An Analysis of Women Participation in Nigeria's Politics

Joy Ucha Egwu
Department of Political Science Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki.

ABSTRACT
Despite the United Nations Declaration on Women's right in politics and governance and the specific pegging of 35% of positions for women in governance and affirmative action, Nigeria women's still lack in political participation. This paper seeks to unravel and characterize the obstacles in the way of Nigerian Women participation in politics and governance. Specifically, the paper demonstrates dialectically that not having women in Nigerian politics is like a contradiction in the country's quest for speedy development. After all, there is a woman in every home that is supposed to contribute her quota in the country. The paper uses secondary data. Radical feminist theory is used to analyse this study. The hypotheses to test include; traditional patriarchal system hinders women's political participation in Ebonyi State, and the nondomestication of 35 percentage Affirmative Action affects women political participation in Nigeria. The conclusion demonstrates that women have the capacity to lead Nigeria out of its current parlous politics and economic quagmire. The paper recommends a redistribution of positions by using gender based quota system in the nation's leaderships hierarchy.
KEYWORDS: *Political Participation, Women, Patriarchy, Development, Distribution and Affirmative action.*

I.   INTRODUCTION

In most countries, women in government in the modern era are under-represented in contrast to men, irrespective of their large population. According to World Population statistics (2020), the total number of the world's population is about 7,780, 650 billion and women constitute about 3,856,029 billion (49.6%). Despite the fact that women constitute this much, they are denied equal participation in politics.

In Nigeria the marginalization of women in politics is more pronounced in Ebonyi State of Nigeria where the research is carried out. The population of Ebonyi State is estimated at 2,880,400; (National Population Commission of Nigeria 2016) while the women's population is estimated at 1,112,791 which is more than half of the entire population. In Nigeria, the marginalization of women in politics is more pronounced in the democratization process than in the Highly Developed Countries, Nigerian's total population is 206,058,561 and women constitute the quota of 101,715,121 (49.4%) of Nigerian's Population (2020). Since the return of democracy in (1999) coupled with the United Nation's 35% Affirmative Action declaration in Beijing, women are trying to gain access to political participation by being elected into decision making bodies at various levels. Their efforts however have not yielded appreciable gains. Instead, there have been a decline in the number of elected women candidates from 2011 to 2019 general elections which statistically shows that in 2011 general elections there was 7.2% women elected into positions but the percentage declined during the 2015 – 2019 general elections to 3.8% while the number of women that participated in electoral processes during campaigns had increased (Independent National Electoral Commission 2019).

Irrespective of the UN 35% Affirmative Action, some cultures and societies tend to perpetuate in equality between males and females in the society. In Nigeria, the political system is highly patriarchal in nature with men often at the head of the political affairs while the women are left with insignificant positions. Consequently, the domestication of the UN 35% Affirmative Action by the Nigeria Legislatures continues to remain futile and redundant. The Convention or the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is an International Treaty adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly and was described as the International Bill of Rights for Women. It encourages positive measures to advance gender equality and 188 Nation States have ratified it, including Nigeria as a signatory. However, the implementation remains problematic. Nwankwo (2013; Vanguard 2013) as a representative of CEDAW says that, although CEDAW was ratified by Nigeria in 1985 yet as at 2020, it has not been domesticated by the legislatives. Article 12 says that even when a government has ratified an international treaty, such a treaty cannot be enforceable unless it has been domesticated of which Nigeria has not till date.

Although, no country in the world has yet achieved gender participation equity but the Nordic countries have consistently stood out in the world. Such countries as Finland Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland have close to over 80% of their gender gaps filled up. Other countries that have domesticated the Women's Bill of

Right as regards gender equality have the statistics of their women in parliaments as follows: Bolivia 53% women in parliament, Cuba 49%, Seychelles 44% and United States 19%. Coming down to African, in terms of gender parity Rwanda leads Africa with 64% of the women in their national legislature. Furthermore, Senegalese women in parliament ranks 7th World wide as Senegal has 42.7% women representatives in their parliament; (Inter Parliamentary Union Data 2010). These countries are now both the role models and benchmarks to Africa and the world. So what is the secret of their success?

