AN APPRAISAL ON THE IMPACT OF GENDER INEQUALITY AND STEREOTYPES ON FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN ANAMBRA STATE

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ABSTRACT: In an era of supposed progress and gender equality, the underrepresentation of women in politics remains a persistent issue worldwide, and gender inequality and stereotypes have been major contributing factors. This paper aims to investigate more deeply into the intricate web of factors contributing to this phenomenon, focusing particularly on the pervasive influence of gender inequality and stereotypes. This paper was guided by three objectives and was based on literature review to arrive at its findings. The study found that the causes of gender inequality and stereotypes against women in political participation include the historical context in which women are seen, socialization, media representation, institutional barriers and cultural norms and beliefs. It was also drawn for this paper that female inequality and stereotypes have led to low female participation in politics, which has resulted in female potential and untapped contributions to economic, cultural and social development. The paper also revealed that various measures can be used to curb female inequality and stereotypes, including political intervention, educational initiatives and grassroots movement. Based on the findings, it was recommended that inequality and stereotype affecting female participation in politics adversely be reduced through the promotion of gender-sensitive policies, educating and training of women on leadership roles as well as through media and awareness campaigns by government officials, educational stakeholders and media houses.

Keywords: Gender Inequality, Gender Stereotype, Political Participation, Politics

Background to the Study

In an era of supposed progress and gender equality, the underrepresentation of women in politics remains a persistent issue worldwide. Gender inequality, which is deeply ingrained in societal structures, manifests itself in multifaceted ways within the realm of politics. Historically, politics has been perceived as a predominantly male domain, with women often relegated to supporting roles or marginalized positions. Despite significant strides towards gender equality, such as the increased presence of women in political leadership roles, disparities persist, hindering women's full participation and representation. Stereotypes, on the other hand, which are deeply rooted in cultural and societal norms, play a significant role in shaping perceptions of women's suitability for political leadership. Women are often subjected to stereotypes that portray them as lacking in leadership qualities, being too emotional or weak to handle the demands of political office.

The discrimination, stereotype and inequality against female gender in Nigeria is based predominantly on patriarchy, where the roles of men and women are socially constructed in such a way that women occupy an inferior position in the scheme of things, which has equally been observed by Atsenuwa in Lewu (2015). Culture is one of the major contributors to gender inequality and stereotypes against women (Ojukwu & Ibekwe, 2020). Culture is seen as people's way of life. According to Akpabot (1975), culture shapes a society's unique identity through its shared thoughts, emotions, and beliefs. However, in the Igbo community, cultural norms have perpetuated the oppression of women, rendering them vulnerable and reliant on chance circumstances rather than empowering them to reach their full potential.

In African society and Igbo in particular, the gender peculiarities and patriarchal nature resulting from culture constructions remain the bane across virtually all spheres of life in society. According to Ojukwu (2015), societal norms often lead boys to believe that they are inherently superior to girls, instilling in them a sense of entitlement, strength, and importance. In contrast, girls are socialized to view themselves as weaker and less valuable and are often seen as subordinate to men. This is a result of what Ibekwe (2018) calls "natural factor", where she submits that "this natural factor of being born a man or a woman places women in a subservient position in society and thus situates them mostly for indoor activities" (p. 204).

Ozumba (2005) further argued that the traditional Igbo institution has deeply ingrained patriarchal and matriarchal stereotypes through a silent yet intense socialization process. This has led to the cultural suppression of women in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, which has in turn sparked a surge in feminist literature and activism. Various organizations, such as Women in Nigeria (WIN) and the National Women's Union, have emerged to address gender inequality and promote women's rights. These organizations attend to different women's rights issues within the private sphere of the family and in the public arena, such as sexual and reproductive health, poverty, economic empowerment, violence against women, property ownership, peace and security, leadership development and political participation (Madunagu, 2010). The female gender encounters various forms of discrimination, stereotypes, and physical and emotional torture that pervades all aspects of life, from childhood until death. Women are being discriminated against in various ways. The subordination of women has actually exposed them to difficult obnoxious practices meted out to them in the name of culture and tradition. Asigbo and Ibekwe (2015) propose the following:

In Igbo culture, because patriarchal institutions are prominent in the scheme of things, most of their laws or traditions are gender discriminatory; hence, there is no equity or freedom. Dialogue is usually reduced to the barest minimum in matters that concern women since they are considered to be on a lower sociopolitical scale than men (p. 228).

