

INCLUSIVE GOVERNANCE: GENDER REPRESENTATION AND EQUITY IN
AFRICA'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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Abstract

Inclusive governance as it relates to gender equality entails equal access to opportunities for men and women in every sphere. It is a fact that politics affect the economy, and vice versa, hence it is therefore critical that men and women are equitably represented in governance in order to make positive impact in every sector particularly in the political and economic sector. The aim of this study is to advocate for gender equality in governance by providing structures that encourage women participation and curbing factors that discourage gender exclusion. This is apposite for maximum efficiency because affording women a level playing ground with their male counterparts will increase productivity and growth in African nations. The method employed is doctrinal and the work is analytical and comparative in scope. The study x-rayed extant laws that promote gender equality, it analysed factors that exacerbate gender parity and found that despite plethora of laws on gender equality at international, regional and municipal level that many women are still marginalized in governance particularly in politics and economic sector in Africa. Further, the work observed that there is a nexus between economic rights and politics. The study observes that inclusive governance strengthens the society by spreading resources across the board, affording every citizen the opportunity access socioeconomic rights at every level. While exclusion breeds poverty and insecurity in the system. Accordingly, the paper recommends review and implementation of extant laws such as 1999 Constitution. Further, Nigeria should make laws that are gender sensitive and encourage inclusive representation in their policies. While eradication of factors that exacerbate inequality is apposite.

Keywords: Governance, Inclusive Governance, Women in Government, Affirmative Action, Vibrant Economy.

1.0 Introduction

Globally, particularly in Africa, women have been systematically and consistently excluded from both leadership and meaningful economic enterprise. When a woman is urged to do something with her life, the meaning is often something petty and inconsequential. Empowerment is aimed at aiding the woman to stop constituting a nuisance or disturbing her male counterparts. Never aimed at making her wealthy, independent and powerful. This attitude has affected the rights of women in every sphere particularly in leadership positions. Exclusion breeds poverty by preventing women from accessing power and resources in the system. This anomaly can be traced to patriarchal system in Africa that exclude the girl child from accessing education, which prevents her from competing favourably with her male counterparts in every sphere. With respect to politics inequality gender parity is visible particularly in Nigeria. Studies show that Nigeria lags significantly behind continental average in politics and governance. As at 2023, women held only 3.91 % of seats in

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Nigeria's lower House. In the Senate, 3 out of 109 seats are held by women (2.7%). In House of Representation, women have only 17 out of 360 seats, only (4.7%). On a broader level, women make up only 6.7% of all political leadership roles in 2023, far below the global average (22.5%) and Africa's average 23 (4%). Beyond parliament, women remain virtually absent from executive and gubernatorial leadership. It is unfortunate to note that no woman has ever been elected as Nigerian president, vice president or governor since Nigerian Independence. This study makes the following proposals: Firstly, whether there are factors that exacerbate gender inequality. Secondly, whether there are laws that provides for gender inclusion in governance particularly with respect to politics and economics. Thirdly, whether Government of Nigeria can provide enabling environment to promote gender inclusion in governance.

1.1 Inclusive Governance

Governance relates to the ability of a state to make and enforce rules and to deliver services irrespective of the kind of regime that is in place (i.e. whether it is democratic or authoritarian or a hybrid that combines features of both). Governance is about the ability of actors to perform towards objectives and ambitions that derive from the dynamic interaction and power struggles among actors of state and society irrespective of what those objectives might be.¹ While, inclusive governance refers to a system of decision-making where all stakeholders, regardless of their background, identity or socioeconomic status, have a voice in shaping policies, laws, and institutional practices. It ensures fair representation, equitable access to resources, and active participation from diverse groups in governance structures.²

1.1.1 Benefits of Inclusive Governance

Inclusive governance is beneficial in that it has proved to achieve the following:

Promote Diversity and Representation: Inclusive Governance ensures that people from various ethnicities, genders, disabilities, and marginalized communities have a seat at the decision-making table. This fosters policies that reflect the needs of all citizens.

