

**WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN SELECTED COMMITTEES OF THE 8TH AND  
9TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

**BY**

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## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled “Women, Leadership and Performance: A study of women representation in selected committees of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly” by Ene Vincent-Orugbo, meets the requirement governing the award of the Master Degree in Legislative Studies ( NILDS/UNIBEN), and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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## DECLARATION

I, **Ene Vincent-Orugbo**, hereby declare that this dissertation was solely carried out by me under the supervision of **Dr. Terfa Abraham**. All texts consulted and other sources of materials used in this work have been duly acknowledged in the references provided. This project has never been submitted to any Institution for an award.

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## **APPROVAL PAGE**

This is to certify that this research project has been carefully supervised, read, assessed and approved as having met the necessary conditions required for the award of Masters in Legislative Studies, in the NILDS-UNIBEN Postgraduate Programme.

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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to God for His Awesome Grace and Blessings in the course of running this programme.

Also to my Father, Mr. John Iwodi DCP, (*Rtd*) and my mother Ms Patience Ikpeme who served as willing springboards towards my academic odyssey.

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## **Abstract**

According to National Bureau of Statistics (2016), since the inception of democracy in 1999 women have never occupied the presidency or vice presidency positions in the history of Nigeria. Women in Nigeria hold less than 8% of major decision making positions in government and as a result the National Assembly has an inexcusably low representation of women. Therefore the first objective of this study examined the representation of women in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National assembly and while many studies focused on women parliamentary representations in Nigeria, this study was not limited to parliamentary representation alone, it also examined the distribution and representation of women in committee leadership of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly and examined the performance of committees chaired by women in comparison to their male counterparts in the eighth and ninth National Assembly respectively. Consequently, this study focused on women legislative representation in Nigeria since the commencement of the Eighth and Ninth Assembly respectively (2015-2019 and 2019 till date) and investigated the levels of women Legislative committee representation in the National Assembly and factors that explains this.

This study used a descriptive survey research design and adopted both primary and secondary sources of data collection, data analysis was done using descriptive statistical analysis while the questionnaires collected were processed using the Statistical package for Social Science (SPSS) and STATA. The study was carried out through key informant interview (KII) and administration of questionnaires to Legislators, selected staff of the National Assembly, and stakeholders such as civil society organizations within the National Assembly e.g PLAC, CISLAC as well as visitors of the National Assembly who understand the variables of this study. One hundred and eighty six (186) population size and sample size using census sampling, were as (186) questionnaires were administered in the case study area out of which

111 representing 60% response rate was received. A combination of purposive and random sampling technique was adopted for the study in view of the adequate knowledge of the population and sample size.

Objective one (Representation of women in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly) Results from the study showed that women make up lower than 30% of the overall assemblies population and below the National Gender Policy in Nigeria.

Findings from objective two (distribution and representation of women in committee leadership at the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly) also revealed that not all women elected into the legislature had committee leadership positions despite their few numbers, qualifications and experience.

Objective three (performance of committees chaired by women in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly) the study noted that men had more waves in their performance in committee leadership than their female counterparts. This findings were achieved from comparing committees chaired by women in the eight assembly to the same committees that are now being chaired by men in the ninth National Assembly. Based on the findings of the study, the performance of men in committee leadership is attributed to the wide range of representation by men in the legislature leaving very little space for women to air their interests and make the necessary positive impacts to equate their male counterparts.

In view of these findings, some recommendations offered in the study include implementation of deliberate policies and legislations that target women quotas and affirmative action, elimination of structural barriers to women's participation, reducing the cost of political participation, reforming the electoral process, and sustained and systematic gender education

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

Democratic process requires the participation of all citizens. Any deviation to this renders any attempt in promoting democracy as just other forms of fostering the social and political norms that created an unfair and unequal power sharing between men and women. This results in unequitable social policies and unfair political processes. 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 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 labour market, and promotes economic and development growth. Many women around the world still lack basic human rights and face discrimination and gender-based violence. The world's parliaments are no exception. With a global average of 25 per cent women, most parliaments remain male-dominated, and women MPs are often under-represented on decision-making bodies and the composition of parliamentary committees.

When the citizens make choices in politics and the rights, they exercise in choosing their leaders and consequently holding government to account is described as participation. Participation, therefore, often includes forming political associations, voting, taking part in decision-making, holding party or public offices and partaking in other political processes, etc. (Milbrath, 1965). Parliaments consist of people who are either duly elected or appointed to represent the people through the performance of core functions that include making laws, providing effective oversight of the executive and ensuring that policies and laws of government are responsive to the needs of the electorate.

Several arguments for greater women participation have been advanced. Delving and Elgie (2008, p. 237) note that whereas there is little evidence that increased women's representation changes policy output, "women add new dimensions to the policy agenda." They cited the Rwandan crisis, which created huge gaps within the male political structure of that country allowing women to make major inroads into politics. Pande and Ford (2011) argue that women are unique in political representation due to certain features including their style of political behaviour. They note that women legislators are mostly engaged with constituency work and problem-solving. There is concordance in the views of Rosenthal (2001), Shevchenko (2002) and Karam and Lovenduski (2005): They suggest that women apply democratic ideals in their leadership and conflict resolution styles and tend to work in a less hierarchical and more collaborative manner than their male colleagues.



## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite limited empirical evidence, there is a growing recognition of the untapped capacity and talents of women and women's leadership (NDI, 2010). An Inter-Parliamentary Union Report (2016) suggests that elections in Europe have resulted in an increase in women's parliamentary representation. The regional average of women across Europe (both houses combined) increased from 25.4 per cent in 2015 to 26.3 per cent (+0.9 per cent points). This increase has been attributed to "a strong undercurrent of disillusionment with traditional political parties". Ndlovu and Mutale (2013) also argue that despite significant improvement in women in political participation in Africa, the gap in comparison to their male counterparts remains colossal. In Nigeria, however, despite constituting 50% of the population and playing key roles in election processes particularly grassroots mobilization and campaigns, women remain largely under-represented in both elective and appointive positions. The proportion of women increased slightly in appointive and elective positions from 1999-2015 but it was very low. According to National Bureau of Statistics (2016), since the inception of democracy in 1999 women have never occupied the presidency or vice presidency positions in the history of Nigeria. From 1999 to 2015 at the National Parliament there was 94.2% representation of male compare to 5.8% of female representation. Also, out of the 341 appointed ministerial positions from 1999-2015 about 84% were male and 14% were female. Meanwhile, the number of females appointed as ministers slightly increased to 15 in 2011 which the highest female has been appointed as ministers. The state assemblies from 1999-2015 have 94.7% of male compare to 5.3% of female. Just like the ministerial position, in 2011 there was slight increase of women in the state assembly. There were about 58 women in the state assembly which has the highest record of women from 1999 to present. Local government Chairpersons has 91% of male and 9% of female. Councilors has 5.9% of male and 94.1% of male.

Obstacles to women's political representation have been identified to include socio-cultural factors such as traditional beliefs; negative perception of women in politics; anti-egalitarian practices; religion and patriarchy (Lovenduski& Norris, 2003); economic limitations such as poverty, poor financial base; institutional and political constraints including electoral systems. and political party structures (Agishi, 2014; PLAC, 2018). Others are violence; aversion to politics by some women and low self-esteem (Willis, 2014); and lack of support for women politicians both from family members and other institutional structures (Ballington&Karam, 2005; Karam&Lovenduski, 2005; Nwabunkeonye, 2014).

Political participation as a human right grants citizen to participate in the decision and policy processes that concerns them directly or through their representative. This is enshrined in both the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Women Political Participation was later integrated in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1979. The article 7 called for the state parties to take appropriate steps to eliminate discrimination against women in both the political spheres by ensuring women and men have equal rights to vote and to be eligible to vote and to be eligible to held public office, to participate in the policy formulation and implementation, and to participate in non-governmental organizations.

However, the implementation of CEDAW lagged behind until the fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1975, which considers women in power and decision making as one of the twelve critical areas in its Platform of Action. The Platform of Action require states to commit themselves and to take measures to establish and to ensure that the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, in public administrative entities and in the judiciary by

setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women in order to achieving equal representation of women and men. In 1995, the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) endorsed a 30 percent target of women participation at decision-making levels. The increasing significance of women political participation was further recognized by its inclusion in both the Millennium Development Goals (goal 3) and in the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Many authors argue that the number of women in any political body is not important what matter is “critical acts” (Grey 2006, Dahlerup 1988, Lovenduski 2001) or “safe spaces” (Childs 2004). Grey (2006) posits that different critical masses are needed depending on the outcome sought (Grey 2006). Indeed, women holding 15% of seats in a political body can change the political agenda but they will need a proportion of 40% of seats to pass women’s friendly policies.

