

## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA'S POLITICAL, GOVERNANCE AND CIVIC SPACES

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### ABSTRACT

This comparative study investigates the current condition and dynamics of women's participation in Nigeria's political, governance, and civic spheres. It provides a critical evaluation of the challenges and progress made in the quest of gender equality and women's empowerment in various areas. The study's goal is to shed light on the sociopolitical elements that influence women's involvement, identify significant barriers, and assess the efficacy of existing policies and efforts aimed at promoting gender inclusion. The research technique includes quantitative and qualitative approaches, including statistical data analysis, a full literature review, and case studies. The study looks at how women are represented in elected political positions, bureaucratic jobs, and decision-making activities within the governance system. It also investigates women's participation in grassroots civic activities. Despite constitutional mandates and international pledges to gender equality, the data reveal persisting obstacles. Women in Nigeria face significant challenges when striving to get access to and actively participate in political and governance arenas. The research reveals deeply rooted socio-cultural norms, patriarchal structures, and discriminatory behaviors that perpetuate gender gaps and stymie women's political growth. Finally, the study gives policymakers, civil society groups, and stakeholders interested in improving women's political and civic involvement in Nigeria advice. These recommendations include advocating for legislative reforms, improving gender integration in political parties and institutions, facilitating women's leadership development, and strengthening institutional mechanisms for monitoring and enforcing gender equality measures.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

The makeup of the government in Nigeria, which includes individuals responsible for legislating, implementing, and enforcing laws, has been notably uneven. Despite accounting for nearly 49 percent of the Nigerian population, women had only 3.38 percent of seats in the national parliament in 2019. Gender

disparities in political representation are not specific to Nigeria, but are a global concern. On a global scale, there was one woman for every five males in legislative posts in 2015. Women filled just 20% of lower-level parliamentary seats internationally in 2015, despite data suggesting that women engage in bipartisan initiatives and favorably effect government openness (Ityavar, 2007). However, some improvement has been made throughout the years. Women's representation in parliaments worldwide grew from 13.1% in 2000 to 25% in 2020. Notably, numerous nations have attained female politician and parliament member representation of more than 50% (Omitola, Akinrinde, & Omitola, 2021).

The composition of a country's lawmakers has a significant impact on the quality of its laws. As a result, in numerous African regions, cultural ideas about women's societal duties have put a shadow over women's political aspirations. Similarly, the policymaking process in Nigeria is still overwhelmingly dominated by men, driven by patriarchal interests, with little regard for women's concerns. The policy environment has not been sufficiently democratized to support women's political and civic goals. The restriction of Nigerian women from political participation extends back to the colonial era. The Clifford, Richard, Macpherson, and Lyttleton Constitutions of 1922, 1946, 1951, and 1956, respectively, imposed significant restrictions on women's political participation until 1979, when women were granted improved access to the political sphere (Ityavyar, 2007). The Electoral Act of 2006 states that every Nigerian citizen has the right to vote and run for office (Electoral Act, 2006).

While there are no overt institutional or legal barriers to women's involvement in government in Nigeria (Ajayi, 2007), the country's deeply established patriarchal structure remains a barrier to attaining gender equality (Oke, 2015). Nonetheless, politically active Nigerian women have taken aggressive steps to empower themselves and promote the cause of future generations of female political leaders (Akinboye, 2004). Women have held positions of political leadership throughout Nigeria's history, including roles such as the "Oba" or monarch in Yoruba precolonial culture. Notable female leaders in their respective communities include Moremi of Ile-Ife, Queen Amina of Zaria, Iyalode of Ibadan, and Efunsetan Aniwura (Omitola, Akinrinde, & Omitola, 2021). Figures like as Margaret Ekpo, Gambo Sawaba, Madam Efunroye Tinubu, Funmilayo Ransom Kuti, and Dora Akunyili blazed a way for women in Nigerian civic and political arenas in subsequent ages. These ladies were instrumental in defying gender conventions and extending women's political and governance chances.

Figures such as Stella Oduah, Oby Ezekwesili, Oluremi Tinubu, Amina Mohammed, and Aisha Alhassan are breaking down gender-based obstacles in Nigeria's political scene (Anifowose, 2004). Lagos and Oyo States are two of the most densely inhabited regions in the Southwest and in Nigeria overall (World Atlas, 2018). Lagos, which was and still is Nigeria's commercial powerhouse, is one of Africa's fastest-growing cities (LASG, 2020). The state uses a multi-party system that adheres to the conventional separation of powers observed in its government, matching the federal level's multiparty democracy. The legislative branch, which has legislative authority, is made up of a 40-member House of Assembly presided over by the Speaker. The Lagos State Judiciary is in charge of justice administration and is managed by the Chief Justice, who is usually a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) (Egonmwan, 1991). A remarkable number of women has climbed to major political leadership positions in Lagos State. Oyinkansola Abayomi, a Nigerian nationalist and founder of the Nigerian Women's Party; Oluremi Tinubu, a distinguished member of the All Progressive Congress and a senator representing Lagos State; Victoria Orelope-Adefulire, who previously served as Deputy Governor of the state; Oluranti Adebule; Sarah Adebisi Sosan; and Omotayo Oduntan, among others (Independent, 2019). However, between 2015 and 2019, the number of women appointed to political offices in Lagos State was restricted, with just 10 women gaining seats out of a potential 140. Three women were appointed as commissioners, four to the House of Assembly, and one to the National Assembly, Senate, and Special Adviser (Oke, 2015). Oyo State, with a population exceeding 9 million people, ranks as the third most populous state in Nigeria (World Atlas, 2018). This state is home to the largest city in West Africa, Ibadan. In the political arena, notable women have made significant strides. In 1999, Abiola Odunbaku secured her election to represent Ibadan South West in the State Assembly. In 2007, Mulikat Akande emerged victorious in the elections for the Oriire Federal Constituency, Ogbomosh North and South. Her subsequent re-election led to her appointment as the House Leader. Continuing this trend, in 2011, Monsurat Sunmonu earned her election to represent the Oyo State/West State Constituency. She went on to become the Speaker of the House of Assembly in Oyo State, which was a great feat and the first of its kind in the state. In 2015, Sunmonu was elected to represent the Oyo Central Senatorial District. Notwithstanding, only a total of nine women in Oyo State were appointed to political positions out of 79 total available positions that year (Eze et al. 2016).

