109 Senators, 11 females out of the 360 House of Representative Members (PLAC 2019) which indicates a decline in female participation.

Therefore, I recommend that in order to bring this pathetic situation to an end and/or to reduce it intensely and drastically, Political parties should create a support network for prospective aspirant by pairing them with established women politicians who will be playing key role as mentors and provide capacity building for young or aspiring female politicians as to enhance and develop them ahead of subsequent elections and also introducing quota system at all levels of government and Identifying and engaging relevant stakeholders such as Independent National Electoral Commission and political parties to ensure strict adherence to it, Lastly for women to make more contribution towards Legislative activities, women parliamentarians should attend legislative capacity trainings/ workshops programs carried out by NILDs to enable them gain vast Legislative knowledge to make more impactful contributions to the growth of the Nation.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the introductory chapter of this study. It discusses issues such as background of the study, statement of problem; research questions, objective of study, scope of study, significance of study, definition of terms as well as the organization of chapters. These subjects are explained in subsequent parts of this chapter.

1.1 Background of the study

The Nigerian National Assembly is one of the most potent and important organs of the modern government, some countries operate a unicameral legislature while others run the opposite which is bicameral legislature. As a nation operating a bicameral legislature, Nigeria has a National Assembly with two Houses. The Upper House of the National Assembly is called the Senate while the Lower House on the other hand is called the House of Representatives. The Senate is composed of one hundred and nine (109) elected senators with a president as the head, while the House of Representatives presently consists of three hundred and sixty (360) elected members. Both the senators and the House of Representative members are elected for a four-year term based on the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. However, there is a serious issue of gender imbalance in the membership of the country's parliament which, of course, is caused by certain factors. In 1999, only sixteen (16) women were elected into the National Assembly with thirteen (13) in the House of Representatives and three (3) in the Senate. The total number increased to 25 in 2003 with twenty-one (21) in the House and four (4) in the Senate. The highest number of women ever to be elected into the National Assembly is thirty (36) in 2007 with twenty-seven (27) in the House and nine (9) in the Senate. Since then, there has been a steady decline to thirty-two (32) in 2011, twenty-two (22) in 2015 and eleven (11) in 2019.

This paper therefore seeks to examine women's representation in Nigerian National Assembly, assessing their contributions to legislative activities in the 8th and ongoing 9th National Assembly.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The rate of women's membership in the Nigerian National Assembly and their contributions to legislative activities when compared to that of men is quite insignificant and unappealing. The national average of women's political participation in Nigeria has remained 6.7 percent in elective and appointive positions, which is far below the Global Average of 22.5 percent, Africa Regional Average of 23.4 percent and West African Sub Regional Average of 15 percent. For instance, out of the 36 confirmed ministerial appointments by the Muhammadu Buhari led administration, only seven (7) are women, representing 16.7 percent. (Vanguard, April 16, 2021) In the National Assembly, results also show a diminishing number of female lawmakers in the 9th Assembly, 29 women constitute about 6 percent of the total members including both the House of Representatives and the Senate compared to their male counterparts of 440 Legislators, while the 8th House was made up of 438 male legislators against just a mere 31 female Legislators. In Nigeria the awareness about the role of women in development of a nation came up in 1980s. The International Conference on women in Beijing in 1995 enhanced the effective participation of women in politics in Nigeria. In Nigeria, about 51 percent of women are involved in voting during elections. Despite this, women are still under represented in both elective and appointive positions. Available statistics revealed that overall political representation in government of Nigeria is less than 7 percent. This shows that Nigeria has not attained 30 percent affirmative as prescribed by the Beijing Platform of Action. Nigeria has been recording low participation of women in both elective and appointive positions this is a growing concern to many Nigerians. However, concerted efforts have been made by Government and non-

Governmental organizations to increase the level of participation of women in politics, in line with the declaration made at the fourth World Conference on women in Beijing, which advocated 30% affirmative action. However, in Nigeria, the extant National Gender Policy (NGP) recommended 35% affirmative action instead and sought for a more inclusive representation of women with at least 35% of both elective political and appointive public service positions respectively. It has been placed as an agreement that is binding but without an enforcement plan/strategy. This study therefore seeks to examine women's representation in Nigerian National Assembly, assessing their contributions to legislative activities in the 8th and ongoing 9th National Assembly.

1.3 Research questions

To undergo a critical study on the contributions in legislative activities of Nigerian women in Parliament with emphasis on the 8th and 9th National Assemblies the following questions needs to be answered:

1. What is the level of representation of women in the Nigerian 8th and 9th National Assemblies?
2. What are the contributions of female legislators to legislative activities in the 8th and 9th National Assemblies?

1.4 Objectives of study

The broad objective of this study is to examine the representation of women in Nigerian national assembly and their contributions of legislative activities in the 8th and 9th assemblies.

The specific objectives are:

1. To examine the level of representation of women in the 8th and 9th National Assembly.

2. To Analyze the contributions made by female Legislators in legislative activities in the 8th and 9th National Assembly.

1.5 Scope of the study

The area covered in this study is in respect to the contributions of women in the 8th and 9th National Assemblies. The study analyzes representation of women in Nigeria's national assembly, and also the achievements and shortcomings of women in their bid to become Parliamentarians in Nigeria. Results from findings of this research may be replicated for women's political representation in Nigeria as a whole.

1.6 Significance of the study

The impact of women participation in the Nigerian National Assembly following the country's return to democracy in 1999 has brought into new focus, questions about the factors hindering women's political participation in the country. Twenty-three years and counting (1999 – 2022) after the transfer of power from the military regime to a civilian democratic administration, women still remain at the side-line of Nigeria's politics, hence the need to undertake a study of the impact made by female Legislators in the 8th and 9th National Assembly and also factors militating against women's involvement in the mainstream of the country's politics. This therefore makes the study both timely and significant. A detailed analysis of this phenomenon will help contribute to the sparse knowledge in this area.

The research will equally be beneficial to Students of Politics, NGOs, scholars and Government agencies on gender related issues such as Inter-Parliamentary Union, United Nations' Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) Committee for the Elimination of all form of Discriminations

against Women (CEDAW) as it will aid them in their search for gender equality. In addition, the suggestions and recommendations that will be proffered in this study will help improve the level of political participation of women in Nigeria particularly the National Assembly.

Finally, this work will be useful to scholars who wish to carry out further research on the impact of Women in Nigerian Parliament, a case study of the 8th and 9th National Assembly as the materials of the study will be of great importance for their enquiries.

1.7 Definition of terms

The following terms are defined by the researcher to show their cognitive meaning to this research paper.

Bicameral Legislature: This refers to any lawmaking body of government that consists of two separate houses or chambers, such as the House of Representatives and the Senate

Conscientization: The development of understanding and awareness of one's position in social, political, economic, cultural, and historical contexts, with a particular emphasis on a critical understanding of one's position in power, privilege, and oppression.

Democracy: This is a system of government whereby people are free to exercise their political powers either directly or through their representatives.

Gender inequality: Gender inequality acknowledges that men and women are not equal and that gender affects an individual's living experience. These differences arise from distinctions in biology, psychology, and cultural norms. Some of these distinctions are empirically grounded while others appear to be socially constructed.

Gender Typing: Gender typing is the process by which a child becomes aware of their gender and thus behaves accordingly by adopting values and attributes of members of the sex that they identify as their own.

Nigeria: This is a country which was named from River Niger the Amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorate in 1914.

Political Parties: This is an organized group of people who share similar political views and who act deliberately together in order to gain control of the decision making and control machinery government and creates public policy.

Politics: The activities involved on getting and using power in public life and to influence decision that affect a country or a society.

The lower House: Lower House on the other hand is called the House of Representatives.

The upper House: The upper house in the national assembly is called the Senate.

1.8 Organization of chapters

This project is organized into five chapters. Chapter one provides an extensive background knowledge of the study, including the research problems, questions, objectives, scope and the significance of the study.

Chapter two gives an accurate account into the various literatures that have supported women participation in politics as well as the Nigerian Parliament and also efforts made towards women inclusion in politics.

Chapter three provides a detailed description of the methodology adopted in the course of the study. It discusses issues such as the design of the research, sources and methods of data collection, method of data analysis, population and sample size of the study and the sampling technique.

Chapter four presents brief summaries / analysis of the case study assemblies and also the achievements /bills sponsored by some of the elected female Legislators during the 8th and ongoing 9th Assembly including their representation at the National Parliament.

Finally, chapter five contains the summary of the study, conclusion and recommendations that if adhered to, will contribute to the elimination of all or most of the barriers / factors that hinder women from active political inclusion into the National Assembly in Nigeria and the Nigerian political race as a whole.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This literature review has broad view of the debate on women political representation. It goes beyond the debate about the pros and cons of women political inclusion. It first considers obstacles to women's political inclusion, and then it considers the main factor behind the latest movement in women political inclusion; i.e. gender quotas.

Obstacles to women's entry in Parliament; women are challenged with many obstacles when vying for elective positions in politics. These obstacles include the level of socio-economic development, education, ethnicity, and cultural barriers. However, these barriers vary across countries and over time. Shvedova (2005) identifies three main obstacles to women participation in politics. These obstacles are political, socio-economic, ideological and psychological (Shvedova 2005).

2.2 The concept of political participation

Political participation of women is an essential component that is required for ensuring the stability and legitimacy of every political system (Kumari & Kidwai, op.cit:12). According to Agbaje (1999:193), political participation of women is one of the fundamental ideas of a democratic society. It is the sine qua non of democracy because democracy involves a commitment to equal opportunity for men and women to develop their individual capacities (Anifowose, 2004:205). Thus, democracy is inconceivable without political participation (Agbaje, 1999:193). Thus, in the view of Kumari & Kidwai (1999:12), in every society, the wielders of political power are very keen on ensuring at least some amount of political participation by the people. Political participation therefore, describes the extent to which individual members of society share, take part or get involved in the life of that society

(Agbaje, 1999:193). It is because of this crucial place that political participation holds that Kumari & Kidwai (1999:13) asserts that its denial to substantial part of the population can result to explosive situation. Consequently, the political power that women or any group of persons in a society have would be linked directly to the degree of their participation in the political process of that society (Lewu, 2005:63). Theoretically, political participation has a long genealogy. Like most concepts that are used today, it is an unfolding concept. From direct participation of the Greek city-states to the Schumpeterian rejection of that model, the concept has been central to every discussion about democracy (Beck, 1997). Though the search for a participatory, just and sustainable society permeates all political systems, the normative question of how much ordinary people should participate and what kind of popular participation in political affairs is possible and desirable, is very much politically relevant and socially significant (Bruce, 2004:106). This question owes to the fact that the term “participation” though widely used within democratic theory, its meaning remains vague (Weale, 1999:84). Steiner (1988) posits that the question of what it is to take part in politics is massively complex and ultimately ambiguous. He noted that while it is assumable that activity within a political party or an organization which regarded itself as a pressure group should count as political Participation, activity in other sorts of organization, such as sports associations and traditional women’s organization which are though not overtly political but set the contexts of politics, give their active members administrative experience and are capable of overt political action if their interests or principles are threatened remains ambiguous as to whether those activities are political or not. Anifowose (2004:205) defines political participation as those voluntary activities such as holding public and party office, being a candidate for office, attending election campaigns, voting and exposing oneself to political stimuli. Similarly, Maclosky (1968) defines political participation as a series of voluntary activities through which members of a society share in the direct or indirect

selection of rulers and formation of public policy. Sanghera, (2005) on the other hand defines political Participation as the active engagement by individuals and groups with the governmental processes that affect their lives. This encompasses both involvements in decision-making and acts of opposition. Lewu (2005:63) however, defines political participation as a variety of ways in which people try to exercise influence over the political process. For Lawson & Wasburn (1969), political participation ‘is the process by which individuals acting singly or through group organization attempt to influence decision-making or alter the manner in which power may be distributed and the principles by which it may be exercised in a particular society.’ Contrarily however, Lawson (1997:185) argues that those within the democratic systems appreciate the fact that individuals have little or no capacity to influence the course of politics; thus, a desire to bring serious changes in the course of politics is done by concerted efforts of people of the same socio-political interest such as political parties, or social movements. Anifowose, (2004:205) noted some several interesting trends that have been identified concerning political participation in liberal democracy. These include: an increasingly informed and critical citizenry, decline of trust in effectiveness of political elites and institutions, a decline in loyalty to traditional political parties, a decline in turnout rates in elections; and an increase in unconventional political participation. Similarly, Magastadt (2006:333) observes a low political participation in liberal democratic states especially the United States. This widespread alienation, he notes is caused by citizen political apathy. However, what is not clear from this conception is the causes of this political apathy and whether these causes are universal or peculiar to the Western world.

