



Women Political Advancement and the Pipeline Theory under President Buhari's Administration

Margaret Apine¹ & Angela Olofu Adeoye²

¹Department of Political Science, Federal University Lokoja, Kogi State, Nigeria

²Center for Conflict Management and Peace Studies, University of Jos-Nigeria

Corresponding Author's E-mail: margetapine@yahoo.co.uk

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to unravel through desktop review and theoretical expositions the efforts of a past administration aimed at mainstreaming women into the political sphere in Nigeria. This is with the view to advance our understanding of the efforts made by the Buhari's Administration to address the "supply-side" issue which is a key challenge that accounts for women's under-representation in Nigerian politics. Whereas past administrations and non-profit organizations have attempted to build women's political careers through funding and trainings which may bring women into the main pipeline for candidacy, as the proponents of the pipeline claim posits, no significant changes have been recorded. This paper uses a comparative method between the 2007 experiences and that of 2023 while anchoring it in the Pipeline for candidacy theory as our framework of analyses. Results from the study, suggest that by giving waivers for nomination forms to women, the former president did not only address the issue of lack of funds for most female aspirants within the All-Progressives Congress (APC), but brought more women into mainstream politicking. There is therefore the likelihood of having more women vying for political positions in the future, like what happened in 2007 when free nomination forms were give women in some political parties in the country. The paper recommends that subsequently, our leaders should follow suite as part of their efforts to encourage potential female aspirants to participate in politics. There is also the need for a review of the existing laws by the National Assembly in a way that would make it compulsory for political parties to nominate female candidates for elective and appointive positions.

Key Words: Women, Political Advancement, Pipeline Theory, Buhari's Administration.

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Introduction

The political environment leading up to the 2023 Nigerian elections was ripe for female political aspirants, as apparently encouraged and promised by President Buhari and his administration's political party, the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC). In a bid to boost the participation of women in politics, the ruling APC gave out its nomination forms free of charge to women contesting any elective position in the 2023 general elections.(Balogun, 2022) This action was in tandem with the President's promises in 2015 when he avowed to better the fortunes of women participation in politics with respect to the high cost of the nomination and indication of interest forms.

The former President had earlier lamented the plight of women on the occasion when he was paying for his nomination fee in 2015. He had expressed regrets on his inability to influence the APC to reduce the cost of the forms for women and the disabled who may want to run for office. He was quoted as saying it's a pity I couldn't influence this amount to be put down as in the case of ladies and the disabled that intend to participate...27million Naira is a big sum, thankfully I have a personal relationship with the bank manager of my bank in Kaduna and I told him that very soon the forms are coming, so whether I am on red or green or even black, please honor it otherwise I may lose the nomination. (cited in Akintuotu & Agbu,2019)

This pronouncement suggested that once in office his administration will not only implement the affirmative action but will also mainstream a good percentage of women in the political sphere. It however came as surprise when only seven women made the list of the 43, or 16 per cent, of ministerial appointees (onyeji, 2019). This was a far cry from the situation that obtained in President Goodluck Jonathan's administration's cabinet, which had a handsome female population occupying about 33 percent of cabinet positions. Although the appointment of seven ministers by President Buhari was disheartening when taken at face value, the most fundamental issue that is needed by the Nigerian woman in order to overcome their under-representation in politics is how to get nominated within most political parties.

Of course different policies have been considered to address the various factors accounting for women's under-representation in Nigerian politics. In an attempt to address the "supply-side" aspect of women's under-representation, various non-profit organizations have offered training programs aimed at providing women with knowledge, skills, and networks to build political careers. But training alone does not address the issue of funding and experiences



which may bring women into the main pipeline for candidacy, as proponents of the pipeline claim posits.