Pearson (2000) points out that unequal gender relations have made it difficult for one half of the population (women) to make significant contributions to the development of the world hence the need to understand gender and gender relations. The concept of gender is better understood when analysed with the concept of sex, gender relations and patriarchy. All human beings are normally born either male or female with their sex characteristic differences but with the gender roles assigned to each sex by the society. The usual consequences of these roles are the female gender is discriminated and marginalized as far as the social roles are concerned. Such roles include political participation and governance.

Also, Wollack, (2010) states that gender relations are part of social relations; referring to the ways in which the social categories of men and women relate over the whole range of social institutions and organizations. Again, gender relations describe the social meaning of being male or female and thus what is considered appropriate behavior or activities for men and women. As it stands, most societies are patriarchal and so, the gender social roles for men include political participation leadership and governance. That is why it is too difficult for men to shift a little for women's equal political participation because for centuries, men have been socialized into governance and leadership. Hence all over the world, there is gradual adherence to the tennets of gender inequality in political participation and governance.

Statement to the Problem

The development and sustenance of any nation require the participation of the two parties of men and women. The patriarchy system of political culture in most societies where men dominate politics and governance, has denied women from participating in politics. Nigeria's population is estimated to be 200,923,640 and women form 49.4% of this figure with a total of 99.180.412. Yet, female political representation in 2019 election was negligible, relative to approximately the half of the population they constitute. Only 2,970 women were contestants on the electoral ballot box representing 11.36% of nominated candidates out of 26,137. Consequently, only 62 women were recorded as elected, a meagre 4.17% of all elected officials. This represents a steady decline from the 2015-2019 period where women formed 5.65% of the elected officials who contested for different offices in the 2019 general election (INEC 2019)

Iloh and Ikenna (2009) note that "women constitute almost half of the country and make up 62% of the voters, yet they have insignificant percentage of representation in the national government. Their numerical strength has not translated into improved representation like their male counterparts". It is worthy to note that the representation of both appointive and elective offices for women negate the principle of democracy which is against the strongest index for measuring democracy where numbers or majority is the hall mark of being elected into offices.

The discrimination of women into elective and appointed positions have been a long process or phenomenon in Nigerian history. So many factors have been attributed to the reasons for such actions: factors like culture, patriarchy, education, violence and non-domestication of affirmative action of 35 percentage by the UN convention. In view of the above statement of the problem, the following research questions are raised; (a) Does patriarchal structure of a system hinder women political participation? (b) Does non-domestication of the 35% Affirmative Action affect women's political participation in Ebonyi State?

Conceptual and Literature Review
Patriarchy and women political participation

Patriarchy is a social system where the role of man as the main authority figure is fundamental to social groups and associations, Pogson, (2012). In this system, the man is considered as the leader of his household unit, where his responsibilities are to provide for the family. He has the final say on matters that concern the unit while women are confined to the domestic work within the household. The women are by religion and culture, expected to be very submissive and subordinate to the man.

Walby, (1990); sees patriarchy as a system of social structure and practices where men are dominant and exploit women. Also, it manifests in male domination, both in public and private spheres and consequently make women inferior and subdued in the society. This makes one sex dominant (male) whereas by default the other sex (females) become subordinate to men. In the society, the social norms determine the division of labour for men and women. Female children are therefore left to do the household chores while their male counterparts are socialized into public life such as decision making and political participation because men are always the head, representing the family in public spheres and so on. As the boys are growing these work roles perception are inculcated into their minds set that they are certain roles constructed by society for men and also certain

other jobs for women. Oluwole, (2014), stated that women's biological traits accounts for their passive and submissive nature. However, this paper debunks that position by arguing that, in contemporary societies, women are involved or are participating excellently in the jobs originally reserved for men. Have the women in men's roles today now changed their psychological traits? I doubt that their physiology has even changed.

We should note that these norms and role perception have ben existing from the ancient times. The argument is that during the pre-colonial period and now, Nigerian women have participated in leadership. The paper is asking, what positions did the women occupy and what types of decisions were the women making? Women had occupied such positions as being the custodian of the palace treasury in the past, including the Royal Insignia and the king's paraphernalia of office and the crowning of the kings during the coronation ceremony in the old Western Nigeria. In the Eastern part of Nigeria, the Igbo females had market groups representatives who joined their male counterparts in discussing matters affecting them. The colonialists advanced their evil agenda and declined the level of women participation during the colonial period as opposed to the pre-colonial period; Pearce (2000).