In Igbo culture, women are not culturally regarded as equal to men. For instance, in Igbo culture, any woman who cannot give birth to a child for her husband suffers years of ostracism, if not divorce. On another note, women are seen as inferior, and stereotyped roles are stipulated for them. Hence, opportunities for education, politics, employment and recreation are either denied or restricted. This cultural alienation of females is obvious in the Igbo community.

In Anambra state, the story is no different, as women are also regulated to the background in politics, although not completely. There are several women who held prominent political positions in Anambra State. The number of women who have held political offices in the state

is very small compared to that of men, which may be a result of inequality and stereotypes inherent in the culture and tradition of the state.

Addressing the root causes of gender inequality and challenging entrenched stereotypes is essential for promoting greater female participation in politics. By shedding light on the impact of gender inequality and stereotypes on female participation in politics in Anambra State, this study seeks to contribute to ongoing efforts to achieve gender parity in political representation because only through collective action and systemic change can a political landscape that reflects the diversity and equality of all citizens, irrespective of gender, be achieved.

Statement of the Problem

In recent years, strides have been made toward gender equality in various aspects of society. However, one domain that continues to lag behind is the political sphere, where gender disparities persist. There are several reasons why female gender stereotypes continue to manifest worldwide and affect women's participation in politics, especially in Africa.

First, societal norms and stereotypes often dictate gender roles, relegating women to the private sphere while positioning men as natural leaders in the public domain. These entrenched beliefs not only discourage women from entering politics but also shape public perceptions, making it harder for female candidates to garner support during political events such as elections. However, there seem to be lack of detailed understanding of how these norms and stereotypes specifically discourage women from entering politics and influence public perceptions of female political candidates in Anambra State.

Second, systemic barriers within political institutions in African countries further impede female participation in politics. From limited access to resources and funding to biased selection processes, women face numerous obstacles that hinder their ability to navigate and succeed in political arenas. Additionally, the prevalence of a male-dominated culture within these institutions creates an environment that is unwelcoming and hostile to women, further dissuading them from pursuing political careers. While systemic barriers within political institutions have been acknowledged to contribute to female gender stereotype there is insufficient research focused on how these barriers manifest in the political institutions of Anambra State. Thus, it is imperative that detailed investigation is done to point out specific forms of bias in selection processes, resource allocation, and the male-dominated culture within these institutions that hinder women's political participation.

Moreover, gender-based discrimination and harassment remain pervasive issues faced by women in politics. Female politicians often encounter heightened scrutiny, criticism, and even threats based on their gender, deterring many from continuing their political aspirations or speaking out on important issues (United Nations, 2021). Furthermore, the lack of representation of women in positions of power perpetuates a cycle of inequality, as policies and decisions are made without adequate consideration of women's perspectives and experiences. Despite the pervasive nature of gender-based discrimination and harassment faced by female being recognized, more research is needed to document and analyze the heightened scrutiny, criticism, and threats faced by female politicians in Anambra State.

In Igbo communities, Chika and Nneka (2014) opined that the intersectionality of gender with other forms of discrimination exacerbates the challenges faced by women in politics. Women

belonging to marginalized communities often face heightened levels of discrimination and barriers to political participation, compounding the effects of gender inequality and stereotypes. The impact of gender inequality and stereotypes on female participation in politics extends beyond individual aspirations to broader societal implications. The underrepresentation of women in decision-making processes results in the perpetuation of gender-biased policies and legislation, further entrenching existing inequalities. Additionally, the absence of diverse voices in political discourse limits the scope of policy solutions and hampers progress towards gender equality and social justice. The intersection of gender with other forms of discrimination, as highlighted by Chika and Nneka (2014), is an area that requires further exploration within Anambra State.

In light of these challenges, it is imperative to delve deeper into the underlying factors contributing to gender disparities in politics in Anambra State through literature review and comparison of existing studies that focuses on the problem at hand as this will help identify both known and unknown stereotypical factors hindering women participation in politics. Based on the above problems and identified gaps this research aims to shed light on these issues and propose actionable solutions to promote gender parity in politics in Anambra State.