Strengthens Democracy: A government or institution that incorporates diverse perspectives builds stronger democratic foundations, reducing bias and preventing the dominance of a single group.

Improves Policy Outcomes: Policies designed with input from diverse voices are more effective in addressing systemic inequalities, economic disparities, and social injustices.

Enhances Social Cohesion: Societies that practice inclusive governance experience higher levels of trust, reduced conflicts, and stronger civic engagement, as people feel heard and valued.³

In this work, inclusive governance is gender specific, x-raying female representation level in governance as opposed to their male counterpart in Africa.

¹ Fukuyama, F. "what is Governance?" (2013). Center for Global Development Working Paper, No 314, Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2226592>. Accessed 13/07/25.

² The OR Briefings, "Inclusive Governance: Definition, Importance, and Best Practices" Available at <https://oxford-review.com/inclusive-governance-framework>. Accessed 13/07/25

³ *ibid*

1.2 Political economy

Political economy is a social science that focuses on the relationship between politics and the economy. It examines how politics and the economy influence each other.⁴ Political economy is a branch of social science that studies the relationship between a nation's economy, its political landscape, and public policy and how these factors influence one another.⁵

Some of the characteristics or themes of a political economy include the distribution of wealth, how goods and services are produced, who owns property and other resources, who profits from production, supply and demand, and how public policy and government interaction impact society.⁶

From the foregoing, it is obvious that gender-based representation is essential for effective women economic empowerment.

2.0 Legal framework for gender specific inclusive governance

2.1 The UDHR and other Rights Instruments

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 was the first human rights instrument that entrenched the guiding principles of the secular state and human rights culture globally. It states that everyone is entitled to all the freedoms listed in the UDHR, without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.⁷ Most importantly, the UDHR provided that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives, the will of the people is to be the basis of the authority of government; the will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures. Though the provisions of the UDHR are not binding, they effectively set the tone for other binding human rights instruments.⁸

Article 2 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and article 2 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), both included a clause that guarantees the rights to non-discrimination between men and women.

The United Nations General Assembly also adopted the Convention on the political Rights of Women, which went into force in 1954, enshrining the equal rights of women to vote, hold office and access public services as set out by national laws.

The Beijing Conference of 1995 provided a unique opportunity for women to become a critical part of the decision-making process in matters relating to economic, political, and social advancement the world over. The Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) touched on 12 critical areas of women's concerns across wellbeing, decision making, advancement, and safe spaces. The adoption of the

⁴ <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/political-economy.asp>

⁵ *ibid*

⁶ *ibid*

⁷ Article 2 of the United Nations, General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Resolution 217 A 1948

⁸ *Ibid*, article 21

Millennium Development Goals (2000) as a global strategy for poverty reduction further heightened the need to focus on the improvement of the status of women, while at its expiration in 2015, a new set of Sustainable National Gender Policy Not Nation Gender Policy Development Goals (SDGs) was adopted by the United Nations further propelled a global vision for the achievement of gender equality and empowerment of girls as a central point to all the 17 SDGs, and to be inculcated into various fields of human endeavor. At the regional level, Africa has responded to the global waves of rights and development. In 1981, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights was adopted as a major continental instrument in the field of human rights protection in Africa. In addition, Nigeria ratified the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) on 16 December 2004. As expressed in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), which was adopted in 1981 and became operational on October 21, 1986, member states established bodies to protect and promote human and people's rights. The most important obligation for each country is to adopt legislative or other measures to protect the dignity of Africa and its people. The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) adopted in July 2001 was equally designed to address the current challenges facing the African continent. It addresses issues such as escalating poverty levels, underdevelopment, and the continued marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation processes, which were of serious concern to Africa leaders. Importantly, NEPAD has the acceleration of women empowerment as one of its strategic objectives, as it anchors the development of Africa on its resources and the resourcefulness of its people, and ensuring that all partnerships with NEPAD are linked to all internationally agreed development targets and the gender equality and social inclusion agenda. The adoption of the AU Gender Policy in 2009 and its implementation plan has been inspired by the overwhelming political will and commitment demonstrated by the African Union's Heads of States and Government who in the last few years have adopted important decisions. At the sub-regional level, the ECOWAS Gender Policy development process was initiated in 2000 and the gender policy document was finalised in 2003 with the establishment of a Gender Technical Commission, a Gender Division within the Executive Secretariat, and the transformation of ECOWAS Gender Development Centre, which provides the necessary structures and frameworks for gender mainstreaming and a Strategic Plan framework and guidelines on the structures and mechanisms of the Gender Management Systems (GMS) for ECOWAS.