Some communities in Nigeria such as the author's; that is Unwana in Afikpo North Local Government Area of Ebonyi State, are dominated by matriarchal social structural systems where the children belonged to their mother's families. This paper also argues that even in the matriarchal structural system, men in their families still dominated the female just as in the patriarchal system. It is worth noting that this patriarchal system prevailed in different parts of the Society for instance, in the area of culture, economy, social, political and religious spheres.

Political Parties are the primary platforms upon which people get access to legislative and executive bodies. As a result of patriarchal structural system, the political parties are structured in favor of men to the detriment of women. The party structure could be issue based, criticism or patronage based. Whichever, patriarchy rules. Often politics run on clientelism or patronage based parties, which means that there is favoritism, based on "old boys" networks. This puts the women at a disadvantage as they are new comers and do not have the kind of social influence that the men do; UN (2015). Moreover, the old boys had come from school periods far back whereas women education is just kicking off. Women do not have enough "old girls" to compete with, since girls were discriminated against in education, until lately. Even now in the Muslim North, most girl children are predominantly not in school.

In Kenya, women's participation in politics especially in holding offices, has been dismal with few women presenting themselves for nomination and fewer being elected because the kind of network that the women have is not as elaborate as the ones that old boys have; Otieni, (2013). This is also the case in Ebonyi State. The few women in the legislature experience challenges as their numbers would not permit them to speak with a voice that could cause them to change the platform for women political participation in future.

The patriarchal structure of politics in Nigeria is still something to grapple with irrespective of the fact that women make up more than 50 percent of the voters (INEC, 2019), yet only 3.8% of the women were elected into power. If women's voters' registration numbers were insignificant that would have showed that women are not interested in politics. Since the registered women voters are impressive, it shows that the patriarchal structure should be questioned. Otieno (2013) notes that women who have the zeal to contest in politics are not often nominated by their parties and if they do, they are relegated to the bottom of the list and sometimes put in positions where they stand no chance of winning.

Women are known to have a disproportionate share of domestic work as assigned to them by their male counterparts. Consequently, the time women spend in undertaking domestic chores prevent them from formal education as a significant percentage of women in Ebonyi remain illiterates. As a result, the illiterate women would not gain meaningful sources of living or employment that will fetch them resources to take part in the Nigerian's brand of money politics as majority of them remain the poorest in the world.

Furthermore, patriarchal social system or structure, has played a crucial role in the economic sphere. Federick Engels (1978) argues that women's subordination began with the privatization of property. According to him, when capitalization was introduced and hence privatization of property, men wanted to maintain their power. The only way they could do this, according to Engels was to take charge of the property and because they wanted their children to have the same power, they did away with whatever chance the women/wives had of owning the property and made inheritance to their male children possible.

Women are more predisposed to poverty than men. Indeed, 70percent of the world's population are women; United Nations Development Programs (1995). This has led to what is known as feminization of poverty. Feminization of poverty refers to women's vulnerability to poverty as they constitute a disproportionate percentage of the world's poor. This trend is on the rise in Nigeria. This disproportionate percentage arises from patriarchal norms that act against women empowerment such as lack of access to land, property, access to gainful employment arising from lack of formal education. Since the above mentioned are lacking, the women are forced to be totally dependent on their husbands or any person who would help them in their dependent positions. Since electioneering campaigns are very expensive ventures only very few women would vie for elective positions and to support election and their campaign processes. Religion is not an exception. It is

important to note that religious fundamentalists have interpreted religion harshly against women just to impose patriarchal structure. The two dominant religions and the traditional ones would want women to be perpetually subjected and submissive to men according to their religious culture and dogma. In Northern Nigeria, the Boko Haram, Jihadst group against Western education, abducted 276 girls from a school in 2014. This stirred up the campaign to "bring back our girls", all over the world. This has no doubt impacted negatively on education since the girls and parents would be afraid of sending their girl children to school in Northern Nigeria.