The central idea of the pipeline argument holds that the more women are positioned in careers (such as Law, business owners, and politics) that will lead to political candidacies, the more women will acquire the qualification and experiences to political positions. In their study about the under-presentation of women in the United States' political environment, Lee Shaw (2010) and Clack (1994) found that “women are not found in professions which politicians are inordinately chosen from”. This translates to mean that women's low representation in politics was as a result of external factors that could be corrected once women take up such professional jobs.

From the stand point of Pipeline perspective therefore, allowing more and more women to actively participate in partisan politics, even mere running for office as the past administration did, was an investment for the future. With this hypothesis, it has become imperative to ask if the situation in Nigeria may be similar to that of the USA. Nigeria like the United States of America both operates a presidential system of government where the implementation of gender quota system has been turned down on several occasions. The only option that women can key into partisan politics is to gain the experiences needed to emerge as candidates and ultimately to occupy political offices.

Earlier attempts at mainstreaming women whereby female aspirants in Nigeria were given waivers for nomination forms in 2007, yielded positive results as the percentage of women representation in the National Assemble rose to 36 females which translates to 7.6 percent (IPU, 2019). At this point, it is quite appealing and enticing to believe, to hope and to infer that president Buhari did try to satisfy the clamor for more women to be well represented in governance.

Consequently, as the country entered into other rounds of elections, it became logical to hypothesize that female representation in parliament was likely to increase in subsequent elections after 2023. While the main objective of this paper is to unravel the efforts of President Buhari through the APC aimed at mainstreaming women into the political sphere in Nigeria, one can equally infer further those subsequent elections may be ‘rip for women’ as



the National Assembly may have far more women than 2007 which had produced the first female Speaker of the House of Representatives ever.

This paper therefore unravels through empirical and theoretical expositions the efforts of President Buhari's administration through the APC aimed at mainstreaming women into the political sphere in Nigeria. For the purpose of explicit analysis, the paper is divided into five parts. Part one consists of the introduction; in part two we review relevant literature; part three is the methodology; part four is the discussion of findings as it relates to the theory, while section five concludes the study and the sixth section is the recommendation.

Literature Review

Research so far has shown that there are certain cultural values, norms and practices that have over the years systematically impeded the female gender from participating in Nigerian politics. Scholars like Okorie (2016), Pogoson (2012), Aina and Olayode (2012 b), Agbalajobi (2010) Okomjo (1981), Arowolo and Aluko (2010) have unveiled the travail of the female gender, such as humiliation, manipulation and marginalization through culturally biased norms and practices in all spheres of life in the country. The Nigerian woman has been socialized into passive civic and political roles in the family.

But in order to fully appreciate the underlying factors behind the marginal role of women in Nigerian politics, there must be an attempt to offer a historical context within which such culture of gender inequality was allowed to perpetuate in pre-colonial era. Historically, the kingship structure had placed men in position of advantage while women were subordinates in society. Various institutions of society such as family, religion, the law, politics, education, economics, media, socio-cultural practices, state policy and agency have further perpetrated the subjugation and disempowerment of women.

Omolewa (2002) posits that gender inequality had its root in not just the cultural aspect that were changed during the colonial era but in the system of education. Education in the colonial era was specifically designed for the purpose of meeting the manpower need of their government, and by so doing systematically alienated women from educational, economic and by extension political opportunities. Historical records abound to show that in as much as pre-colonial Nigeria was patriarchal; women were not entirely left out of the political system



(Awe, 1989). Generally, women's political power varied from one society to another. While in some societies women shared responsibilities with men, in others their roles were complementary.

The colonial period was highly repressive of women's rights which were considered as primitive. In the view of Falola (2012), patriarchy combined with colonial preferences to alter gender relations. As male chiefs collaborated with the colonial administration in tax collection and governance, the position of female chiefs were relegated to the background. Women were ignored by the colonial authorities in the eventual redistribution of positions and power and the marginalization of women became standard practice. Even female nationalists who participated in the struggle for independence were sidelined after independence. This marginalization continued to foster even in the aftermath of Nigeria's Independence, where women became more economically deprived than men due primarily to low literacy levels among women, and the prevalence of early marriage which tend to further impoverish them.