2.2 CEDAW

As seen before, a number of legal instruments, both international and municipal contain provisions geared toward protecting the rights of women. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, which is often described as the 'international bill of rights of women'. It codified women's rights to equality in all spheres of life as a global norm.

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women however, is gender specific. Article 1 of the Convention prohibits any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex, which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the enjoyment and exercise of rights by women on an equal basis with men.⁹ It also provides that Governments must not allow discrimination against girls and women. Reiterating for the need for viable laws and

⁹ Article 1, CEDAW 1981

policies to protect them from any discrimination. Hence, all national laws and policies are to be based on equality of girls and women and boys and men. There should be punishment for not following the law.¹⁰ When it comes to politics, the Convention provides that women have the same right to vote and be elected to government positions. Girls and women have the right to take part in the decisions that affect their lives.¹¹

Most importantly, the Convention provides for Governments to take special measures or special actions to end discrimination against girls and women.¹² This special measure is affirmative action.

2.3 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999

1999 Constitution of Nigeria made provisions that are supposed to equally protect the interests of both men and women. Some of such provisions are contained in chapter four of the Constitution. The Constitution guarantees fundamental rights that apply to both men and women, including the right to life, dignity of the human person, personal liberty, fair hearing, private and family life, freedom of expression, peaceful assembly, freedom of movement, freedom from discrimination, and the right to acquire and own immovable property. Section 42 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination based on gender.

The 1999 Constitution provides the legal framework for elections, and does not discriminate against women. It grants women the same rights as men to participate in elections, including the right to vote and be voted for, provided they meet the criteria.

The idea of affirmative action is not entirely foreign to Nigerian Constitution. Section 14(3) provides that the composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few States or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies. Section 14(4) provides that the composition of the Government of a State, a local government council, or any of the agencies of such Government or council, and the conduct of the affairs of the Government or council or such agencies shall be carried out in such manner as to recognise the diversity of the people within its area of authority and the need to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among all the peoples of the Federation.¹³

2.4 International Standards for women's Political Participation

A number of internationally agreed norms and standards relate to women's leadership and political participation. Among the most prominent are:

The 2011 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political participation¹⁴ stresses its critical importance in all contexts. It calls on UN Member States to take a variety of measures, including:

¹⁰ Article 2, CEDAW

¹¹ Article 7

¹² Article 4

¹³ 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended).

¹⁴ The 2011 UN General Assembly Resolution on Women's Political Participation (A/RES/66/130)

- To review the differential impact of their electoral systems on the political participation of women and their representation in elected bodies and to adjust or reform those systems where appropriate;
- To strongly encourage political parties to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women, to develop their capacity to analyse issues from a gender perspective, and to adopt policies, as appropriate, to promote the ability of women to participate fully at all levels of decision-making within those political parties;
- To promote awareness and recognition of the importance of women's participation in the political process at the community, local, national and international levels;
- To investigate allegations of violence, assault or harassment of women elected officials and candidates for political office, create an environment of zero tolerance for such offences and, to ensure accountability, take all appropriate steps to prosecute those responsible; and
- To encourage greater involvement of women who may be marginalized, including indigenous women, women with disabilities, women from rural areas and women of any ethnic, cultural or religious minority, in decision-making at all levels, and address and counter the barriers faced by marginalized women in accessing and participating in politics and decision-making at all levels.