Patriarchal system is still guiding men to believe that women are not fit for politics and public life. Majority of the party officials are males which allows them to carry out their men's agenda. It is very unlikely that these officials will advocate favorable conditions for women to participate in politics. Hardly do incumbents groom female candidates to succeed them. In Nigeria, Ebonyi State, men in power have always groomed fellow men to take after them. Even the orientation that helps new members to understand the dos and don'ts of the party, unfortunately, is guided by patriarchal values hence when the induction is taking place, the patriarchal values are further embedded in the new leaders; Otieno (2013).

According to Bhatacharya (2019); female voters may be coming out in never seen-before-numbers in India, but politics is still not the burning passion for most women because of the patriarchal structure. She reports that in India there is no women's autonomy for political participation. As it stands, 66 percent of Indian women has no freedom at all in politics as the vast majority needs to seek permission from their husbands or senior family members to attend political rallies or campaign, meetings of local candidates' protests or demonstrations or even village meetings, Bhatacharya (2019). In her further study, she finds that 61 percent of Indian women were not keen and would not make politics a career. To what extent the Indian caste system is embedded in the country's patriarchal structure is of course not yet clear. However, a woman, Indira Ghandi had been a very powerful Prime Minister of India in the past.

Non-domestication of 35 percent Affirmative Action of Beijing (1995).

Affirmative action is a policy in which an individual's color, race, sex, religion or national origin are taken into account to increase opportunities provided to an underrepresented part of society; Investopedia (2019). The purpose of this action in this study is to establish fair access to employment opportunities, equal education opportunities and equal political opportunities. The impetus of this affirmative action is to redress the disadvantages associated with overt historical discrimination as is in the case of women's denial of political participation. It is a policy used to improve opportunities for minority groups. Therefore, gender affirmative action is an attempt to equalize the opportunity for women and racial minorities by explicitly taking into account their defining characteristics such as race or sex, which has been the basis for discrimination.

Agbalajobi (2000) sees affirmative action as usually a measure intended to supplement non-discrimination and a broad term encompassing a host of policies that seek to support weak groups in society especially women. They include politics where deliberate actions are used to stop discrimination.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); is the central and most comprehensive human rights treaty on the elimination of discrimination against women. It was adopted on December 18, 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly and it is the leading modern instrument on women's rights. It entered into force as an international treaty on September 3, 1981; after the twentieth country had ratified it in accordance with the Convention's article 27. The Nigerian Government became a state party to this important convention which it ratified in 1985 and without reservations, signed the optional protocol in 2000 and ratified it in 2004. CEDAW is an international standard-setting document that establishes the universality of the principles of equality between men and women and make provisions for measures to be taken by state parties to ensure equality of rights for women throughout the world.

Provisions on domestication of treaties in Nigeria are enshrined in section 12 of the 1999 constitution. It provides that; 1. No treaty between the Federation and any other country shall have the force of law except to the extent to which any such treaty has been enacted into law by the National Assembly. Only the National Assembly is empowered to domesticate treaties on those matters on the exclusive lists. It is worthy to note that, women, children and human rights are not included in the exclusive and concurrent lists. Rather they fall within the residual list. In sub-section 3, no law passed by the National Assembly with respect to the implementation of a treaty dealing with women or children will be applicable to all the states of the federation, that is in Nigeria automatically; (Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitution 1999). It will require approval of at least 23 Houses of Assembly. That is why the child's right act domesticated by the National Assembly is not applicable in any other state outside the Federal Capital Territory and State Houses of Assembly are being called to pass the law in their various states.

Since CEDAW is a treaty dealing with the rights of women, it falls within the category of treaties, which must be ratified by a majority of the 36 Houses of Assembly in the Federation before it becomes applicable throughout Nigeria. Consequently, the domestication of CEDAW comes in two ways, viz;

a. The National Assembly will pass it into law and the 36 States Houses of Assembly will do the same.

b. The National Assembly will refer the final copy of the bill to at least 2/3rds of the States Houses of Assembly for ratification before enactment.