The minimal political participation of women in Lagos, which has a population of 18 million people (Worldatlas, 2018), and Oyo state reflects the greater marginalization of Nigerian women in politics. This situation prompted former Nigerian President Chief Olusegun Obasanjo to emphasize the following:

*The absence of women in politics and the decision-making process distorts the appreciation of women's interest. Women's interests are not properly articulated because male representatives and interest groups do not possess the adequate knowledge, interest, or both. Development indices show that participation of women in governance promotes development because women form the bedrock of the society (Obasanjo, 2009).*

Nigeria's political structures and institutions have failed to promote diversity and inclusiveness in politics with the seriousness that they merit. The makeup of many governmental branches demonstrates Nigeria's sluggish attitude and approach to political empowerment and issues impacting women (Akinboye, 2004). Women continue to be marginalized in Nigerian politics, governance, and civic spaces (IPU, 2015). Several cultural, economic, historical, and institutional elements invariably influence women's involvement. Individual, family, and even community dejection is a significant barrier to women's political engagement. Numerous studies have delved into the extent of Nigerian women's engagement in civic roles, politics, and governance. Nevertheless, there remains a need for a comparative study that explores locations within the same state (intrastate) exhibiting varying degrees of women's participation in politics, governance, and civic activities. This comparative approach would provide a more comprehensive grasp of the underlying factors contributing to this divergence. Additionally, an aspect that appears to have been lacking in previous studies within the existing body of literature is a geographically focused analysis. This research aims to address this gap by conducting a comparative examination of Lagos and Oyo states in Nigeria.

### **Research Questions**

To provide a solid empirical foundation for this study, the following inquiries are posed to steer the research's orientation:

1. What disparities exist in the levels and modes of women's engagement in politics, governance, and the civic domain when comparing Lagos state and Oyo state in Nigeria?
2. What factors exert influence on women's participation in the realms of politics, governance, and civic activities in Nigeria?
3. What strategies can be formulated to enhance and encourage women's involvement in politics, governance, and the civic sphere in Nigeria?

### **Research Objectives**

1. To establish both the commonalities and distinctions in how women engage and participate in politics, governance, and the civic arena between Lagos state and Oyo state, Nigeria.
2. To pinpoint the key influencers shaping women's involvement in politics, governance, and civic activities in Nigeria.
3. To propose measures that can be taken to enhance women's participation in the realms of politics, governance, and the civic sphere in Nigeria.

### **RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS**

The study is framed by the following hypothesis:

#### **Hypothesis 1**

H0: There are no variations in women's participation levels within politics, governance, and civic arenas between Lagos state and Oyo state, Nigeria.

H1: Differences exist in women's participation levels within politics, governance, and civic spaces between Lagos state and Oyo state, Nigeria.

### **The Feminist Institutional Theory: Theorizing Women's Participation in Nigerian Politics**

The feminist-institutionalist theory underpins this research, which contends that societal norms and institutional practices produce uneven chances for men and women. It recognizes the existence of gendered social, economic, and political differences and their influence on sociopolitical processes. The feminist institutionalism thesis explains how societal structures may sustain women's oppression, subordination, and consequent political marginalization. This idea, at its foundation, argues for gender equality in both the private and public spheres of life. There are three different waves in the historical feminist movement. The first wave, which lasted from the early 1800s through the 1930s, was largely concerned with achieving equal rights for men and women. Women's education and the ability to vote were championed by prominent leaders of the time, including Mary Astell, Elizabeth Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony (Krook, 2010). The second wave, which began in the 1960s and lasted until the 1980s, brought many ideas that cast light on existent gender discrepancies and sought to intensify the fight for gender equality (Krook, 2010).

The third wave of feminism emerged in the 1990s as both a continuation and a response to the second wave of feminism. In this context, feminist institutionalism provides a current approach that investigates the continuation of gender power relations in various sectors of society, including both official and informal rules. It investigates how these processes affect the structure of politics and other institutions. This method calls for a new socialization paradigm that goes beyond traditional gender norms. It also includes a look at laws, regulations, and quotas. Gender plays an important influence in defining the interpretation and appraisal of masculinity and femininity in diverse institutional settings (Krook, 2010). Feminist institutionalism works to establish policies that empower women and promote gender equality. Given the predominance of males in politics, women are frequently excluded in policymaking, owing to their underrepresentation in political debates (Krook, 2010). To remedy this imbalance, quotas have been implemented to promote gender equality, enhance women's political engagement, and assist their advancement to higher governmental posts. Over the last decade, numerous countries around the world have embraced such quotas, with international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), and European Union (EU) adopting a 30 percent quota requirement, requiring that at least 30 percent of positions in all political bodies be held by women (Lovenduski, 2005).