Objectives of the Study

The study is based on the following objectives:

- 1. Analyse the institutional barriers and cultural norms that perpetuate gender inequality and stereotypes against women in politics in Anambra State.
- 2. Examine the effects of gender stereotypes against women on political and cultural development in Anambra State.
- 3. To explore effective policy interventions, educational initiatives, and grassroots movements for mitigating the impact of gender inequality and stereotypes on female political participation in Anambra State.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Concept of Gender Stereotypes

In its simplest form, gender stereotypes refer to oversimplified ideas or beliefs about the characteristics, roles, and behaviours that are considered appropriate for individuals based on their gender. These stereotypes often perpetuate societal expectations and norms, influencing how people are perceived and how they behave. Typically, gender stereotypes assign specific traits to men and women. For example, men are often portrayed as strong, assertive, and rational, while women are depicted as nurturing, emotional, and submissive. These stereotypes can limit individual expression and create unfair expectations.

In many societies, gender stereotypes start influencing individuals at a young age. Children are often exposed to gendered toys, clothes, and activities that reinforce these stereotypes. Boys are encouraged to play with trucks and action figures, while girls are steered towards dolls and domestic role-playing toys. These early experiences can shape children's beliefs about what is considered appropriate behavior for their gender (Boe & Woods, 2018). Gender stereotypes also extend to societal roles and expectations. Historically, men have been seen as the primary breadwinners, while women are expected to take care of the household and children. While

significant progress has been made towards gender equality in many parts of the world, these stereotypes still persist and can influence decisions about education, careers, and family roles.

The impact of gender stereotypes goes beyond individual behaviour and can have broader social and economic consequences. According to Tabassum and Nayak (2021), stereotypes can contribute to gender inequality by limiting opportunities for individuals to pursue certain careers or activities based on their gender. They can also reinforce harmful attitudes and behaviours, such as sexism and discrimination.

Concept of gender inequality

Gender inequality refers to disparities in opportunities, resources, and treatment between individuals of different genders, often favouring males over females. It manifests in various aspects of life, including social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. In many societies, gender inequality is deeply entrenched and perpetuated by traditional beliefs, stereotypes, and discriminatory practices. This results in unequal access to education, employment, healthcare, and decision-making roles. For example, women may be denied education or forced into early marriage, limiting their ability to pursue careers and achieve economic independence (Makama, 2013).

In the workplace, gender inequality is evident in the form of the gender pay gap, where women are paid less than men for the same work or work of equal value. Additionally, women are often underrepresented in leadership positions and face barriers to career advancement due to factors such as gender bias and a lack of family-friendly policies (Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). In politics, women are frequently underrepresented in elected offices and leadership roles, resulting in a lack of female perspectives in policymaking and governance. This reinforces gender norms and perpetuates inequality in laws and policies.

Causes of gender inequality and stereotypes against women in politics

Gender stereotypes are deeply ingrained in society and perpetuated by a combination of institutional barriers and cultural norms. These stereotypes often arise from historical power dynamics, socialization processes, and the reinforcement of traditional gender roles. Generally, the causes of gender stereotypes and inequality among women include the following:

Historical context: Throughout history, societies have assigned specific roles and responsibilities to individuals based on their perceived gender (Zhu & Chang, 2019). These roles were often tied to biological differences and were reinforced through laws, customs, and traditions. Over time, these historical roles have become embedded in societal norms, contributing to the perpetuation of gender stereotypes and inequality.

Socialization: From a young age, individuals are socialized into gender roles through various agents of socialization, such as family, media, education, and peer groups. Children are often exposed to gendered toys, clothing, and activities, which reinforce stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity. For example, boys are encouraged to be assertive and competitive, while girls are encouraged to be nurturing and empathetic.

Media Representation: Mass media play a significant role in shaping and reinforcing gender stereotypes. Television shows, movies, advertising, and other media often portray men and

women in narrow and traditional roles. These representations not only reflect societal attitudes but also perpetuate them, creating a feedback loop where media both reflects and reinforces gender inequality and stereotypes.

Institutional Barriers: Structural inequalities within institutions such as the workplace, government, and education system contribute to the perpetuation of gender stereotypes. Discriminatory policies, lack of representation in leadership positions, and unequal access to resources reinforce the notion that certain roles are more suitable for one gender than for another.