Presently, these colonial legacies still manifest in several ways to marginalize women in both the economic and political sphere. Arowolo and Aluko (2010) outline some of the factors that have become persistent in the Nigerian political sphere to include cultural practices, the nature of political party formation, and inadequacy of willing and educated women as candidates for elective offices, high cost of election and the issue of indigeneity.

Cultural Practices

The Nigerian society is permeated by patriarchy whereby women are expected to conform to and confine themselves to male dominance and female subservience. Women are seen to belong to the home, incapable of making sound decisions. Thus, it is perceived as unbecoming for women to expose themselves in public for political activities such as campaign rallies. Men often find it incredible and impracticable to see women participating in politics (Pogoso, 2012; Aina & Olayode, 2012 b; Iloh & Ikenna, 2009; and Nda, 2003).

These cultural practices are then subsequently reinforced by the wider society based on the cultural perception that women who are active in politics are cultural deviants. Once such



perception has been established, it further served as a threat to women competences which make the public to be skeptical about their capacity to perform if voted in public offices.

Nature of Political Party Formation

The introduction of the principle of elective representation to Nigeria in 1922 was initially targeted at male candidates and voters. This later led to formation of clubs and informal meetings initiated by male friends and business partners, which later metamorphosed into some level of political parties that were built as male institutions. They had all the hallmarks of masculinity and patriarchal hierarchical authority. Women were relegated to the bottom with zero influence in partisan governance, and placed in a distinctly-carved space, named Women's Wing. So, women were naturally excluded from the formation stage of political parties, thus denying them the benefits accruing to foundation membership.

Violence, Thuggery and Intimidation

Other impediments preventing women from actively participating in politics and governance are: patriarchal dominance in political parties, godfatherism, indigeneship, intra-party rigging, political violence, thuggery and high level of intimidation (INEC, 2006:5). Godfatherism has been establishing itself as a guiding principle in contemporary Nigerian political arena in the early First Republic of Nigeria. Godfathers are generally understood to be men who have both power and personality to determine both who gets nominated to participate in elections and who wins elections at all levels in the country. They serve as gatekeepers who mentor candidates to run for office. For many individuals, the support from a godfather serves as the key ingredient in fomenting their thoughts of running elective positions (Olarinmoye, 2008; and Basse & Enetak, 2008). These deviant antisocial practices adversely affect women as they on their own part lack political godmothers to serve as their mentors and sponsors.

Inadequacy of Willing and Educated Women

The gender gap in political ambition is relatively high as some strong female political contenders shy away from partisan politics. Some practically subject themselves to domestic activities as a strategy to and the need to prevent broken homes. This has inadvertently and inevitably reduced the number of qualified and willing women for both appointive and elective positions.



High Cost of Electioneering Campaigns

Although this equally affects men, the rate at which it affects women is more pronounced in Nigeria. The high cost of financing political parties and campaigns is a big obstacle to women. The cost of nomination forms in APC is as high as 100 million naira. How many women can mobilize such huge amount of money given their disadvantage position in society? Definitely, no political party would want to nominate a woman for a post like presidential candidate considering her very small contribution to party finance and formation.

The Issue of Indigeneship

A societal factor that impedes women's ability to participate in Nigerian politics is the concept of indigeneship that recognizes only ethnic groups native to a particular state – and these structures portray women as subordinate to men. Women who are married outside their constituencies of birth (but who contest elections in their marriage constituencies) are usually regarded as non-indigenes by the people from that constituency (at least by birth). This is a worse case if the woman is married from entirely different ethnic group. Such a woman will be regarded as being over ambitious and may be prevented or discouraged.