After 35 years since Nigeria signed the CEDAW treaty, Obi Nwankwo argues that "The Civil Resource Development and Documentation Center" (CIRDDC) is working closely with Senate and House of Representatives' Committees on women, the Federal Ministry of Justice and the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs on the domestication of CEDAW.

Still in the bid to domesticate this CEDAW, the National Coalition on Affirmative Action (NCAA) made up of 150 Non-Governmental organizations is working towards the entrenchment of Affirmative Action policies in the constitution of Nigeria. This coalition was birthed after an International Conference organized by the Civil Resource Development and Documentation Center (CIRDDOC) in 2003 with experts from U.S.A, Brazil, Uganda, Tanzania and South Africa. These are the countries where Affirmative Actions have been very successful. The experts that came from very successful Affirmative Action countries did not spend the number of years Nigeria is wasting to be successful in their country. It was by determination that they must do away with patriarchal structural system of the society and move their countries forward.

Wood (2018), writes that Nordic countries which lead the world at closing the gender gap, in recent years, have taken roots at the top of the global rankings. But what are the secrets that these nations have applied so far to get ahead of others? According to OECD, almost three in four working-age-women in Nordic countries are part of the paid labor force and policy makers explicitly support gender equality at work, at home and in politics. The Nordic countries all benefit from a developed welfare state and foster forward-thinking initiatives, which support women joining, or returning to, the work place.

Table One: Global outlook. Top 10 of the Global Gender Gap Index

s/n	Rank	Score
1	Iceland	0.858
2	Norway	0.835
3	Sweden	0.822
4	Finland	0.821
5	Nicaragua	0.809
6	Rwanda	0.804
7	New Zealand	0.801
8	Philippines	0.799
9	Iceland	0.796
10	Namibia	0.789

Source: (Global Gender Gap Report 2018, World Economic Forum. Note: Reported here are 2018 rankings out of 144 countries)

Table Two: Sub-Sahara Africa's top 10 of the Global Gender Gap index

Global Rank	Score
6: Rwanda	0.804
10: Namibia	0.789
19: South Africa	0.755
31: Burundi	0.741
43: Uganda	0.724
47: Zimbabwe	0.721
49: Mozambique	0.721
55: Botswana	0.715
57: Cameroon	0.714
71: Tanzania	0.704

Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2018. World Economic Forum. Note: Reported here are 2018 rankings out of 144 countries.

One of these Nordic countries is the Iceland nation. It has a culture of political empowerment that boasts of many strong female role models. Female empowerment emerged from the strong political feminism movement of the 1970's and permeated every aspect of Icelandic society. They have progressive child care policies where women in Iceland are not faced with a choice between work or raising up of children. The universal childcare and generous parental leave policies imply that both men and women both 90 days leave to remove the burden of childrearing from mothers alone. Iceland also rank number one for "wage equality for similar work".

Norway has closed more than 83% of its overall gender gap and continues to make steady progress. The country adopted supporting parenting policies and heavily subsidized childcare provisions which led to high percentage of women entering the work force. Mothers and fathers also take 14 weeks' employment leave following the birth of a child. They enjoy a near-even distribution of male and female workers with many women in power, Wood (2018). Furthermore, Norway has gender quotas legislable for 40% female presence in the country's parliament and on business boards, resulting in a strong female's presence. For instance, Norway's Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and Minister of Foreign Affairs, are all females.

In Sweden, they have as well an increased number of the female legislators and bolstered number of senior officials and managers. In 2016, the number of Swedish women equaled males in ministering positions.

Finally, Finland has 82% of their gender gap closed. It is the only top ranking Nordic nation to fully close the gender gap in educational attainment. Women in Finland make up 42% of their parliament and 38.5% of ministers, which account for their nation's strong political empowerment rating.

In Nicaragua, since 2000, political parties participating in National Assembly elections must submit an electoral list that is made up of 50% of the women. Researches proposed that closing gender gap was important not only from an equity perspective but also from an economic one. Research also shows that investment in women's education and use of female's talent boosted any country's competitiveness; World Economic Forum, (2013). Furthermore, the countries that have closed educational gaps and have high level of women's economic participation, demonstrate that investment in education has returned in strong economic growth. Moreover, where countries have closed their education gaps, but still had low level of women in economic participation, such countries can still make the women to remain as untapped human resources though they are educated. We shall present below the evidences of women non participation in Nigerian Politics.