Cultural norms: Cultural beliefs and practices can also reinforce gender stereotypes. For example, in some cultures, there may be strong expectations regarding the division of labor within the household, with women expected to prioritize caregiving and domestic duties, while men are expected to be the primary breadwinners.

Concerning women's political participation, Olatunji (2022) opined that historical evidence across various societies both in the past and today has encouraged practices of male supremacy over women in different spheres of life. Throughout the ages and across cultures, women were rarely considered equal to men, as they are known to have been reduced, disregarded and subjugated through the orchestration of traditional norms and systems that are gender biased and always support the male gender (Awofeso & Odeyemi, 2014).

Institutional barriers and cultural norms that perpetuate gender inequality and stereotypes against women in politics in Anambra State

Studies have demonstrated that there are few women leaders or role models for women in the sub-Saharan region (Maathai, 2006; Sikazwe, 2006). Moreover, sub-Saharan cultures have historically excluded women from leadership positions and confined the work of women to the home environment. Excluding women's input by holding back their involvement in education, leadership, and financial and social progress has a negative impact on development and society at large (Chisholm, 2001; Kevane, 2004; Mutindi, 2001). When women are excluded from leadership roles, they are relegated to dependent status rather than being active contributors, which ultimately harms the economy. Therefore, empowering women to hold leadership positions in both the corporate and nonprofit sectors is advantageous not only for women but also for the broader society, as shared leadership and diverse perspectives lead to greater prosperity and progress. According to Sadie (2005), the root cause of the obstacles women encounter is the patriarchal system, where men hold the power to make decisions. In the African context, traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes perpetuate gender roles and limit women's status in society. Many women are trapped in this system, fearing ostracism if they challenge these norms. Even with education and employment, women are often expected to prioritize their roles as homemakers, reinforcing gender stereotypes and limiting their potential. The man, on the other hand, is the bread winner, head of household and has a right to public life (Sadie, 2005).

The way girls are socialized in many societies contributes to the perception of women's inadequacies. As noted by Emmet (2001), most mainstream religions perpetuate gender stereotypes, relegating women to secondary status and limiting their opportunities. Women are often excluded from social networks, including clubs and other organizations, which hinders

their recognition and advancement. This perpetuates gender inequality and restricts women's potential.

Similarly, several scholars have expressed their sentiments concerning gender dishonour and relegation because of societal biases and norms that have resulted in male dominance over women in almost every way (Agbalajobi, 2010; Aina, 2012; and Soetan, 2014). Over the years, political spaces across various countries, including Nigeria, have been dominated by a patriarchal system of politics—a system that many studies have referred to as men's rule (Ogunbiade, 2019). It is such that women actively participate in politics but are less involved in making decisions, as was the case during the precolonial political administrative system (Guyo, 2017). It was later aggravated by the colonial administration, which introduced various unfavourable laws against women's participation in politics, which hitherto made the political scene predominantly male dominated.

Further, Eze and Mark (2024), in their study explained that women's political engagement, including community organizing and holding office, is shaped by societal norms. According to Eze and Mark (2024), cultural values in Africa, particularly Nigeria, strongly influence women's roles and status, often limiting their participation in public life. These norms and patriarchal systems hinder women's political involvement, confining them to domestic roles. Religion also restricts women's political activities, with doctrines used to justify male dominance. Additionally, political violence such as thuggery and lack of support from both men and women further discourage women from active political involvement.

Effects of gender inequality and stereotypes against women on the political and cultural development in Anambra State