Emerging Trends in Past Few Years

Emerging studies have however shown that there are some slow but steady changes with regards to socio-cultural constraint to women political participation. Ibeanu (2009) identify four socio-economic and cultural changes with potentials to transform women political participation (cited in Orji et al., 2018). The first change that is presently taking is place is in most societies in the country, the growing voices and raising profile of women in the economic sector, community development and public engagement. Secondly, there has been a gradual but consistent withering of cultural restrictions on the perception of women in politics. As more female roles are emerging as political actors, the public is beginning to view women as professionals who are capable of performing any task assigned to them. Thirdly, there is a lot of activism in support of women political participation in the country. Both local and international NGOs are training women on the political processes and even lobbying for females to be mainstreamed into politics. Finally, women started taking up economic roles in the family which was previously reserved for men. This development has challenged the so-called breadwinner myth where the man was supposed to provide for the



family (Orji et al., 2018) All these developments and progress are contributing towards eliminating socio-cultural and even economic barriers.

However, some institutional challenges militating against women political participation in Nigeria still abound (Ikenna, 2009:117). Research has shown that exclusion of women in the party executives contributes in no small measure to the marginalisation of women in politics, especially during party nominations (Ako-Nai, 2005; Muhammed, 2006; Okoosi-Simbine), making it very difficult for women to participate on a level playing ground.

Theoretical Framework

The pipeline theory was first recognized in the 1970s by Walter R. Mahler to describe the shift in work and values at different stages of a specific organization (Luenendonk 2020). In his report entitled *Critical Career Crossroads*, Mahler suggested a shift in work values according to the various stages of an organization to ensure success. This theory basically represents the flow of individuals from leadership academic preparation to establishment in a given profession (Mariani, 2008). It gain popularity within political science research, when it became evident in the United States of America (USA) that the vast majority of potential candidate pools remain heavily skewed by gender. Even if women were as likely to run as men, the likelihood that a candidate would be a woman was low due to the much smaller number of women in the pool.

Consequently, research on women's underrepresentation in the US and abroad has taken different trajectories. While a large comparative literature grew around the adoption of gender quotas, scholars in the candidate-centered American context and to some extent Nigeria, turned to individual-level differences between men and women and the study of candidate emergence in particular. The theory as adopted in the field frequently assumed that a major reason for the underrepresentation of women in traditionally male dominated fields like politics is the lack of women preparing to enter those fields. To this end, increasing the number of women in the pipeline will inevitably lead to increases in female representation in male-dominated professions particularly politics (Mariani, 2008; Soe and Yakura, 2008).

Therefore, a critical mass of women in traditional pipeline professions like law, CEOs and politicking will theoretically, change the all-male dynamic and result in more equality. Such



hypotheses spark a renewed discussion of how the gendered pipeline to power matters at least as much as rates of entry, if not more, for future prospects of gender parity. (Konrad, Kramer, and Erkut, 2008; Soe and Yakura, 2008).

Even if women were as likely to run as men, the likelihood that a candidate would be a woman is low due to the much smaller number of women in the pool. The theory is premised on the assumption that a major reason for the underrepresentation of women in traditionally male dominated fields is the lack of women preparing to enter those fields. In their study about the under-presentation of women in the US political environment, Lee Shaw (2010) and Clack (1994) found that “women are not found in professions which politicians are inordinately chosen from”. While in Nigeria, this supply-side explanation does not account for discriminatory practices on the demand-side, but it brings women in to the environment where they could gain experiences on how to become candidates. For instance, the number of presidential aspirants rose from six in 2019 to seven in 2023.

From the foregoing it could be argued that the free nomination forms that were given to women by the APC under the Buhari's administration, brought more women into the non-traditional pipeline for candidacy, which in turn will build up their political careers. The Waivers by the APC, also triggered the issue in other political parties within the country thereby reducing one major constraint to female candidacy in the country.