While, the 2025 UN General Assembly resolution on Women's Political declaration on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women¹⁵, emphasize that the full, effective and accelerated implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the fulfilment of the obligations under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and girls and the full and equal enjoyment of all their human rights and fundamental freedoms, and call upon States that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to the Convention and the Optional Protocol thereto, recognize that 2025 provides a momentous opportunity to bring Member States together to intensify action to achieve the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls, with the convergence of the thirtieth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women and other major platforms and processes.¹⁶ It reaffirms the need to respect , protect and promote all human rights and fundamental freedoms, civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights, including the rights to development, for all women and girls throughout their life course, without distinction of any kind, while upholding the rule of law, the principles of equality, non- discrimination, and ensuring equal access to justice, freedom from violence and removal of all structural barriers to the empowerment of all women and girls. It also reaffirm that gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls are essential for sustainable development and fulfilling our pledge to leave no one behind, and emphasize the mutually reinforcing relationship between the achievement of gender equality and the full, effective and accelerated implementation of the 2030 Agenda, and the outcome of major United Nations Conference and Summits.

¹⁵United Nations Commission on the Status of Women Sixty -ninth Session, Follow-up to Fourth World Conference on Women and to the twenty-third Special Session of the General Assembly, entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty -First Century". Draft Resolution Submitted By The Chair of the Commission on The Status of Women.

¹⁶ibid.

The UN Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/15 calls on governments, political parties, trade unions, and professional and other representative groups to adopt a 30 percent minimum proportion of women in leadership positions, with a view to achieving equal representation.¹⁷

The Beijing Platform for Action reiterates resolution 1990/15 and calls for an increase in women's representation in Strategic Objective G2.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women includes commitments under Article 7 on political and public life, and Article 8 on representation.

Nigeria is a signatory to most of these international instruments. However, some of them, like the CEDAW are unenforceable in Nigeria, by virtue of section 12 of 1999 Constitution which provides that no treaty between the Federation and any other country shall have the force of law without ratification by National House of Assembly.

3.0 African Women and Participation in Politics

Africa has had 22 female heads of state or government, either elected or serving in an acting capacity, since the 1970s across 17 different countries, meaning that 32% of Africa's 55 nations have had a woman occupying the highest political position. While it is significant that women have been able to ascend to the top political offices, this alone is not a good indication of women's participation in politics. Women's representation at a parliamentary level remains low.¹⁸ Women continue to face discrimination and prejudice relating to their involvement in politics. While progress has been made throughout the continent and women are elected into public office, the rate of progress has been slow.¹⁹

African countries, like Rwanda, Senegal, and South Africa have women almost adequately represented in politics while others like Ghana are still coming up; with Nigeria at the bottom rung of the ladder of women representation in politics.

3.1 Rwanda

When it comes to women's participation in politics, Rwanda is one of the countries, not only in Africa, but globally, where women are adequately represented. With 53.9% of the country's parliamentarians being women, the country is placed, not only well above the world average, but also as one of the world leaders in female political participation, at a parliamentary level.²⁰

3.2 South Africa

South Africa has a respectable gender balance of 55.6/44.4, in favour of male representation, which still places South Africa as a country with one of the best parliament gender balances in the world. This is in part aided by the governing party, the African National Congress's (ANC) policy of a

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ Conflict and Resilience Monitor, "Women's Participation in 2024's Electoral Politics in Africa". Available at <https://www.acclord.org.za/analysis/womens-participation-in-2024s-electoral-politics-in-Africa/> accessed 18/07/25.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ *ibid*

50/50 gender balance of the party's parliamentary list, also illustrating the effectiveness and viability of policies aimed at improving women's participation.²¹

