

Perception of Civil Liberties Organisation on Affirmative Action in the Choice of Women Deputies for Elective Positions in Rivers State

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Abstract

This study ascertained the perception of Civil Liberties Organisation on affirmative action in the choice of women deputies for elective positions in Rivers State. The study sought to amongst others: find out the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation on affirmative action in elective positions in Rivers State; establish, in the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation, the level of conformity of the choice of women for deputy positions to the affirmative action in Rivers State, and find out effective means of implementation of the affirmative action for more elective positions for women in Rivers State. The perception and radical feminism theories formed the theoretical foundation for the study. The study adopted the survey research design, and the census sampling technique to study the entire population. Copies of a structured questionnaire were administered to the entire population of 50 respondents consisting of statutory, associate and corporate members of the Civil Liberties Organisation in Rivers State, out of which 37 were retrieved and analysed. Among others, the findings revealed that the Civil Liberties Organisation perceived the implementation rate of the affirmative action policy as below average and the choice of women deputies for elective positions was moderate. The study concluded that the State was yet to conform to the 35% affirmative action recommended by the National Gender Policy and 30% as prescribed by the Beijing Platform of Action. The researcher recommended, amongst others that there should be strict monitoring process to ensure compliance to the 35% affirmative action for women.

Keywords: *Affirmative Action, Perception, Civil Liberties Organisation, Women Deputies*

Introduction

The number of women in politics in Nigeria has witnessed a considerable amount of growth between 1999 and 2015. The growth could be felt from the figures that were obtainable in the First, Second, and Third Republics. Nigeria became a Republic in 1963 after it secured independence from British colonial rule in 1960. Most of the frontline nationalists such as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Ahmadu Bello, and Herbert Macaulay among others were notable men. Following the success of the independence, the foremost nationalists gradually started jostling for political positions with the first election after independence held in 1965.

It was with time that women became part of the leadership of the country. However, the growth in women's participation in the leadership of the country is still way below the 35% affirmative action recommended by the National Gender Policy and 30% as prescribed by the Beijing Platform of Action. Agbalajobi (2010) as cited in Oluyemi (2016) notes that the overall political representation of women in the government of Nigeria is less than seven per cent, whereas women constitute over half of the world's population and contribute in vital ways to societal development generally.

Rivers State had its first female Deputy Governor when Nyesom Wike won the gubernatorial election in 2015. That became a significant step towards the inclusion of women in elective positions as it spurred many women to fully participate in politics. For the 2023 General Elections in Rivers State, some of the candidates of the key political parties in the governorship race picked women as their running mates for the office of deputy governor. For instance, the PDP again fielded a woman professor in the person of Ngozi Odu, the candidate of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Magnus Abe chose another woman, Patricia Ogonnaya who was a retired Permanent Secretary as his running mate and Dumo Lulu-Briggs picked a female politician, Princess Tambari Dedam as the deputy governorship candidate of the Accord Party.

The choice of women for the positions of Deputy Governor and Vice Chairmen of Local Government Areas in Rivers State was applauded by some citizens of Rivers State. Oluoh (2019) in a report quoted Nancy Nwankwo as commending Governor Nyesom Wike for giving more opportunities for women in governance. The report noted that Nyesom Wike provided the opportunity for women to serve as Deputy Governor and Vice Chairmen in the 23 local government councils in Rivers State.

The Civil Liberties Organisation is a human-rights association under the umbrella of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Nigeria. Citing Osaghe (1997), Igbokwe-Ibeto, Ewuim, Anazodo and Osawe (2014) note that Civil Society Organisations refer to the non-state sector of the public realm which mediates between the individual and the state.

The choice of Civil Liberties Organisation stems from the fact that the body has always raised concerns over issues and programmes it felt were not in public interest or are not carried out in line with global best practices. The Civil Liberties Organisation in Rivers State dedicates a special programme unit for women and gender issues. The unit among other things, handles general issues bordering on women, their rights and empowerment. The special programme officers have made several media appearances to enlighten and sustain awareness on women's rights and empowerment, including women participation in politics. The organisation is comprised of well-informed members who are regularly trained and retrained on the concepts

of human rights, gender equality and women empowerment, good governance and sustainable democracy. It will therefore, be interesting to find out their perception on affirmative action in the choice of women deputies for elective positions in Rivers State.