Women have traditionally been placed in socioeconomic and sociopolitical disadvantage in many societies across the world, typically lacking resources, educational opportunities, and legal and social standing. Women suffered subjection in such civilizations through the frameworks of family, marriage, and other cultural and political institutions. This servitude subjected unmarried women to the authority of their fathers and brothers, and married women to the authority of their husbands. These communities, it is said, saw women from Western cultures as 'other' or deviant from the norm, whereas males were seen as the norm. Millet (2000) underlined the pervasiveness of patriarchy, which is maintained through family traditions and other customary norms and institutions (Alabi & Alabi, 2014). Gender influences the range of economic, political, and civic options accessible to citizens in the majority of countries. As a result of women's subordination in diverse cultures, feminists who share shared difficulties in the face of repressive institutions have developed a sense of solidarity. It's important emphasizing that the amount of patriarchal oppression varies among civilizations, with some more advanced than others. In Nigeria, for example, there is a significant educational discrepancy between men and women, and the degree of this imbalance varies by location. Only 20% of females in Nigeria's North-West and North-East regions have access to formal education (Alabi & Alabi, 2014). Feminist institutionalism is, therefore, a branch of feminism that believes society wrongly associates women with weaker mental, social, economic, and institutional capacity than men, which is a perception that leads to the systemic and institutional oppression of women (Alabi and Alabi 2014). Feminist institutionalists therefore believe that the subjugation of women has led to the establishment of laws, standards, and institutional regimes that limit women in politics and other spheres of society. Feminists like Mary Wollstonecraft, Frances Wright, and Judith Sargent Murray, for example, pushed for the participation of women in politics. One of the primary goals of feminist institutionalism is to achieve gender equality and eliminate gender prejudice in public, political, and civic life. It tries to do this by campaigning for the abolition of disempowering and discriminatory institutional practices that have disenfranchised women, denying them equitable opportunity, fair access to civic involvement, equal pay, improved working conditions, and equal educational chances. This theory tackles existing societal institutions that perpetuate women's systemic oppression and develops solutions to eliminate inequality, such as the promotion of gender-balanced and non-discriminatory institutional norms and practices.

### **Mapping the Level of Women's Participation in Nigerian Politics, Governance and the Civic Space: Lagos and Oyo States in Focus**

In contemporary Nigeria, there is a significant underrepresentation of women in politics (Ogbogu, 2012). Despite the Nigerian government's attempts through policy initiatives to address gender inequality in governance, women continue to experience severe invisibility and discrimination in the political realm. According to Oke (2015), Nigeria's prevailing governmental system is founded on concepts such as acknowledgment of representation, equitable opportunity for all individuals, popular sovereignty, majority rule, and minority rights protection. This approach is designed to allow for universal participation in political decision-making, with the goal of facilitating wide engagement while encouraging openness and accountability.

According to Akiyode-Afolabi (2010), with the emergence of democratic administration in 1999, there were prospects for women's involvement in governance through constitutional and electoral changes, which were driven by prevailing socio-political factors. However, real development has fallen short of these predictions. Female representation decreased in 2015 compared to the previous election year. In particular, the number of women in the Federal House of Representatives fell from 23 to 19 in 2011 and 2015, out of a total of 360 and 109 members, respectively. Similarly, the number of women in Deputy Governor roles fell from six in 2011 to four in 2015, out of a total of 36 seats. Furthermore, 46 women had State House of Assembly seats

in 2015, compared to 62 women holding State House of Assembly seats in 2011, out of a total of 990 seats (Oke, 2015). In the same year, there was little female representation in different governmental offices in Lagos State. Only one of the 24 available National Assembly seats was occupied by a woman. Women had four of the forty seats in the State House of Assembly. Furthermore, just one of the three Senate seats was occupied by a woman. Furthermore, three women served as commissioners out of 23 eligible seats, and just one woman held the post of special adviser out of 14 possible positions (INEC, 2015). Similarly, underrepresentation is still a concern in Oyo State. There was no female representation from Oyo State among the 13 seats available in the National House of Assembly. Women filled only two of the 32 available seats in the State House of Assembly. In the Senate, just one of the three available seats was held by a woman, while only two of the 15 available commissioner positions were held by women. Similarly, just four of the 16 eligible special adviser roles were filled by women (INEC, 2015). Women made up just 9.1 percent of the total pool of candidates in the 2011 election, with men being the vast majority (90.9 percent). A significant percentage of women encountered significant difficulties in completing the main selection procedure and obtaining a spot on the official candidate list (IPU, 2015). The South-West area of Nigeria had the greatest number of female candidates, accounting for 15.5 percent of the total 2,116 candidates (Aluko, 2011). In the April 2011 election, the South-East was the second area with the most female candidates, accounting for 11.9 percent of the 1,611 candidates (excluding the President and Vice President seats). The North-West and North-East areas, on the other hand, had the lowest gender representation, with just 2.3 percent out of 2,088 candidates and 4.2 percent out of 1,187 candidates, respectively. At the state level, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) had the most female candidates, accounting for 24% of the total candidate pool. Ekiti State came in second with 20.9 percent, followed by Osun State with 20.5 percent. Following these were Lagos, Kogi, and Ebonyi States, with 17.8 percent, 17 percent, and 16 percent, respectively.