3.3 Nigeria

In Nigeria, there has been a woman senator in every National Assembly since 1999. However, their numbers have consistently been low. The 2023 general elections again, delivered low numbers for women in the National Assembly. The representation of women in the new Assembly is not a significant improvement from the outgoing 9th Assembly. The 10th Assembly will have women occupying 3 out of 109 seats (2.7%) in the Senate and 17 out of 360 seats in the House of Representatives (4.7%), which represents 4.2% of the 469-member Assembly. In the 9th National Assembly, there were 8 female Senators (7.3%) and 13 female Members of the House of Representatives (3.6%), which represents 4.5% of the entire Assembly. After seven general election cycles since 1999, the number of women in the Senate has dropped to what it was at Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999.²²

Women's lack of adequate representation in political processes has negatively impacted the promotion and enforcement of their rights due to many factors that will be discussed seriatim. An example is the Gender and Equal Opportunity Bill which was presented at the Nigerian Senate for a second reading on 15th March, 2016 and was rejected.²³

4.0 Challenges to Gender Inclusive Governance in Africa

One of the main challenges is that progress in transformative female political leadership requires a change in mindsets, attitudes and even culture in some instances. Africa is continuously battling profoundly entrenched patriarchy, hindering respect for women as political leaders. Also challenges in systems such as electoral frameworks and resources for women to campaign in elections, politically perpetrated violence, lack of political will to consciously improve the levels of women in political participation.²⁴

In Nigeria, women face many challenges to the enjoyment of their rights. These challenges stem mainly from socio- cultural and religious factors. Other challenges include lack of awareness of their rights by women, illiteracy, and poverty. This has led to gender inequality, discrimination and subordination of women. Discrimination against women is embedded in all dimensions of culture. It is a multidimensional imbalance of social, political, and institutional power that builds up over time and then becomes normalized and acceptable to most people in the society. Because the Nigerian society, tradition, and religion support male authority and superiority, privilege is embedded in being a member of the dominant group that occupies the position of power.²⁵

²¹ *ibid*

²² PLAC, Worrying Numbers for Women in 10th Nass, Placng.org/Legist/worrying-numbers-for-women-in-10th-nass/ accessed 18/07/25.

²³ BO Eke, "Women's Representation in Nigeria's National Assembly: An Assessment of their Contributions to Legislative Activities of the 8th and 9th Assemblies. Available at <https://ir.nilds.gov.ng/handle/123456789/889> accessed 18/07/25.

²⁴ Sifisosami Dube, "Enhancing Women's Political Participation in Africa" <https://idea.int/news/enhancing-women's-political-participation-africa>. Accessed on 13/07/25.

²⁵ Tomi Grace Obagboye, "Protecting women's Rights in Nigeria in the 21st Century: Challenges and Prospects" *AJLHR* 4 (1) 2020, pp 112-124. Available at: <https://journals.ezenwaohaetorc.org/index.php/AJLHR/article> accessed 20/07/25.

5.0 Affirmative Action: A Way Forward

Affirmative action is defined as a set of procedures designed to eliminate unlawful discrimination..., remedy the results of such prior discrimination, and prevent such discrimination in the future.²⁶

Affirmative action is a term used in the USA to depict a set of laws, policies, guidelines, and government-mandated and government-sanctioned administrative practices, including those of private institutions, intended to end and correct the effects of a specific form of discrimination. It seeks to end the effects of discriminatory practices that violate the inherent equality of persons who, because they share certain attributes such as sex or skin colour, have been denied opportunities on the ground that they are inferior or different. Affirmative action aims to reduce present discrimination against members of targeted groups such as ..., women, and the handicapped, and to increase their numbers within certain occupations and professions and at universities and colleges.²⁷

It is noteworthy that all high-performing countries—Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, and Kenya—have a quota system, either voluntary at the party level or legislated. Most have a combination of both. For example, in South Africa, the electoral law mandates that parties ensure that women candidates make up 50 percent of the party list in subnational elections. South Africa's largest political party, the African National Congress, extends this 50 percent quota to its national list.²⁸