Gender stereotypes against women have had significant effects on both political and cultural development throughout history. In the political sphere, these stereotypes often restrict women's access to positions of power and leadership. Women have been portrayed as less competent or capable than men, leading to their marginalization in decision-making processes (Tremmel & Wahl, 2023). According to Pogoson (2013), this stereotype against women has resulted in a lack of representation of women in political institutions, hindering the development of policies that address issues affecting women and promoting gender equality. Comparatively, women constitute almost half of the population of Anambra state, despite their numerical significance; women do not actively participate in political activities. The rate at which men participate in politics is incredibly higher than that of their female counterparts in the state. This is not to say, however, that there has not been a progressive increase in the trend of women's participation in politics in terms of elections and holding political offices, but the participation is very low. This can be attributed to various inhibiting sociocultural values, religious inclinations and low educational levels. Consequently, very few men allow their wives to come out and participate in politics, which makes them second-class citizens and inferior to men. Arowolo and Aluko (2010) also explained that Nigerian husbands are often reluctant to support their wives' desires to engage in active politics, and women themselves believe that political participation negatively impacts the ability to perform their primary duties as caretakers, thus leading to 'broken homes, [and] breeding of irresponsible children' (p. 592). This has significantly reduced the number of women in active political participation and deprived the country of potentially productive women, as they are regulated to household chores and minor duties.

Furthermore, gender stereotypes influence cultural norms and expectations regarding women's roles and behaviour. Traditional gender roles have confined women to domestic duties and caregiving roles, limiting their opportunities for education, employment, and participation in public life. These stereotypes have perpetuated the notion that women are inherently inferior to men, reinforcing inequalities in various aspects of society (Hentschel, Heilman, & Peus, 2019). According to Galsanjigmed and Sekiguchi (2023), gender stereotypes in politics also affect the perceptions of women leaders. Thus, women in positions of authority often face scrutiny and criticism based on gender stereotypes, which can undermine their credibility and effectiveness as leaders. This phenomenon, known as the "glass cliff," refers to the tendency to appoint women to leadership positions during times of crisis or difficulty, setting them up for failure and reinforcing stereotypes about women's incompetence in leadership roles (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). This may be because personal decisions, religious beliefs and fear of name tagging are still major constraints to the active participation of Anambra women in politics (Obiet al., 2023).

In conclusion, the state of Anambra recently experienced some level of underdevelopment in terms of governance, economics and culture. This may be a result of low female participation in politics resulting from gender stereotypes. According to Tabassum and Nayak (2021), a society suffers when gender stereotypes sideline women from leadership roles, as female gender stereotypes cause society to miss diverse perspectives, limiting innovation and problem solving. Second, gender stereotypes perpetuate a cycle of inequality, denying women opportunities for advancement and reinforcing the notion of male dominance as well as hampering economic growth, as talent and potential contributions from half the population go untapped (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights; OHCHR, 2014). Finally, gender inequality and stereotypes foster social injustice, as women are denied the chance to fulfil their potential and contribute fully to society. Overall, the exclusion of women from leadership positions hinders progress, stifles inclusivity, and undermines the fabric of society. With Anambra State, not an exception.

Effective policy interventions, educational initiatives, and grassroots movements in mitigating the impact of gender bias and stereotypes on female political participation in Anambra State

Mitigating the impact of gender bias and stereotypes on female political participation requires a multifaceted approach, encompassing policy interventions, educational initiatives, and grassroots movements. Initiatives aimed at dismantling barriers to entry, such as quotas and affirmative action measures, have shown promise in increasing women's representation in political institutions. Moreover, fostering a culture of inclusivity and promoting positive portrayals of women in leadership roles can help challenge stereotypes and shift societal perceptions. Below are possible interventions to improve

Policy Interventions:

Legal Reforms: Enacting and enforcing laws that promote gender equality in politics, such as quota systems or affirmative action policies, can increase female representation (Ipeazu, 2011). Nigeria's National Gender Policy and the National Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill are steps in the right direction that will encourage women's participation in politics.

Electoral Reforms: According to Omotola (2011), implementing electoral reforms to address issues such as violence against female politicians and voter intimidation can create a safer environment for women to participate in politics.

Education Initiatives:

Gender Sensitization Programs: Integrating gender sensitization programs into school curricula and professional training can help students challenge stereotypes and promote gender equality at an early age (UNESCO, 2018).

Leadership Training: According to Høigaard and Mathisen (2009), providing leadership training and mentorship programs specifically tailored for women can equip them with the skills and confidence needed to pursue political office.

Media literacy: According to Sharda (2014), promoting media literacy programs to raise awareness about the portrayal of women in the media (including television, radio, newspaper and social media) and its impact on societal perceptions can help combat gender stereotypes and encourage female participation in politics.