In contrast, the states with the lowest proportion of female candidates included Jigawa, which had no female candidates at all, and Yobe, which had a 0.8 percent representation of women in the overall candidate pool (INEC, 2011). According to a party-level study, the APGA filed 640 candidates, with 12.2 percent of them being women. Out of a total of 775 candidates, the Labour Party had 11.7 percent female candidates. The ANPP came in second with 6% female candidates out of a total of 1,293, followed by the PDP with 5.6 percent female participation out of 1,510 candidates, the CPC with 5.5 percent female representation out of 1,167 candidates, and CAN with 5% female representation out of 1,347 candidates. Smaller parties had a higher ratio of female candidates, as seen by DPA, which had just two candidates, one of which was a woman, obtaining 50% female representation. Similarly, the NSDP, FRESH, BNPP, and CPP all had a high proportion of female candidates, with 40.2 percent, 37.5 percent, 33.3 percent, and 31.4 percent, respectively, on their candidate lists. These percentages were displayed by NSDP among its 82 candidates, while FRESH, BNPP, and CPP displayed them among their respective candidate pools of 8, 12, and 70 candidates (INEC, 2011). This persistent underrepresentation of women at all levels of political participation, combined with the difficulties women face in securing spots on candidate lists, particularly at the party level, raises concerns about the lack of scrutiny of the primary election process within political parties, which should ideally ensure equal opportunities for all candidates (Rahat and Hazan, 2001).

## 2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGICAL MATTERS

The data for the study was gathered using a combination of primary and secondary sources. Fieldwork was used to collect primary data, with two semi-structured questionnaires given to general respondents and important informants. Secondary data was also acquired from academic publications, statistics reports, government records, and contemporary research projects. As a result, the study combines both quantitative and qualitative analyses, as well as a descriptive research approach. The data in this comparative research was examined using descriptive analysis and T-test techniques. The goal of this comparative study is to improve understanding of the underlying causal elements relating to the subject or event under investigation.

### The Study Areas

The study was conducted in Lagos and Oyo States, both of which are located in the Southwest region of Nigeria.

#### Lagos State

Lagos State, situated at coordinates 6 degrees 35' N and 3 degrees 45' E, encompasses an area spanning 3,557 square kilometers and boasts a population density of 2,500 per square kilometer. Its geographical boundaries include Ogun State to the north and east, the Republic of Benin to the west, and the southern coastline along the Atlantic Ocean (Global Data Lab, 2018). The administrative capital of Lagos State is situated within the city of Ikeja.

In 2012, Lagos State was estimated to have a population of approximately 17,552,940 (LASG, 2012), characterizing it as an urbanized state. The population is diverse, comprising various ethnic groups, with the Yorubas, including subgroups like the Aworis, Ogus, and Eguns, being the indigenous inhabitants. Notably, the financial hub of the state is Victoria Island, renowned for its attraction of international visitors, with a reputation for its resorts, shopping districts, and coastal beaches. Among the state's prominent landmarks are the National Museum, National Theatre, University of Lagos, Tafawa Balewa Square, National Stadium, and Freedom Park (Guardian Life, 2018).

### **Oyo State**

Oyo State is located at latitude 8 degrees 00'N and longitude 4 degrees 00'E, with a land area of 28,454 square kilometers, and a population density of 196 people per square kilometer as of 2006. Its physical features include a topography typified by hills and rough formations, with altitudes ranging from around 500 meters above sea level in the south to more than 1,200 meters above sea level in the north. Oyo State is bordered to the north by Kwara State, to the east by Osun State, to the south and west by Ogun State, and to the west by the Republic of Benin (Global Data Lab, 2018). Oyo State's administrative headquarters is located in the city of Ibadan. The state's population was predicted to be 5,580,894 in 2006 (NPC, 2006), with the Yoruba ethnic group being the majority. The landscape of Oyo State is ornamented with various rivers, including the Osun, Ogun, Oni, Oba, Erinle, Oyan, Otin, Ofiki, and Sasa rivers, which come from the state's mountainous terrain. The University of Ibadan, Lead City University, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ajayi Crowther University, The Polytechnic, Ibadan, Kola Diasi University, and others are all located in this state.

Oyo State's notable sites include the Old Oyo National Park, the Cocoa House, and the Obafemi Awolowo Stadium. Oyo State's governance system follows to the three branches of government stated in the Federal Republic of Nigeria's 1999 constitution: the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the judiciary. Governor Oluseyi Makinde, who was elected in the 2019 gubernatorial election, leads the executive branch as of 2021. The deputy governor is Rauf Olaniyan. Hon. Debo Ogundoyin is the Speaker of the House of Assembly in the legislative branch. Finally, the Oyo State judiciary is ruled over by Muktar Abimbola, the state's Chief Judge.

### **Sample and Sampling Technique**

The survey includes the complete population of people in the Nigerian states of Lagos and Oyo. A carefully selected sample of 150 people, including key informants and general respondents, was used to collect cross-sectional data. Key informants are those who have previously been involved in political activities, whereas general respondents are people who are 18 or older and have the right to vote or run for political office. The sample pool for the study is made up of both men and women recruited from certain local governments in Lagos and Oyo States. Ikeja Local Government, Kosofe Local Government, and Ifako-Ijaiye Local Government are among the selected local governments in Lagos State. Ibadan North Local Government, Ibadan North-East Local Government, and Egbeda Local Government have been chosen as local governments in Oyo State. These choices were determined based on these local governments' strategic placement within their respective states, as well as their representation of a broad mix of semi-urban and metropolitan residents. Purposive sampling, as described by Babbie (1995), was used to choose the samples. Purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling in which the researcher selects sample members using their discretion (Babbie, 1995). Because the respondents in this study required to satisfy specified criteria in order to offer valid replies, this technique was used. The researcher was able to use purposive sampling to pick women and men who met the conditions of being eligible voters, potential political candidates, or persons who have previously pursued political posts within each of the selected local governments. As a result, the sample chosen is consistent with the study's aims.