2.3 Gap in knowledge

Aside from numerous international regulations that guarantees right to women’s participation in governance, Nigeria’s Constitution in Section 42(1) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria “states that: “A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin,

sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person be subjected to any form of discrimination. This further confirms that you can go to court to seek redress if as a woman your franchise is violated and that the constitution as a whole prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex” (Ugwuegede, 2014)

Despite the constitutional backings of women to participate in electoral politics in general, it has been noted with utmost clarity that women are scarcely being represented in political offices in general and elective public positions in particular and as a result, several researches have been carried out to study women participation and related topics in the past in Nigeria in particular. These previous works were reviewed by the present study accordingly. The studies related to this work that were reviewed covering the period of the fourth Republic democratic era from 1999-date includes the works of Fatile, Adepoju; Ajoke & Ayeni (2017), Women participation in Local governance and Nigerian democratic system: A study of selected local Governments in Lagos state (1999-2016); Mmaduabuchi (2015), Women participation in politics in Nigeria: A Democratic Imperative; Egwu (2015), Women participation in the 2015 General Election in Nigeria, Mohammed & Abubakar (2014), Women and political participation: Toward Attainment of 35% Affirmative Action and obstacles to the women participation in Nigerian politics and decision making process; Erunke & Shuaibu (2014), The role of women in Nigeria politics: interrogating the Gender question for enhanced political representation in the Fourth republic; Ugwuegede (2014), challenges to Women Active participation in politics in Nigeria; Udodinma (2013) Female Representation in Nigeria: the case of the 2011 general Elections and the Fallacy of 35% Affirmative Action; Ihemeje (2013), The Need for participation of women in local governance: A Nigerian discourse: Aluko (2011), Gender and women’s political leadership in Nigeria;. Agbalajobi (2009), Women’s participation and the political process in Nigeria: problems and prospects; Oloyode, Monitoring participation of women in

politics in Nigeria and finally Okibe (2016), *Marginalization of Women by Women in the Contest for Elective Positions in Nigeria: A Reconstruction Paradigm*. Though, Okibe's (2015) work was somehow very close to this research note, his main focus is on marginalization of women in elective offices, his and these other studies created a vacuum in their respective research by failing to work on women's representation in Nigeria's National Assembly and their contributions to legislative activities in the 8th and 9th National Assembly as a wholesome topic therefore, their studies are too broad and heavy to produce a desired result to effectively answer the questions inherent in the issue under investigation hence, the present study is a radical departure from the previous related studies by studying in-depth the reasons why female are few in elective positions despite the proven facts that women population are more than men in Nigeria and that women represents about 51% of total voters in Nigeria elections. Also, the study becomes paramount because "Clark (2012) examines prejudice in a nation's political development. He opines that gender equality and women's empowerments are not only human rights; they are also imperative for achieving inclusive, equitable and sustainable development" Also, the study is necessary to be carried out in order to determine or ascertain the contributions of women to Legislative activities in the 8th and 9th National Assembly in Nigeria. Therefore, this situation needs a further research.

2.4. Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 Arguments for gender-balanced representation

Gender equality and women's political participation is not just a question of academic interest. It holds many aspects equally important in the political and social sphere for all people. The basic argument is from one point of view a question of fundamental democratic rights, everyone's equal right and possibility to candidate and to exercise political power. There is also the fact that big amounts of aid go to democracy promotion which to some degree seek to increase women's political influence and participation in politics. Different projects work with educating women in political issues, preparing them to be candidates for local governance and increase women's influence in politics (see for example Women's Political Resource Centre (WPRC)). There is a point in examining hindrances for women's participation connected to the type of projects mentioned, since there needs to prevail some sort of understanding of women's access to politics in order for attempts to increase female representation will lead to desired results. There is in many aspects a great achievement per se to get more women into politics but their possibilities and role in politics need further to be examined.

As Lovenduski writes in the introductory chapter in *Feminism and politics* (2000), there are different arguments for increased female representation: normative arguments that say it is unfair for men to monopolize representation and pragmatic arguments which stress women's special interests and experiences that can only be represented by women. The normative and pragmatic arguments, Lovenduski states, do not say that getting more women into politics will affect the outcome of politics. The third argument, on the other hand, which is based on the stance of difference means that getting more women in politics will lead to an improvement of the politics (Lovenduski 2000: Introduction).

My point of departure concerning under-representation as a problem within political science starts with the reasoning of Anne Philips. She suggests that social background and opinion-representation should not be separated, but that over-representation of one social group leads to over-representation of opinion (Phillips 1995). She provides the following logic:

The most immediately compelling of the remaining arguments is that which presents gender parity as a straightforward matter of justice: that it is patently and grotesquely unfair for men to monopolize representation. If there were no obstacles operating to keep certain groups of people out of political life, we would expect positions of political influence to be randomly distributed between the sexes. There might be some minor and innocent deviations, but any more distorted distribution is evidence of intentional or structural discrimination. In such contexts (that is, most contexts) women are being denied rights and opportunities that are currently available to men (Phillips 1995: 63).

What Phillips points to is that under-representation of women in politics is to be viewed as structural or intentional discrimination.

2.4.2 Overarching theoretical framework

The theory of why women representation is low is, as stressed in chapter 1, best understood as an interplay between *actors*, *institutions* and *structures*. Structures, institutions and actors function in a reciprocal interplay where actors' activities are limited by the current structures. Actors work within fixed structures but actors are also the creators of the structures (Rothstein 1988:27-35). This thesis will pay more attention to the actors' role in increasing women's political participation. This is why

I have chosen to put focus on all three explanatory factors in the first research question, while giving the actors more room and focus in the second research question.

Based on previous research, the analysis scheme that will make out the ground pillar of the thesis is the interplay of structures, institutions and actors. This type of scheme is utterly necessary in order to operationalize the main findings in the material into theoretically interesting results.

2.4.3 Structures and institutions

There are mainly two structures that influence the view on gender in society: socio-economic structure and culture. A country's socio-economic structure has great impact on women's condition in society. In countries with a modernized socio-economic structure the gender roles are not as obvious as in the more traditionalistic ones. There is also a co-variation with culture and socio-economic structure which makes it more difficult to differentiate the influence on women's conditions in society (Wide 2006:23).

2.4.4 The rational actors

Political parties are crucial actors in explaining variation in female representation. They have control of the nomination procedures and they decide whether to have quotas, and in that case what type of quotas in nomination of candidates (Wide 2006:28). Political parties are the strongest actors on the political scene and constitute a key role in democratic governance. Political parties are furthermore the main component of parliament and they are also, in most political systems, the main conduits between decision-makers and civil society (Luciak 2007: 2). Figure 1 on the next page shows the relations of political parties, women's movement and policy entrepreneurs.

Women's organisations are generally regarded as core initiative takers in issues concerning gender and politics. This is true around the globe, and in Nigeria, women's organisations has been an actor that has grown tremendously in importance after the transition towards democracy from 1999 till present day (Sabedashvili 2002). Women's organisations are, like political parties, collective actors. This entails a built-in complexity where it is not clear who is behind a decision and how much conformity plays its role within an organisation.

Policy Entrepreneurs: It can be of interest to look at what impact women in high positions may have for women's conditions in politics. This would imply both the belief that one single person could contribute to the reshaping of politics and that one or a few number of people can really make a difference in terms of getting new issues on the political agenda and impact the policy outcome. This type of influential individuals might have a role in increasing women representation, but on the other hand, it is probably not the case. Kingdon calls this type of people *policy entrepreneurs*. He considers these people rational actors that are putting resources into the policies which they promote (Kingdon 1995:122-124).

2.5 Feminist theory

In this study, basic feministic theory was used in order to spotlight the problem of women's representation in politics. The gender-power-order according to feminist theory is always present in our society; it shapes structures and sets current power relations. The core of this theoretical framework is the essentials of feminist theory. Marysia Zalewski writes that it appears that all feminists share the notion that different social benefits and burdens follows depending on what sex you are born as (Zalewski 2000:97). A central feature of feminist political theory is the notion that

women and their situation are central to political analysis. Its interest lies in questioning the fact that men appear to have more power and privilege than women and asking how it can be changed (Bryson 2003:1).

Gender in politics has two sides, and although separate it is associated with each other. One is women's representation and the other is concern for women's issues. Representation increases the likelihood for considering women's issues as well as brings in gender perspective; however, representation on its own cannot guarantee the desired outcome (Sumbadze 2008:33).

Gender refers to the roles, relationships, attitudes, behaviour and values etc. that society ascribes to men and women. Much of the recent focus on gender relations has to do with the influence of feminism. Feminists all over have come to characterize gender relations as matters of subordination and inequality (Waylen 1996:6).

2.5.1 Feminism and representation

One fundamental point in feminist view on the politics of women's representation is that differences among women, such as class, ethnicity, race, generation etc. have great impact on their interests and priorities (Lovenduski 2002: Introduction). There are important differences among women that should not be neglected, whilst the difference between men and women also play an important role in the politics of representation.

Some existing theories on the low representation of women in politics will be highlighted. Clark brings up a number of common theories on low representation within feminist theory Sex-role socialization is a factor much similar the gender role structure and relations mentioned as the cause. Women and men are taught different roles in life where the home is the women's area and politics and public life is seen as the man's world. Another point in this sex-role problematic is the fact that

house work and family responsibility hinders women from participating in politics and public life. She mentions male conspiracy theory which derives from feminist ideology and is based on the idea that men are discriminating women therefore women have low representation in political office. She continues with institutional constraints that women are less likely than men to become incumbents and therefore have less chance to get into office. The power, prestige and desirability of political office, she concludes, has also been seen as a factor determining the level of representation of women since these characteristics are seen as male dominated where women have strong difficulties to compete with men (Clark 1991:70-75).

Descriptive and Substantive Representation

There are mainly two different ways to approach the challenges which leads to female under-representation in politics: some studies argue that there need to exist a certain amount of female representatives (descriptive representation), called the *critical mass* while others stress the importance of a few female politicians that actively pushes issues on gender-equality (substantive representation). There are varying opinions on how many women that constitutes this critical mass and they vary from 10 to 35% depending on the researcher (Lovenduski 2001, Dahlerup 1988). Laurel Weldon is one researcher that regards a few women politicians that actively promotes questions on gender-equality, in contrast to many who actually play “the game of men”, as more important than a certain level of female representation (Weldon 2002).

Theories of descriptive representation argue that the exclusion of any group from positions of power may distort policy decisions and political outcomes (Clark 1991, In Lovenduski 2000:2). Substantive representation has to do with how much influence women have as political office holders. Even

though women have managed to get more equal representation, in numbers, it is not given that their opinions and interests are being taken into consideration.

Drude Dahlerup investigates the idea of a critical mass, that politics need a certain number of women, e.g. 30%, to enable them to actually make a difference in politics. According to Dahlerup, a growing number of women in politics would lead to a decrease of stereotyping between sexes. Childs and Krook (2008) states that this decrease of stereotyping women is a result of increased women representation since more types of women are occupying the political arena. Clark writes that when there are few female office holders, there are few female role models and opportunities for women to get political experience are few (1991: In Lovenduski 2000:65).

2.6 Clamor for the inclusion of women in active political process.

Nigerian government have continued to extend its interest in the involvement of women in governance long before the period of 1999-2022. Appeals by prominent and respectable members of the society have continued to compel each successive government to include women in leadership positions of the country.