Nigerian women have encountered several challenges in the socio-political system. Thereby affecting their representation in the appointive and elective positions since independence. Though, since the inception of democratic practice there has been improvement in women’s participation in politics but limited. Notwithstanding, several measures have been taken by the government and non-governmental organizations advocating for the increase in women participation in politics, in conjunction with The United Nations Beijing Conference of 1995 which advocates for 30% affirmation action for women and the Nigerian National Gender Policy affirmation for 35% of women to be included in all levels of government. Despite this, there are still hindrances yet to be overcome.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

1. What is the distribution of women representation in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly?
2. What is the distribution of women representation in committee leadership of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly?
3. What is the performance of women as committee chairs in comparison to men in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The general objective of this study is to critically examine gender distribution in the National Assembly Committees with specific evidence from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Assembly. Specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Examine the distribution and representation of women in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly
2. Determine the distribution and representation of women in committee leadership at the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly.
3. Examine the performance of committees chaired by women in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly

### **1.5 Scope and Delimitation to the Study**

This study will commence from the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly (2015 to 2019) to the 9<sup>th</sup> Assembly (2019 till date). It will investigate the levels of representation of women in the National Assembly and also focus on women legislative representation as committee chairmen of the National Assembly within the stipulated period.

**The Committees under the scope of this study are listed below:**

- Committee of Cooperation and integration in Africa and NEPAD
- Committee of Police Affairs
- Committee of Women Affairs and Youth Development
- Committee of Diaspora and Non-governmental Organizations
- Committee of Education (Basic and Secondary)
- Committee of Culture and Tourism
- Committee of Environment
- Committee of Foreign Affairs
- Committee of State and local government
- Committee of Sustainable Development Goals
- Committee of Information and National Orientation
- Committee of Appropriation
- Committee of Trade and Investment
- Committee of Science and Technology
- Committee of Communication
- Committee of Health

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

Few studies arguably have touched this aspect of gender composition of the parliamentary committees in Nigeria as most of the study focused on challenges of women in parliament, quota system and increased participation. Giving the need for inclusive representation in legislative governance, examining the distribution of parliamentary committees by gender and assessing the effectiveness of committees by gender of leadership, would provide insight into how to revitalize committees for better service delivery in the National Assembly. Therefore, this study intends to contribute to existing knowledge on women in parliament and the literature on the committee system.

Also, the conclusion and recommendations of the study will be immeasurable to the Nigerian National Assembly being gender conscious in the representation of National Assembly Committees. This will also consolidate on the active role of civil society organizations in ensuring effective and efficient gender balance in the legislative and political processes in Nigeria.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the Conceptual Review, Empirical review and Theoretical framework.

#### 2.1 Conceptual Review

This section clarifies the major concepts of the variables of the study in order to demystify the basic variables of the study for easy understanding and comprehension of the major terms as would be regularly used in the discourse and analysis of the study.

##### 2.1.1 Gender

Gender refers to the economic, social, political, and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being women and men. The social definitions of what it means to be a woman or a man vary among cultures and change over time. Gender is a sociocultural expression of particular characteristics and roles that are associated with certain groups of people with reference to their sex and sexuality.

The concept of gender in feminist writings and other sociological discourses became popular in the early 1970. In simple terms, gender explain the differences between men and women in social terms as men, and as what a man can do; as „woman“, and as what a woman can or cannot do. Therefore, gender is an analytical category that is socially constructed to differentiate the biological difference between men and women. The term gender is also used to describe the differences in behaviour between men and women which are described as „masculine“ and „feminine“. Feminist writings focus on this aspect and claim that these differences are not biological but are social constructions of patriarchal society. Some theorists suggest that the biological differences between men and women also result in their mental and physical differences. They argue that biologically, men are physically and

mentally superior to women. Other theorists suggest that the biological difference between men and women are exaggerated. The differences are socially constructed by the patriarchal system of society by which men are described as superior to women. Therefore, women become subordinate to men in the society. Gender Equality is the state or condition that affords women and men equal enjoyment of human rights, socially valued goods, opportunities, and resources.

Ann Oakley in her book, *sex, gender and Society* written in 1972 explores the term gender. Oakley says that in the Western culture women play the roles of the „housewife“ and „mother“. This is because women are made to play these roles because of their biology. The western culture also believes that any effort to change the traditional roles of men and women in the society can cause damage to the social fabric of the society. Oakley concludes that this view regarding the roles of men and women helps to support and maintain the patriarchal society.

### **2.1.2 Political Representation**

Representation is at the heart of the full exercise of citizenship in current democracies both when citizens associate and mobilise themselves in order to express their needs and their political will, as well as when they elect their representative parties and leaders to the nation’s constitutional bodies. Representation therefore, is an indirect form of democracy in modern times where the interests of citizens irrespective of gender, social class, and ethnic affiliation e.t.c are being protected, promoted and defended at all cost by their trustees whom they confer legitimacy to represent their various interest at every level of decision and policy making.



## **2.2 Empirical Review**

An empirical literature review is more commonly called a systematic literature review and it examines past empirical studies to answer a particular research question. To this end, the empirical review will systematically examine past empirical studies to correlate with the subject under study.

### **2.2.1 Overview of Women Parliamentary Representation in Nigeria**

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (2016) estimates Nigeria's population to be 193 million people, with women and men constituting 49.2 per cent and 50.8 per cent of this population respectively. Essentially, women constitute about half of Nigeria's population and have played essential roles not only in the family but in political stability and socio-economic development. Historically, women have contributed to both canvassing for human rights and pushing for democratization in pre and post-colonial times. Women have been integral to both the social, economic and political set up of pre-colonial communities in Nigeria. The prominence of women in decision-making was deliberately downplayed by colonialism when it excluded women from political processes and institutions. However, in 1946, the Richard's Constitution established a House of Chiefs in Northern Nigeria while the other three regions had a House of Assembly and the Macpherson's Constitution established a Regional House of Chiefs in both the North and the West in 1951. Subsequently, three (3) women were appointed into the House of Chiefs in Southern Nigeria. These were Olufunmilayo Ransomekuti (appointed into the Western Nigeria House of Chiefs); Margaret Ekpo and Janet Moku (both appointed into the Eastern Nigeria House of Chiefs. Despite the constitutional recognition, they had very little functional powers, as their role was mostly advisory rather than legislative.

This review will concern itself with women political inclusion and beyond. This literature review will have a broad view of the debate on women political inclusion. It goes beyond the debate about the pros and cons of women political inclusion. It will first consider obstacles to women's political inclusion, and then it will consider the main factor behind the latest movement in women political inclusion; that is gender quotas.

In the immediate post-independence era and Nigeria's First Republic (1963-1966), women's presence and participation remained low. In 1960, Wuraola Esan became the first female member of the Federal Parliament (the Nigerian National Assembly) as a nominated Senator from Ibadan West. In 1961, Margaret Ekpo won a seat in the Eastern Regional House of Assembly and remained a Member until the collapse of the First Republic in 1966. At the commencement of the Second Republic (1979-1983), few women were elected into the Federal House of Representatives. In 1983, Ms Franca Afegbua was the only woman elected into the Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Oluyemi, 2016). Similarly, in 1992 while Kofo Bucknor-Akerele won a seat in the Senate, Florence Ita-Giwa won the election into the House of Representatives. Despite the limited number of women participating in elective politics, Nigeria's history is filled with a rich repository of women activism and involvement not only in politics but in the promotion of human rights, security and peace.

Nigeria's Fourth Republic began in 1999. Since then, the nation's political space has remained largely dominated by men despite several efforts by both government and non-governmental organisations to enhance women participation and representation in elective politics, particularly in the National Assembly. These efforts include the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the establishment of the National Commission for Women in 1989, which morphed into the Ministry

of Women Affairs in 1995. In 2006, Nigeria developed a National Gender Policy (2006), which prescribes 35 per cent affirmative action for women into appointive and elective positions. Other efforts include the establishment of the Women Political Empowerment Office and Nigeria Women Trust Fund (2011) and the 100 Women Lobby Group. Others comprise the development of a gender policy for the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the institution of the National Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue and the convening of the Nigeria Women Strategy Conference (Oluyemi, 2016: 10). Despite these, very few women are involved in decision-making and resource allocation. A statistical report on women and men in Nigeria shows that representation of high-ranking government officials with decision-making powers is heavily lopsided in favour of men (NBS, 2017). 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-nine (29) in 2015 and seventeen (17) in 2019. Globally, the percentage of women occupying legislative positions stands at 42.4% (Inter-Parliamentary Union, IPU; 2019). Out of 193 countries surveyed, Nigeria occupies the 181st position in the world ranking of women parliamentary representation (IPU, 2019)

### **2.2.2 Obstacles to women's Parliamentary Representation**

Women face many obstacles to women entry in politics. These obstacles include the level of socio-economic development, education, ethnicity, and cultural. 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). Political barriers derive from the implementation lag of the right to vote and the right to stand for elections that are embedded in the laws and national policies of most countries nowadays. The right to stand for election guarantees women candidacy, which is the first step in increasing women representation. Increasing women candidacy enables women to exercise their right to vote because in reality women are more likely to vote for women. Therefore, a restriction of women right to stand for election vote prolongs the status quo of high men representation in politics and creates barriers to women political representation.

The socio-economic barriers stem from the social and economic status of women. In 2014, Women represent more than 55.3 percent of the labour force participation worldwide (World Development Indicators, 2016). Women constitute the majority of workers in low productivity activities and in the informal sector. As entrepreneurs, women operate small informal business with small number of employees, sales, costs and the lower value of physical capital leading them to gain lower profit compared to male entrepreneurs. Women constitute the majority of workers in the retail services and trade sector. Educated women earn lower wage than educated men do. This pattern is similar in both developed and developing countries. This implies women have limited financial resources. This is the second most important obstacles to women entry to politics (Shvedova, 2005). Beside the lack of financial resources, the two other socio-economic obstacles are illiteracy and limited access to education and choice of professions and the dual burden of domestic tasks and professional obligations.