Table Three
The experience and evidence from the previous general elections to National Assembly in Nigeria from 1999-2019 are shown below
National Assembly women's elections: World Ranking

	House of representatives				Senate			
Ranking	Election year	seats	Women	%	Election year	seats	women	%
104	1999	360	12	3.4	1999	109	7	6.5
107	2003	360	17	4.9	2003	109	3	2.8
117	2007	360	25	7.0	2007	109	9	8.3
125	2011	360	24	6.8	2011	109	7	6.4
181	2015	360	20	5.6	2015	109	7	6.5
	2019	360	11	4.0	2019	109	7	4.17

Source: Independent National Electoral Commission, Nigeria

Table Four
Ebonyi State House of Assembly Women status

Year	Seats	Women
1999	24	Nil
2003	24	Nil
2007	24	3
2011	24	4
2015	24	4
2019	24	3

Source: Ebonyi State Independent Electoral Commission, Ebonyi State Nigeria

Table Five
Female elected positions, candidates and representation by major parties in Nigeria

Positions	Total number of candidates	Number of positions	Number of women	%	APC women candidate	PDP women candidate	Total women
President	73	1	6	8.22	0	0	0
V. P	173	1	22	30.13	0	0	0
Senate	1,904	109	235	12.34	7	10	7
H/Rep	4,680	360	533	11.39	15	16	11
Governor	2,412	36	74	3.07	0	0	0
Dep.Gov.	2,412	36	275	1.19	2	2	4
State H/Assemblies	14,583	944	1,825	12.51	28	39	40
Total	26,137	1,487	2,970	79.55	52	68	62

Source: Independent National Electoral Commissions, Nigeria.

Table Six
Ebonyi State Local Government Chairmen/Women Status:

Year	seats	men	women
1999	13	13	Nil
2003	13	13	Nil
2007	13	12	1
2011	13	11	2
2015	13	11	2
2019	13	10	3

Source: Ebonyi State Independent Electoral Commission

Theoretical Framework

Radical feminism theory is a perspective within feminism that calls for a radical reordering of society in which male supremacy is eliminated in all social and economic contexts. It views society as fundamentally patriarchal in which men dominate and oppress women. It also seeks to abolish the social system of patriarchy in order to "liberate everyone from the unjust society by challenging existing social norms and institutions". This includes opposing the sexual objectification of women, raising public awareness about such issues as rape and violence against women, and changing the concept of gender roles identity. Firestone (1970) writes that the end goal of feminist revolution must be focused on, unlike the first feminist movement, not the elimination of male privileges, but the sex distinction itself, upon which all discrimination against women, is based.

The key radical feminists and the pioneers of the second wave of feminism that started in the 1960's include, Shulamith Firestone, Kathie Sarachild, Ti-Grace Akinson, Carol Hanish and Judith Brown.

Radical feminism was rooted in the wider world's radical contemporary movement. Women who participated in the anti-war and new left political movements in 1960's found themselves excluded from equal power by the men within the movement. This theory tends to be more militant in their approach (radical as "getting to the roots") than other feminists theories. It aims to dismantle patriarchy rather than making adjustments to the system through legal changes.

Application of Radical Feminism Theory

This theory has become our framework for discussion and shall be used to understand the society as far as gender is concerned. Every society is headed by men who have made the society to be patriarchal in which women are marginalized and discriminated against. This theory is vital to this study because the patriarchal social system, structured by men in the society has made the gender role of women abinitio not to participate in politics but that women should stay back in the house, doing domestic work since women cannot articulate.

As a result of the men's patriarchal selfish interest, gender gap has been difficult to close in such societies irrespective of the 35% Affirmative Action by United Nations. This is especially so in Nigeria where women political appointments and elected positions have been very low. Women in politics continue to dwindle in Nigeria as shown in the tables above, while their women counterparts in the developed nations continue to be improved. For instance, in the Nordic countries of Europe and other European countries and even in some African countries already mentioned or cited in this paper, gender sensitivity is very high and the results are overwhelming.