As Rev. Fr. Onoyima (1986) stated giving women the chance to participate in politics is like recognizing their existence and place in the society. Women do not like to lose their place and they can make sacrifices to get what they cherish most because of their number. He also stated that Women are intelligent, patient, clever and they remain vital negotiators and love dialogue.

Maryam Babangida (1992) former first lady stated in her address that the demand of women for a greater and meaningful participation in politics is basically due to democratic principle of equality of persons. Appeals for the inclusion of women in politics were further made by Mustapha (1990) to

various state governments to recognize the activities of women when it comes to politics and that this will enable the policy to be balanced without prejudice.

The case for women to be actively involved in politics is a major task to be realized by African states and Nigeria have proved to be ahead of them all. Ogundile (1989) in his article, women backbone of society, enumerated the various activities Nigerian women have involved itself to make sure they fit into the Nigerian political system. He made mention of the various feminist organizations and programmes formed by women such as National Council for Women Societies, Women in Nigeria, Federation of Muslim Women Association the Better Life Programme, Family Support Programme, and the Economic Advancement Programme to mention a few.

Ene (1997) gave a brief insight into the activities and line up programmes of the Better Life for Rural Women (BLP). The aim of the programme according to Ene was to adequately create a purposive awareness on the essence of women in programmes of national development especially the rural dwellers.

There has been call for every government in power to amend their existing constitution to redress the gender imbalance inherent in it. The amendment will pave way for implementation of affirmative action on women's participation in the country's political process.

Nigerian women are therefore, advised to regard their active participation in Nigerian politics as relevant and crucial at this particular time. Women adequate involvement in all spheres of development is increasingly being recognized as precondition for and as an indicator of the level of success in the attainment of sustainable human development.

For this reason, UNICEF (1993) affirmed that women's involvement in all levels of development should be addressed at the level of basic welfare services, access to resources, conscientization and participation and control of power.

And as Oji (2002) observed, that the danger of social exclusion of women in political and other activities involving a nation or community is that they will not be able to contribute their own quota towards the development of that society.

Supporting the observation and further call on the powers to be to help reduce the constraints that affect women in advancement to the same status as men in Nigeria, was the comment by Dibia (2004) that even though history have continued to play its major role on women's involvement in politics, it is for the better if Africans ignore such history and tradition and move their women folk alongside the male in all developmental activities.

He described the attitude of government to gender inequality as "Gender Typing" that will not help the country attain its industrialization goals. Given Nigeria's critical economic and political problems, it appears increasingly obvious that suppressing the talents and skills of women in order to protect men's privileges is an enormous waste of human resources that the country can no longer afford.

The belief that women are less interested and have no adequate knowledge of politics than men is wrong and this assumption does not portray the true state of minds of majority of the women that are very much interested in the political events of the country.

World Bank (2000 gender analysis) "when women are not offered equal opportunity with their male counterpart, there is the danger that some skills in a nation will be wasted"; and to avoid this dastardly situation, Dibia (2004) suggested further political pressure on multinational corporations, governments, to ensure that women's interest are not neglected. And that Nigeria will not achieve its development goals if women's full humanity and citizenship is not acknowledged and vigorously protected.

2.7 International concern for women in political affairs

The international concern for women has gained serious recognition and that in effect has arose the various Government to the needs of women inclusion in their Political and leadership positions. Egonmwan (2002) observed that Nigeria's involvement of its women folk to Developmental activities assumed visible dimension when the United Nations Organizations declared the year 1975 as International year of Women.

And since then March 8th of every year have been set aside by the UN for celebrating the occasion. In 1980, July to be precise agreement was reached by all member states that every Nation should recognize the need for the involvement of women in nation building.

In continuation of this assertion by Egonmwan, he stated that Africa's collective appreciation of women's participation in politics found concrete expression in the Lagos plan of Action which was the policy voice of African Heads of States and government in a meeting held in Lagos, April, 1980. It was reiterated that African states is advised to develop policies and strategies for women's full participation in politics and all other developmental activities. Nigeria's response to this was the establishment of National Committee on Women Development (NCWD) and also setting up parallel committee in 21 states of the federation.

The basic function of this committee was to promote awareness in women and the Federal Government signed and ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women. This convention otherwise known as CEDAW (2009) which is an international organization joined the UN, ECOWAS organizations to compel African countries to ensure women have adequate representation in politics, access to health care, ensuring proper education and access to credit and loan facilities. In fact, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the radical equality of men and women in dignity as reported in This-Day (2009) editorial commentary.

It should be noteworthy to mention some countries of the world that has top the list of gender equality particularly women's full participation in the politics of such countries.

According to World Economic forum (2009) Iceland and four other Scandinavian countries leads the world. And these countries are:

Finland

Norway

Sweden

New Zealand

Yemen was ranked the lowest. This report thus proved that Africa vis a vis Nigeria is within the middle range and is trying to toe the line of the tops in gender equality.

2.8 Efforts made towards female participation in politics in Nigeria.

Several efforts have been made to address the low level of representation of women in elective and appointive positions in Nigeria; among such efforts are the establishment of Women Political empowerment office and Nigeria Women Trust Funds, Women Lobby Group. Other efforts include the institution of an INEC gender policy, the national multi stakeholder dialogue; the initiation of several interventions to actualize affirmative action and the convening of the Nigeria Women Strategy Conference. National Center for Women Development in collaboration with National Bureau of Statistics are making efforts to have evidenced based data about this issue. Presently the available data are not harmonized. The data collation covers the period 1999 – 2021.

One of the objectives of the data collection is to provide a baseline for the implementation of the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The data collation exercise is ongoing. Hopes are high that the result will show the progress steadily made to achieving the affirmative declaration and determine

how the gap that erstwhile existed has been closed as well as measure the variation between where we are and the affirmative action of 35 percent. Also, it will improve evidence-based planning and programming involving women in decision making; increase the support of key stakeholders on measures to increase representation of women in decision-making and further improved awareness of new advocacy tools among stakeholders to support the campaign for increased representation of women in decision making in Nigeria. It will also erase the un-harmonized data at present.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the methodology adopted in the course of the study. It discusses issues such as design of the research, sources and methods of data collection; population and sample size of the study, techniques of sampling as well as method of data analysis. These issues are explained in subsequent parts of this chapter.

3.2 Research method

This study adopts the survey method of research; the survey method studies both large and smaller groups of a population by selecting and studying samples chosen from the population to discover the relative incidence, distribution and interrelationship of the independent and dependent variables. This research is designed to be both descriptive and empirical. This method explores the relationship between variables in the population by selecting an unbiased sample and generalizing the findings on the entire population.

This research adopted survey design with a view to examining the impact of women in Nigerian Parliament from the Eight and Ninth National Assemblies. In doing this, variables that relate to the activities of the National Assembly are extensively assessed. These variables include gender stereotyping, passage /sponsoring of bills etc. These variables are mostly qualitative variables that were collected based on perceptions of respondents.

3.3 Sources and methods of data collection

For the purpose of this study however, data were generated from both primary and secondary sources.

3.3.1 Primary source

These data were gathered through the instruments of questionnaires.

3.3.2 Secondary data

The instrument of secondary data used included: data or information regarding the representation of female legislators in the Eighth and Ninth National Assembly, their contributions to Legislative activities under the case study, etc. Other forms of secondary data explored included: official publications of National Bureau of Statistics, (2010). Report of the National Literacy Survey, Female representation in Nigeria: The case of the 2011 general elections and the fallacy of 35% affirmative action. Research for Humanities and Social Sciences 3(2), 39-46 scholarly articles, text books, unpublished research materials, Websites and other related materials.

3.4 Population

Reid H.M described population in a study as all units possessing certain characteristics, which are of the interest of researchers' study. From the definition, population can be understood as the targeted community or group of people which is involved or selected by the researcher for his study.

Therefore, for this study the population from which the samples will consist of the following groups of participants/interviewees:

- a) Female Legislators.
- b) Male Legislators.
- c) Nass. Civil servants.
- d) Non staffs.
- e) Some Constituency members.

3.5 Sampling techniques & sample size

For the purpose of this research, Questionnaires were randomly administered to 120 respondents to document their responses on women's representation in Nigeria's National Assembly, purposive sampling method was used. Purposive sampling technique is therefore, the choice of data collection for the study. According to Kelly (2010), the purposive sampling procedure is a nonprobability sampling method that emphasizes respondent selection based on preconceived conditions.

Questionnaires were also randomly administered to respondents outside the National Assembly to document their responses on factors they perceived as playing a role in the underrepresentation of women in the National Assembly and their views on the achievements made by the few female legislators. The target population are the National Assembly legislators which included both male and female members, Non staffs of the National Assembly, Some Constituency members, Nass. Civil servants and so on. Randomly sampling selection was used to target these populations and the response obtained is analyzed using descriptive analysis (frequencies, percentages, and charts).

3.6 Data analysis

In this study, both the qualitative and the quantitative methods of data analysis were adopted. These include descriptive statistics analysis using frequency tables and simple percentages in analysing and interpreting the data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter dwelled on the data presentation gathered during the course of the study. It discusses subjects such as the interpretation of questionnaires gathered from the primary source of data, it also analyzed the contributions made by the female Legislators in the 8th and 9th National Assembly, also the societal benefits of bills they sponsored and it also highlighted some of the obstacles to women's participation in Parliament. These issues are explained in subsequent parts of this chapter.

4.1 Examining the level of representation of women in the 8th and 9th National Assemblies.

4.1.1 Table 1. Women in the Eight National Assembly (2015-2019)

| S/N | Senate (109) | S/N | House of Reps (360) |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|---------------------|
| 1 | Princess Stella Oduah | 1 | Nkeiruka Onyejeocha |
| 2 | Monsurat Sunmonu | 2 | Nnenna Ukeje |
| 3 | Fatimat Raji Rasaki | 3 | Owoidighe Atai |
| 4 | Oluremi Shade Tinubu | 4 | Lynda Ikpeazu |
| 5 | Rose Oko okoji | 5 | Eucharika Azodo |
| 6 | Binta Masi Garba | 6 | sodaguno Omoni |
| 7 | Biodun olujimi, | 7 | Asabe bashir |
| | | 8 | Evelyn oboro |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----------|--|
| | | 9 | omosedede igbinedion |
| | | 10 | Stella Uchena Ogiageli |
| | | 11 | Joan mrakpor |
| | | 12 | binta bello |
| | | 13 | Aishatu dukka |
| | | 14 | Rita orji |
| | | 15 | Beni Butmaklar Langtang, |
| | | 16 | Ayo omidiran |
| | | 17 | Blessing ibiba |
| | | 18 | Betty apiafi |
| | | 19 | Boma goodhead |
| | | 20 | Princess Olufunke Adedoyin Talatu Yohanna |
| | | 21 | Dorathy Mato |

Source: Researcher's compilation

The eighth National Assembly kicked off on Tuesday, 9 June 2015. The eighth Assembly consists of three hundred and sixty (360) members at the Lower House and one hundred and nine (109) Senators

at the Upper House. In the Senate, fifty-nine (59) out of a hundred and nine senators were elected on the platform of the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) while forty-nine (49) were elected on the platform of the main opposition party – the People’s Democratic Party (PDP). Dr. Bukola Saraki is the immediate ex-President of the Senate, with the Deputy Senate President as Ike Ekweremadu. The Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Deputy Speaker of the House were Rt. Hon. Yakubu Dogara and Yusuf Sulaiman Lasun respectively. According to a paper titled “Gender Mainstreaming in Nigeria: The Cross-Cutting Issues”, the Senate had 93.6% male senators and just 6.4% female senators. And the eighth National Assembly came to an end on 9th June 2019.

4.1.2 The Ninth National Assembly (2019-2023)

The Ninth National Assembly, which was inaugurated on Tuesday, June 11, 2019 comprised of 109 Senators and 360 members of the House of Representatives. Out of the total 479 members of the federal parliament, only 19 were originally female members in the two chambers. But with the demise of a female senator, Rose Oko, reduced the number to 18. In all, there are seven serving female Senators and 11 House members.