Statement of the Problem

In Nigeria, available records show that no woman had been elected President or Vice President from when the country got its independence in 1960 till the period of this study in the 2023 general elections. None of the major political parties fielded any woman either as its presidential or vice-presidential candidate. This is one of the many reasons why the call for the implementation of affirmative action is on the rise.

Rivers State appears to be the only state in Nigeria that elected female Vice Chairmen in all its Local Government Areas in addition to electing female Deputy Governors from 2015 to 2023. This feat in Rivers State, though commendable, however, raises the question of whether the choice of women as deputies in elective positions measures up to affirmative action.

Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to ascertain the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation on affirmative action in the choice of women deputies for elective positions in Rivers State. The objectives are to:

1. find out the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation on affirmative action in elective positions in Rivers State;
2. ascertain the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation on the choice of women deputies in elective positions in Rivers State;
3. establish, in the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation, the level of conformity of the choice of women for deputy positions to the affirmative action in Rivers State;
4. find out effective means of implementation of the affirmative action for more elective positions for women in Rivers State.

Conceptual Framework

The subject of patriarchy has been a worrisome issue mostly among human rights activists. Patriarchy, according to Makama (2013) is originally used to describe the power of the father as head of household. Citing Kamarae (1992), Stacey (1993) and Aina (1998), Makama (2013), recalls that the term 'patriarchy' has been used within post-1960s feminism to refer to the systematic organisation of male supremacy and female subordination. The term has been defined as a system of male authority which oppresses women through its social, political and economic institutions. Okpe (2005) submits that patriarchy is a broad network or system of hierarchical organisation that cuts across political, economic, social, religion, cultural, industrial and financial spheres, under which the overwhelming number of upper positions in society are either occupied or controlled and dominated by men. Thus, any system that operationalises an order that accords men undue advantage over women is considered patriarchal. It is observed in the literature that the establishment and practice of male dominance over women and children, is a historic process formed by men and women, with the patriarchal family serving as a basic unit of organisation. A patriarchy is considered the head of the household and within the family he controls productive resources, labour force, and reproductive capacities based on the notions of superiority and inferiority and legitimised by differences in gender and generation.

Affirmative action, according to Crosby, Iyer and Sincharoen (2006) occurs whenever an organisation devotes resources including time and money to making sure that people are not discriminated against on the basis of their gender or their ethnic group. Citing Burstein (1994), Crosby et al state that affirmative action has the same goal as equal opportunity, but differs from equal opportunity in being proactive. Crosby and Cordova (1996) add that equal opportunity is a passive policy that seeks to ensure that discrimination will not be tolerated once it is detected. In contrast, with affirmative action, organisations use established practices not only to subvert, but also to avert discrimination.

The issue of Nigerian women participation in politics has been an unsettled debatable subject for so long. Scholars such as Orokpo, Maha and Enojo (2017) submit that generally, Nigerian women are politically-conscious from time immemorial, while others such as Ako-Nai (2005) and Clarke (2006) argue that contrary to the political consciousness, women are underrepresented in political positions.

Political representation remains a key battleground for gender equality. While strides have been made, women continue to be underrepresented in political leadership roles. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) outlines principles for achieving political equality (United Nations, 1979). Implementing these principles is crucial for ensuring women's meaningful participation in decision-making processes. Addressing gender-based violence is integral to the quest for equality. The #MeToo movement has shed light on the prevalence of harassment and assault, prompting a global conversation on the need for cultural shifts. Legal frameworks, such as the Istanbul Convention (Council of Europe, 2011), provide a foundation for combating violence and protecting victims.

The Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board, Canada (1994) notes that the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) is one of the most vocal groups involved in the promotion of human rights in Nigeria. The CLO began its activities in 1987. It was one of the key organisations operating within the Campaign for Democracy (CD). The Civil Liberties Organisation is an offshoot of the Civil Society Organisation.

Fidelis (2015) points out that Africa's nascent "civil societies are usually portrayed as the prime movers in the democratisation process in the 1990s. However, with the establishment of democratic governments in Africa, especially in Nigeria, it seems the expectations about the role and capacity of these civil society organisations to promote governance reform and foster democratic deepening has been under estimated" (p.334). He states that civil society is not only the engine of the transition to democracy in Nigeria and elsewhere, but also equally crucial to the vitality of democracy.