Methodology

This research on women's political advancement under President Buhari's administration based on a desktop review or secondary method. Given the dearth of peer-reviewed publications on gender and political representation in the country, relevant literature was readily available. It attempts a comparative analysis from available data on what the last administration did to engender female participation in Nigeria with the pipeline hypotheses to shed light on how the waiver of nomination fees will encourage more women to become active in partisan politics. By identifying those key issues that align with the pipeline theory, it is hoped that this study can guide the development of context-specific policies and interventions that will address the supply-side challenge that accounts for women's underrepresentation in Nigeria.



Preconditions for change in favor of the political advancement of Nigerian women under the Buhari administration and the Gender Pipeline Theory

The concept of “Pipeline for Candidacy” is intensely debated. Studies in political recruitment in advanced democracies found out that women are not found in the political sphere because they are not found in professions (Lawyers, CEOs and politicians) that produce candidates for political office. The central idea of the pipeline argument holds that the more women are positioned in careers that lead to political candidacies, the more women will acquire the qualification and experiences to political positions. In their study, Lee Shaw (2010) and Clack (1994) posited that “women are not found in professions which politicians are inordinately chosen from”. These translate to mean that women’s low representation in politics was as a result of external factors that could be corrected once women take up such professional jobs.

But the inability for the theory to explain the persistent under-representation of women in politics in spite some improvement in the candidate pool necessitates a shift in perspective. Consequently, most gender research in the last two decades in American politics focused on the reasons for the ambition gap between men and women and various ways to foster women’s political ambition. There are substantial evidence however across studies which still suggest that the recruitment and support from party and community leaders is a crucial mechanism for the advancement of women in politics (Kreitzer and Osborn,2019)

In addition, the gender makeup of the pipeline has gained renewed attention because the vast majority of potential candidate pool in most countries remains heavily skewed by gender. Even if women were as likely to run as men, the likelihood that a candidate would be a woman is low due to the much smaller number of women in the pool. In the US for instance, one lower-level offices which is a common stepping stone to higher office are overwhelmingly male and have changed only minimally over the last two or three decades (NLC, 2018).

According to the findings from the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) in 2019, men have comprised between 75% and 80% of state legislatures, a typical pathway to Congress, since the early 1990s. Even after the electoral gains in 2018, men still make up 71% of state legislators. At the local level, more than 78% of mayors of U.S. cities with populations over 30,000 are men (CAWP 2019). A study conducted by National League of



Cities (NLC) in 2018 showed that in 2001 men made up 75% of city councilors in small cities and 64% in medium and large cities, and there was no more gender diversity in 2001 than in 1979 (NLC, 2018).

In Nigeria the vast majority of potential candidate pools had also remained heavily skewed by gender, since the country's return to democratic rule in 1999. In preparation for the 2023 elections for instance, the seven female aspirants faded into insignificance compared to their male counterparts which as at the last 15th of May 2022 was 38 across the political parties (Nwachuchu, 2022) (Biasness Day, May 15, 2022). This shows women's unwillingness to become politicians, or parties' bias, but it also calls for the need of some policies that may help to close the gender gap in political representation of female candidates in Nigeria.

One of such strategies which depart from the analyses above is to change what the pipeline professions may be, by expanding the Occupational Pathways to Office. This has become imperative because those studies were carried out mostly in the US. Even in the American context, some state legislatures have more teachers in office, while others have more lawyers and business owners. Another pipeline includes individuals who work in the professions that often feed into politics, particularly law. Other pipelines include those who are influential actors in elections. If the professional pathways to candidacy in the USA are changing, could what the administration of Muhammadu Buhari did be in line with the above by giving women the opportunity to feed into politics?

Empirical evidence abounds to show how waiver of nomination fees in 2007 impacted positively in the representation of women the Nigerian Parliament in both 2007 and 2011. This was the period that the country had its first female Speaker of the House of Representatives. It was in this same period that the country had the highest percentage of female representative in the National Assembly. The number of female parliamentarians from the National Assembly rose to 36 females which translate to 7.6 percent (IPU, 2019).