Table 2. The Ninth National Assembly (2019-2023)

| S/N | Senate (109) | S/N | House of Reps (360) |
|------------|-----------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Stella Oduah Adaeze | 1 | Nkeiruka C. Onyejeocha |
| 2 | Abiodun Olujimi | 2 | Lynda Chuba-Ikpeazu |
| 3 | Oluremi Tinunbu Shade | 3 | Onuh Onyeche Blessing |

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| 4 | Dahiru Aishatu Ahmed | 4 | Zainab Gimba |
| 5 | Dr. Akon Eyakenyi | 5 | Ogunlola Omowunmi Olubunmi |
| 6 | Uche Lilian Ekwunife | 6 | Aishatu Jibril Dukku |
| 7 | Jocelyne Betty Okagua Apiafi | 7 | Onanuga Adewunmi Oriyomi |
| | | 8 | Taiwo Olukemi Oluga |
| | | 9 | Tolulope Tiwalola Akande-Sadipe |
| | | 10 | Beni Butmak Lar |
| | | 11 | Khadija Bukar Abba Ibrahim |

Source: Researcher's compilation

4.1.3 Legislative representation at the National Parliament

Currently, there are 469 legislators in Nigeria's National Assembly – 109 and 360 in The Senate and House of Representatives respectively. Out of this, only 18 (7 from the Senate and 11 from the House of Representatives) are female Legislators which constitute 6.2% of the total number of Legislators at the National level. Conversely, male Legislators constitute 93.8% of the total number.

Table 3: Representation in the National Parliament by sex in the 8th and 9th National Assemblies

| Legislator | 8 th National Assembly | | 9 th National Assembly | |
|------------|-----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % |
| | | | | |

| Senate | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| Male | 101 | 93.6 | 102 | 93.6 |
| Female | 7 | 6.4 | 7 | 6.4 |
| Total | 109 | 100 | 109 | 100 |
| House of Reps. | | | | |
| Male | 337 | 93.6 | 348 | 95.65 |
| Female | 22 | 6.11 | 11 | 3.05 |
| Total | 360 | 100 | 360 | 100 |
| Both Houses | | | | |
| Male | 438 | 93.4 | 450 | 96.5 |
| Female | 33 | 12.16 | 18 | 3.5 |
| Total | 469 | 100 | 469 | 100 |

Sources: Researcher’s findings, 2022.

Data analysis

There were 7 Female Senators in the Senate in 2015 and 2019 elections compared to 3, 4 and 9 in 1999, 2003 and 2007 respectively. Women constitute 6.4% of a total number of Legislators in the Senate. It is same with the number of women representatives in 2015, but they was a sharp decline in the number of women who were able to secure a seat in the house of Representatives, out of 22 members of the House of Representatives in the 8th Assembly to a mere eleven (11). The 6.4% marks a decrease of 1.9% from the 8.3% of women in the Upper Chamber in the 6th Assembly in 2007 but an increase of 2.7% from 3.7% representation in the 5th Senate in 2003. The South West geopolitical

zone (22.2%) recorded the highest number of women representations in proportion to the total number of Senators from the zone in 2015. 5.6%, 5.6% and 6.7% Senators from North East, South South and South East zones respectively are female senators in proportion to allocated seat per geo-political zone in 2015. North Central and North West have no female Senator in 2015. At the regional level, while 1.7% of senators from the North of Nigeria are Female senators, 11.8% is from the Southern region. This latter percentage is higher than the National average of 6.4% in 2015 and 2019.

Table 4: Elected principal officers at the senate by office, assembly and sex

| Office | 5 th | | 6 th | | 7 th | | 8 th | | 9 th | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|---|-------------------|---|-------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| | National Assembly | | National Assembly | | National Assembly | | National Assembly | | National Assembly | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| Senate President | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Deputy senate president | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Majority Leader | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Deputy Majority Leader | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Minority Leader | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Deputy Minority Leader | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Chief Whip | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Deputy Chief Whip | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Minority Whip | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Deputy Minority whip | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |

Source: Researcher's Findings, 2022

Table 4. Shows that there were no female principal officers at the Senate in the 5th, 6th, 7th and 9th National Assembly. A total of 4 women principal officers was recorded in 1999 and only 1 woman was recorded in 2015. Women held the position of Deputy Minority leader and Chief Whip in 1999 as well as two deputy minority whips that emerged at different times between 1999 and 2003. While only one woman got elected to the position of a deputy minority whip in 2015 as shown in Table 4.

4.1.4 House of representatives

Table 5: Women and geopolitical zone representation: HoR

| Geo-political zone | Number of available seats | Number of seats occupied by women | The percentage in Proportion to allocated seats |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Northern Region | | | |
| North Central | 51 | 2 | 3.9% |
| North West | 92 | 0 | 0% |
| North East | 48 | 4 | 8.3% |
| Northern Total | 191 | 6 | 3.1% |
| Southern Region | | | |
| South-South | 55 | 8 | 14.5% |
| South West | 71 | 3 | 4.2% |
| South East | 43 | 5 | 11.6% |
| Southern Region total | 169 | 16 | 9.5% |
| Grand TOTAL | 360 | 22 | 6.1% |

Source: Researcher's Findings, 2022

Table 6: Women Representation in the HoRs (2003-2019)

| Year | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
|------|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|
| | N | N | N | % | % |
| 2003 | 339 | 21 | 360 | 94.17 | 5.83 |
| 2007 | 335 | 25 | 360 | 93.06 | 6.94 |
| 2011 | 345 | 15 | 360 | 92.78 | 3.7 |
| 2015 | 338 | 22 | 360 | 93.89 | 6.11 |
| 2019 | 349 | 11 | 360 | 95.65 | 3.05 |

Sources: 2019 Nigeria Election Observation Report, retrieved at <http://www.iri.org/2019%20Nigeria%20Election%20Observation%20Report/1/assets/basic-html/page40.html>; National Assembly Website, www.nassnig.org; and <http://www.shineyoureye.org/position/senator/>

Data analysis

The past 8th Assembly had 22 women out of 360 members of House of Representatives (HoRs) in the 8th National Assembly and a decline by 50% in the 9th Assembly. Thus, women constituted 6.11% of the total number of Legislators in HoRs and a mere 3.05% in the 9th Assembly. The number of Female members of HoRs grew by 2.5% from 3.33% in 1999 and 5.83% in 2003, but declined by 3.05% in the 9th Assembly.

4.1.5 Representation in Senate

Table 7: Women Representation in Senate (2003-2019)

| Year | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
|------|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|
| | N | N | N | % | % |
| 2003 | 105 | 4 | 109 | 95.8 | 4.2 |
| 2007 | 101 | 8 | 109 | 91.92 | 8.08 |
| 2011 | 102 | 7 | 109 | 92.86 | 7.14 |
| 2015 | 102 | 7 | 109 | 92.86 | 7.14 |
| 2019 | 102 | 7 | 109 | 92.86 | 7.14 |

Source: Researcher's findings, 2022

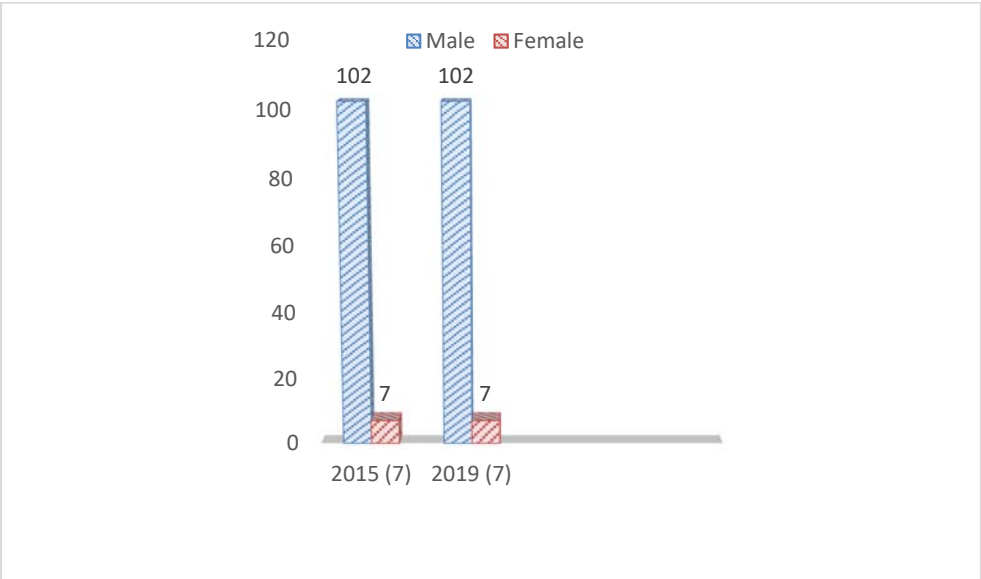
Data analysis

Women representation in Senate was abysmally low in 2003 with a mere 4.2% at against a whopping 95.8%. It increased from 4.2% in 2003 to 8.08% in 2007. Available data shows that this declined further to 7.14% from 2011- 2019.

4.1.6 The Nigerian Senate and House of Representative

Since the return of democracy in 1999, the Senate has been dominated by male Legislators. In 1999 there were only 3 women out of the 109 members representing 2.8 per cent of the members of the Senate. In 2007 the number increased to 8 (7.3 per cent). However, there was a decrease from 8 women members in 2007 to 7 in 2015 and 2019 which is 6.4%.

See the Figure 1 and Table 2 below.

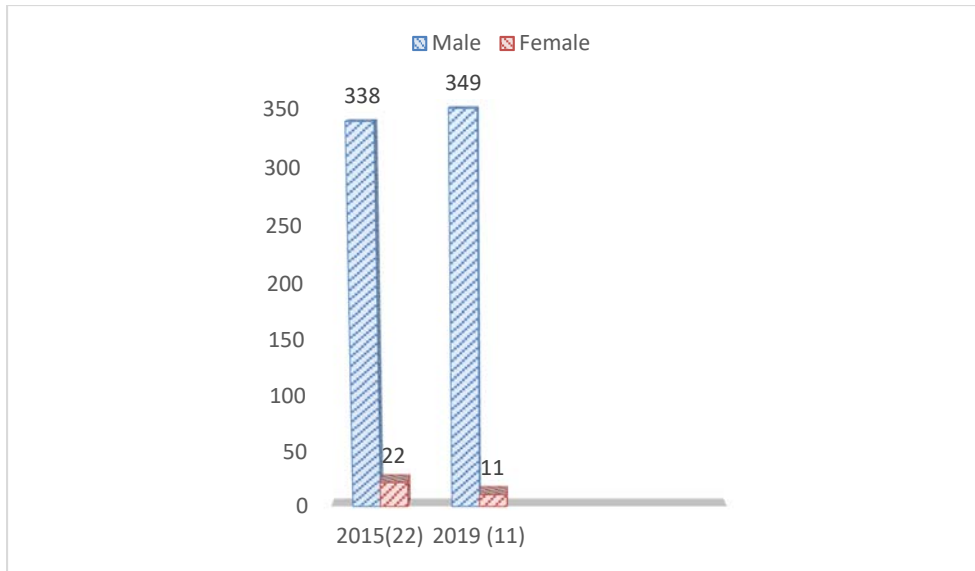


Source: Researcher’s Findings (2022)

Figure 3. Numbers of Female Senators (2015 and 2019)

4.1.7 Members of House of Representative

In 1999, the number of women in the House of representative was 12 out of 360 members which was about 3.3 per cent but increased to 21 (5.8%) in 2003. It was 15 (3.7%) in 2011, in 2015 the number of women in the House of representative increased to 22 (6.8%) out of 360 members and 11 in 2019 (3.05%). See figure 2 and table 8 below. For other elective positions see table 2.