Grassroots Movements

Women's Advocacy Groups: Adamaagashi (2023) also recommended that supporting and amplifying the voices of women's advocacy groups and civil society organizations working to advance women's rights and political participation is crucial. Thus, groups such as the Nigerian Women Trust Fund and Women Arise for Change Initiative can make significant changes to improve women's involvement in politics and reduce gender stereotypes of women in politics through their movement.

Review of Customary Laws and Community Engagement: Engaging communities in dialogue and awareness campaigns about the importance of gender equality in politics can help foster societal support for female political participation. Additionally, reviewing the customs, beliefs and traditions that relegate women to their background is essential for reducing gender stereotypes against women.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Based on reviewed literature, it was found that institutional barriers and cultural norms perpetuate gender inequality and stereotypes against women in Anambra State, as highlighted by multiple scholars. Maathai (2006) and Sikazwe (2006) note the scarcity of women leaders in sub-Saharan Africa, where traditional cultures have historically excluded women from leadership roles, confining them to domestic spheres. Chisholm (2001) and Kevane (2004) argue that this exclusion hampers societal progress by relegating women to dependent roles. Sadie (2005) attributes these obstacles to the patriarchal system and cultural attitudes that limit women's status. Emmet (2001) emphasizes that mainstream religions also perpetuate gender stereotypes, excluding women from social networks. Agbalajobi (2010) and others point to male-dominated political systems, further exacerbated by colonial legacies, as significant barriers while Eze and Mark (2024) highlight societal norms and political violence as factors that hinder women's political involvement.

It was also found in this study that female gender stereotypes significantly hinder political and cultural development in Anambra State. Tremmel and Wahl (2023) in their argument pointed that stereotypes marginalize women in decision-making, limiting their political representation. Pogoson (2013) on the other hand emphasizes that women's underrepresentation leads to policies that inadequately address gender issues. Arowolo and Aluko (2010) also highlight societal and spousal resistance to women's political participation that contribute to their marginalization and restricting their educational development and contribution to economic development. Galsanjigmed and Sekiguchi (2023) note that stereotypes affect perceptions of women leaders, often undermining their credibility. Collectively, these stereotypes perpetuate inequality and underdevelopment by sidelining women from leadership roles, as observed in Anambra State.

It was further found in the study that the effective policy interventions, educational initiatives, and grassroots movements crucial for mitigating gender bias and stereotypes affecting female political participation in Anambra State include legal reforms and quota systems (Ipeazu, 2011). Similarly, Omotola (2011) emphasizes the need for electoral reforms to create a safer political environment for women, addressing issues like violence and intimidation while on the educational front, UNESCO (2018) advocates for gender sensitization programs in schools to challenge stereotypes early on. Høigaard and Mathisen (2009) suggested leadership training and mentorship for women while Sharda (2014) underscores the importance of media literacy programs to alter societal perceptions and combat stereotypes, thereby encouraging female political participation. These scholars collectively highlight the need for a comprehensive approach combining legal, educational, and societal measures that can address the adverse impact of female gender inequality and stereotype on political participation of women in Anambra State.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the impact of gender inequality and stereotypes on female participation in politics in Anambra State is undeniable. It was deduced that deep-rooted cultural norms, lack of access to resources and education, discriminatory laws and practices, and societal expectations contribute to this disparity in political participation between males and females. This finding implies that future research should focus on identifying and addressing specific cultural, educational, legal, and societal barriers to female political participation. For policymakers, it underscores the necessity of creating targeted interventions that promote gender equality, such as reforming discriminatory laws, improving access to education and resources for women, and challenging entrenched cultural norms. The study further conclude that female inequality and stereotypes have led to low female participation in politics, resulting in female potential and contribution to untapped economic, cultural, and social development. This finding suggests that future researchers should explore strategies to dismantle gender stereotypes and promote equal participation of women in politics to unlock their full potential and contribute to broader economic, cultural, and social development. Policymakers should thus, prioritize initiatives that actively address barriers to female political engagement, aiming to harness the untapped benefits of gender-inclusive governance for societal progress.

Based on the findings of this study, it is recommended that effective measures be implemented to address the challenges posed by gender inequality and stereotype on female participation in politics through the promotion of gender-sensitive policies by legislators, education and

training of women on leadership roles by educational stakeholders, media and awareness campaigns by media houses, and fostering a supportive environment for women in politics.

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