### **Tools for Data Collection**

For this study, data was gathered via acquiring information from both primary and secondary sources. Two semi-structured questionnaires were used to obtain primary data. These surveys included both closed-ended and open-ended questions, resulting in a complete and accurate dataset. These questionnaires were delivered to participants in each community. A portion of the surveys were prepared expressly for key informants, while others were designed for general responders.

### **Procedure and Method of Data Collection**

The primary instrument employed for data collection in this study was the questionnaire. It was administered to individuals aged 18 and older who met the eligibility criteria for voting and candidacy and were willing to participate. The questionnaire's design was influenced by the study's objectives. To ensure a robust response rate and the authenticity of responses, the researchers personally conducted the administration

of the questionnaire. This approach facilitated direct interactions between the researchers and the respondents, allowing for guidance when necessary and the prompt clarification of any misconceptions or doubts regarding the study's purpose. Additionally, occasional interviews were conducted to gather valuable information not covered in the questionnaire.

In parallel, secondary data was acquired by meticulously reviewing pertinent literature and journals related to the participation of women in Nigerian politics, governance, and civic domains within Lagos and Oyo states. These sources were accessed through online libraries, government websites, and textbooks.

### Method of Data Analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis were adopted. A comparative analysis was also conducted using the methods of T-statistics and descriptive analysis to discern the political behaviors and patterns of involvement of women in Nigerian politics, governance, and civic space in Lagos and Oyo States. This also helped to determine the factors that influence women's involvement in Nigerian politics, governance, and civic spaces in Lagos and Oyo States. The purpose of comparative analysis is to gain better understanding of the causal factors involved in the creation of an event, relationship or feature in two similar or different cases. This helps to establish links between two or more phenomena and provides valid reasons.

### 3. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The acquired data for the study was subjected to a thorough analysis that included both quantitative and thematic techniques when applicable. The study topics were addressed and examined utilizing a variety of descriptive and inferential statistical approaches, such as basic percentages, tables, regression analysis, and correlation analysis. The following is how the analysis is organized:

1. Questionnaire Breakdown
2. Demographic Profile of the Respondents
3. Examination and Discussion of the Research Inquiries
4. Hypothesis Testing and Conclusion

Breakdown of the Questionnaire

**Table 1.1** Presents the Breakdown of Questionnaire

Response Rate	Total	Percentage
Properly filled and Returned	123	82
Non-responses	27	18
<b>Questionnaire Administered</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Survey (2023)

Table 1.1 illustrates the outcome of the questionnaire distribution, where out of the 150 questionnaires distributed, 123 completed and valid responses were received, constituting 82% of the total. The remaining 27 responses, accounting for 18%, were incomplete and therefore deemed invalid. This study's analysis focused on the 123 properly completed questionnaires, employing descriptive statistics and T-test Analysis.

### Social-Demographic Characteristics of the respondent

**Table 1.2** Gender Distribution of the Respondents

Options		Frequency	Percentage
<b>Lagos</b>	Male	29	48.3
	Female	31	51.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Oyo</b>	Male	34	54.0
	Female	29	46.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.2 presents the gender distribution among respondents in both Lagos and Oyo States. In Lagos State, 46.3% of respondents are male, whereas 51.7% are female. Conversely, in Oyo State, 54% of respondents are male, while 46% are female. This indicates that there is a higher proportion of female respondents compared to males in Lagos State, whereas in Oyo State, there are more male respondents than females.

**Table 1.3** Age Distribution of the respondents

	Options	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Lagos</b>	18-36	36	60
	37-54	17	28.3
	55 and above	7	11.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Oyo</b>	18-36	37	58.7
	37-54	19	30.1
	55 and above	7	11.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.3 provides insights into the age distribution of respondents in both Lagos and Oyo States. In Lagos State, 60% of respondents are between the ages of 18 and 36, 28.3% are between the ages of 37 and 54, while a lesser proportion, 11.7%, are 55 and older. Similarly, in Oyo State, 58.7% of respondents are between the ages of 18 and 36, 30.1% are between the ages of 37 and 54, and 11.1% are 55 and older. These data show that the majority of respondents in both Lagos and Oyo States are between the ages of 18 and 36, showing that the most actively involved population in politics, governance, and civic engagement in these states is made up of young people.

**Table 1.4** Religion of the Respondents

	Religion	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Lagos</b>	Muslim	19	31.7
	Christian	40	66.7
	Traditional	1	1.7
	Other	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Oyo</b>	Muslim	25	39.7
	Christian	37	58.7
	Traditional	0	0
	Other	1	1.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.4 displays the religious affiliations of the respondents. It is evident from the table that in Lagos State, 31.7% of the respondents follow the Islamic faith, 66.7% identify as Christians, and 1.7% adhere to traditional religious beliefs. In Oyo State, the distribution is as follows: 39.7% are Muslims, 58.7% are Christians, 1.6% practice other religions aside from traditional beliefs, and none of the respondents adhere to traditional religious practices. These findings highlight that among the respondents in both Lagos State and Oyo State, Christianity is the predominant religion.