Theoretical framework

Perception theory

The proponents of this theory are Bernard Berelson and Gary Steiner (1964). The theory has its emphasis on individual variances. The drive of this theory is on how audience members select, organise and interpret data to have a meaningful understanding of the world. Perception explicates why audience attention focuses on messages and the way the audience use the content of the message to effect appropriate changes in attitudes and beliefs. It centres on individual differences. It describes different angles individuals view event, situation, ideas from their own perspective; which more often than not, do not reflect the true state of things. Amodu (2006), citing Luthans (2005), explains that the key to understanding perception is to recognise that it is a unique interpretation of the situation, not an exact recording of it. In short,

perception is a very complex cognitive process that yields a unique picture of the world, a picture that may be quite different from reality.

He further explains that perception is largely learned and no one has the same learning experience. In fact, every individual possesses a unique filter, and the same situation or stimuli may produce very different reactions and behaviours. In agreement with Luthans, Cohen and Fink (2001) state that, the extent to which people perceive events as threatening will depend on their past history with similar events. Because each of our histories has been uniquely different, it becomes difficult to anticipate just how someone else will react to a situation. In general, the more emotionally loaded an event is (for whatever reason) for an individual, the greater will be the tendency for perceptual distortion to occur.

This theory is relevant to this study in that the study seeks to explain how the Civil Liberties Organisation views and make sense of affirmative action in the choice of women deputies for elective positions in Rivers State.

Radical feminism theory

Radical feminism, according to Vukoičić (2013) is a feminist theory that develops from the idea of conflict between the sexes as a fundamental conflict, and oppression against women as a direct implication of patriarchy. This theory rests on the assumption that all social activity is the result of certain restrictions and coercion, and although every social system contains specific forms of interactive constraints, they do not have to cause repression. Under patriarchy, however, interaction and communication are limited in a way that creates and maintains rigidity which is seen as oppression, while patriarchy takes a central place where, and why, a fundamental power struggle between the sexes takes place. Considering that a starting point of radical feminism is the view that inequality between the sexes is the foundation of all other inequalities and oppression, it is possible to define it as part of the discourse theory of conflict.

Empirical review

In a study entitled, “Women and Democratic Stability in Rivers State, Nigeria,” Gibson (2013) examined the role of women in democratic stability in Rivers State. The study tested two hypotheses to ascertain the significant relationship between the activities of women in political and democratic stability in Rivers State and the significant relationship between women’s contributions in politics and political empowerment in Rivers State. The survey design using questionnaire and interview methods was adopted for the study. The population of study was 1,000 respondents drawn from 10 out of the 23 local government areas of Rivers State.

The two hypotheses which sought to ascertain the significant relationship between the activities of women in political and democratic stability in Rivers State and also the significant relationship between women’s contributions in politics and political empowerment were accepted. The researcher recommended that more women should be political empowered to liberate the teeming unemployed and illiterate women mostly in the rural areas. Women should be given quality education as their civic rights to enable them educate their children. It is recommended that women should not be discriminated against in society and the fundamental human rights with regards to women should be fully implemented to safeguard the rights of women.

The similarities between Gibson’s (2013) work and the present study are that, both cover women in politics and Rivers State as thematic and geographic scope. The differences are that Gibson’s work examined the role of women in contributing to political stability in Rivers State, while the present study sought the perception of a civil society body on the

allocation of certain political slots to women in Rivers State. The researchers recommended the need to invest more effort in sensitising women to engage in active partisan politics.

Methodology

The survey research design was adopted for this study. The survey research involves a sample taken from a population so as to know their major characteristics that can be generalised to the entire population (Ihejirika & Omego, 2011). The survey design was needed to sample opinions of respondents on the subject matter which is the perception of members of the Civil Liberties Organisation on affirmative action in elective positions for women in Rivers State. Survey is a research design which focuses on a representative sample drawn from an entire population of study. The result of the study that uses survey is usually generalised to the entire population.