Source: Researcher's Findings (2022)

Figure 4. (Numbers of Female house of Representative 2015 and 2019)

Table 8. The statistics of women who contested for the 2015 and 2019 National Assemblies elections versus the number of female contestants that won the elections.

| | Senate (109 seats available) | | House of Reps. (360 seats available) | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | 8 th National Assembly | 9 th National Assembly | 8 th National Assembly | 9 th National Assembly |
| | 122 female candidates contested | 235 women contested | 1774 candidates contested | 533 women contested |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

Source: Lance-Onyiewu, Maureen (2011), Excerpt from UN Women's Preliminary Analysis of the

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|----|----|
| No. of seats won by women | 7 | 7 | 22 | 11 |
|---------------------------|---|---|----|----|

2011 General Elections in Nigeria. The column for 2015 and 2019 is computed by the author with data from INEC's website.

The data above shows the representation of women in both assemblies, this indicates that Nigeria is yet to attain the 35% benchmark of women in politics when compared to other African countries like Rwanda and South Africa.

4.2. Analyzing the contributions made by female Legislators in Legislative activities in the 8th and 9th National Assembly.

Most of these bills and motions reflects the nature and mindset of the women legislators as their notions, motions and bills are usually women and children oriented. While 8.3% of the respondent believes that performance is not gender sensitive that some women are as good and as bad as men, neutral to the view confirmed by other respondents that women legislators have been very involved in lawmaking process.

| Women Legislator | Year | Bill Sponsored | Motions Made | Remarks |
|------------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|
|------------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|

| | | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|---|------------------|
| <p>Hon. Tejuoso Funmilayo (Lagos)</p> | <p>2003 - 2015</p> | <p>Domestic Violence Bill led to the construction of Happy Home and Child's Right Law</p> | <p>Several Motion on Education, Health, Security, Youth, etc.</p> | <p>Passed</p> |
| <p>Biodun olujimi (Ekiti)</p> | <p>2015 – 2016</p> | <p>Gender Based Violence Bill</p> | <p>The Bill contains 29 sections premised on the International Covenant against the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1979 and the African Charter on the Rights of Women, 2003. In attempting to realize the principle of equality and non- discrimination...</p> | <p>Negatived</p> |

| | | | | |
|------------------------|------|--|--|-------------------------|
| Hon. Rose Oko | 2018 | National Planning Commission Act (Repeal and Re-Enactment) | | Ended in Second Reading |
| Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti) | 2015 | Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill. | | Negatived |
| Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti) | 2015 | National Library Act (Amendment) Bill. | | Ended in Committee |
| Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti) | 2015 | Gender Control and Opportunities Bill | | Negatived |
| Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti) | 2015 | Counterfeit and Fake Drugs and Unwholesome Processed Foods (Miscellaneous Provision) (Amendment) Bill. | | Passed |
| Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti) | 2018 | Federal College of Education Omuo-Ekiti, Ekiti State (Est. etc.) Bill. | | Passed |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|------|--|--|-----------------------|
| Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti) | 2015 | Equal Oppurtunity Commision (Establishment,etc.,) Bill. | | Negatived |
| Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti) | 2016 | Whistle Blowers Protection Bill. | | Passed |
| Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti) | 2016 | Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill. | | Ended in Committee |
| Sen. Rose Oko | 2015 | Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (Alteration) Bill. | | Passed |
| Sunmonu Monsurat | 2016 | Compulsory Treatment of Critical Condition Victims | | Passed |
| Sunmonu Monsurat | 2016 | Sexual Harassment in Tertiary Educational Institutions Prohibition Bill | | Passed |
| Sen. Oluremi Tinubu | 2019 | Criminal Code Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019 | | Passed |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|--|--|--------|
| Hon. Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu | 2015 | HB 172: Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (Alteration) Bill, 2015 | | Passed |
| Hon. Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu | 2015 | HB 212: Institute of Personnel Management of Nigeria Act (Amendment) Bill, 2015 | | Passed |
| Hon. Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu | 2015 | HB 216: Telecommunications and Postal Offences Act (Amendment) Bill, 2015 | | Passed |
| Hon. Onyejeocha Nkeiruka Chiduben | 2015 | HB 271: World Meteorological Organization (Protection) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2015 | | Passed |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|--|--------|
| Aishatu Dahiru Binani Ahmed | 2019 | Modibo Adama University of Technology (Est. etc.) Bill, 2019 | Passed |
| Uche Lilian Ekwunife | 2019 | Public Procurement Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019 | Passed |
| Hon. Onyejeocha Nkeiruka Chiduben | 2015 | HB 121: Senior Citizens Centre Bill, 2015 | Passed |
| Hon. Onyejeocha Nkeiruka Chiduben | 2015 | HB 120: Anti-torture Bill,2015 | Passed |
| Hon. Onyejeocha Nkeiruka Chiduben | 2015 | HB 119: Compulsory Treatment and Care of victims of Gunshot Bill,2015 | Passed |
| Hon. Onyejeocha Nkeiruka Chiduben | 2015 | HB 132: Witness Protection Programme Bill, 2015 | Passed |

Source: Researcher's Findings (2022)

Table 9. Analyzing the Contributions Made by Female Legislators in Legislative Activities in the 8th And 9th National Assembly.

The table above shows the contributions of a few women in the National Parliament, most of the bills which were sponsored by these female Legislators in the 8th and ongoing 9th Assemblies are favorable to every Nigerian, just like the compulsory treatment of critical condition victims bill which has impact on both the man and the woman because the loss of a life affects the whole family in every society.

The little presence of female representatives in the National Assembly can contribute to "the feminization of the political agenda" that is the articulation of women's concerns and perspectives in public debates as well as "the feminization of Legislation" that is public policies are desired to take into account their effect on women (Dovi, 2006). Most gender issues in a male dominated parliament are either overlooked or get predominantly the male gender perspectives to addressing them. In most cases, the female law maker(s) had to lobby their male counterparts to see reasons why a particular gender bill should be passed. So, to buttress the results from my questionnaire that is also on the opinion that there is only a few representation of women in the National Parliament, advocacy for more women in the Nigerian Parliament should be done regularly because women political inclusion challenges both the power structures and relations that undermine the consideration of women's needs and interest in policy-making. The inclusion of women in decision-making is a democratic good in itself and breaks male dominance in politics (Hassim, 2006). Women political participation in the Legislature promotes gender equality by challenging the social and political existing structures that perpetuate a culture of women's subordination in both the private and public sphere. Including women in the political process engenders political and economic benefits. Politically, it increases the number of women in the parliament, curbs corruption, improves policies outcomes, and promotes the inclusiveness of minority groups in public spheres. Economically, it considers women as actors of

development, encourages the integration of women in the labor market, and promotes economic and development growth.

Furthermore, if more women gain entry into the National Assembly, when a gender sensitive bill is sponsored by a female Legislator, other female Legislators who can practically understand the importance of the bill would also co-sponsor and see to the passage of the bill.

4.2.1 Examining the contributions of bills sponsored by female legislators in the 8th and 9th National Assemblies on the Nigerian society.

Compulsory Treatment of Critical Condition Victims

On 15 November 2016, Hon. Sunmonu Monsurat moved a Motion during the Senate Plenary and she called on the Federal Government to mandate public hospitals and medical institutions to treat accident and gunshot victims immediately and remove the bureaucracy of paperwork such as police reports and receipts of payment of medical expenses. The Motion was passed and adopted as a Bill, which passed all readings in both the Senate and The House of Representatives and was passed concurrently on 11 July 2017. The Bill was signed into law by His Excellency, President Muhammadu Buhari in December 2017.

Speaking on the passage of the Bill, President of The Senate, Dr. Abubakar Bukola Saraki, stated that not every victim of a gunshot wound is a criminal, hence, it is important that a legal framework be put into place to avoid unnecessary loss of lives.

“By the passage of this Bill, the Senate has moved to ensure that every hospital in Nigeria, both public and private, must accept to treat victims of gunshot wounds without any clearance from the police,” the Senate President said, “What we have done is to ensure that everyone is entitled to medical

treatment, irrespective of the cause of the shooting. We should reserve judgment for the criminal justice system, and leave healthcare for the medical professionals.”

The Compulsory Treatment and Care of Victims of Gunshots Bill also ensures that every person including security agents shall render every possible assistance to any person with gunshot wounds and ensure that the person is taken to the nearest hospital for treatment.

Additionally, the Bill mandates that no person with gunshot wounds shall be refused immediate and adequate treatment by any hospital in Nigeria whether or not initial monetary deposit is paid.

Sunmonu had earlier said that gunshot victims often die as hospitals demand police reports and money before treating them. She said “If gunshot victims are treated immediately and their lives are saved the police may actually be able to interrogate them and gather more information about criminal cartels. We must understand that the initial failure to treat victims has caused the deaths of those who are innocent too”.

Hon. Sunmonu’s Monsurat Bill on Tertiary Education Grants

The Tertiary Education Trust Fund Act (Amendment) Bill, 2018 (SB. 644) is designed to give access to better/more grants in Federal Government tertiary institutions, thereby encouraging Nigerians to study courses and gain the skills needed to thrive in focus sectors of the economy.

Hon. Tejuoso who is saddled with the responsibilities of been the Chairman of the House Committee on Finance has collaborated with gender activists and non-governmental organizations in the area of women empowerment, and has also been working assiduously towards raising the awareness of women about their social and political rights. She sponsored Domestic Violence Bill into law (a private member bill).

Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill (Nagiveted).

The Bill, sponsored by Sen. Biodun Olujimi (PDP:Ekiti) sought to give effect to certain provisions of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) such as Chapters II and IV which deal with Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy and the Fundamental Human Rights. If eventually passed by the National Assembly, the Bill will also give effect to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the protocol to the African Charter on the rights of Women in Africa amongst others.

It would be recalled that the Bill had failed the second reading stage on 15th March 2016 after some Senators observed that some of the Bill's provisions were contrary to some of Nigeria's traditional and religious practices. Sen. Olujimi re-introduced a new Bill that reflected some of these concerns on 15th June, 2016.

Sen. Biodun Olujimi explained that the Bill prohibits discrimination against persons on grounds of gender, age or disability by any organ of government or private institution. She also stated that the Bill would promote equality, development and advancement of all persons, especially young women and girl children through the provision that special measures that would eliminate discrimination and increase political appointment positions for women in public and private spheres. The Bill recommends that a minimum of 35% of such positions should be reserved for women.

Sen. Olujimi also buttressed that the Bill would prohibit all forms of violence against women in public and private places and eradicate harmful socio-cultural practices by public, private and traditional institutions with a view to eliminating gender stereotyping, prejudices, and some barbaric customary practices. She then concluded by stating that the proposed N1.6 billion National Women's Empowerment Fund given by President Buhari to finance loans to women across the country should

be applauded and accorded requisite legal backing to ensure systems were put in place for its sustainability.

Whistle Blowers Protection Bill, 2015 by Biodun Olujimi

The objectives of the Bill are: -to encourage and facilitate disclosures of improper conduct by public officers and public bodies to provide protection for persons who make those disclosures and persons who may suffer reprisals in relation to these disclosures; to provide for the matters disclosed to be properly investigated and dealt with.

This Bill is relevant in the fight against corruption in Nigeria. Given that part III of the Bill is similar to another Bill before the House of Representatives – Witness Protection Programme Bill (HB 132) sponsored by Hon. Nkeiruka Onyejeocha, both Bills need to be consolidated.

National Oil Spill Detection and Response Agency Act (Amendment) Bill, 2018 (SB 557) sponsored by Sen. Oluremi Tinubu (Lagos Central).

The Bill seeks to strengthen the Agency by expanding its functions and powers to enforce all Legislations in the petroleum sector in relation to oil and gas pollution. It also makes it mandatory for oil industry operators in Nigeria to subscribe to and be solid members of Clean Nigeria Associates (CAN) or any other Association the Agency names. The Bill further incorporates a 24-hour reporting system by letter writing, fax or e-mail after the occurrence of gas leakages or oil spill with the imposition of a fine of N2, 000, 000 for each day the offence is not reported by the gas pipeline or storage facility owner or the oil spiller. Considering the enormous powers being vested in the Agency including the power to make regulations, if the Bill is passed in its present form, it will have a significant effect on the operations of the oil and gas industry.