**Table 1.5** Marital Status of the Respondents

	Options	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Lagos</b>	Single	32	53.3
	Married	25	41.6
	Divorced/Separated	3	5.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Oyo</b>	Single	30	47.6
	Married	32	50.7
	Divorced/Separated	1	1.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.5 depicts the respondents' marital status. In Lagos State, 53.3% of people are single, 41.6% are married, and 5% have been divorced or separated. Similarly, 47.6% of respondents in Oyo State are single, 50.7% are married, and 1.6% have experienced divorce or separation.

**Table 1.6** Level of Education

	Options	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Lagos</b>	None	1	1.7
	Secondary	3	5.0
	Tertiary Institutions	3	5.0
	University	53	88.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Oyo</b>	None	1	1.6
	Secondary	2	3.2
	Tertiary Institutions	5	7.9
	University	55	87.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

The educational qualifications of respondents from Lagos and Oyo states are shown in Table 1.6. In Lagos state, 1.7% of respondents did not attend school, while 5% completed secondary school. In Oyo state, 3.2% have only completed secondary school, while 7.9% have graduated from postsecondary schools.

**Table 1.7** Success rate of data Collection

	Options	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
<b>Lagos</b>	Yes	34	56.7
	No	26	43.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Oyo</b>	Yes	30	47.6
	No	33	52.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.7 gives information on previous political campaigns' outcomes. In Lagos State, 56.7% of respondents who had previously run for political office were victorious, while 43.3% were defeated. In Oyo State, however, 47.6% of respondents who had previously run for political office claimed success, while 52.4% reported failure. According to this data, former political competitors in Lagos State had a greater success rate (56.7%), but Oyo State had a higher percentage of unsuccessful attempts (52.4%).

**Table 1.8** Respondent participation in voting during election

Option		Frequency	Percentage
<b>Lagos</b>	Yes	32	53.3
	No	28	46.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Oyo</b>	Yes	29	46.0
	No	34	54.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.8 shows the percentage of respondents who voted during the election. According to the table, 53.3% of respondents vote during elections in Lagos State, while 46.7% do not vote during elections. On the contrary, 46% of respondents vote in Oyo state elections, while 54% do not. Based on the responses of the respondents, it can be determined that individuals vote more frequently in Lagos State (55.3%) than in Oyo State (46%).

**Table 1.9** Level of Awareness of respondents

Options		Frequency	Cumulative Percent
<b>Lagos</b>	Yes	58	96.7
	No	2	3.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Oyo</b>	Yes	61	96.8
	No	2	3.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

People in Lagos and Oyo states are fully aware that women's engagement in administration, politics, and civic space is extremely low. According to Table 1.9, 96.7% of respondents are aware that fewer women hold political positions, whereas 3.3% are unaware.

## 4. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

### Research Question 1

What disparities exist in the levels of engagement and participation of women from Lagos and Oyo states in the realms of Nigerian politics, governance, and civic participation?

**Table 1.10** Women in politics in Lagos and Oyo States 1999-2019

1999 Election	Lagos			Oyo		
	Position	No. of women	Seats	Percentage	No. of women	Seats
National assembly	1	24	4.16	0	14	0.00
State House of assembly	3	41	7.31	0	32	0.00
Senate	0	3	0.00	0	3	0.00
Commissioner	3	22	13.63	2	16	12.50
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>7.77</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>3.07</b>
2003 Election	Lagos			Oyo		
	Position	No. of women	Seats	Percentage	No. of women	Seats
National assembly	3	24	12.50	0	14	0.00
State House of assembly	2	41	4.47	0	32	0.00
Senate	0	3	0.00	0	3	0.00
Commissioner	3	22	13.63	1	18	5.55
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>8.88</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>1.49</b>

## Multicultural Education

<b>2007 Election</b>	<b>Lagos</b>			<b>Oyo</b>		
Position	No. of women	Seats	Percentage	No. of women	Seats	Percentage
National assembly	3	24	12.50	2	14	14.28
State House of assembly	5	41	12.19	1	32	3.12
Senate	0	3	0.00	0	3	0.00
Commissioner	2	22	9.00	2	17	11.76
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>11.11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>7.57</b>
<b>2011 Election</b>	<b>Lagos</b>			<b>Oyo</b>		
Position	No. of women	Seats	Percentage	No. of women	Seats	Percentage
National assembly	4	24	16.66	2	14	14.21
State House of assembly	7	41	17.00	1	32	3.11
Senate	1	3	33.33	0	3	0.00
Commissioner	3	22	13.60	2	18	11.11
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>16.66</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>7.46</b>
<b>2015 Election</b>	<b>Lagos</b>			<b>Oyo</b>		
Position	No. of women	Seats	Percentage	No. of women	Seats	Percentage
National assembly	1	24	4.17	0	13	0.00
State House of assembly	4	40	10.00	2	32	6.25
Senate	1	3	33.33	1	3	33.33
Commissioner	3	23	13.04	2	15	13.33
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>7.94</b>
<b>2019 Election</b>	<b>Lagos</b>			<b>Oyo</b>		
Position	No. of women	Seats	Percentage	No. of women	Seats	Percentage
National assembly	0	24	0.00	1	14	7.14
State House of assembly	3	40	7.50	2	32	6.25
Senate	1	3	33.33	0	3	0.00
Commissioner	8	22	36.36	2	17	11.76
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>13.48</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>7.58</b>