5.1 The National Gender Policy

The National Gender Policy is the Nigerian version of affirmative action aimed at bridging the gender gap in all areas. As part of the effort to promote gender equality and equity in Nigeria, the National Gender Policy by the Ministry of health was developed in 2006. It has since been reviewed and is now the National Gender Policy 2021-2026. The objectives of the revised National Gender Policy, among others, are to bridge gender/social inclusion gaps and achieve parity in all spheres of life, explore and fully harness women's capital assets as a growth driver for national development through women's economic empowerment, advance women's participation and representation in leadership and governance, and to ensure that gender equity concerns are integrated into social protection, and complex humanitarian actions, legislations and policies.²⁹ The targets of the policy with regard to gender inclusivity are:

- i. Adoption of the gender affirmative action of 50:50 parity in all elective and appointive positions, in line with the global and regional best practices.
- ii. Regulation of the political environment to reduce god-fatherism and monetized politics which are detrimental to women's participation in politics and popular democracy
- iii. Compliance of all political parties in the country with the 50% Affirmative Action for women in leadership positions (elective and appointive) within political party system and in presenting candidates for political offices (e.g. political parties' primary elections).
- iv. Enactment of relevant policy and legal frameworks to institutionalise GEESI³⁰ principles into the Nigerian political system and structures

²⁶Legal Information Institute, "Affirmative Action" Available at; https://www.law.cornel.edu/wex/affirmative_action. Accessed 13/07/25.

²⁷Walter Feinberg, "Affirmative Action" Oxford Academic -Oxford University Press, 272-299 <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/> accessed 16/07/25

²⁸Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2023/05/why-women-haven't-been-successful-in-nigerian-elections?lang=en>. Accessed 14/07/25.

²⁹ National Gender policy, 2.4., 32

³⁰ Gender equality, empowerment of women and social inclusion.

- v. Political parties to mainstream gender and social inclusion frameworks into party operations and administrative structures
- vi. Increase the number of women into appointive key positions in public life including the public and private institutions, corporations, board-rooms and at the community level.³¹

In 2022, a Nigerian court ordered the Nigerian Federal Government to implement the 35% affirmative action policy for women. The decision stemmed from a lawsuit filed by several women's rights organizations and was delivered by Justice Donatus Okorowo at the Federal High Court. The court ruled that the National Gender Policy should be implemented to ensure gender balance in appointments. The ruling is seen as a significant step towards greater inclusivity and reflects the importance of the National Gender Policy for Nigerian women.

Since the ruling however, governments at various levels have failed to implement the policy by not meeting the 35% women inclusion quota. Two years after the judgement, women groups are again calling on President Bola Tinubu to prioritise female representation in his government. In her comments, the National President of the International Federation of Women lawyers (FIDA), Amina Agbaje, lamented that the Tinubu Led administration appointed fewer women as ministers. The proportion of women on President Tinubu's ministerial list fall short of the 35% affirmative action, with 8 women out of 45 ministers.³²

The 2023 elections in Nigeria proved that this gender policy has had very minimal impact as the percentage of women representation in the national house dropped even further.

6.0 Conclusion

Nigerian women are still largely marginalized and unrepresented in politics. It is counter-productive to continue to lay the blame of low participation of women in politics on the age-old patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society. Nigeria cannot continue to pretend to be more African than other African countries. The gap is simply too much to admit or sustain any excuse. If Rwanda, South Africa, Senegal and Kenya to mention but a few, can change their attitude, and admit women into the higher echelons of their political positions, Nigeria should be able to do so too.

7.0 Recommendations

For there to be a gender wise change in the political sphere in Nigeria:

1. The government has to take the issue very seriously and not only pay lip service to the idea.
2. Nigeria should be proactive by encouraging targeted programs such as leadership training, funding and support.
3. The constitution should be amended to admit and enforce positive action equal participation of women in politics.
4. The government should study the strategy employed by successful African countries like Rwanda and South Africa and try to replicate such.
5. All international documents protecting women's rights, especially the CEDAW, should be domesticated.

³¹ibid, 67

³²Mariam Ilyemi, "Two years after judgement, women task Tinubu on 35% affirmative action" Premium Times, April 10, 2024 available at <https://premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/685073-two-years-after-judgement-women-task-tinubu> accessed 20/07/25.