In general, there are two types of electoral gender quotas: candidate quotas and reserved seats. Candidate quotas specify the minimum percentage of candidates for election that must be women and apply to political parties' lists of candidates for election (Dahlerup, 2005). Candidate quotas can be legal or voluntary. Legal candidate quotas are instituted in the constitution in the electoral

or political party laws. Voluntary party quotas are quotas that political parties voluntarily institute in incorporating women in their candidate lists.

Reserved seats set aside a certain number of seats for women among representatives in a legislature, specified either in the constitution or by legislation (Dahlerup, 2005). Most reserved seat quotas set 30 % to 40 % of seats of various governing bodies for women based on the critical mass theory (Kanter 1977, Dahlerup 2005) and the requirement of various international treaties and conventions. Reserved seat quotas do not necessarily exempt women to participate in election. Reserved quotas seats can take the form of appointments or election of women. Initially, Tanzania's constitution reserves 20% of seats in the parliament for women. The reserved seats are distributed among political parties based on the number of seats that they gain in the parliamentary elections. Political parties can choose either to appoint or to allow them to stand for election. However, women party members elect the women candidates for election and women compete among themselves for a place in the election lists and not with men (Trip et al. 2006). In 2000, women held 22.3% of parliamentary seats in Tanzania. Gender quotas can also set a limit on the representation of both gender hence no sexes will have a greater representation in making-decision bodies. This is also known as gender-neutral quotas. Under the gender-neutral quotas, for instance, neither gender can occupy more than 60% or less than 40% of the seats. The above three mentioned types of gender quota guarantees an increase in women representation but they require a strong power base in both the parliaments and the political parties. They require a large minority of women to challenge social and political prejudices and norms and to remove the various constraint of women political participation leading to a gradual acceptance of women in politics. This is known as the "quotas incremental track" (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). Most Scandinavian countries represent the incremental approach and took them sixty to seventy years to reach the

30% critical mass (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). The “quotas fast track” as opposed to the quotas incremental track represents a kick-start for women to gain entry to politics. Rwanda and South Africa are two countries in SSA that have use fast track quotas.

Participation of women and ethnic minorities in national parliaments has also grown steadily over the past twenty (20) years. However, the literature on LGBTQ+ members of parliament is still evolving (Haider-Markel, 2010; A. Reynolds, 2013). Despite the dearth of cross-national research, Reynolds (2013) states that it is increasingly argued that inclusive legislatures (include those that adequately represent women and recognise sexual orientation diversity) are better at designing stable and just policies (Hartzell & Hoddie, 2003; Norris, 2008).

Several arguments for greater women participation have been advanced. Delving and Elgie (2008, p. 237) note that whereas there is little evidence that increased women’s representation changes policy output, “women add new dimensions to the policy agenda. They cited the Rwandan crisis, which created huge gaps within the male political structure of that country allowing women to make major inroads into politics. Pande and Ford (2011) argue that women are unique in political representation due to certain features including their style of political behaviour. They note that women legislators are mostly engaged with constituency work and problem-solving.

There is concordance in the views of Rosenthal (2001), Shevchenko (2002) and Karam and Lovenduski (2005): They suggest that women apply democratic ideals in their leadership and conflict resolution styles and tend to work in a less hierarchical and more collaborative manner than their male colleagues. Despite limited empirical evidence, there is a growing recognition of the untapped capacity and talents of women and women’s leadership (NDI, 2010). An IPU Report (2016) suggests that elections in Europe have resulted in an increase in women’s parliamentary representation. The regional average of women across Europe (both houses combined) increased

from 25.4 per cent in 2015 to 26.3 per cent (+0.9 per cent points). This increase has been attributed to “a strong undercurrent of disillusionment with traditional political parties”. Ndlovu and Mutale (2013) also argue that despite significant improvement in women in political participation in Africa, the gap in comparison to their male counterparts remains colossal. In Nigeria, however, despite constituting 50% of the population and playing key roles in election processes particularly grassroots mobilization and campaigns, women remain largely under-represented in both elective and appointive positions.

### **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

There are three major views which have emerged recently to offer explanation on women’s domination and oppression. These perspectives are categorized as materialist perspective, the radical feminist position and postmodernist approach. The materialist believe that the oppression of women is systematic and built into the structure of the society. They see women’s oppression as having a material base and a consequence of capitalism especially in a class society that is structured into hierarchical patriarchal relations. They supported their arguments on two major premises. The first is that women are socialized into low-income jobs. Secondly, women in addition to any paid labour that they may be engaged in do unpaid domestic labour outside capitalist relations of production. Domestic labour is not just unpaid, but it is not being used to compute the GDP of countries by economist. The materialist argues that domestic work is productive labour for capitalism and a hidden source of profit for capitalism (Dalla & James, 1972).

Meanwhile, the radical feminist argues that women’s subordination is not rooted in relations of production but in specific relations of reproduction and sexuality. They hold the argument that housework can be looked at as reproducing and not producing labour power. According

to Firestone, a radical feminist, unlike economic class, sex class sprang directly from biological reality: men and women were created differently and not equal (Firestone, 1972). The position of the radical feminist was criticized for putting too much emphasis on reproduction and sexuality. It gives the impression that women subordinated because of their role of giving birth to children. Some scholars have pointed out that it is curious for the radical feminist to succumb to such biological determinism (Jackson, 1999).

To summarize the theory of feminism, the following assumptions are being noted:

- 1) Feminism is not just an academic exercise but action oriented.
- 2) It is an ideology, belief system, an ideology against oppression and exploitation of women. It is a doctrine social, political, economic rights for women.
- 3) It is a body of knowledge, thoughts, theories, perspective way of looking at present available knowledge from workers point of view.
- 4) It is women search for self-identify.
- 5) Feminism as a philosophy, shares with all traditions of progressive thoughts and principle of equal worth of all human beings.
- 6) Feminism is a movement. It is a struggle against women's exploitation and oppression. 7) It is an inner - struggle both for men and women.

Women's studies of feminism as a discipline emerged from few basic questions like what about women? Where are they? If they are absent why they are absent? If they are present, what do they do?

The Postmodernists contend that the subordination of women results from the cultural construction of who a man or woman is. They argue that the use of words and language unconsciously affects our psyche on the definition and categorization of men and women. They point on the



effectiveness on the use of language to shape our thoughts and desires. Postmodernists' theoretical assumption of why women are oppressed has been criticized for neglecting the social context of power relations and failing to recognize the systematic oppression of gender, class and race. Walby (1992). Discussion on gender equality has largely originated from sociological theories which include:

Functionalist which examines the subject in the context of responsibilities of the two sexes in family setting. Conflict which looks at the subject from the concept of ownership, possession and control of material resources in the society with capitalism as its central focus. Symbolic interaction which advocates social interaction as major tool that determines equality or inequality of sexes.

This study intends to adopt these three theoretical frameworks in explaining gender inequality of women parliamentary representation. This is because of the significance of the theories in explaining inequality between men and women in the society.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter provides the research design, sources of data, population, sample size, sampling technique, research instrument and method of data analysis.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

This study comprises of data obtained through the design and administration of questionnaires; the questionnaires will help to achieve the objectives of the study.

A well-structured questionnaire will be adopted and used to collect data from respondents regarding the study in the area of interest as it allows drawing a statistical inference to be made from the study through the sample of the population; the population size will be (186) this is because De Briun and Flint (2000), in their study stated that questionnaires are associated with quantitative research. However, quantitative research is the type of research method that requires a quantifiable data involving numerical and statistical explanation.

Sampling provides a good representation of the population. Purposive sampling technique does not require underlying theories or a set number of informants. It implies that a researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of their knowledge or experience. It is constructed to serve a very specific purpose as it involves deliberate selection of all units of population. It is a useful technique to obtain information from a sample of the whole population that one considers to be knowledgeable about the subject matter Walliman, (2005). Data collection can simply be seen as implying to commit to one form of record or the other, the extracted facts which must be true in reality within the context of the subject matter being investigated Asekhame, (2010). The research would use a structured questionnaire designed for data collection. The questionnaires will help to achieve the objectives of the study.

#### **3.2 Sources of Data**

This Study adopts survey method using both primary and secondary data. In survey research, independent and dependent variables are used to define the scope of study but cannot be explicitly

Controlled by the researcher. Before conducting the survey, the researcher must predicate a model that identifies the expected relationship among these variables. The survey is then constructed to test this model against observations of the phenomena. In contrast to survey research, a survey is simply a data collection tool for carrying out survey research.

**3.2.1 Primary Data:** This study relied on quantitative data sourced through the administration of questionnaires and Key Informants Interview (KII). The questionnaires were open-ended. Primary data are those collected afresh and for the first time and thus happen to be original in character.

**3.2.2 Secondary Data:** Secondary data is also sourced from published materials from the internet as well as articles, journals and reports of the senate and house committees of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National assembly. Secondary data from clerk's record would also be assessed in order to examine the performance of the committees. The performance of committee based on this study will be determined by comparing committees chaired by female legislators in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly to the same committees currently been chaired by male legislators in the 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly using the number of bills passed by committee members and the number of public/investigative hearings as determinants in the measurement of performance by women in committee leadership.