Source: Placng.org (2020)

In 1999, Lagos State exhibited a relatively higher representation of women in prominent political roles compared to Oyo State. However, the overall figures were underwhelming considering the re-establishment of democracy in Nigeria that year (Oke, 2015). Lagos had a total of 7 women occupying significant governmental positions, both nationally and within the state, while Oyo State lagged behind with 8 women in such roles. Notably, neither state had any women serving as senators. By 2007, women in Lagos State held a combined total of 10 key positions in top-level governance. However, the 2011 elections did not witness a significant improvement in the representation of women in politics and governance. Lagos State recorded 12 women in prominent governance roles, while Oyo State had just 5. In 2015, the number of female politicians in both states declined to 9 in Lagos and 5 in Oyo. This trend highlights that Lagos State generally surpasses Oyo State in the representation of women in Nigerian politics and governance. Lagos, being one of Nigeria's most developed states, attracts a significant concentration of social activities. Additionally, women's advocacy groups, like the National Council of Women Society (NCWS), have seen more success and prominence in Lagos.

### Research Question 2

What are the factors prompting the political participation of women in Nigerian governance, politics and civic spaces?

**Table 1.11** Women Level of Education

Options		Frequency	Percentage
Lagos	Yes	27	45.0
	No	33	55.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Oyo	Yes	38	60.3
	No	25	39.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.11 depicts the influence of women's education on political participation in Lagos and Oyo states. In Lagos State, 45% of respondents said a woman's education influences her level of political activity. In Oyo State, however, a higher majority of respondents, 60.3%, agreed, while 39.7% disagreed that a woman's degree of education influences her political engagement.

**Table 1.12** Position of Women in political parties

Option		Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Lagos	Yes	11	18.3
	No	49	81.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Oyo	Yes	14	22.2
	No	49	77.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

In terms of the presence of women in top positions within political parties, 18.3% of respondents in Lagos State saw such positions, while the majority, 81.7%, did not. In Oyo State, however, 22.2% of respondents recognized women in senior positions in political parties, while 77.8% disagreed. This perception gap can be related to the misguided idea that Nigerian politics is very competitive and chaotic, leading to the false belief that women are unsuitable for dealing with political and civic concerns.

**Table 1.13** Economic Status of Women

Options		Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Lagos	Low	32	53.3
	Moderate	24	40.0
	High	4	6.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Oyo	Low	36	57.1
	Moderate	26	41.3
	High	1	1.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey (2023)

In Lagos State, 53.3% of respondents believe that the economic condition of women in their region is low. In Oyo State, 57.1% of respondents said women's economic situations were poor. The majority of respondents observed that economic standing in both states is poor.

**Table 1.14** Free and fair Elections

Options		Frequency	Percentage
Lagos	Yes	4	6.7
	No	56	93.3
	Total	60	100.0
Oyo	Yes	4	6.3
	No	59	93.7
	Total	63	100.0

Source: Field survey (2023)

In Oyo State, only 6.7% of respondents believe that the elections conducted in their area were free and fair, while a significant 93.3% of respondents in Lagos State express the opinion that elections have not been conducted fairly. These findings suggest a lack of credible elections in both study areas.

**Table 1.15** Effect of Electoral System on representation of women in governance, politics and civic space

Options		Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Lagos	Yes	44	73.3
	No	16	26.7
	Total	60	100.0
Oyo	Yes	45	71.4
	No	18	28.6
	Total	63	100.0

Source: Field survey (2023)

In Lagos, 73.3% of respondents believe that the election system in their research region has an influence on women's political representation. In Oyo State, 71.4% of respondents acknowledge the election system's impact on women's representation in government and politics.

**Table 1.16** Gender preference

Options		Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Lagos	Yes	42	70.0
	No	18	30.0
	Total	60	100.0
Oyo	Yes	44	69.8
	No	19	30.2
	Total	63	100.0

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.16 depicts the gender bias in the recruiting procedure of a political party. 70% of respondents in Lagos State agree that male applicants are given precedence over female candidates. Similarly, 69.8% of respondents in Oyo State feel that the political recruiting process favours male candidates, while 30.2% disagree. Such prejudices, among other things, contribute to women's under-representation in Nigerian politics and government.

**Table 1.17** Societal view on women in politics

Options		Frequency	Percentage
Lagos	Good	7	11.7
	Fair	23	38.3
	Bad	30	50.0
	Total	60	100.0

## Multicultural Education

Oyo	Good	8	12.7
	Fair	27	42.9
	Bad	28	44.4
	Total	63	100.0

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.17 summarizes respondents' perceptions of women in civic and political positions in Nigeria. In Lagos State, 11.7% of respondents regarded Nigerian society's perception of women in civic and political responsibilities to be favourable, 38.2% neutral, and 50% negative. Similarly, 12.7% of respondents in Oyo State say that Nigerian society's opinion of women in civic and political responsibilities is good, 42.9% believe it is neutral, and 44.4% believe it is bad. According to the findings, the general public's perception of women in politics is overwhelmingly unfavourable. This negative view is harmful to women in Nigerian politics since the majority of Nigerians still believe that women are fragile, weak, and unfit for demanding political roles. Women's political participation is viewed as risky and bold by some. This view is one of the issues restricting women's political engagement in Nigeria.