The population for the study comprised the total number of registered Civil Liberties Organisation in Rivers State. According to the figure released by the secretariat of Civil Liberties Organisation in the State, the membership strength of the organisation as at the time of its revalidation in August 2023 was 50 including Corporate Members. Consequently, 50 respondents formed the population of the study.

The census was adopted for the study. The census is a technique used to examine every member of a population. This is always applied to a study with small size that the population can be effectively covered. Therefore, the entire population of 50 respondents formed the sample size for this study.

The study used the questionnaire as the instrument for data collection. The questionnaire was used to elicit responses from members of the Civil Liberties Organisation in Rivers State on their opinion of the choice of women as deputies for elective positions in an attempt to meet the provisions of the affirmative action.

The questionnaire consisted of 20 items structured in close-ended questions and four-point Likert scale. The questionnaire was divided into two parts. Section A dealt with demographic variables, while Section B which outlined the psychographic variables tackled statements and propositions in the research questions. For the Likert scale, the responses were rated as Strongly Agreed (SA) 4 points, Agreed (A) 3 points, Disagreed (D) 2 points and Strongly Disagreed (SD) 1 point. The items on the instrument were generated from the research questions. Items 1 to 5 were demographic variables. Items 6 to 9 addressed research question one, item 10 to 13 answered research question two. Items 14 to 16 answered research question three and item 17 to 20 tackled research question four.

Data presentation and analysis

Data for this study were obtained using copies of the questionnaire administered to respondents in Port Harcourt. A total of 50 copies of the questionnaire was administered to the respondents who were basically members of the Civil Liberties Organisation. Of this figure, a total of 37 constituting 74% were retrieved and valid for the analysis. As such, 37 valid copies of questionnaire formed the analysis for the study. Data obtained from the field exercise are analysed hereunder in simple percentages.

Table 1: Sex of the Respondents

S/No	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
1	Male	13	35
	Female	24	65

Total **37** **100**

Data presented in Table 1 show that 13 constituting 35% of the respondents were male, while 24 constituting 65% were female.

Table 2: Age of the Respondents

S/No	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
2	16-24	1	3
	25-34	8	22
	35-44	15	40
	45 & above	13	35
Total		37	100

Data presented in Table 2 reveal that the respondents between the age bracket of 35 and 44 years formed the highest age bracket with 15 (40%) respondents, while those between 16 and 24 with only 1 (3%) constituted the lowest age bracket.

Table 3: Marital Status of the Respondents

S/No	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
3	Single	9	24
	Married	25	68
	Divorced/ Separated	3	8
Total		37	100

From Table 3 data presented in show that the respondents who are married formed the highest number of respondents with 25 (68%) while those who are either divorced or separated formed the lowest number of respondents with 3 (8%).

Table 4: Educational Qualification of the Respondents

S/No	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
4	FSLC	0	0
	WASSCE/TCII	4	11
	Diploma/NCE	6	16
	First Degree/Above	27	73
Total		37	100

Data presented in Table 4 show that the majority of respondents are first degree and higher degrees holders with 27 (73%), while those with WASSCE/TCII formed the lowest number of respondents with 4 (11%).

Table 5: Number of years of membership

S/No	Variables	Frequency	Percentage
5	0-1	4	11
	1-2	15	41
	2 and above	18	48
Total		37	100

From Table 5, data presented reveal that the majority of the respondents are members for 2 years and above with 18 (48%) while the members for 0-1 year formed the least number of respondents with 4 (11%)

Research question 1: What is Civil Liberties Organisation’s perception of affirmative action in elective positions in Rivers State?

Table 6: The perception of Civil Liberties Organisation on Affirmative Action in Elective Positions

S/No	Statement	SA 4	A 3	D 2	SD 1	Total	WMS	Decision
6	There is underrepresentation of women in elective positions in Rivers State.	19	13	4	1	37	3.3	Agreed
7	Women are part of the marginalised groups in elective positions in Rivers State.	17	11	7	2	37	3.2	Agreed
8	Males dominate the females in elective positions in Rivers State.	22	15	0	0	37	3.5	Agreed
9	In spite of agitations, women are yet to be fully represented in elective positions.	21	15	1	0	37	3.5	Agreed
		76	39	8	1	124		
		88	45	0	0	133		
		84	45	2	0	131		

Responding to items 6-9 in table 4.6, respondents agreed that women are marginalised in political positions in Rivers State.