Comparatively, the representation of women in the 2003 election was poor as only 3(2.8%) women made it to 109 members of the senate, while 17 (4.9%) were elected in 360 members lower House of Representatives. As it were, the number of serving female ministers were also very few. In 2007 the National Assembly had nine (9) (8.3%) female Senators and twenty-six (26) (7.0%) female members of House of Representatives. This figure dropped in 2011, as



the National Assembly had only seven (7) (6.4%) female members and twenty-five (25) (6.8%) female members in the lower House (IPU, 2019).

Attempts to address the “supply-side” aspect of women’s under-representation, by various non-profit organizations who offered training programs aimed at providing women with knowledge, skills, and networks to build political careers were to no avail (NDI, 2013). Other efforts at advancing female political participation by an APC state under the Buhari administration is Kogi State was quite encouraging. The Governor in a move to empower women and to bring them into partisan politics facilitated the election of women as deputy chairpersons of the 21 local government areas (LGAs) in the state. This was a great departure from the type of party politics we had in the past, and way forward sine this could be used as a reference point for future development in the countries nascent democracy.

Discussions of Findings

Women deserve an ample space in the Nigerian political terrain, because the 1999 Constitution, in Section 42, speaks clearly in favor of non-discrimination of any person, be it man or woman on the basis of sex, ethnicity or religion. That provision is understood to make for orderliness, inclusivity in governance and good leadership, in a manner that no gender or group, in this case women, is left behind in the administration of the country. Consequently, different administrations since then had adopted different strategies to promote women participation in governance. While some focus more on giving women appointive positions, others go through their political parties to encourage women by giving them free nomination forms. For instance, the positive impact of the waiver of nomination fees for women in 2007 has been unprecedented. Other strategies had been to advance the cause of women within political parties through the women wing.

Interestingly, the structure and distribution of power within parties are likely crucial for improving women’s political representation. Some scholars have devoted attention to the role of women’s wings within parties. Hypothetically, such women wings that target the creation of networks and offer mentorship services are likely crucial to climb the career ladder in politics. Besley et al., (2017) stated that “in Sweden, a coalition of women from both the right and the left is credited for having pressed the Social Democrats’ into adopting their internal zipper quota by threatening to form a feminist party”. Childs and Kittilson (2016), on the other hand, find that the presence of women wings does not seem to harm women’s



promotion to executive roles within parties, a concern that has been associated with the existence of such organizations. In countries with public funding of political parties, like Nigeria, specific funds could be directed to women's organizations within parties to advance the course of women.

Increasingly, a major channel through which Buhari's administration promotes women political participation is the ruling APC. In other to facilitate women advancement in the Nigerian political arena, the Senator Abdulahi Adamu-led National Working Committee (NWC) of the APC declared free nomination forms for female aspirants ahead of the 2023 general elections. The leader of the ruling party said this was part of its efforts to get women involved in politics and to end marginalization against women.

The news was received with so much joy to the extent that the National Women Leader of the party, Ms Betty Edu stated during a press conference held at the party's national secretariat, Abuja, that "the ruling party is offering the women what is greater than 35 percent affirmative action". To buttress the importance of what the party has done, she further stated that, "We are the largest party in Africa and we want to make a strong statement that we stand by inclusion and the mainstreaming for women"(Balogun,2022).

Ironically, the above statement came against the backdrop of the fact that the Buhari administration has been accused of not meeting the 35% affirmative action. A women coalition group under the aegis of 100 Women lobby group had earlier on expressed their dissatisfaction over the appointment of only seven females in the Buhari's cabinet. They had even threatened to use their voting power more judiciously in the next elections should the President fail to make up for the gap in the first list. But before they could recover from the shock, the second list was released and the much touted 35 percent affirmative action had further nose-dived.