**Table 1.18** Traditional views and Ideologies

	Option	Frequency	Percentage
Lagos	Yes	55	91.7
	No	5	8.3
	Total	60	100.0
Oyo	Yes	58	92.1
	No	5	7.9
	Total	63	100.0

Source: Field survey (2023)

Table 1.18 shows that in Lagos State, 91.7% of respondents believe that traditional ideas and ideologies in Nigeria have an influence on women's political ambitions, while 8.35% disagree. Similarly, 92.1% of respondents in Oyo State feel that traditional ideas and ideologies in Nigeria have a role in moulding women's political ambitions. Traditional cultural beliefs are a key factor negatively impacting women's political aspirations in both states, according to this investigation.

**Table 1.19** Level of political Violence

	Options	Frequency	Percentage
Lagos	Low	2	3.3
	Moderate	9	15.0
	High	49	81.7
	Total	60	100.0
Oyo	Low	2	3.2
	Moderate	11	17.5
	High	50	79.4
	Total	63	100.0

Source: Field survey (2023)

The incidence of political violence in the study's regions is depicted in Table 1.19. According to the statistics, only 3.3% of respondents in Lagos feel the amount of political violence in their region is low, 15% believe it is moderate, and a sizable 81.7% say it is high. Similarly, in Oyo State, only 3.2% of respondents consider political violence to be low, 17.5% consider it to be moderate, and 79.4% consider it to be severe. According to this statistics, the majority of respondents in both Lagos and Oyo States consider the degree of political violence to be high.

### Test of Hypotheses

Hypothesis

H0: There exists no differences in the levels of women participation in politics, governance, and civic spaces in Lagos state and Oyo state, Nigeria

2015 Election	Lagos			Oyo		
Position	No. of women	Seats	Percentage	No. of women	Seats	Percentage
National assembly	1	24	4.17	0	13	0.00
State House of assembly	4	40	10.00	2	32	6.25
Senate	1	3	33.33	1	3	33.33
Commissioner	3	23	13.04	2	15	13.33
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>7.94</b>
2019 Election	Lagos			Oyo		
Position	No. of women	Seats	Percentage	No. of women	Seats	Percentage
National assembly	0	24	0.00	1	14	7.14
State House of assembly	3	40	7.50	2	32	6.25
Senate	1	3	33.33	0	3	0.00
Commissioner	8	22	36.36	2	17	11.76
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>13.48</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>7.58</b>

Source: placng.org

The table above presents the number of women holding top political positions in the 2015 and 2019 general elections in Lagos State and Oyo State. A T-test Analysis is carried out below to determine if a significant difference exists in the level of participation of Lagos State and Oyo State women in Nigerian politics, governance and the civic space.

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
							Lower	Upper
Women	Equal variances assumed	.198	6	.849	1.90750	9.61691	-21.62423	25.43923
	Equal variances not assumed	.198	5.898	.849	1.90750	9.61691	-21.72293	25.53793

The table above presents the statistical results, including a T-statistic value of 0.257, a significance value (sig) of 0.849, a mean difference of 1.107, and a degree of freedom of 6 (3+3). Given that the p-value obtained (sig = 0.849) significantly exceeds the 5% level of significance, it is acceptable to conclude that there is no statistically significant difference in the level of women's participation in politics between Lagos State and Oyo State during the 2015 general election. Thus, we can infer that there is no significant disparity in women's involvement in governance, politics, and civic activities between Lagos and Oyo States.

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
							Lower	Upper
Women	Equal variances assumed	1.378	6	.217	13.01000	9.44203	-10.09382	36.11382
	Equal variances not assumed	1.378	3.419	.252	13.01000	9.44203	-15.05783	41.07783

The table above displays the statistical results, which include a T-statistic value of 1.378, a significance value (sig) of 0.217, a mean difference of 13.01, and a degree of freedom of 6. Given that the obtained p-value (sig = 0.217) is higher than the 5% significance level, the null hypothesis is not rejected. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is no statistically significant difference in the level of women's participation in politics, governance, and civic spaces between Lagos and Oyo States.

### 5. CONCLUSION

The foregoing study clearly reveals that gender inequality is a serious issue in Nigeria's political, civic, and governance spheres. Instead of narrowing, the gender disparity in access to political and civic arenas has strengthened patriarchal domination inside these institutions. Unfortunately, since the country's creation, women in Nigerian politics have been denied the same cultural, institutional, and civic chances as their male counterparts. In light of these troubling realities, this study asserts unequivocally that unless concrete measures to reduce gender disparities across political, economic, social, and institutional domains are implemented, civic and political spaces will remain restrictive, imbalanced, unequal, insufficiently gender-sensitive, and regrettably patriarchal.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

This study emphasized the shockingly low participation of women in the political landscapes of both Lagos and Oyo States. Several initiatives can be explored to improve women's representation in Nigerian politics as a whole: First, the Nigerian government should strictly enforce the newly implemented 30% quota policy aimed at increasing women's representation in civic, governance, and political sectors. Influential women in positions of power should must also work with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and women's organizations to raise awareness about the importance of women's representation in Nigerian politics and governance. Similarly, political parties should actively encourage women's engagement by proposing female candidates as equivalents to political flag bearers, raising awareness for statewide women's representation. Gender-sensitive policies must also be implemented within political parties in order to promote an atmosphere that encourages women's participation. Finally, the government must consider lowering the cost of political tickets for female applicants, especially those with little financial means, in the spirit of gender inclusiveness and gender balance. Hence, policies should be developed to encourage women's engagement in civic, governance, and political spheres.

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