Nigeria is fundamentally patriarchal in which men are still dominating and oppressing women. The radical feminism theory is therefore recommended in order to dismantle or abolish patriarchy in Nigeria in order to liberate women from men's dominated unjust society in order for them to contribute their quota in the development of the society.

Analyses

Women play important roles as men in the development of any nation. We should ask ourselves for names of sectors of the economy where women have not contributed. One may not need to name a sector because these days women have made their presence felt in every field. They play very important roles not only in running the household but also in the "public hold" (society) or public domain.

It is now broadly accepted that significant economic, social and political progress can be achieved if countries can reorder their priorities and shift from patriarchy where male supremacy can be eliminated and appropriate investment is made in their women through access to education, greater political participation and more extended access to resources of all types. Significantly, investment in women can lead to: poverty reduction as women account for 6 out of 10 of the poorest people in the world; UN World Population (2017). So, better access to resources for women can help to increase household income; UN World Population (2017). The UN argues that if women should have more access to human capital, credit, land and fertilizer, then total world and national agricultural products could increase by 6-20% in sub-sahara Africa. Globally, women comprise 43% of the world's agricultural labor force, rising to 70% in some countries.

For instance, in Ebonyi State of Nigeria, 80% of the agricultural production comes from small scale women rural farmers. It is known that agriculture is the engine of growth and poverty reduction in developing nations. Also women play the largest role in decision making about family meal planning diets which preserves children's health and nutrition for future leaders.

The contributions of women to a society's transition from pre-literate to the literate stage likewise is undeniable. Basic education is the key to a nation's ability to develop and achieve a sustainable nation. It is worth noting that education improves agricultural productivity which in turn enhances the status of girls and women thereby reducing unwanted population growth rate. Education further enhances environmental protection and widely raises the standard of living in a society. It is the mother's job to urge the children of both genders to attend and stay in school, in the third world.

Women are embedded with talents which the patriarchal system has not allowed to manifest. Patriarchy is a social and ideological construct which considers men as superior to women, Rawat (2014). It is also a social system in which men hold authority over women, children and property, Walby (1990). Patriarchy encourages male leadership, male domination and power and as a system in which women are subjected to economic dependency, all forms of violence, difficult chores and political participations are denied women. It imposes men and women's work according to sexes; Reardon (1996). Gender inequality, domination and discrimination are some of the characteristics of patriarchy which have hugely affected various institutions in the society; Makama (2013). The dominance over and superiority of men against women, described as patriarchy, is the primary and major hindrance to women participation in politics, and development.

Patriarchal system and institutions are "man-made"; Brownmiller, (1976); Firestone (1974). In the Nigerian culture, the societally female constructed roles are compulsory, for example, women regardless of their class, status and professions, must be responsible for all the domestic chores. The domestic role of women in Nigerian culture is fundamental to the sustainability of marriage. Harriden (2012) points that women cannot be confined to domestic roles; rather they should seek positions of public authority. However, patriarchy resists the women's move to seek for positions of public authority instead of being confined to the household chores and the "other room" only.

The Nigerian culture which has domesticated women implies that only the men must go to the legislatures in the National and States Houses of Assemblies. The women are finding it difficult to be in public authority so that they can push for the domestication of the 35% of UN; Beijing Affirmative Action. Because of the patriarchal culture which Nigerian men enjoy, they have refused to let go when other countries such as Norway and Finland have since domesticated the gender equality treaty and are progressing, developing and sustaining it. Indeed, the gender equality is of great concern in Finland, and so, they have the youngest women in leadership in the world; which are the Prime Minister Sanna Marin at 34, as Prime Minister, Li Andersson at 32 as Minister of Education, Maria Ohisalo at 34 as Minister Internal Affairs, Katrin Kulmuni at 32 as Minister of Finance. Today, women in Finland enjoy a "high degree of equality and traditional courtesy" among men. Since 1906, their women became the first in Europe to be granted the rights to vote. Finland is now ranked 3rd out of 149 countries in the Global Gender Gap Report (2020).