The group had insisted that the President must respect and adhere strictly to the 35 percent affirmative action as enshrined in the National Gender Policy of 2006 adding that Nigeria must also respect its commitment to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals aimed at transforming the world by 2030 of which goal 5 is specifically targeted at achieving gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. They said the president was present at the meeting held in New York and personally committed Nigeria to the goals which include



universal respect for human rights and human dignity, the rule of law, justice, equality and non-discrimination (Ajayi, 2015). Could it be that the APC administration is rather empowering women to get elective positions instead of getting political appointments? The president had early on lamented the plight of women on an occasion when he was paying for his nomination fee in 2015. He had expressed his regrets on his inability to influence the APC to reduce the cost of the forms for women and the disabled who may want to run for office.

This therefore suggests that the party is bent on addressing one of the key issues that impedes women ability to run for office, intra party politics. Of course, there are several empirical findings which show that political parties lay the foundation and are the force behind any candidate who eventually wins. And because party processes and decisions of a party leads to positive out-comes, and by creating an enabling environment for the emergence of more woman candidates, such actions will eventually mitigate the socio-political factors that are barriers to the emergence of competent women who can performs very well in office.

In Kogi state the Governor lobbied the ruling APC who nominated women as running mate for candidates in local government chairperson's elections. This move was to advance the course of women in a state that had zero women in its House of Assembly. The result was so impressive to the extent that the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) commended Yahaya Bello for facilitating the election of women as deputy chairpersons of the 21 local government areas (LGAs) in the state. The governor had carved a niche for himself in promoting female inclusion in politics and other leadership positions. In 2016, Bello made history when he appointed Petra Akinti Onyegbule as the first-ever female Chief Press Secretary (CPS) of the state which made her the second-ever female CPS in Nigeria as at the time she took office. He also appointed the first female aide-de-camp (ADC) to a governor in Nigeria's history as well as Secretary to the State Government (SSG) (Nasiru, 2021).

Conclusion

“The ruling party is offering the women what is greater than 35 percent affirmative action” is a unique response by Ms Betty Edu when the Senator Abdulahi Adamu-led National Working Committee (NWC) of the APC declared free nomination forms for female aspirants ahead of the 2023 general election. This action does not come as a surprise as the President



Buhari had expressed his desire to facilitate women inclusion in politics as far back as 2015. It has therefore become imperative to state that the Buhari administration and the ruling APC will become a reference point in the future for this unique and profound generosity to Nigerian women in politics!

Other efforts under the Buhari administration and the ruling APC at the state level is that of Kogi State under Governor Yahya Bello, a gender-sensitive Governor, who is committed to the cause of women's political advancement. Through the APC, the Governor facilitated the election of women as Deputy Chairpersons of the 21 Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the state. The result was so impressive to the extent that the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) commended him for his effort. Bello's penchant for appointing women into leadership positions comes at a time when Nigeria ranked low, 185th position out of 193 countries, on percentage of women in national parliaments.

These efforts at the federal level and in some states will no doubt address the issue of funding and experiences which may bring women into the pipeline for candidacy as proponents of the pipeline claim posits. Based on the above analyses, one can conclude that the Buhari's Administration has attempted to bring women into the pipeline for candidacy as proponents of the pipeline theory posits. This has long-term implications for the Nigerian woman and the 35% that may not be achieved sine the quota system was turned down by the National Assembly in the country.

Recommendations

As more female roles are emerging as political actors, the public is beginning to view women as professionals who are capable of performing any task assigned to them. Government should therefore encourage political parties to get more women in politics and this can be done through the political parties because they are gatekeepers of elections, and they can play a critical role in promoting women in political processes. As the giver waivers to female aspirants, nominate candidates, provide campaign funding to candidates, rally voters, and create national platform, this will go a long way to get women into politics.

There is also the need for a review of the existing laws by the National Assembly in a way that would make it compulsory for political parties to nominate female candidates for elective



and appointive positions. If this law is enforced and adhered to, it will increase the participation of women in politics and also advance gender representation in decision making.

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