Uche Ekwunife

In the Red Chamber, Senator Ekwunife is one of the vibrant legislators in the Ninth Assembly. Representing Anambra central senatorial district, the ranking Senator in the last one year, had moved several motions and sponsored several bills. They include the motion of urgent national importance on the devastating storm in Obosi, Nkpor and Oraukwu communities of Anambra State and motion on the proliferation of fake medical reports from public hospitals in Nigeria.

She also moved a motion on the Digitisation and Automation of Collection and Remittance on Withholding Tax on Bank Deposits and Dividends Payments for Enhanced Internally Generated Revenue, motion on the need to complete the abandoned Greater Awka Water Scheme by the Federal Ministry of Water Resources and Motion on Present Status of 5G Network in Nigeria. Ekwunife, Chairman of the Senate committee on Science and Technology, also sponsored several Bills including: 1999 Constitution (Alteration) Bill 2020, Criminal Code Act (Amendment) Bill 2020, National Office for Technology Acquisition and Promotion Act (Amendment) Bill 2019, Penal Code Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019, Public Procurement Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019. Just last week, Senator Ekwunife, as part of her committee work, called for the decentralisation of the Nigerian Army University located in Biu, Borno State. Speaking at the public hearing for the establishment of the university, the lawmaker stressed that decentralising the Army University will lead to development and reduce crime rate in all the six geo-political zones of the country. She added that the beneficiary communities where the proposed campuses would be sited would also gladly donate land for the takeoff of the campuses.

Stella Oduah

Senator Oduah Stella is a former Minister of Aviation, who served under the regime of President Goodluck Jonathan until 2014. At the 2019 general election, Oduah was elected to represent Anambra North at the Ninth Assembly. So far, Oduah has moved a motion alongside five other Senators on the need to establish a Visionary Budget-Driven National Planning Framework for Nigeria. She had also sponsored some bills such as Private Hospitals Regulation Bill 2019, Marriage Act (Repeal and Re-enactment) Bill 2019, Nigerian Latin Village Ibadan (Est) Bill 2019, Protection of Personal Information Bill, 2019, National Religious Equity Commission (Est.etc), Bill 2019, Private Hospitals Regulation Bill, 2019, South East Development Commission (Est. etc.) Bill, 2019, Constituency Projects (Budgetary Provisions) Bill, 2019, and Integrated Rural Development Agency (Est. etc) Bill, 2019.

Betty Apiafi

Senator Betty Apiafi, who represents Rivers West, has also sponsored many bills and motions including Criminal Code Act (Amendment) Bill 2019, Federal Medical Centres (Est. etc.) Bill, 2019, Marketing (Breast Milk Substitute) Act (Amendment) Bill 2019, Tertiary Education Trust Fund Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019, Police Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019. She also moved some notable motions such as a motion on the urgent need to intervene in the mysterious deaths in Bonny Island, motion on the need to monitor the Nigerian Flare Commercialisation Programme towards ending Gas Flaring by 2020 and a motion on the 2020 International Women's Day.

Oluremi Tinubu

Another active legislator in the Ninth senate is Senator Oluremi Tinubu. She is a former first Lady of Lagos State and represents Lagos Central Senatorial District since 2011. Over the years, the series of bills she had supported and sponsored showed her commitment to her principles. In the Ninth Senate, Tinubu, who chairs the Senate Committee on Communications, has sponsored bills like Criminal Code Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019 and Lagos State Special Economic Assistance Programme (Establishment) Bill, 2019.

Abiodun Olujimi

Worthy of mention is Senator Abiodun Olujimi, who is regarded as one of the most experienced female politicians in Nigeria. In the 2019 general elections, she initially lost her seat representing Ekiti South to the APC candidate. However, the State Assembly Election Tribunal and the Appeal Court later declared her winner of the Ekiti South Senatorial District and was sworn in to the Nigerian Senate by the President of the Senate, Dr. Ahmad Lawan on November 14, 2019.

A former deputy governor of Ekiti State and immediate past Senate Minority Leader, Olujimi on the floor of the Senate has proven an active voice in sponsoring bills with direct effects on not just her people but the generality of Nigerians. She retained the hope for gender inclusiveness and balance in political participation and demography, by reintroducing the gender equality bill. The bill was first rejected in March 2016, when some lawmakers argued that the Nigerian Constitution was clear on the rights of all citizens whether male or female. The bill is titled, 'Gender and Equal Opportunity Bill, 2019'.

Aishatu Dahiru

A first-time member of the Red Chamber, Senator Aishatu Dahiru, who represents Adamawa Central senatorial district, is a former member of the House of Representatives representing Yola North/Yola South/Girei federal constituency as a member of the People's Democratic Party in the Seventh Assembly (2011-2015). As a senator in the Ninth Assembly, she sponsored the Modibo Adama University of Technology (Est. etc.) Bill, 2019 and Fiscal Responsibility Commission (Est. etc.) Bill 2019.

Eyakenyi Akon

Another first-time female Senator is Eyakenyi Akon, who represents Akwa Ibom South senatorial district in Akwa Ibom State. A former Minister during the Goodluck Jonathan administration, she sponsored the motion urging the Federal Government and stakeholders to establish computer facilities for proper training of pupils and students in computer knowledge. Akon is also one of the Senators that strongly condemned the anti-social media and hate speech Bills, when they were subjected to debate at plenary.

Nkeiruka Onyejeocha

In the House of Representatives, Hon. Nkeiruka Onyejeocha is a ranking and active lawmaker was first elected member of the House for Isuikwuato/Umunneochi federal constituency of Abia State in 2007, and later re-elected in 2015 and 2019. She often contributes brilliantly to debates on critical national issues in the House and in the last one year, she has sponsored several bills and moved motions for the improvement of the lives of ordinary citizens and help safeguard their rights. Some of the bills she sponsored include, National Youth Service Corps Act (Amendment) Bill 2019,

Nigerian Assets Management Agency (Establishment) Bill 2019, Payment Systems Management Bill 2019, Peoples Bank of Nigeria Act (Repeal) Bill, 2019, Psychiatric Hospitals Management Board Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019, Related Products (Registration, Etc.) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019. Others are Asset Management Corporation of Nigeria Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019, Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (Alteration) Bill, 2019, Loans (State Development) (Repeal) Bill, 2019, National Eye Centre Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019.

The Deputy Chief Whip of the House also moved motions including the one on the need to investigate the spate of accidental discharges by security personnel and forestall the killing of innocent Nigerians, motion on the need to provide security for judicial officers in Nigeria, motion on the need to forestall air crash and near mishap, motion on call for immediate stoppage of human rights abuses, motion on growing gender based violence against Nigerian women, amongst others.

Tolulope Akande-Sadipe

Also vibrant in the legislative activities is Hon. Tolulope Akande-Sadipe. She was elected as the representative for Oluyole federal constituency, Oyo State at the 2019 general election and is currently the Chairman of the House Committee on Diaspora. Sadipe has gained recognition in the federal legislature for tough stance while engaging the executive during committee meetings. In the past one year, she has been in the forefront of diaspora matters, fostering a more mutually gratifying relationship between Nigeria and her citizens abroad. She has also been consistent in the fight against human trafficking, organ trafficking and maltreatment of Nigerians in Diaspora. Sadipe has made some legislative and diaspora contributions in the Ninth House and some of her achievements include moving motion on the need to ascertain Nigeria in Diaspora remittances and its impact on the nation's economy, motion on recent attacks on Nigerian Traders in Circle Market, Ghana. She moved the

motion on the need to release abused Nigerian women in Lebanon prevented from returning home, amendment of a motion to tackle sexual harassment of children and minors, Amendment of a motion on the issue of insecurity in Zamfara State to be all-inclusive across the nation. Other legislative interventions by Sadipe include her contribution at plenary on the Issue of Xenophobia, where she urged the federal government to create additional air lifting opportunities to evacuate Nigerian citizens, who are stranded in South Africa.

She contributed at the debate on the recent increase in the spate of sexual violence against women and girls, proposed an amendment to advocate for security officers to be held culpable if they used their office to aid and abet a rapist. She also sponsored a petition on the floor for the rescue of four missing Nigerians in Cameroon and Gabon, Petition on the floor and Appeal to the Saudi Government over the release of Sulaimon Olufemi who had been forgotten on death row in Saudi Arabia. She steered the legislative mandates of the committee on Diaspora to take cognizance of oversight functions in line with new international realities. Oversight Hearing with the National Identity Management Commission (NIMC) to discuss their mode of operations in the diaspora, Investigative hearing with relevant agencies, Engaged the relevant agencies on the issue of Nigerians Detained at The Maca Prison, Yipogan Town, Abidjan, Côte D'ivoire, Engaged the relevant agencies on the Nigerians Girls Discovered in Modern Slavery in Lebanon And Oman.

Miriam Onuoha

Hon. Miriam Onuoha represents Isiala Mbanu/Onuimo/Okigwe federal constituency in Imo State. The lawmaker sponsored the Cannabis Control Bill 2020, (a bill which seeks to regulate the cultivation, possession, availability and trade in cannabis for medical and research purposes).

She also moved a motion of urgent national importance on the need to increase security presence in Okigwe zone to forestall occurrences of unwanted killings of innocent constituents. Recently, with the rising rape scourge, she proposed special courts and speedy trials for rapists.

Onuh Onyeche Blessing

Hon. Onuh Onyeche Blessing, the daughter of retired politician and former Senate President David Mark, defeated her uncle Johnson Egli Ahubi to become the representative for Otupo/Ohimini federal constituency in Benue State. As a lawmaker in the Ninth House, she has sponsored some motions including the one on the need to tackle the assault and rape of minors and motion on the urgent need to investigate the abandonment of Ahmadu Bello way (federal road) in Otukpo, federal constituency, Benue State.

Zainab Gimba

Hon. Zainab Gimba defeated four men, including an incumbent, to clinch the ticket for the House of Representatives under APC. She eventually went on to win the seat at the general election to become representative for Bama, Ngala, Kala-Balge federal constituency, Borno State. In the past one year, Hon. Gimba has sponsored some bills such as the Federal Housing Authority Act (Repeal and Enactment) Bill, 2019 and the Nigerian Institute of Management Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019. She also moved the motion calling on JAMB to review the policy on the use of NIN for prospective applicants until 2021 and the motion on the need to address the worsening plight of IDPs and returnees.

Olukemi Oluga

Hon Olukemi Oluga, representing Ayedaade/Irewole/Isokan Federal Constituency of Osun State is another active lawmaker. She had previously served as Special Adviser on Tourism and Culture under the administration of Rauf Aregbesola in Osun State. She's currently the Chairman, House Committee on Women in Parliament. In the last one year, she moved two motions on the plight of disengaged N-power beneficiaries and the need to improve access of Nigeria students to quality basic education.

She also sponsored several bills including a Bill on National Assembly Budget and Research budget; NASBRO, Bill on Patent & Design Act, 2020; Women's Representation in Legislative Houses Bill, 2020; Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (Alteration) Bill, 2020 (HB. 796); Federal College of Education, Gbongan (Establishment) Bill, 2020 and Bill on Price Control Act (Amendment) Bill, 2020.

Lynda Ikpeazu

Hon. Lynda Ikpeazu, is one of the most visible lawmakers in the Ninth House of Representatives. The ex-beauty queen turned politician is representing Onitsha North/South federal constituency of Anambra State.

She was first elected in 1999, where she served a single term that ended in 2003. Ikpeazu returned to the House in 2015 and won re-election in 2019. She is currently the Chairman of the House Committee on Maritime Safety.

Some of the bills she's sponsored in the past one year include Federal Medical Centre, Onitsha, Anambra (Establishment) Bill, 2019, Judgment Debt (Payment Guidelines) Bill, 2019, Judgment Debt (Payment Guidelines) Bill 2019, National Metallurgical Training Institute, Onitsha, Bill, 2019, and United Nations Convention on Arms Trade Treaty Bill, 2019. The aforementioned female

lawmakers are few of those that have contributed in no small measures in making the Ninth National Assembly come alive in the last one year through their sponsorship of bills and motions and active participation in committee works as well as other legislative interventions of the Assembly.

All of these bills, both the bills awaiting a passage, and the bills negated, if they have been passed into law, just like the compulsory treatment of gunshots victims was passed and signed into law by the president, the Nigerian society would have experienced growth and development.