The researcher notes that women need to contribute to the family and society to reduce the stress on men. That is why Cortes, (2018) argues that in this 21st Century, there has been an increase in women's participation in the labor markets and the stereotypes of male breadwinners and female home makers are fast disappearing as women are contributing to the family purse; Zuo and Tang (2000); Trappe et al (2015). In order to be more relevant in the society with their talents and potentials, women require to combine and balance their domestic chores with their public obligations. Therefore, Women's Work-life Balance (WLB) is necessary in an extremely patriarchal society like Nigeria. Although Work-Life-Balance is important to both male and female (Emsile et al 2004, Doble, and Supriya 2010) both of them need to share the total responsibility in both the household and in the society.

II. CONCLUSION

The impact of patriarchal cultural system in Nigeria has affected the domestication of the United Nations 35% Affirmative Action against all forms of women discrimination in politics. The structure of patriarchy systematically withholds women from freedom to freely engage in political participation.

Since the Nigerian society is dominant in patriarchy, 99% men in the legislature, find it difficult to domesticate the affirmative action. The subordination of women by male dominance is so excessive that women must seriously require men's permission for almost every aspect of their lives to participate in choice non-work or life activities. Researches have shown that women who would have participated in politics were stopped by their spouses or husbands since the law of patriarchy must take its course. This phenomenon undervalues the female gender because of entrenched patriarchal culture. Consequently, the legislative domestication of 35% Affirmative Action has not been passed into law because of the patriarchal cultural system of Nigeria.

The strong patriarchal mindset among Nigerian men is a huge obstacle precluding women's contributions to society as they are inclined to assign women and feminity a peripheral role, thereby subjugating them. This poses huge difficulties for women in terms of achieving their full potentials. Rather than portray the women as passive recipients of gender inequality, women should be given the chance to prove themselves.

Finally, patriarchy as a major problem of gender equality has not been given sufficient consideration in the National and States Houses of Assemblies which have conspiratorially delayed the implementation for about 35years since Nigeria ratified the treaty. If Nigeria does not domesticate this treaty, all the NGO's advocacies and demonstrations are all noise. The ball is in the court of the nation's legislative assemblies.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

The enlightened and educated women should strive more to form pressure groups that will urge the legislators in all the 36 States of Nigeria to domesticate the 35% of Affirmative Action on women inclusion in politics.

Policy makers should launch awareness programs in order to sensitize the public of the need to ease or change the current extreme patriarchal cultural system in Nigeria.

The Work-Life-Balance (WLB) should be articulated to involve both men and women as it is in the Nordic countries.

Policy makers in Nigeria may choose to adopt the Australian "Champions of change" strategy. This strategy means that influential and powerful men in society can campaign for gender equality in Nigeria. This change strategy initiative could reduce gender inequality that patriarchal norms have perpetuated in Nigeria.

Furthermore, Nordic countries currently lead the World at closing the gender gap, and in recent years, have taken root at the top of global ranking. Their own model is "women-friendly society", which they have used to achieve gender equality, could be equally adapted in Nigeria.

The policy makers should ensure that at least 2/3 of the states in Nigeria should pass a law in support 35% of women in politics. If not, it is just nothing but legislative noise without sustanance, and nothing may change too soon in Nigerian democracy.

More specifically, since there is women adult suffrage in the constitution, a legislation should go out of the National Assembly to protect human and participatory rights of women in Nigerian politics. To achieve this, all the Gender Advocating Groups should unite and form a strong lobby force which shall not relent until the above legislation is passed.

In order to guide the actions of the lobby groups and the National Assembly, a working model based on the Women's Right Treaty must be adopted to guide future actions. In proposing this model, it must be made clear that women are not seeking, however radically, to over throw or sub-plant their men counter-parts in the march for National Development. Rather women are advocating what has already been adopted by the UN General Assembly, mainly, the domestication of the 35% Beijing Affirmative Action. This will give Nigerian women a participatory leverage in Nigerian politics.

We therefore recommend the Finish model with adoptions, so that in future our own women can enjoy some degree of political and governance equity and courtesy. For the present, we therefore propose 20% Affirmative Action across the Board in Nigerian politics and governance. This is made in cognizance of the fact that at present many states are already approaching 20% Affirmative Action, and the norms needs to be legitimized by the National and States Assembles. In this 21st century, it is our strong suggestion that Nigeria can comfortably embrace this model.

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