Research question 2: What is the perception of Civil Liberties Organisation on the choice of women for deputy positions in elections in Rivers State?

Table 7: Perception of CLO on women deputies for elective positions

S/No	Statement	SA 4	A 3	D 2	SD 1	Total	WMS	Decision
10	The use of women as Vice Chairmen of local government areas in Rivers State by the administration of Nyesom Wike was well received.	15	17	4	1	37	3.2	Agreed
11	The choice of a woman as Deputy Governor by the administration of Governor Wike was a welcome development.	10	19	5	3	37	2.9	Agreed
12	The choice of Professor Ngozi Odu as Deputy Governor to Siminalayi Fubara is a step in the right direction.	14	19	2	2	37	3.5	Agreed
13	The choice of women deputies in elective positions has portrayed Rivers State as gender-sensitive.	8	12	12	5	37	2.6	Agreed
		60	51	8	1	120		
		40	57	10	3	110		
		56	57	4	2	133		
		32	36	24	5	97		

Items 10-13 presented in Table 7 reveal that the choice of women deputies in elective positions was a step towards meeting the requirements of the affirmative action and therefore was a welcome development.

Research question 3: To what level is the conformity of the choice of women deputies for elective positions to affirmative action in Rivers State?

Table 8: The level of conformity of the choice of women deputies to affirmative action

S/No	Items	SA	A	D	SD	Total	WMS	Decision
		4	3	2	1			
14	The level of conformity of the choice of women deputies to the affirmative action is high	2	2	22	11	37	1.8	Rejected
		8	6	44	11	69		
15	The level of conformity of the choice of women deputies to the affirmative action is low	1	4	17	15	37	1.7	Rejected
		4	12	34	15	65		
16	With the choice of women as deputies and other political appointments, Rivers State has conformed to the affirmative action.	2	3	28	4	37	2.0	Rejected
		8	9	56	4	77		

Data from items 14-16 presented in Table 4.8, reveal that the level of conformity of the choice of women deputies to the affirmative action in Rivers State was neither high, low nor complete.

Research question 4: What are the means to ensure more elective positions in line with the affirmative action for women in Rivers State?

Table 9: Means to ensure more elective positions for women

S/No	Items	SA	A	D	SD	Total	WMS	Decision
		4	3	2	1			
17	If Rivers State allocates 35% for women, the State will be seen to be fully implementing the policy.	13	21	2	1	37	3.2	Agreed
		52	63	4	1	120		
18	Thirty-five per cent affirmative action means women should be given only deputy positions in all elective offices.	0	0	13	24	37	1.3	Rejected
		0	0	26	24	50		
19	Implementing the affirmative action means those in positions should project only their female cronies.	0	0	27	10	37	1.7	Rejected
		0	0	54	10	64		
20	Affirmative action does not mean only the same set of women be recycled in elective positions.	15	22	0	0	37	3.4	Agreed
		60	66	0	0	126		

From items 17-20 presented in table 9, the respondents agreed that by allocating 35% political positions to women, Rivers State will be fully implementing the policy, however women should not be given only deputy positions.

Discussion of Findings

Find out the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation on the 35% affirmative action in elective positions in Rivers State.

From the findings on the perception of Civil Liberties Organisation on the 35% affirmative action in elective positions, the majority of respondents as represented in table 4.6 agreed with the propositions that Rivers State is yet to meet up with the 35% affirmative action. They agreed that women are still marginalised, males dominated the females in elective positions and that in spite of agitations, women are yet to be fully represented in elective positions. In other words, members of the Civil Liberties Organisation in Rivers State are of the view that the political arrangements in Rivers State had not successfully met the letters of affirmative action.

The position of the Civil Liberties Organisation in meeting up with the 35% affirmative action is reinforced with the submission of Ako-Nai (2005) that despite the widespread movement towards democratisation in most polities, women are highly underrepresented in most levels of government which is a situation that made it difficult to achieve the target percentage in elective positions.