### **3.3 Population, Sample Size and Sampling Technique**

The study was carried out through key informant interview (KII) and administration of questionnaires to Legislators and selected staff of the National Assembly, they include Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, parliamentary staff, legislative aides and visitors to the parliament that were in the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly, Clerks of committees headed by women and men, during the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly would also be interviewed. The Questionnaires would also be administered to members of the 9<sup>th</sup> Assembly. Respondents outside the National Assembly would also be reached. This will include politicians, policymakers, academics and business-persons and entrepreneurs, and individual respondents.

A total of one hundred and eighty six (186) population size and sample size using a combination of purposive and random sampling were administered questionnaires in the case study area out of

which 93 representing 50% response rate was received. Purposive and random sampling technique was adopted for the study in view of the adequate knowledge of the population and sample size. The selection guaranteed good representation of the population.

### **3.4 Method of Data Analysis**

Data analysis will be done using descriptive statistical analysis. The questionnaires collected were processed using the statistical package for social science (SPSS) and STATA. Frequency tables, percentages and charts will be used to analyze the data.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the data obtained in the course of the research. The study critically examined the distribution of women in the national assembly in Nigeria. The study adopted the objective-by-objective approach in its analysis. Data used for the study was gathered from the national assembly but was augmented with relevant literature. The analysis follows chronologically based on the objectives of the study as presented therein.

#### **4.1 Distribution and representation of women in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly**

To adequately capture the first objective of the study which deals with distribution and representation of women at the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> national assembly, it is necessary to draw attention to the stipulation of gender representation by the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs an extraction of the Berlin Conference with women representation of 30%. With respect to this, the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs raised the bar to 35% representation.

Table 4.1 displays the number of women representation in the 8th and 9th National Assembly according to geopolitical zones to support the claim of low participation of women in politics in general and the Nigeria's legislature in particular.

**Table 4.1: Women Representatives in the National Assembly**

S/N	Zone	8 <sup>th</sup> National Assembly				Zone	9 <sup>th</sup> National Assembly			
		Senate		House Representative of			Senate		House Representative of	
		Women	Men	Women	Men		Women	Men	Women	Men
1	North-West	0	21	0	92	North-West	0	21	0	92
2	North-East	1	17	4	44	North-East	1	17	3	45
3	North-Central	0	19	2	49	North-Central	1	18	2	48
4	South-East	1	14	5	38	South-East	2	13	2	41
5	South-South	1	17	6	49	South-South	3	15	1	54
6	South-West	4	14	2	69	South-West	1	17	4	68
	Total	7	102	19	341		8	101	12	348

Source: National Assembly Library 2022

Illustratively, Table 4.1 represents the distribution of members of the national assembly in both the upper (Senate) and the lower (House of representative) chambers. This distribution indicated the geopolitical distribution of these representatives in the national assembly based on gender. Therefore, it was noted that in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies, women had zero representation in both chambers of the national assembly with the male gender having 21 and 92 representation in the senate and house of representative in the North-western region of the country respectively. This shows the absence of women's political representation in the geopolitical zone. As a result, 100% of the national assembly's seats were occupied by men indicating the patriarchic nature of the geopolitical zone in the country.

In the North-eastern geopolitical zone of the Nigeria, women occupied 1 and 4 seats in the Senate and house of representative during the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly while in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly the geopolitical zone had 1 senator and 3 house of representative as women. However, the men occupied 17 and 44 seats in the upper and lower chambers in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly while 17 and 45 seats in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly in both chambers respectively. Based on the aforementioned, women in the North-eastern zone only represent 7.6% of the 66 seats allocated to the zone while the men occupies 92.4% of the total number of seats at the 8<sup>th</sup> national assembly. In the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly, women represent 6.1% of the total number of seats in the geopolitical zone while men occupy 93.9% of the seats in the zone. The result shows poor representation of women in national legislation in the geopolitical zone and Nigeria at large.

The result obtained showed that in the North-central geopolitical zone, there were no women represented at the 8<sup>th</sup> senate with only 2 represented at the house of representative. In the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly there was a marginal increase in the number where the women had 1 senate member from the zone with the number of the house of representative remaining unchanged in the lower

chamber. Contrarily, men occupied majority of the seats in the national assembly with 19 senators and 49 members of the house of representative in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly while in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly, men occupies 18 and 49 seats in the senate and house of representative respectively. Analytically, it was shown that women constitute 2.9% and 4.3% in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assembly in the geopolitical zone with the men occupying 97.1% and 95.7% in both assemblies. From the foregoing, there was an improvement in the number of women representation in the geopolitical zone which reflects the level of women participation in politics.

The South-eastern geopolitical zone shows an increase in the level of women representation in the national assembly. It was recorded that women occupied 1 and 5 seats in the upper (senate) and lower (house of representative) chambers of the national assembly in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly while the number declined to 4 in both houses (2 seats in the senate and 2 seats in the house of representative) in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly. On the other hand, men representation took majority of the seats with the senate having 14 men and 38 members of the house of representative. Additionally, men occupy 13 and 41 seats in the senate and house of representative respectively. Therefore, women had 10.3% and 6.9% representation in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assembly while men had 89.7% and 93.1% in the same assemblies. The disparity in the level of occupancy in the national assembly shows low representation of women in the zone.

The South-south geopolitical zone of the country demonstrated comparatively high women representation at the national assembly in Nigeria. The result of the study revealed that women occupied 1 seat in the upper chamber of the national assembly while 6 were ably represented in the house of representative while the number of women in the senate increased to 3 with those in the house of representative falling to 1 in the zone. The proportion of women in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies in the zone showed that women occupied 9.6% and 5.5% of the total seats in the zone.



Conversely, men representation dominated the geopolitical zone with 17 senate and 49 house of representative members in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly while 15 and 54 in the upper and lower chambers of the national assembly respectively. This shows that men’s representation outweighs women representation in the zone with 90.4% and 94.5% in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies respectively.

Table 4.1 noted the distribution and representation of women in the South-western geopolitical zone in the national assembly. It was observed that in the upper chamber, women occupied 4 senate seats with 2 women in the lower chamber of the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly whereas there was 1 and 4 women in the upper and lower chambers seats respectively. Men on the other hand occupied 14 and 69 seats in the upper and lower chambers of the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly while 17 and 68 were said to be representatives of the geopolitical zone in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly. Despite the marginal high number of women in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly, the number declined in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly. Therefore, to further portray the trend of women distribution and representation in both chambers of the national assembly, the data was presented in Figure 4.1 and 4.2.

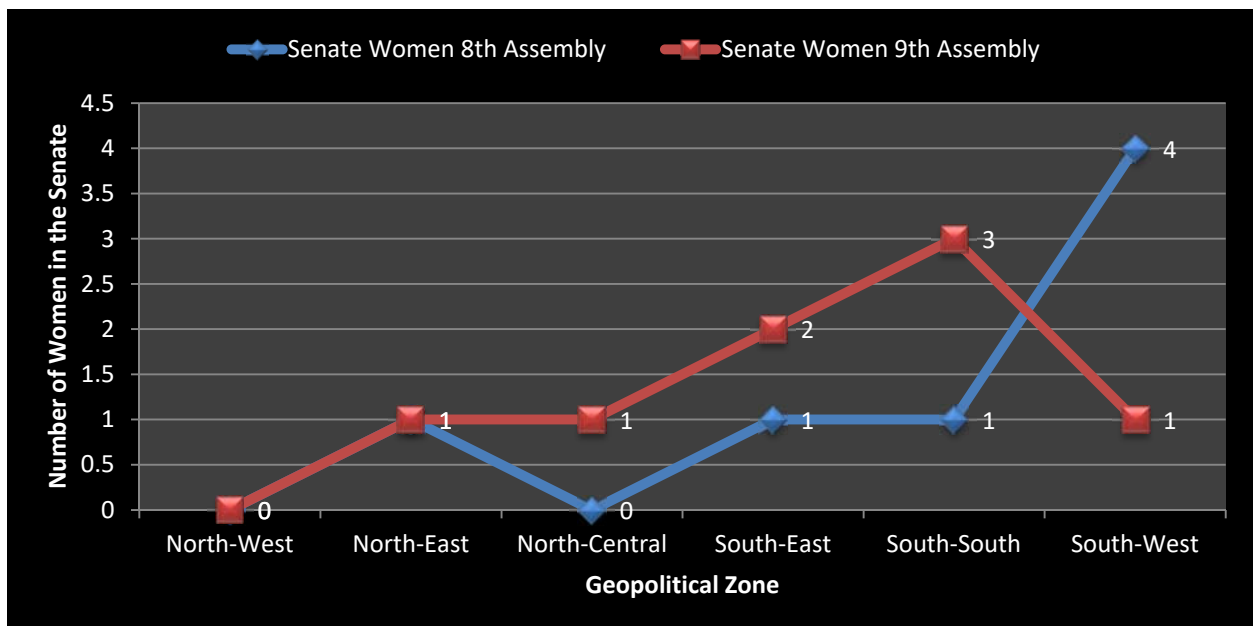


Figure 4.1: Trend in women legislative representation in the upper chamber of the national assembly

For women legislative representation, it was recorded that none, 1, 0, 1, 1 and 4 women represented the north-west, north-east, north-central, south-east, south-south and south-west geopolitical zones in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly of the upper chamber. In the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly of the upper chamber, women had none, 1, 1, 2, 3, and 1 representation in the assembly representing north-west, north-east, north-central, south-east, south-south and south-west geopolitical zones. This result shows that over these zones, women representation has not been stably represented across the zones which in fact show a great disparity between the 35% National Gender Policy and 30% Affirmative Action (AA) women representation in appointive and elective positions. This position aligned with Kante's (1977a; 1977b) and Dahlerup's (1988) who stipulated that women make up a disproportionately small portion of the political constituency needed to effect change. Figure 2 indicates the trend of women representation in the lower chamber of the national assembly across the six geopolitical.