4.3 Data Analysis

4.3.1 Responses on the Level of advocacy for more women in Parliament

Table 10. Responses on the Level of advocacy for more women in Parliament

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Very High | 20 | 16.67 |
| High | 50 | 41.67 |
| Undecided | 20 | 16.67 |
| Low | 20 | 16.67 |
| Very Low | 10 | 8.33 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |

Source: Researcher's survey, 2022.

From the table above, 16.67% of the respondents argued that the level of awareness on the level of advocacy so far for more women in parliament was very high. As good as 41.67% rated their awareness level as high while those who were undecided in their view had 16.67% of the respondents. Also 16.67% of the respondents were of the view that their awareness level was low while the

remaining 8.33% opined that such level was very low. Therefore, with 58.33% of the respondents holding the view that they are aware on the existence of different forms of advocacy for more women in Parliament in the study area, we could strongly say that my responses from the respondents were liable as they come largely from people with idea of the subject matter.

4.3.2 Responses on if women are given more opportunities to be in Parliament, the masses would benefit better from the bills and laws made in the National Assembly.

Table 11. Responses on if women are given more opportunities to be in Parliament, the masses would benefit better from the bills and laws made in the National Assembly.

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agreed | 40 | 33.33 |
| Agreed | 35 | 29.17 |
| Undecided | 15 | 12.5 |
| Disagreed | 20 | 16.67 |
| Strongly Disagreed | 10 | 8.33 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |

Source: Researcher’s Survey, 2022.

It was evident that 33.33% of the respondents have a perception that they strongly agreed that if women are given more opportunities to be in Parliament, the masses would benefit better from the bills and laws made in the National Assembly. Also, 29.17% of the respondents agreed with such assertion. Only 12.5% of the respondents were undecided. However, about 16.67% and 8.33% of the respondents “Disagreed” and “Strongly Agreed” respectively on the assertion. This indicates that

most of the respondents did not accept that if more women are elected into the National Assembly, the masses (especially the female gender) would not benefit more from the bills sponsored.

4.3.3 Responses from the four categories were required to express their views regarding the rights women have to participate in the Nigerian Parliament.

Table 12. Responses on the Rights Women have to participate in Parliament.

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agreed | 10 | 8.33 |
| Agreed | 15 | 12.5 |
| Undecided | 10 | 8.33 |
| Disagreed | 35 | 29.17 |
| Strongly Disagreed | 50 | 41.67 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |

Source: Researcher's Survey, 2022.

The table above showed that 8.33% of the respondent's sample were of the view that women have equal rights to participate in Politics/Parliament while 12.5% agreed that women have equal rights in politics. Although 8.33% of the respondents were undecided, about 29.17% rated that women do not have equal rights against their male counterparts while the remaining 41.67% of the respondents strongly disagreed. This therefore indicates that Nigerian women have not been given equal rights to participate in Politics.

4.3.4 Responses on the rate of constituency projects rendered by these female Legislators in the 8th and 9th National Assemblies.

Table 13. Response on the rate of Constituency projects rendered by these female Legislators in the 8th and 9th National Assemblies.

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---------------------|-----------|------------|
| Very Qualitative | 20 | 16.67 |
| Qualitative | 35 | 29.17 |
| Undecided | 15 | 12.5 |
| Un-qualitative | 30 | 25 |
| Very Un-qualitative | 20 | 16.67 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |

Source: Researcher's Survey, 2022

The data in the table above showed that 16.67% of the respondent's sample were of the view that the rate of constituency projects rendered by these female Legislators in the 8th and 9th National Assemblies were very qualitative services in their communities, while as high as 29.17% opined that such services could be rated as qualitative. Although 12.5% of the respondents were undecided, about 25% rated the service as un-qualitative while the remaining 16.67% of the respondents rated such level as very un-qualitative. This therefore indicates that the performance of some of the female Legislators were relatively low.

4.3.5 Responses to indicate whether the 8th and 9th National Female Legislators contributed to the provision of basic social amenities in their different states of origin.

Table 14. Response on provision of basic social amenities by female Legislators in their different states of origin.

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| Strongly Agreed | 15 | 12.5 |
| Agreed | 25 | 20.83 |
| Undecided | 30 | 25 |
| Disagreed | 20 | 16.67 |
| Strongly Disagreed | 30 | 25 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |

Source: Researcher's Survey, 2022.

From the table above, 12.5% of the respondents strongly agreed that female Legislators contributed to the provision of basic social amenities in their different states of origin. Those that agreed with such assertion were 20.83%. However, 25% were undecided. About 16.67% disagreed with such assertion while the remaining 25% strongly disagreed with the assertion. Thus, looking at the trend of the responses, we can infer that more constituency projects need to be carried out by these Legislators.

4.3.6 Respondents were also asked to express their level of agreement on the assertion that if they are more female Legislators in the National Assembly, they would sponsor more female gender related bills.

Table 15. Response on if more women are elected into the National Assembly, more female gender related bills would be sponsored.

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agreed | 50 | 41.67 |
| Agreed | 45 | 37.5 |
| Undecided | 15 | 12.5 |
| Disagreed | 7 | 5.83 |
| Strongly Disagreed | 3 | 2.5 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |

Source: Researcher's Survey, 2022

From the table above, 41.67% of the respondents argued that they strongly agreed with the assertion that if more women are elected into the National Assembly, more female gender related bills would be sponsored. A set of 37.5% expressed their agreement on the issue. Also 12.5% were undecided. However, a set of 5.83% disagreed with such assertion. But the remaining 2.5% expressed their strong disagreement. Thus, we can infer here that, more female gender related bills would be sponsored and passed into law if more female Legislators are available to sponsor the bill.

4.3.7 Responses on the level/importance of bills sponsored by the 8th National Assembly Female Legislators.

Table 16. Responses on the level/importance of bills sponsored by the 8th National Assembly Female Legislators.

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|------------------|-----------|------------|
| Very Effective | 30 | 25 |
| Effective | 20 | 16.67 |
| Undecided | 30 | 25 |
| Ineffective | 25 | 20.83 |
| Very Ineffective | 15 | 12.5 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |

Source: Researcher's survey, 2022

From the responses above, it was clear that 25% of the respondents rated the effectiveness of the level/importance of bills sponsored by the 8th National Assembly female Legislators as very effective while 16.67% rated it as effective, 25% were undertaken. However, about 20.83% of the respondents rated such level to be ineffective while the remaining 12.5% rated it as very ineffective. Although majority rated the effectiveness of the level/importance of bills sponsored by the 8th National Assembly female Legislators as ineffective, we can still say that, these few female Legislators to some extent have intervened and contributed to the development of the Nation in the study area.

4.3.8 Responses on the level/importance of bills sponsored by the 9th National Assembly Female Legislators.

Table 17. Responses on the level/importance of bills sponsored by the 9th National Assembly female Legislators.

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Very Effective | 30 | 25 |
| Effective | 15 | 12.5 |
| Undecided | 20 | 16.67 |
| Ineffective | 30 | 25 |
| Very Ineffective | 25 | 20.83 |
| Total | 120 | 100 |

Source: Researcher's survey, 2022

From the responses in the table above, it states that 25% of the respondents rated the effective of the level/importance of bills sponsored by the 9th National Assembly female Legislators as very effective while 12.5% rated it as effective, 16.67 were undertaken. However, about 30% of the respondents rated such level to be ineffective while the remaining 20% rated it as very ineffective.

4.4 Hindrances to women's participation in the parliament

Generally, in Africa, the number of women involved in politics is quite low when compared to the rate at which women participate in political processes and governance in other parts of the world like Europe and America. There are several factors responsible for this. They include:

Gender discrimination: There is discrimination on the basis of gender in terms of membership in the Nigeria's National Assembly in particular and Nigeria's politics in general. Although the 1999 amended Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria gave equal political, economic, social, cultural, religious and civic rights to all citizens of the country regardless of gender, we are yet to see this in reality, especially in politics.

Historically, after Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999, there were only three (3) female senators in the Senate out of its one hundred and nine (109) members. In the year 2007, the number increased to eight, but reduced to seven in 2015 and 2019 (i.e. in the eighth and ninth National Assemblies). In the House of Representatives in 1999, only twelve (12) out of the three hundred and sixty members were female. In 2011, 2015 and 2019, the number of women in the House were fifteen (15), twenty-two (22) and eleven (11) respectively.

Furthermore, things were this way also as a result of the patriarchal realities in some Nigerian (and African) communities. "We all know that traditions, customs, sexual stereotyping of social roles and cultural prejudice" in many societies/communities "continue to militate against enjoyment of rights and full participation of women on an equal basis with men in national development of Africa.

Also, it is on the basis of these patriarchal realities of most Nigerian cultures that the Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari said, while on a state visit to Germany, that his wife belongs to his kitchen and the other rooms.

This presupposes that the activities of women should not go beyond the confines of their husbands "kitchens" and "other rooms". Fapohunda (2017) on his part noted that gender stereotyping is so entrenched in the Nigerian culture and it is frequently imperceptible.

Also, women have been viewed as weaker vessels to men. The emotional and psychological stress that is attached to maternity has been seen by some as the reason why women should be "excluded"

or given less or peripheral political positions. In affirmation, Awajiusuk (2015:99) worded that “gender has over the years, portrayed women as weaker sex. The concept of gender represents the woman as one who is superficial with mainly fashion, beauty and little for deep thinking”.

Religious Factor: Religion is also a powerful factor that militates and mitigates women’s participation and involvement in Nigeria’s political process. Orthodox Christianity, Islam and most traditional religions in Nigeria preach women’s submissiveness to their husbands, and highly support men’s rulership over their families, clans, villages, states and country. The truth is that if at all women were to get involved in politics, these religions note that their involvement should not go beyond holding peripheral political positions. Hence, Bolanle (2018) writes:

“The two major religions in the country (Christianity and Islam) preach that women should be submissive and by implication are not expected to be leaders, further enhancing their political marginalization”.

Expressing her humble and scholarly view on this, Oloyede Oluyemi, in a paper titled

“Monitoring Participation of Women in Politics in Nigeria”, states that:

“Both Christianity and Islam do not accord women much role in public life... However, they (women) are not to be seen in public domain. And so, it is a challenge to women participation in politics, more so, women found in the corridor of politics are not often religious in practice”.

Fund or Economic Factor: Politics generally is very costly, but it’s “costlier” in Nigeria.

Vying for political offices in Nigeria is like climbing Kilimanjaro for men talk more of women. In other words, contesting for political offices in the country is mountainous and a herculean task for men who are deemed more financial buoyant than their women counterparts. In short, most Nigerian

women do not have the financial wherewithal to contest for political positions. For example, to register and obtain a form to vie for Senatorial and House of Representative seats cost 4 million Naira and 1.5 million Naira respectively (for PDP), while that of APC's Senatorial and House of Representatives forms were 7 million Naira and 3.85 million Naira respectively for the 2019 general elections (NAIJ.com, 2018). But this does not end there because campaigns had to be carried out, and billboards, posters, and fliers printed, and all these requires huge amount of money. During elections, it is a ritual in most places in Nigeria that if voters are not properly given handouts, and electoral officers well bribed, there is every tendency that one might lose in such places. On the basis of this monetization of Nigerian politics, the assumption of the National Assembly seats by substantial number of women becomes a mirage in Nigeria.

Violence: Violence characterizes Nigerian politics. The rate of violence and brutality in Nigerian politics is too high that not every woman can withstand it. In support of this assertion, Bolenle (2018) remarked that Nigerian politics is marred by political violence and intimidation of both voters and candidates during elections, further hindering women's participation.

Biological Roles: The demands imposed by women's biological roles of child bearing and rearing might also inhibit their participation in politics. Moreover, when they do venture into politics, they are likely to avoid elective positions that are time consuming and prefer to provide logistical support.