Ascertain the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation on the choice of women deputies in elective positions in Rivers State

From the findings, the respondents agreed with the propositions that the use of women as Vice Chairmen of local government areas and deputy governors of the state by the administration of Nyesom Wike was well received, was a welcome development, was a step in the right direction and has portrayed Rivers State as gender-sensitive, respectively. In other words, members of the Civil Liberties Organisation in Rivers State applauded the choice of women for deputy positions in political offices.

The choice of women into critical political positions in Rivers State has invalidated the general applause of the thesis of radical feminism theory which sees the society as purely patriarchal with little or no equal opportunity for the both genders. The radical feminism theory, according to Vukoicic (2013) develops from the idea of conflict between the sexes as a fundamental conflict and oppression against women as a direct implication of patriarchy. The term patriarchy which Okpe (2005) explains to mean a broad network or system of hierarchical organisation that cuts across political, economic, social, religion, cultural, industrial and financial spheres, under which the overwhelming number of upper positions in society are either occupied or controlled and dominated by men. This was not exactly the case in Rivers State that has a good number of women in upper positions within the period of study.

Furthermore, the submission by Agbalajobi (2010) that the overall political representation of women in the government of Nigeria is less than seven per cent, is now being challenged in Rivers State as the election of 23 women as vice chairmen and a female deputy governor cannot amount to underrepresentation of women in elective positions.

Establish in the perception of the Civil Liberties Organisation, the level of conformity of the choice of women for deputy positions to the affirmative action in Rivers State

From the findings, all the propositions on the level of conformity to the affirmative action were rejected. The members of the Civil Liberties Organisation in Rivers State who were the

respondents disagreed with the statement that the level of conformity of the choice of women deputies to the affirmative action is high. They also disagreed with the statement that level of conformity is low. Similarly, they disagreed that with the choice of women as deputies and other political appointments, Rivers State has conformed to the affirmative action. In other words, the respondents were of the opinion that the level of conformity to the 35% affirmative action is moderate. That women are used as deputies for the vice chairmanship and deputy governorship positions does not qualify Rivers State as conforming to the provisions of the 35% affirmative action.

The position of the Civil Liberties Organisation in Rivers State is given impetus by the definition of affirmative action which according to Chowdhury et al (2020) is a set of ethically-driven policies aimed at providing special opportunities to a historically disadvantaged group in order to make the members of this group capable of competing with their privileged counterparts in the society.

Find out effective means of implementation of the affirmative action for more elective positions for women in Rivers State

From the findings, the respondents agreed that Rivers State will be seen to be fully implementing the affirmative action if the state allocates 35% elective positions for women. They disagreed that affirmative action does not imply women should be given only deputy positions. They also disagreed that affirmative action does not imply that positions should be given to only women who have people in power. They agreed that affirmative action does not mean only the same set of women be recycled in elective positions.

This implies that affirmative action should also be seen to address the issue of marginalised set of women in the minority not necessary not necessarily recycling a set privileged few women.

The assertion that all strata of women should be made to benefit from the affirmative action is premised on Igbude's (2004) submission that women are characterised by a subordinate and low status, a situation which makes them poor, subservient and oppressed. Reinforcing this position, Oguadimma, Nwakalor and Ejinkeonye (2021) aver that denying the girl-child proper education constitutes a major setback to the participation of women in politics.

Conclusion

Based on the findings, the study concluded that the policy was yet to be fully implemented as women are still marginalised in elective positions. However, the use of women as deputies was a step in the right direction and it was well received.

The level of conformity of the choice of women deputies is poor and below average as it is yet to meet up the required 35% affirmative action.

Finally, the study concluded that though Rivers State has taken steps to address perceived marginalization of women in political participation, the state is yet to conform to the 35% affirmative action which was recommended by the National Gender Policy and 30% as prescribed by the Beijing Platform of Action.

Recommendations

Consequent upon the findings of the study, the following recommendations were considered useful:

- 1 Political parties and policymakers in Rivers State should put mechanism in place to curb marginalisation of women in political positions.

- 2 In addition to the election of women as vice chairmen of local government areas and deputy governor, women should be given the platform for superior positions such as in House of Assembly, House of Representatives and Senate.
- 3 There should be concerted effort to raise the number of women to adequately conform to the provisions of the 35% affirmative action.
- 4 There should be strict monitoring process to ensure compliance to the 35% affirmative action for women.

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