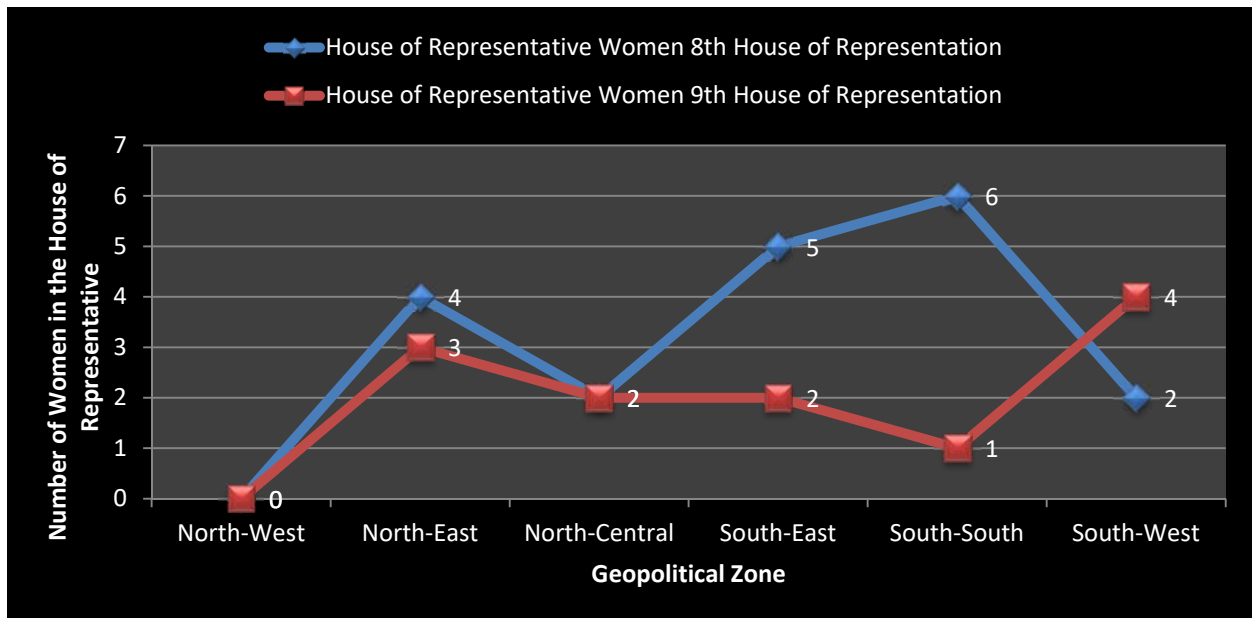


Figure 4.2: Trend in women legislative representation in the upper chamber of the national assembly

Further information was provided with respect to the number of women representation in the lower chambers of the national assembly in Nigeria across the six geopolitical zones. It was noted that women representation had no seat occupied in the north-west, 4 seats in the north-east, 2 seats in the north-central, 5 seats in the south-east, 6 seats in the south-south and 2 seats in the south-western regions of the country in lower chamber of 8<sup>th</sup> national assembly. Additionally, it was observed that women participation culminated in women occupying zero seats in the northwest zone, 3 seats in the northeast, 2 seats in the north-central, 2 seats in the south-east, 1 seat in the south-south and 4 seats in the south west regions of the country in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly of the lower chamber. Therefore, it is a well-known fact that women participation in elective positions in the legislative arm of government has remained insignificant relative to the stipulation of the Beijing Affirmative Action and the National Gender policy in Nigeria. Based on this, an interviewee (Mrs. Bamidele Aduke Hussain, (2022, *personal interview*) noted that women representation in Nigeria is still far below 30% and little or nothing has been done to improve on this. In support of this opinion, Honourable Beni Lar (2022, *personal interview*) observed that “generally, women representation in legislative business in Nigeria as a whole has remain a myth thereby posing an insignificant fraction of the legislative class when compared to men.”

#### **4.2 Distribution and representation of women in committee leadership at the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly**

The contributions of women in nation building cannot be overemphasized in the world and in particular, Nigeria. However, there is no universal acceptable device or scale used in measuring the performance of women in any legislative dealings. Supportive of this assertion, Sawyer (2012) and Kittilson (1995) observed that the representation of women in the legislative assessment could be carried out on the basis of committee assignments. To understand the performance of women

in the legislative business in Nigeria, it is imperative to consider their leadership role in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies standing committees in both the lower and upper chambers of the national assembly. The representation and distribution of women in the various standing committees of the national assembly is presented in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.2: Distribution and representation of women in committee leadership at the 8<sup>th</sup> Senate**

S/N	Legislator	Constituency	Qualification	Committee	Position
1	Senator Binta Masi Garba	Adamawa North	Doctor of Philosophy	Women Affairs and Youth Development	Chairperson
2	Senator Stella Oduah	Anambra North	Master Degree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cooperation and integration in Africa and NEPAD</li> <li>• Police Affairs</li> <li>• Women Affairs and Youth Development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chairperson</li> <li>• Deputy</li> <li>• Deputy</li> </ul>
3	Senator Rose Oko	Cross River North	Doctor of Philosophy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diaspora and Non-governmental Organizations</li> <li>• Education (Basic and Secondary)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chairperson</li> <li>• Deputy</li> </ul>
4	Senator Fatimat Raji-Rasaki	Ekiti Central	Bachelor of Science Degree	Culture and Tourism	Chairperson
5	Senator Oluremi Tinubu	Lagos Central	Bachelor of Science Degree	Environment	Chairperson
6	Senator Monsurat Sunmonu	Oyo Central	Bachelor of Science Degree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foreign Affairs</li> <li>• State and local government</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chairperson</li> <li>• Deputy</li> </ul>

Source: National Assembly Library

Table 4.2 indicates the women leadership positions in the legislative role in Nigeria. It was observed that in the 8<sup>th</sup> Senate, all the women were leaders of standing committees in the assembly. Out of the women in the assembly, six were chairmen of standing committees while four deputized other chairmen of other standing committees in the assembly. The representation of women in these committees was carried to ensure effective delivery of legislative business in the national assembly. Section 85(5) of the 1999 constitution (as amended) provided the need for legislative oversight which these women are leaders to ensure credibility and transparency in government in Nigeria. Although, women representation in the national assembly is insignificant when compared to the men, their input is necessary in the delivery of democracy in the country. These committees are sometimes set up to ensure equal representation in the national assembly. As a result of this, the educational qualification of the women showed that 2 women had Doctorate degrees, 1 had Master degree while the other 3 women leaders of the standing committee had Bachelor of Science degree in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly.

**Table 4.2.1: Distribution and representation of women in committee leadership at the 9<sup>th</sup> Senate**

S/N	Legislator	Constituency	Qualification	Committee	Position
	Senator Aishatu Dahiru Binani Ahmed	Adamawa Central	Higher National Diploma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sustainable Development Goals</li> <li>• Women Affairs</li> <li>• Information and National Orientation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chairperson</li> <li>• Deputy</li> <li>• Deputy</li> </ul>
2.	Senaor Stella Oduah	Anambra North	Master Degree	Appropriation	Deputy Chairperson
3.	Senator Eyakenyi Akon Etim	Akwa Ibom South	Doctor of Philosophy	Education (Basic and Secondary)	Deputy Chairperson
4.	Senator Uche Lilian Ekwunife	Anambra Central	Master Degree	Science and Technology	Chairperson
5.	Senator Oluremi Tinubu	Lagos Central	Bachelor of Science Degree	Communication	Chairperson
6.	Senator Betty Apiafi	Rivers West	Master Degree	Health	Chairperson
7.	Sen. Rose Oko	Cross River North	Doctor of Philosophy	Trade and Investment	Chairperson

Source: National Assembly Library

Table 4.2.1 shows the positions of legislative leadership held by women in Nigeria's legislature. Even though there was an increase in the number of women in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly, women make only a small proportion of the country's parliament. The result of the study revealed that in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly, two women had Doctorate degrees, three women had master degrees, while one had Bachelor of Science degree and higher national diploma respectively. These committees representation depicts the level of women participation in the national legislature which is far below the Affirmative Action and the National Gender Policy in Nigeria.



**Table 4.2.2: Distribution and representation of women in committee leadership at the 8<sup>th</sup> House of Representative**

<i>S/N</i>	<b>Legislator</b>	<b>Constituency</b>	<b>Qualification</b>	<b>Committee</b>	<b>Position</b>
1	Hon. Nnenna Ijeoma Elendu Ukeje	Bende	Bachelor of Science Degree	Foreign Affairs	Chairman
2	Hon. Onyejeocha Nkiruka	Isuikwuato/Umunneochi	Master Degree	Aviation	Chairman
3	Hon. Ekpoattai Owodighe Ime	Eket/Onna/Esit Eket/Ibeno	Master Degree	Women Affairs and Social Development	Deputy
4	Hon. Azodo Eucharua	Aguata	Higher National Diploma	Drugs and Narcotics	Chairman
5	Hon. Asabe Vilita Bashir	Damboza/Gwoza/Chibok	Doctor of Philosophy	Women in Parliament	Deputy
6	Hon. Onyemaechi Joan Mrakpor	Aniocha North/Aniocha South/Oshimili North/Oshimili South	Bachelor of Art Degree	Science and Technology	Deputy
7	Hon. Oboro Evelyn Omavowan	Okpe/Sapele/Uvwie	Master Degree	Women in Parliament	Chairman
8	Hon. Ngwu Stella Uchenwa Obiageli	Igbo Etiti/Uzo---Uwani	Doctor of Philosophy	Women Affairs and Social Development	Chairman
9	Hon. Aisha Jibril Dukku	Dukku/Nafada	Bachelor of Art Degree	Electoral and Political Matters	Chairman
10	Hon. Princess Olufunke Adedoyin	Ekiti/Isin/Irepodun/Oke---Ero	Master Degree	Army	Deputy
11	Hon. Rita Orji	Ajeromi Ifelodun	Master Degree	Diaspora Matters	Chairman
12	Hon. Beni Lar	Langtang North/ Langtang South	Bachelor Degree	Science and Technology	Chairman
13	Hon. Apiafi Betty Okagua Jocelyn	Ahoada East/Abua/Odua	Master Degree	Health Institutions	Chairman

Source: National Assembly Library

In the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly of the lower chambers, Table 4.2.2 shows that thirteen women were involved in committee leadership in the national assembly. Out of these women, five had bachelor degree in respective fields of endeavor with one woman having higher national diploma. It was further revealed that six women had master degree while only two women possess doctor of philosophy in the house of representative in Nigeria. The outcome of the study indicates that nine of the women in the 8<sup>th</sup> house of representative chaired various committees while only four women served in the capacity of deputy chairmen. Despite having relatively higher number of women representation in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly, women committees' representation was low in the assembly. This could be attributed to low women participation in national legislative business which determine their level of participation in the assembly's legislation.

**Table 4.2.3: Distribution and representation of women in committee leadership at the 9<sup>th</sup> House of Representative**

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Legislator</b>	<b>Constituency</b>	<b>Qualification</b>	<b>Committee</b>	<b>Position</b>
<b>1</b>	Hon. Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu	Onitsha North / Onitsha South	Bachelor Degree	Maritime Safety, Education and Administration	Chairman
<b>2</b>	Hon. Onuh Onyeche Blessing	Otukpo / Ohimini	Master Degree	Federal Capital Territory	Deputy
<b>3</b>	Hon. Aishatu Jibril Dukku	Dukku / Nafada	Bachelor of Art Degree	Electoral Matters	Chairman
<b>4</b>	Hon. Taiwo Olukemi Oluga	Ayedaade / Irewole / Isokan	Certificate in Education	Women in Parliament	Chairman
<b>5</b>	Hon. Beni Butmak Lar	Langtang North / Langtang	Bachelor Degree	Science and Technology	Chairman
<b>6</b>	Hon. Khadija Bukar Abba Ibrahim	Damaturu / Gujba / Gulani / Tarmuwa	Bachelor Degree	North East Development Commission (NEDC)	Chairman

Source: National Assembly Library

Table 4.2.3 illustrates the distribution of women in the 9<sup>th</sup> lower chamber of the national assembly. The result demonstrated a marginal decline in the number of women represented in committees in the lower chambers of the assembly. This decline is attributed to the number of women elected into the assembly. Based on this, it was shown that one woman had certificate in education; four women had Bachelor degree while only one woman was reported to have a master degree in the lower chamber in Nigeria. The occupation of leadership role in the national assembly shows that five women chaired various committees in the house while only one woman was shown to have deputized another committee chair. Generally, it was noted that majority of the women represented in the upper chamber of the national assembly has more than one leadership role in the committees. However, the case of the lower chamber of the national assembly was different due to the number of elective members in the house. Therefore, women representation and distribution in committees' leadership in Nigeria is skewed toward the men as a result of their large number in the house which assumed patriarchic norm and tradition in Africa as a whole. However, it should be noted that in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies certain female members were denied leadership responsibilities. If anything, their small size should have given them an advantage in gaining leadership roles because other members would be more inclined to support their candidacy. However, it seems that the Parliament was unable to cultivate an egalitarian culture throughout those times.

The inability of women to actively participate in political representation has been linked to various factors, including socio-cultural factors such as traditional beliefs, negative perceptions of women in politics, anti-egalitarian practices, religion, and patriarchy (Lovenduski & Norris, 2003); economic limitations such as poverty and a lack of financial resources; institutional and political constraints such as electoral systems and political party structures (Lovenduski & Norris, 2003);

and institutional and political constraints such as electoral systems and political party structures (Lovendu (Agishi, 2014; PLAC, 2018). Other factors include violence, dislike to politics among some women, and low self-esteem (Willis, 2014); and a lack of support for female politicians from both family members and other institutional structures (e.g., the government) (Ballington & Karam, 2005; Karam & Lovenduski, 2005; Nwabunkeonye, 2014).

#### **4.3 Performance of committees chaired by women in 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly**

In support of increased female representation in the legislature, one of the main arguments is that their presence in large numbers provides an opportunity to not only draw attention to the issues that women face in society, but also to advocate for legislation and policies that will address those issues. Women, according to Sanbonmatsu (2009), are more compassionate and sympathetic to women's issues such as family issues, and they tend to support or sponsor more bills that are related to women's issues or family issues. In support of this position, O'Brien and Rickne (2014) suggest that while "men dominate policy sectors regarded more prestigious," "women may take leadership on topics that are considered 'social' issues." Therefore, majority of the laws passed in Nigeria to increase women's participation in politics as well as eliminate customs and practices that discriminate against women in the acquisition of natural resources (land, for example) have been sponsored by female legislators, who have dominated the legislative process. Others have concentrated on enhancing social services (education, health, and so on) and the welfare of women through the establishment of gender and family-friendly social infrastructure, amongst other initiatives (Jake Dabang Dan-Azumi & Azan, 2021). As a result of this, a comparative assessment of the performance of committees chaired by women in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly is examined.

**Table 4.3: Comparison of Women and Men Committee Leadership Performance in the Senate**

	Performance of Women in the 8 <sup>th</sup> Senate			Performance of Men in the 9 <sup>th</sup> Senate	
S/N	Committee	Number of Bills by Committee Members	Public Hearing/Investigative Hearing	Number of Bills by Committee Members	Public Hearing/Investigative Hearing
1	Women Affairs and Youth Development	2	None	None	None
2	Cooperation and integration in Africa and NEPAD	2	None	None	None
3	Police Affairs	7	2	3	2
4	Diaspora and Non-governmental Organizations	2	None	3	None
5	Education (Basic and Secondary)	5	None	3	None
6	Culture and Tourism	4	None	3	1
7	Environment	1	None	3	None
8	Foreign Affairs	9	3	4	2
9	State and local government	3	1	3	1
10	Sustainable Development Goals	None	None	None	None
11	Information and National Orientation	3	1	3	1

12	Appropriation	6	3	6	4
13	Trade and Investment	3	1	4	2
14	Science and Technology	2	None	3	1
15	Communication	3	None	4	2
16	Health	4	2	5	3
17	Total	52	13	47	19

Source: National Assembly Library

From Table 4.3, it was revealed that committees led by women have 52 bills put forward by its member in the senate while 13 public hearing were entertained by the committees led by women in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly. On the other hand, 47 bills were put forward by members of these committees led by men in the 9<sup>th</sup> assembly in the study area. However, 19 of the public hearings held were done by committees led by men. Given the situation in Table 7, it was noted that men had majority of the committee representation in the study area. This shows that committees led by men have been effective in the study area than women. This is attributed to the fact that men are more represented in the study area and hence their impact on any legislative proceeding that may occur at the committee stage. Public hearings on the other hand shows that committees led by men have conducted more robust investigative hearings than those committees led by women in the national assembly thereby allowing women representation in the house as the committee stages lagging for effective representation in the national assembly.



**Table 4.3.1: Comparison of Women and Men Committee Leadership Performance in the House of Representative**

S/N	Performance of Women in the 8 <sup>th</sup> House of Representative			Performance of Men in the 9 <sup>th</sup> Assemblies	
	Committee	Number of Bills by Committee Members	Public Hearing/Investigative Hearing	Number of Bills by Committee Members	Public Hearing/Investigative Hearing
1	Women Affairs and Social Development	4	None	None	None
2	Aviation	3	1	4	2
3	Foreign Affairs	5	2	5	2
4	Diaspora Matters	3	1	3	1
5	Drugs and Narcotics	3	1	3	1
6	Women in Parliament	2	None	None	None
7	Science and Technology	3	None	3	1
8	Electoral and Political Matters	3	1	3	1
9	Army	6	2	5	2
10	Health Institutions	3	1	3	1
11	Maritime Safety, Education and Administration Orientation	2	1	3	1
12	Federal Capital Territory	3	1	3	1

<b>13</b>	North East Development Commission (NEDC)	<b>2</b>	<b>None</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>None</b>
<b>14</b>	Total	<b>42</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>13</b>

Source: National Assembly Library

Table 4.3.1 shows that the magnitude of women performance in legislative committees in the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly superseded that of the men. To illustrate, bills presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> assembly exceeded those committees represented by men in the lower chambers of the national assembly. Although the first objective of this study seems inclined to the dictates of descriptive representation, in the instant case and as having been stated previously, the bills presented which is at the core of this study and given the contribution of women in the legislative business, can be said to have been effectively carried out in the 8<sup>th</sup> Assemblies. Hon. Asabe Vilita Bashir (2022, *personal interview*), however, feels otherwise as she stated that “there’s hardly a sector in my constituency that women have not positively impacted on”. On this note, some landmark legislative interventions by women in the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly include the gender and opportunity Law.

#### **4.4 Obstacles and the way forward to women representation in the National Assembly**

The following were cited as barriers to women's representation in the National Assembly, according to the study:

- a) Factors related to socio-cultural and economic (financial) development: For example, according to Norris and Lovenduski (as stated in the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre [PLAC], 2018), historic anti-egalitarian attitudes about gender are a hindrance to the growth of women in politics. In addition, Nwabunkeonye (2014) said that authoritative figures like as husbands, dads, mothers, and other family members prevent women from participating in public life from childhood through maturity. For this reason, studies of political recruiting in established democracies discovered that these beliefs influence both whether women are willing to run for office (the supply side) and the criteria that political gatekeepers employ when evaluating candidates (the demand side). As reported by PLAC (2018), the Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU] discovered that female politicians in

numerous countries described negative attitudes against female political participation as one of the most significant impediments to running for parliament. Women legislators in the National Assembly, including Sen. Stalla Oduah (2022, personal interview) and Honourable Beni Lar (2022, personal interview), are in agreement with this viewpoint, as both have stated separately that finance is a significant barrier to women's legislative representation in the state.

- b) Political concerns: Several political variables that limit women's political representation in Nigeria, according to the Policy Legal Advocacy Center [PLAC] (2018), are related to political institutions and practice. In a personal interview, Mrs. Bamidele Aduke Hussain (2022), for example, remarked that one of the most significant hurdles to women's representation in the National Assembly is the party system. "Most posts are normally occupied by party leaders, and every other person enters for gratifications, and we are not finding enough competent females to contest, and when you do find a qualified female, she may not be the perfect one that the leaders desire," she noted specifically. In a personal interview, the Honourable Beni Lar (2021), who represents Langtang North and South, acknowledged that political factors are a particular obstacle in her constituency, but she was effusive in her praise for the leader of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Plateau State for his support. Impliedly, the selection procedure for political parties has a substantial impact on the number of women who vote in a legislative election.
- c) Lack of support from family, other women, political parties, and the media: According to Nwabunkeonye (2014), women's participation in politics is frequently hampered by a lack of support from family, which women require in order to pursue their political dreams, a lack of commitment from other women, and a lack of public awareness of their efforts. In order to strengthen the status of the family in a woman's political life, Honourable Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu (2022, personal interview) came to the conclusion that

Meanwhile, the Lady Lawmaker is juggling the countless meetings with her Obligation as the representative of her constituency, oversights, and interminable meetings that can often last till the wee hours of the morning; she must also manage her time between her professional life and her personal life. When it comes to her primary responsibility as a wife and mother, she must never be found wanting. Her first and most important constituency is her family. This is why I always advise women considering a career in politics to seek permission from their spouse or partner first. This is a lifeline and a support system through difficult times... Even while she's underwater, her family is there to help her breathe! (Hon. Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu (2022), Personal interview).

Although Shvedova (2005) acknowledged the enormous number of difficulties that women face in politics, she expressed disappointment at the lack of media attention given women's achievements and potential, which ultimately resulted in the lack of a constituency for women in political leadership. She went on to point out the lack of cooperation with and support from women's organizations and other Non-Governmental Organizations, as well as the absence of assistance from government (NGOs). Mrs. Bamidele Aduke Hussain (2022, personal interview) expressed her displeasure with the absence of female support, stating that "the truth is that anytime a female comes out to contest, there is this animosity from the female... Even other ladies who have risen in the ranks do not assist those who are rising in the ranks."

d) An unfavorable political environment. The employment of banal political tactics such as the hiring of thugs, as well as the resulting loss of lives, makes politics something that women should avoid if they want to be successful (Ngara & Ayabam, 2013). This toxic political culture has also elevated the incorrect impression of women in politics, as seen by the fact that women in politics are frequently referred to be "wayward," "prostitutes," "obstinate," etc. A specific example of this is when Hon. Khadija Bukar Abba Ibrahim (2021, personal interview) observed that "you are tested in numerous ways; some would recognize your intelligence while others do not believe in you! "It is possible that certain persons (mostly your male peers) will have an ulterior motivation towards you as colleagues."

As a result of the issues raised above, the report recommends the following strategy for increasing women's representation in the National Assembly.

- a) Putting an end to discrepancies in status that stand in the way of equitable participation is a priority. Patriarchy, as well as socio-cultural concerns, should be addressed in order to ensure that women have their proper role in political leadership. We must collectively dispel the myth that politics is an extremely difficult and dangerous environment in which only men can survive, according to Hon. Khadija Bukar Abba Ibrahim (2022, personal interview). Young women who are capable of contributing to their communities should be encouraged to do so." Therefore, rather than viewing them as subordinates in governance, they should be considered as partners in the governing process. Political parties whose responsibility it is to recruit candidates for election should incorporate the principles of the National Gender Policy or, at the very least, Affirmative Action into their respective constitutions, as a starting point.
- b) Providing residents with the resources they need to participate in a fair and equal manner. Parties should make their support, including financial and other resources, readily available and accessible to women running for office or seeking to increase their political, social, and economic credibility. This is especially important because it has been established that politics requires a significant amount of material and financial investment. As a result, Honourable Beni Lar (2022, personal interview) indicated that while there is opportunity for growth in women's participation in the legislature, "more empowerment programs for women in politics and those desiring to enter politics" are needed.
- c) The establishment of an egalitarian political constitution in society through measures that would allow for greater representation of women in the legislative branch. In order to

stimulate the engagement of women in politics, it is necessary not only to read about electoral reforms, but also to observe that these reforms are implemented in practice. One such change is the Justice Uwais report, which recommends the introduction of a hybrid electoral system in order to increase the number of women who vote in elections. This is supported by the fact that "encouragement and tolerance for gender equality of prospective female politicians and women in appointed posts" will increase women's engagement in politics, according to Honourable Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu (2022, personal interview).

- d) Public education to encourage women's participation in politics, specifically in the context of legislative elections. In a personal interview, Hon. Khadija Bukar Abba Ibrahim (2022) alluded to this fact when she stated that "We also need to educate young girls to pursue careers in politics," stating that "politics is about competence, dedication, and hard work." She also stated that "politics is about competence, dedication, and hard work." He reiterated her sentiments when he stated that "the problem is that our girls today don't want challenges even in sports," according to Mr. Agboola Dabiri (2021, in a personal interview cited in Elliot, 2021). According to him, "we should provide them with the opportunity to take on challenges while also allowing the females to express themselves." To summarize his remarks, Hon. Rita Orji (2022, personal interview) stated, "I believe that the only way forward is to motivate them on television and radio so that more females will show interest in the system by contesting."

#### **4.5 Discussion of findings**

According to the findings of this study, as stated in the preceding sections, the number of women serving in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assemblies ranges between seven (7) and twelve (12) members. This falls short of the 30 percent and 35 percent composition criteria set forth by the

Affirmative Action and National Gender Policy Commissions, respectively. Researchers in Nigeria have discovered that women's political engagement in Nigeria is low, according to studies by Asan (2019), Oluyemi (2016), Adedayo and Adedeji (2018), and others (2019). Accordingly, there is no space for dispute when it comes to the role of women in the development process. Sawyer (2012) and Darhour and Dahlerup (2013) are two authors who have especially addressed the responsiveness of women's portrayal in their respective works.

It is worthy to note that women representation in Nigeria has been low between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Assemblies thereby remaining below the gender policies in the country. This has triggered under representation of women in national issues thereby allowing men to be effectual in the discharge of their duties. Based on the result of the study, committees headed by men have had more waves in the discharge of their duties than those headed by women in the study area. This is attributed to the wide representation of men in the national assembly which allows women only a limited space to air out their interest especially at the committee levels.

It is important to note at this point that, even when resolutions originate from the legislature, the resolutions do not have the force of law. Therefore, the study cited socioeconomic factors, inadequacy of party, women, and family support as hurdles to women's representation in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Assemblies, among other things. The authors Asan (2019) and Adedayo and Adedeji (2019) both alluded to this when they both stressed the topic of discrimination against women in politics in their respective essays. Respondents and literature, on the other hand, suggest that adequate public education, addressing patriarchal concerns, providing financial as well as material supports, and other measures, as well as women's legislative representation in the national assembly in particular and Nigeria in general, would make a significant difference.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

A summary of the study's findings, conclusions, and recommendations are presented in this chapter.

#### 5.1 Summary of findings

The study examined women's legislative distribution and representation in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies, drawing on the critical mass theory, which has been supported by various scholarly views on democratic ideals on the representativeness of legislative assembly. It also suggested a way forward to overcome the obstacles that have hindered women distribution and representation in the Assemblies. However, because governance is intended to serve the interests of the people, this study used the precepts of substantive representation, which elicits the participation in the actions of representation. It was necessitated by the notion of the 30% critical mass required for women to have any meaningful impact on the development of a country, which defines descriptive representation (women representing women and men representing men), was conducted.

The literature and field data revealed a downward spiral in women's distribution and representation in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies which was achieved through the use of a mixed research design, which involves the collection of both quantitative and qualitative information. Despite the decline in the number of women elected to legislative positions in Nigeria's 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies, the study discovered that women have made substantial contributions to the growth of the state through bill/motion sponsorship and committee assignments. The study found that socio-economic and political reasons, a lack of support for female politicians, and an unfavorable political atmosphere were all hurdles to women's representation in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies, despite their well-known contributions to the growth of the nation. As a result,

in accordance with the critical mass requirement of 30% on which the study was predicated, addressing patriarchal and socio-cultural issues, providing support to citizens to enable equitable participation, public enlightenment to drive home the gender equality message, and other measures were recommended as a way forward to increase women's representation in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Assemblies in Nigeria.

First and foremost, the study discovered that women must be given due recognition in the legislative assembly in order to advance socio-economic as well as political gains in Nigeria, particularly because they constitute a large pool of electorates eligible for voting and being voted for. Furthermore, there appears to be a deliberate effort at all levels of government to achieve gender equality by the year 2035 for all people regardless of their sexual orientation.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

The study recommends as follows:

**Women education on digital committee meetings should be encouraged.** It is realized that committees headed by men used digital means of responsibility discharged in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies. However, the study suggests that women should be encouraged to employ the use of digital technology to facilitate the discharge of duties in Nigeria.

**Conscious reforms should be undertaken with the goal of addressing socio-cultural and patriarchal concerns.** This is especially essential in light of the fact that African society is overwhelmingly non-egalitarian. Thus, the fact that they are protected by policies would motivate the vast majority of women to vote in legislative elections. As a result of such measures, women are more likely to participate in legislative elections without hesitation in both the short and long term, as well as to be willing to assume leadership responsibilities, all of which are necessary for preparing for a legislative seat.

**Public education should dispel the widely held assumption that politics is solely a male domain of endeavor.** The psychological impact of such a thought on the psyche of female political activists is that they are even more deterred from participating actively in the political process in the future. As a result, education initiatives must be conducted in order to encourage participation in the political process. Women must be educated and informed that political participation is not confined to election campaigns and mobilization, which is why there is a greater need to engage them through awareness initiatives. They should also be aware that, in order for political engagement to be really inclusive, equal participation by both men and women must be achieved.

**Incentives for aspirants within the party should be offered in the form of funding.** It follows that gender distinctions in the distribution of specialized trust funds for executing political campaigns should be avoided, because politics is recognized to be a capital-intensive endeavor, as opposed to other endeavors. In fact, special consideration should be given to the female gender, as this would go a long way toward encouraging women to participate actively in politics, particularly in legislative elections, which would be beneficial. In order to increase women's participation in politics, political parties should be transformed into the institutional vehicle that facilitates their participation inside party structures, particularly through financial incentives.

**Educating people on the dangers of unhealthy politics.** Politics in Nigeria is widely regarded as violent, and it is frequently antagonistic to and stigmatizes women of reproductive age. As a result, measures should be put in place to penalize those who commit acts of violence while also working to reduce the stigma attached to female politicians who are referred to as prostitutes. In order to accomplish this, policymakers and stakeholders should launch a concerted campaign to raise awareness about all types of gender-based antagonism in the election process.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

The legislature is the heart of a democratic government. However, no one can dispute the fact that the legislature exemplifies the very essence of democracy, as it is "a representative governmental body through which the will of the people is transformed into the will of the polity in the form of law. As a matter of fact, while democracy is synonymous with public involvement, an institution characterized by a membership drawn from neatly partitioned constituencies is no less a symbol of democratic participation. As a result, given the generic character of legislatures throughout the world, which is comprised of members elected through period elections, it is necessary to study women's distribution and representation in legislatures around the world. For example, if the legislature is truly representative of the people, its composition should reflect that nature in terms of the proportion of women in the legislature, therefore reflecting the makeup of the greater population in a proportionate manner.

Despite the fact that this study emphasizes the importance of substantive women representation in the activities of representation, it should be noted that women constitute an insignificant of Nigeria's population, thereby making insignificant and largely unacknowledged contributions to economic life as well as playing critical roles in all spheres of the society. Yet, actual evidence indicates that they are discriminated against in the political process, and that their marginalization is particularly prominent during democratic transitions. According to field data as well as published literature, women in Nigeria hold less than 8% of major decision-making positions in government and business. As a result, the National Assembly has an inexcusably low representation of women, despite the fact that women have made significant contributions to the socio-political development of the nation. With regard to the proclaimed egalitarianism that democracy implies, the number of women serving in the national assemblies.

Given the available pieces of evidence, there appeared to be a consensus on the issue of women's underrepresentation in the legislative branch, which is further supported by data from the Clerk's office. Additionally, there was an apparent concerted effort inside the national assembly against gender equality roles with visible low committee commitments due to discriminatory hiring practices. According to the most recent available data not all women elected into the national assembly had committees' leadership positions despite their few numbers. This is because the men in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> assemblies outnumbered women. As admirable as this gesture appears to be, one would have expected that, given the fact that women make up lower than 30% of the overall assemblies population, they should all have committees which they lead. Nonetheless, not only has the situation remained unchanged, but the number of women who have returned to the assemblies has also decreased.

Despite the foregoing, there is a reinvigorated global push underway to achieve gender equality by 2035 for all people, regardless of gender. As a result, in order to increase women's participation in the national assembly, stakeholders should make a concerted effort to guarantee that the terms of the National Gender Policy document and its implementation are followed.

#### **5.4 Contribution to knowledge**

There have been a number of different gender-based studies conducted in the past. The present study, on the other hand, contributes to the body of literature in that it critically examines gender distribution in the National Assembly Committees with specific evidence from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Assemblies. Women's legislative representation in the national assembly's is also highlighted in the report, which also examines the impediments to women's legislative representation and proposes measures to increase women's representation in the national Assembly.

### **5.5 Suggestion for further study**

Future research should focus on examining the influence of women's representation at the state legislative Assembly on the socio-economic well-being of the people of the state as this study did in addition to offering ideas for improving women's legislative distribution and representation in the national assembly

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## APPENDIX I

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### Women, Leadership and Performance: A Study of Women Representation in Selected Committees of the 8th and 9th National Assembly

##### General Background Information

1. Name and designation of the interviewee.....
2. Committee designation.....
3. Sex.....
4. Age bracket....  20-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  Above 61
5. Constituency... North West  North East  North Central  South West
6.  South East  South South
7. Education..... Primary  Secondary  ND/NCE  BSc  MSc  PhD

##### CHECKLIST

1. Are women really the cause of their low representation at the National Assembly?
2. What are the factors responsible for women's low representation at the National Assembly?
3. What are the causes of low women representation and distribution in the committees of the National Assembly?
4. Does the educational qualification of women determine their leadership status at the committee stage?
5. What are the factors that affect the performance of committees chaired by women in the National Assembly?
6. What possible measures can be put in place to ensure that women are adequately represented at the National Assembly?

**APPENDIX II**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

*Women, Leadership and Performance: A Study of Women Representation in Selected Committees of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly*

Dear respondent,

I am currently enrolled in a master's program at the National Institute of Legislative and Democratic Studies/UNIBEN programme. I am currently conducting research on *Women, Leadership and Performance: A Study of Women Representation in Selected Committees of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly*. I am interested in hearing your responses to the following questions. You are not required to submit your name. Your information will be treated as completely confidential and will not be shared with a third party. Thank you for your cooperation.

**Section A: Social Demography**

- 1. Gender  Male  Female
- 2. Age Bracket 18-28 29-39 40-59 50-69 70 and above
- 3. Education  Primary School  Secondary School OND/HND Degree Master PhD
- 4. Constituency -----
- 5. Geopolitical Zone North-east North-west North-central South-east  South-south Southwest

**Section B: Roles played by the NASS in Women representation**

- 6. What role does the National Assembly play in women representation in Nigeria? -----  
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- 7. How has the role played by the National Assembly ensured equal representation of women in the legislature? -----
- 8. Are you aware of specific legislature that has been passed by the national assembly toward ensuring equal representation at committee levels? -----
- 9. In what areas has these legislations influenced women committee leadership in the national assembly? -----