Dual Nativity: The Nigerian Constitution grants women dual nativity. This means that they have equal rights in both their place of birth and those of their husbands. Although some are of the opinion that this gives women an edge in politics, in reality, it is a hindrance because women do not know

where they truly belong. In her place of birth, her kinsmen might not vote for her due to the cultural belief that she ceases to be part of them as soon as her bride price is paid. Equally, her husband's kinsmen might not recognize her as one of them.

The Demands of Politics: Politics is time consuming and involves traveling and meetings that could last late into the night. This discourages women from entering politics as responsible wives are expected to be home taking care of their family. Moreover, Nigerian politics is marred by political violence and intimidation of both voters and candidates during elections, further hindering women's participation.

Stigmatization of Women in Politics: Given the political environment in Nigeria, many believe that politicians have no regard for human rights. The fact that politics is male dominated leads to misconceptions that the few women in their midst can only make headway if they compromise their virtue. Hence, they are regarded as being of easy virtue and culturally rebellious, among other things (Nwabunkeonye, 2014, p. 287).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This chapter deals with the summary of findings gathered during the course of this research study. It discussed subjects such as the conclusion of study as well as recommendations which if adopted, it will improve the level of representation of woman in Nigeria's political scene. These subjects are explained in consequent parts of this chapter.

5.1 Summary of findings

The percentage of women's membership in the Nigerian National Assembly and their involvement in Nigerian politics when compared to their male counterparts is quite insignificant and unappealing; though, this ought not to be so. Therefore, in order to bring this pathetic situation to an end and/or to reduce it intensely and drastically, all the above barriers that are barriers to women's participation in Nigerian politics should be carefully examined and eliminated. In addition, Nigerian women should try and get rid of "inferiority complex", thereby considering themselves as equal gender to their male counterparts. They should also learn to eschew political apathy. In other words, they should stop being apolitical, and also lack of support to their fellow women who vie for seats in the National Assembly and other political positions in the country either at the National, State, or Local level. Lastly, gender equalization should not end at the slogan level; rather the section 17(1) of the Nigerian constitution which states that "The State social order is founded on ideals of Freedom, Equality and Justice" should be implemented to the full and to last in order for Women to get involved in the political processes, and vie and occupy different political offices (the Parliament inclusive) in the Nigerian state in a substantial figure. It was found that only 7 Female Senators were elected in the Senate in 2015 and 2019 elections respectively. Women constitute only a mere 6.4% of a total number of Legislators in the Senate. In the house of Representatives, out of 22 members of the House of

Representatives in the 8th Assembly, women's House of Representatives membership reduced to a mere eleven (11) in the 9th Assembly.

Objective two of the study analyzed the contributions made by female Legislators in Legislative activities in the 8th and 9th National Assembly and also stated the impact made in the Nigerian society as a result of the bills which were sponsored by these few women in the 8th and 9th National Assembly. This study has also made vigorous attempt to explain the situation of women as it concerns politics and other leadership positions. The study started with the historical dimension of women, their non-inclusion in political activities even though they have shown interest from the era of the Colonial Masters.

Discrimination against women resulting in their exploitation was traced to so many militating factors from tradition – culture, to male supremacy and preference in resource generation. International concern for the inclusion of women to developmental processes were also highlighted and this spurred the African nations vis Nigeria to action, and since then efforts of each government in power have been tremendous.

Nevertheless, a lot is still expected because the gap between men in politics and women in politics is still very wide. In answer to the research questions raised at the beginning of the study, it was hammered on that despite the discrimination and many social ills against women, they still participate in political activities in various forms.

Mention of some great women who were involved in politics long ago in the developed countries, those who are still in politics and also great Nigerian women that have always participated in Political activities, irrespective of the inhibitions against them were made.

5.2 Conclusion

The impact of women in Nigerian Parliament is a topic of importance. Politically, women have been relegated to the background, despite the tremendous effort put forward by government and non-governmental organizations following the declaration made at the fourth World Conference on women in Beijing, which advocated 30% affirmative action and National Gender Policy (NGP) recommendation of 35% affirmative action for a more inclusive representation of women both in elective and appointive positions. It is worthy to note that Nigerian women are still being marginalized due to the style of leadership inherent in the country. Despite the obstacles women are facing, women activism and advocacy, education of women, positivity on the part of successive governments towards women empowerment and interest of women to participate in politics is getting a lot of positive energy. This is an indication that the participation of women in politics has a bright future. Therefore, the relevant stakeholders are advised to advocate for the protection of women from abuse, empower them economically and politically and review the necessary legislations to accommodate the growing interest of women in politics both elective and appointive positions.

5.3 Recommendations

This section drafts recommendations based on the objective of this research study on Women's representation in Nigeria's 8th and 9th National Assembly, an assessment of their contribution to Legislative activities. Findings from the first objective of this research report indicates that Nigerian women suffered low representation in the National Assembly and in order to bring this pathetic situation to an end and/or to reduce it dramatically and drastically, all the listed barriers highlighted in this research work that hinder women's participation in Nigerian politics should be carefully examined and eliminated. In addition, Nigerian women should get rid of "inferiority complex", and

begin to see themselves as equal gender to their male counterparts. They should also learn to eschew political apathy. In other words, they should stop being apolitical, and also learn to support their fellow women who vie for National Assembly seats and other political positions in the country whether at the national, state, or local level. Gender equalization should not end at the slogan level; rather the section 17(1) of the Nigerian constitution which states that “The State social order is founded on ideals of Freedom, Equality and Justice” should be implemented to the full and to last in order for women to get involved in the political processes, and vie and occupy different political offices (The parliament inclusive) in the Nigerian state in a substantial figure.

Apparently, from data presented above, the issue of women’s political participation vis-à-vis the benchmarked 35 percent affirmative action is in reverse. At all levels, the quest for equal representation seems utopic since the return to democracy in 1999. Rather than sustaining gains, women’s representation has increasingly witnessed a downward trend. And in some cases where it maintained an upward trend, representation is very low as it is yet to become commensurate with the investment made by different stakeholders since 1999 to improve women’s involvement in public offices. More so, there are political positions that are strictly considered no-go-area for women. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) reported that in 2017, Nigeria's population growth rate is projected at 193 million out of which women constitute 49%. Still, women hardly represent 10% of those in elective positions in the country.

Unfortunately, some have attributed low representation of women in politics to women’s lack of capacity to lead and interest in politics, to mention a few. However, evidence debunks these explanations and suggests to the contrary. Nigeria is endowed with women who have showcased extraordinary leadership capacity; those who have made headway in their various endeavour despite enduring societal challenges confronting them.

In a bid to improve women's involvement in political offices, it is imperative to see what lessons that could be learned from states, zones, and regions where relatively huge successes have been recorded. For example, 35.3% of 17 States in the Southern region have women as deputy governors with most of this coming from South West Nigeria. Also, while the south west geo-political zone recorded the highest number of women representatives (22.2%) in the Senate, women representing the south-south in the House of Representatives constitute 14.5% of the total number of seats available for the zone. It is therefore essential that we interrogate and better understand the political environment and underlining factors that necessitated this development to enhance the capacity to build on the gains and develop a robust pathway for enhancing women's participation in the country.

Political parties also constitute an essential institution in determining women's political participation as they play the role of gate-keepers for women's inclusion/exclusion in legislative and deliberative bodies of the state. More prominent, established parties tend to be more internally undemocratic as they have more structures and linkages that advantage male candidates and disadvantage female contestants, especially in the absence of party mandated sex quotas. This has been the case in Nigeria where only two big parties have won elections and ruled the country since the Fourth Republic. Although most elective offices currently occupied by women were gained through the two dominant political parties – the APC (All Peoples Congress) and PDP (Peoples Democratic Party), women could leverage the opportunities presented by the newly emerging smaller parties that create a broader political space for projecting women's voices.

Findings from the objective two shows that women also played major roles in the promotion of bills for the betterment of the Nigerian society but most gender related bills sponsored by women in a male dominated parliament are either overlooked or get predominantly the male gender perspectives to

addressing them. As a result of this, this study will also highlight below the following recommendations to address these challenges.

Following the trends and happenings around the political environment in Nigeria, it is becoming clearer that women may never achieve the mandated 30% affirmation as enshrined in the Beijing plan of action except the following recommendations are adhered to:

Political parties should create a support network for prospective aspirants by pairing them with established women politicians who will be playing key roles as mentors and provide capacity building for young or aspiring female politicians as to enhance and develop them ahead of subsequent elections.

Building mass Coalition of women support and advocacy groups using NGOs and Grassroots women associations to coordinate support and advocacy for fellow women aspirants

To create an enabling environment that allows women to engage meaningfully in the decision-making process in a sustainable and effective way that is free from violence and harassments of any kind.

Establishment of legal funds to assist women politicians to challenge electoral malpractices of any form at all levels of political processes.

Introducing a quota system at all levels of government and identifying and engaging relevant stakeholders such as the Independent National Electoral Commission and political parties to ensure strict adherence to it.

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03

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE ON WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN NIGERIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: AN ASSESSMENT OF THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES (A CASE STUDY OF THE 8TH AND 9TH ASSEMBLY)

Dear Respondent,

I am a student in the Department of Masters in Legislative Studies, National Institute for Legislative and Democratic studies, undertaking a research on **“WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN NIGERIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: AN ASSESSMENT OF THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES (A CASE STUDY OF THE 8TH AND 9TH ASSEMBLY)”**

It will be highly appreciated if you fill the attached questionnaire form and I assure you that all information provided would be used purely for academic purpose and shall be treated with absolute confidentiality. Thanks, in anticipation of your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Eke Blessing Onyinyechi

(PG/NLS/1900055)

SECTION A

1. How would you rate your level of advocacy for more women in parliament?

Very High [] High [] Undecided [] Low [] Very low []

2. Do you agree that if women are given more opportunities to be in parliament, the masses would benefit better from the bills and laws made in the National Assembly?

Strongly Agreed [] Agreed [] Undecided [] Disagree [] Strongly Disagreed []

3. Do you think women have been given equal rights to participate in parliament?

Strongly Agreed [] Agreed [] Undecided [] Disagree [] Strongly Disagreed []

4. What would be your assessment on the rate of constituency projects rendered by these female Legislators in the 8th and 9th Assemblies?

Very Qualitative [] Qualitative [] Undecided [] Unqualitative [] Very Unqualitative []

5. Do you agree that the Female Legislators contributed to the provision of basic social amenities in their different states of origin?

Strongly Agreed [] Agreed [] Undecided [] Disagree [] Strongly Disagreed []

6. Do you agree that if there are more female Legislators in the National Assembly, they would sponsor more female gender related bills?

Strongly Agreed [] Agreed [] Undecided [] Disagree [] Strongly Disagreed []

7. How would you rate the level/importance of bills sponsored by the eight (8th) National Assembly female Legislators?

Very Effective [] Effective [] Undecided [] Ineffective [] Very Ineffective []

8. How would you rate the level/importance of bills sponsored by ninth (9th) National Assembly female Legislators?

Very Effective [] Effective [] Undecided [] Ineffective [] Very Ineffective []

9. In your own view, what do you think are the factors militating against women winning seats in parliamentary elections?

10. Suggest remedies to the factors mentioned above.

Appendix II

ELECTED WOMEN IN EXECUTIVE POSITIONS AS AT 2019

SUMMARY

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Executive Positions: | 4 (Four) Deputy Governors |
| National Assembly | 18 (Senators (7) HOR Members (11)) |
| State Assembly | 40 members |
| TOTAL | 62 ELECTED WOMEN AT NATIONAL AND STATE LEVELS IN NIGERIA |

Table 18. ELECTED WOMEN IN EXECUTIVE POSITIONS

| S/N | Name | State | Position/Party |
|-------|---|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Mrs. Salako Oyedele Noimot Olurotimi | Ogun State | Deputy Governor /APC |
| 2 | Mrs. Hadiza Balarabe | Kaduna State | Deputy Governor / APC |
| 3 | Mrs. Ceceilia Ezeilo | Enugu State | Deputy Governor / PDP |
| 4 | Dr. Ipalibo Gogo Banigo | Rivers State | Deputy Governor / PDP |
| Total | | | 4(Four) |

APPENDIX III

Fig 3. NIGERIAN WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS

