

SOCIAL-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT AND WOMEN INCLUSION IN PEACE-BUILDING: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 IN NIGERIA AND GHANA

FAJIMBOLA JOSHUA OLATUNDE Ph.D

Department of History and International Relations
Elizade University, Ilara-Mokin, Ondo State, Nigeria
Olatunde.fajimbola@elizadeuniversity.edu.ng

+2348066226406

BRAIMAH FREDERICK IMUEBE Ph.D

Department of Political Science
Elizade University, Ilara-Mokin, Ondo State, Nigeria
fred.braimah@elizadeuniversity.edu.ng

+2348032768897

&

DUWONI INCREASE ESHOFONIE

Department of History and International Relations
Elizade University, Ilara-Mokin, Ondo State, Nigeria
Inceasemama@gmail.com

Abstract

Studies have shown that women made significant contributions to conflict resolution and prevention, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, and post-war reconstruction. This research centers on Social-Cultural Environment and Women inclusion in Peace-Building: The Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Nigeria and Ghana. The research design is survey, adopting both qualitative and quantitative methods to generate data. The sample size of 400 respondents divided into 200 respondents in Nigeria and 200 respondents in Ghana were purposively selected to participate in the study. The study is situated within the Gender Mainstreaming theory. Findings reveal, men and the patriarchal institutions control virtually every aspect of the Nigerian and Ghanaian societies in respect to women in general and implementations of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in particular. The findings further revealed that religion and its dogma have a firm grip on the lives of the people in the two countries adherents. The study recommended among others, that the Ministry of Women Affairs in Nigeria and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, Ghana should have an all-inclusive critical stakeholder which would include men, women and religious leaders of the two societies in the formulation of new NAPs.

Keywords: National action plans, patriarchy, religious dogma, sociocultural sentiments, UNSCR 1325, gender representation.

Introduction

Civil societies and international non-governmental organizations across various nations have consistently advocated for increased public awareness regarding the challenges encountered by women in situations of conflicts and peace-building efforts. Scholars like Innocent, Onu,

and Attah (2021) focused their research on the hardships experienced by women in the midst of violent conflict situations in Nigeria, emphasizing the socioeconomic conditions of women. Their work underscores the importance of not only global attention but also regional and sub-regional awareness to address women's issues effectively. These scholars, recognizing the severity of the challenges faced by women, have aligned their studies with conflict and radical feminist theoretical perspectives, aiming to draw attention to the struggles of women in a predominantly male-dominated world.

After World War I and the International Congress of Women for Permanent Peace, the United Nations (UN) began to take a more serious approach to examining the roles of women in peace and security. In 1975, the UN organized world conferences to promote global gender equality. The Beijing Declaration in 1995 resulted in the establishment of the Partnership on Women and International Peace and Security, eventually becoming the primary advocate for what is now known as Resolution 1325 (Women's Resource Development Agency, 2021). On October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) granted the request of non-governmental organizations and civil society by passing Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security. Article 7 of the UN Charter (1945) states that the UNSC, one of the organization's six main organizations, has primary authority for maintaining world peace and security.

This resolution represents a critical turning point in the Security Council's attention on women, peace, and security by acknowledging the uneven and exclusive effects of conflict and violence on girls and women. It restates the critical roles that women play in humanitarian response, peace negotiations, peace-building, conflict prevention, mediation, and post-war reconstruction (Rwanda Women's Network, 2022). Additionally, it calls for the adoption of a gender perspective and highlights that long-term peace and security initiatives depend on women serving as equal participants in averting violent conflicts (USIP 2022). Resolution 1889 of the UN Security Council was approved in 2009 in order to provide a series of metrics for monitoring the implementation of UNSCR 1325, with a focus on protection, prevention, participation, respite and recovery (Peace Women 2022).

Prevention efforts concentrate on averting sexual and gender-based violence, in addition to promoting gender awareness in the prevention of conflict and early warning arrangements. This encompasses measures to prevent sexual abuse by mediation forces. Protection entails enhancing the safety, physical and mental health, rights, legal protection, and overall well-being of women and girls. Additionally, the focus is on encouraging women's involvement in peace processes across decision-making establishments, including increased participation of senior UN positions, including Special Representatives, and those with roles in mediation missions and actions. The resolution also anticipates ensuring equitable aid distribution to girls and women, integrating gender viewpoints into relief and recovery efforts.

Africa is currently among the regions with the greatest number of National Action Plans, with Ghana and Nigeria having major roles. These were some of the first African nations to put the resolution into effect. The UN General Assembly states that NAP documents should be revised every three years (NAP 2:2). This can be accomplished through a collaborative and participatory approach in which important stakeholders carried out assessments, found gaps, and exchanged best practices regarding women's, peace, and security involvements throughout Ghana and Nigeria. As a result, the updated NAP documents for both nations

accurately depict their current circumstances, including unique metrics and a template for evaluation and monitoring to track accomplishments and performance. In 2020, Ghana approved its most recent NAP, which covered the years 2020–2025 while Nigeria's latest NAP was in 2017 for the period 2017 to 2020. However, even 22 years after the resolution's adoption, there seems to be little or no improvement in addressing the issues the resolution aimed to remedy. Following the expiration of the NAPs, significant gaps persist in practice and literature, especially amidst the escalating rates of insurgency and insecurity targeting women. Despite the concerted efforts of the Ministry of Women Affairs in Nigeria and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection in Ghana, along with relevant stakeholders, including NGOs and civil societies with international partners, the implementation of UNSCR 1325 remains an elusive goal for women in both countries. This is because the solutions outlined in Resolution 1325 still remain largely in the realm of ideals, far removed from the harsh realities on the ground.

Sociocultural sentiments and the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Ghana and Nigeria

Every society, and by extension, every nation, is inherently shaped by its biases and sociocultural sentiments. In the context of many African countries, sociocultural sentiments rooted in culture and patriarchies prominently feature as key influencers. It is crucial to elucidate how these sociocultural sentiments, particularly prevalent in the societies of Nigeria and Ghana, present a formidable challenge to the comprehensive implementation of National Action Plans addressing Women, Peace, and Security issues in both nations.

Nigeria and Ghana Sociocultural Landscape

In Nigeria, women face inherent disadvantages ingrained intentionally within long-standing social structures. This systemic disadvantage is accentuated by patriarchy, not only within Nigeria but on a broader scale. In violent conflict situations, both genders suffer varying degrees of impact, emphasizing the need for women to be recognized as partners and stakeholders in conflict resolution. The acknowledgment lies in the understanding that the inclusion of women enhances the sustainability of peace initiatives. The patriarchal nature of Nigerian society, as a significant contributor to women's deprivation, is deeply rooted. Many Nigerian societies inherently prioritize men over women, relegating women to predetermined roles dictated by societal attitudes, discrimination, and cultural practices (Ekhator, 2018). Notably, security establishments in Nigeria, exemplified by male-dominated institutions, do not accord priority to women's and gender issues in national and international security affairs. The political leadership within these establishments is predominantly male. Nigeria's National Action Plan is structured around five pillars: Prevention, Participation, Protection, Promotion, and Prosecution (Nigeria's NAP 2017). The fifth pillar, focused on partnership coordination and management, aims to enhance capacity and resources for coordinating, implementing, monitoring, and reporting on women, peace, and security plans and programs. Despite these intentions, the realization of this pillar's objectives remains elusive. Nigeria has made significant contributions to peacekeeping operations, including troop donations. However, the representation of women in these troops is disproportionately low (UN News, 2018). Decisions made on behalf of women within societal institutions and security establishments assume, without consultation, that women either do not desire or are not essential for peacekeeping missions. These assumptions are made arbitrarily, neglecting the voices and choices of women within the armed forces regarding their ability and willingness to undertake such tasks.

In the context of peace processes, Stewart (2020) asserts that women's involvement in these processes is notably lacking in the country, largely due to the dominance of male-oriented mechanisms implemented by the government. A distinctive illustration of this issue is evident in the composition of government-established panels of inquiry for the Jos conflict. The 2001 panel had no female members, the 2004 panel included only one female member, and the 2008 panel had none (Savage, 2021). Even when provided with opportunities to participate, women are assigned roles that marginalize them from active contribution. Pillar 2 of the NAP 2, focusing on Participation and Representation, outlines strategic objectives aimed at enhancing the engagement of women in decision-making processes related to conflict prevention and peace-building, as well as ensuring their full and equal representation at all decision-making levels.

The anticipated outcomes from the implementation of this pillar include the meaningful participation of women in peace and security processes, governance, and decision-making structures at all levels. However, these aspirations have yet to materialize. Rahila (1992) concurs with Stewart's (2020) observations, noting that government-established measures for conflict resolution, such as panels of inquiry and truth and reconciliation commissions, are predominantly led by men without adequate participation from women. Notably, out of the seven panels of inquiry set up by the government for conflict resolution, only one was headed by a woman (Savage, 2021). The deeply ingrained patriarchy within the cultural context contributes significantly to these gaps, hindering effective implementation. Consequently, if women remain excluded from societal decision-making structures, their involvement in decisions related to conflict and subsequent peace processes is unlikely.

Women who experience violence are frequently pressured to endure the abuse in silence, as reporting incidents involving family members may result in social ostracization. Some forms of violence inflicted upon women include ritual servitude and sexual exploitation. Yarkin (2015) highlighted that certain communities in the Greater Accra Region still uphold outlawed customs involving ritual servitude and sexual exploitation of girls. This tradition mandates families to present a virgin daughter as a *trokosi* (slave/wife to the gods) to a village shrine, aiming to appease the gods for transgressions committed by a family member, even spanning generations.

Despite notable strides in implementing UNSCR 1325, National Action Plans have brought about limited changes at the macro-social level, primarily due to patriarchal challenges and issues of inclusion. The resolution falls short of addressing the structural problems that undermine gender mainstreaming, a crucial strategy for significant advancements in line with Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security.

Systemic hurdles, especially the deeply entrenched patriarchal ideologies in many societies, hinder the full application of UNSCR 1325. Despite constitutional provisions for gender equality in Ghana and Nigeria, patriarchal values severely constrain women's rights, including property ownership and the freedom to participate in public spheres and politics, not to mention implementing Resolution 1325. Patriarchy has given rise to discriminatory customs and laws, impeding gender policies, even those designed to benefit women (Makama, 2013).

Komen (2011) identified the "crab" mentality among women as a challenge, where some women tend to undermine their fellow women. This phenomenon is reflected in the saying in Nigeria that "women are the enemy of women." Women often criticize rather than encourage each other to assume leadership positions. According to Brownell (2011), even though women make up the majority of most populations, they may find it difficult to win enough votes for elective positions. Women who overcome these obstacles frequently experience stigma, labeling, and exclusion. Owing to the persistent nature of patriarchy, women's full and equal participation in peace and security issues is hampered, especially in formal negotiations and peacemaking processes, by the tendency of state structures, institutions, and intergovernmental agencies like the AU and the UN to replicate patriarchal practices.

Women's involvement in talks has rarely been formal since UNSCR 1325 was adopted; instead, it has frequently been partial, incidental, and rhetorical. 'Gender tokenism' is evident in situations when women are permitted to engage in formal peace processes; this involves utilizing women as 'props' to justify exclusive negotiations and provide an inclusive peace process image (Accord, 2020). According to Bunch (1998), socialization, gender stereotyping, and the continual threat of violence all contribute to the persistence of the structural system of male dominance. These labels are socially assigned and reinforce power under a system of structural inequality.

Theoretical Framework

The gender mainstreaming theory, a method of developing policies that considers the interests and concerns of men and women, serves as the foundation for the study project. In order to ensure that a gender equality perspective is incorporated into all policies at all levels and phases of policy-making, the Council of Europe defines gender mainstreaming as the (re)organization, enhancement, development, and assessment of policy processes (Council of Europe, 2022). In order to achieve this, gender equality must be incorporated into policies, programs, and projects at all levels and stages. Women and men have different needs, living situations, and access to resources, power, and human rights, as well as different institutions like the legal system. These circumstances differ according to a number of variables, including age, country, region, ethnicity, and social origin.

The Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 gave rise to the idea of gender mainstreaming as a tactic in international gender equality policy. The notion was first introduced during the Nairobi World Conference on Women in 1985. After that, it was accepted as a means of advancing gender equality across the board, and the mainstreaming mandate was strengthened during the twenty-third special session of the UN General Assembly in June 2000 (COE, 2022).

The primary methodologies for gender mainstreaming include the Institutional and Discursive perspectives. The Institutional perspective revolves around how specific organizations adopt and execute mainstreaming policies, often involving an analysis of how national politics intersects with international norms and practices (Shepard, 2015). Meanwhile, the Discursive perspective scrutinizes how mainstreaming reinforces power dynamics through language and issue-framing. This method typically entails examining documents, resolutions, and peace agreements to discern how they perpetuate gender

narratives within a political context (Shepard, 2015). While these approaches are not inherently conflicting, they are mutually reinforcing.

The gender mainstreaming theory is embraced because it recognizes differences in designing, implementing, and evaluating policies, programs, and projects to benefit both women and men without exacerbating inequality but rather enhancing gender equality (COE, 2022). Additionally, the theory seeks to address latent gender inequalities to achieve genuine gender equality.

Methodology

This study employed both primary and secondary methods of data collection. A targeted sample of 460 respondents was intentionally chosen from academia, ministries of foreign affairs, and Institutes of international affairs—230 in Nigeria and 230 in Ghana—due to their expertise in the subject for the primary data. Google Forms questionnaires were utilized to examine the impact of socio-cultural environments on the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The questionnaires focused on two thematic areas: the nature of Nigeria's and Ghana's sociocultural environments and the perception of patriarchy.

Additionally, 400 participants were included in the study through the snowball method and provided responses to the Google Forms questionnaires. The collected data from the questionnaires were comprehensively analyzed globally using the MaxQDA analytical tool.

Presentation and analyses of Primary Data generated through Google Forms on Perception of Culture

Theme 1 (culture) Supporting Responses

S/N	Themes	Frequency %	Supporting Quotes
1	Effects of Culture	77	<p>'Culture has a huge role to play in every facet of society, and it is subjugating women.' R3, sentence 1.</p> <p>'Traditional culture affects it negatively. It wants women to be dummies. Mostly, have no say in critical matters and the likes.' R156, line 1</p> <p>'Traditional culture affects it negatively. It wants women to be dummies. Mostly, have no say in critical matters and the likes.' R67, sentence 2.</p> <p>'Culture has a very great effect on how women are placed in the society.' R67, sentence 2</p> <p>'The traditional culture has constantly superimposed the man over the woman.</p>

			<p>Now we are seeing the repercussions' of R165, line 2</p> <p>'In Nigeria, people perceive the women as inferior to men' R34, line 5</p>
--	--	--	---

Source: MaxQDA 2023 Output

From the provided table, respondents conveyed their perspectives on how culture has influenced the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Nigeria and Ghana. Nearly all respondents acknowledged the impact of culture on the implementation of UNSCR 1325. However, only a minority explained in detail how culture affects the implementation. A female Nigerian participant pointed out that:

People perceive women as inferior to men in society, which has become the norm. Similarly, a Ghanaian participant noted that "traditional culture has negatively affected the status of women because women are consistently viewed as the weaker vessels and secondary to men.

Consequently, the cultural contexts of Nigeria and Ghana do not align with the practical implementation of UNSCR 1325. Additional quotes from participants supporting this theme are presented below:

"Traditionally, women are rated as second-class citizens. Men are given more priority when it comes to societal positions than women, and this is so because women are seen just as an object of pleasure, something to make men happy, never as intelligent beings. This thought is evident even in most cultures' proverbs" (R121, Ghanaian, F, 37).

"The traditional settings place the male child ahead of the female, as the male is in most cases incorporated into the cultural setting of the family" (R57, Nigerian, M, 28).

"Cultural processes maintain gender differences which act as barriers preventing an increase in the education of girls and women and ultimately reducing the number of women in positions of power, thus leading to a small scale of gender equality in a male-dominated society" (R183, Ghanaian, F, 31).

"It limits what they can achieve; it affects their mindset about life and how they see themselves generally" (R56, Nigerian, M, 35).

"Traditional culture has messed it up in the sense that it places women in a lower position. You know how the fathers treat the women that they are subjective and they will not be able to contribute to matters. Moreover, that is not the way it is" (R31, Nigerian, M, 35).

"The traditional culture has constantly superimposed the man over the woman" (R157, Ghanaian, F, 38).

"Our culture and traditions do not support gender equality. If we want to be sincere of the real natural, historic, original nature of the culture, it does not support gender equality" (R68, Nigerian, M, 47).

Participants' responses suggest that culture has affected the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through the cultural perception of women as inferior to men in society, preference for male children over female children, denial of educational opportunities to female children, and the dominance of men over women in societies.

Furthermore, thematic analysis findings indicated that culture has constrained women in making decisions in the community, highlighting the need for increased representation in decisions that concern them. The underrepresentation of women in societal decision-making was identified as contributing to the non-implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Nigeria and Ghana. Respondents revealed that women are not allowed to participate fully in community decision-making, attributing this to the predominant presence of men in various positions. As a result, many decisions that impact society are predominantly made by men.

Almost all the participants expressed the view that women were inadequately represented. Here are a few supporting statements from the respondents:

"In every way, they are underrepresented. So, they do not have much say in what affects them" (R42, Nigerian, M, 56).

"Yes, we are underrepresented. A lot" (R165, F, Ghanaian, 37)

"Practically underrepresented" (R57, Nigerian, M, 29)

"They believe you are a woman and cannot talk or contribute where men are talking" (R73, Nigerian, F, 35).

"Traditionally, women are rated as second citizens; men are given more priority when it comes to societal positions than women, and this is so because women are seen just as an object of pleasure, something to make men happy, never as intelligent beings. These thoughts are evident even in most cultures' proverbs" (R189, Ghanaian, F, 45)

Presentation of Primary Data generated from Google Form

Theme 2 (Patriarchy) Supporting Responses

S/N	Themes	Frequency %	Supporting Responses
1	Effects of Patriarchy	81	<p>To a large extent, most of our institutions are ruled by men (R42, Nigerian, M, 56).</p> <p>Culturally, ours is a patriarchal society... (R189, Ghanaian, F, 45)</p> <p>Nigeria is a system that can be considered a patriarchal society; therefore, this affects the implementation of UNSCR 1325..." (R57, Nigerian, M, 29).</p> <p>Of course, it is very much a patriarchal society (R123, Ghanaian, F, 38).</p>

Source: MaxQDA (2023)

From Table 2, another prevalent theme identified through thematic analysis is patriarchy, a significant factor impacting the implementation of UNSCR 1325 due to the entrenched patriarchal ideologies within the Nigerian and Ghanaian societies. Patriarchy, as defined by Makama (2013), is a framework of social relationships with a material foundation that enables men to dominate females. Respondents asserted that both Nigerian and Ghanaian societies are patriarchal, presenting a barrier to the successful implementation of UNSCR 1325. The deeply rooted notion that men should dominate has imposed limitations on the roles and activities of females in society. A respondent supporting this perspective stated, "Nigeria and Ghana have never had a female president. Therefore, it is the man's world in Africa." Other respondents echoed similar sentiments:

"Nigeria is a system that can be considered a patriarchal society; therefore, this affects the implementation of UNSCR 1325..." (R1, Nigerian, M, 34).

"Of course, it is a patriarchal society" (R123, Ghanaian, F, 38).

"I believe it is. Men dominate the society" (R105, Ghanaian, F, 41).

"Culturally, ours is a patriarchal society..." (R8, Nigerian, M, 48).

"To a considerable extent, most of our institutions are ruled by men" (R176, Ghanaian, M, 39). Participants' views align with Appiah-Kubi, Center, and Luboder (2022), who emphasize that the status of women in Ghanaian society is permeated by patriarchy, contributing to gender inequality and the disadvantaged situation of women in the country.

Furthermore, the patriarchal societal framework has contributed to the lack of support for women within the society, identified as another factor impeding the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Respondents conveyed that societal expectations have led many females to perceive themselves as lesser citizens, believing they are not entitled to certain positions or that certain roles are reserved for males in society. This hinders their involvement in societal responsibilities. One respondent attributed it to "an issue of low self-esteem affecting the practical implementation of gender equality." Another respondent remarked, "Women do not support themselves in politics." Additionally, a Ghanaian respondent stated, "Most women would rather have a man rule over them than women." A respondent from Nigeria expressed, "I think the women's society is full of envy, unnecessary strife, competition, and the likes, which has affected the support a woman is supposed to give to her fellow women." Consequently, this diminished and restricted their participation in assuming leadership roles, contributing to the prevalence of men in leadership across various sectors of society.

Discussion of Findings

Patriarchy stands out as a prominent obstacle to the effective implementation of Resolution 1325 in Nigeria and Ghana. This deeply ingrained patriarchal influence has permeated the social fabric of both nations. Consequently, the limited involvement of women in societal decision-making structures hinders their active participation in conflict-related decisions and subsequent peace processes. Despite recent initiatives, women continue to face discrimination in public and political spheres.

In theory, the Nigerian constitution (1999) appears non-discriminatory towards women in politics. Section 40 emphasizes the right of every person to freely assemble and associate, while Section 42(1) explicitly prohibits discrimination based on various factors, including sex. The Nigeria National Gender Policy (2006) underscores the state's commitment to achieving gender equality in political representation through measures like a 35% affirmative action by

2015. However, the reality in Nigeria contradicts these principles, as evidenced by the rejection of crucial gender bills in 2022, including those advocating for affirmative action (Dakuku, 2022). This rejection reflects the deeply entrenched patriarchal beliefs in the society, challenging the advancement of women's rights.

In Ghana, Article 2 of the 1992 Constitution guarantees fundamental human rights for all, regardless of gender. Despite the existence of laws, policies, and measures supporting gender equality, the persistence of cultural values and embedded patriarchal resistance contributes to gender disparities. The Ghana National Gender Policy (2015) aims to integrate gender equality into development efforts. While commendable steps have been taken, such as capacity-building programs and sensitization initiatives, more is needed in a patriarchal context to foster genuine internalization of these efforts. The Affirmative Action Bill in Ghana, in existence for over a decade, emphasizes the urgent need for systemic change to ensure equitable participation and representation of women in decision-making and peace processes at all levels

Nkamebe (2009) argues that societal perceptions of women as inferior to men stem primarily from their assigned and acquired roles. Sociocultural norms accentuate women's vulnerability to deprivation, intimidation, and extreme suffering. Supporting this perspective, Muli (2014) asserts that women have been prevented and restricted from engaging in public life in adherence to traditional, cultural, and religious norms. This limitation extends to involvement in conflict resolution and peace-building processes, often conducted far from women's usual dwellings and lasting for extended periods. The unique roles of women as mothers and homemakers further hinder their participation, as their reproductive responsibilities are used to diminish their active roles. Although women contribute significantly to reconciliation within homes, fostering peace and stability at the family and societal levels, these efforts are often overlooked in political contexts. Women are frequently excluded from conflict resolution and peace-building processes due to societal perceptions that they lack the required diplomatic skills, reinforcing their marginalization by male counterparts.

Thelma (2007) concludes that despite increased acknowledgement of women's roles during armed conflicts, patriarchal social constructions reaffirm themselves during peace pacts and negotiations in post-conflict periods. This resurgence results in the loss of gained "privileges," thereby relegating women to domestic spheres and limiting their political involvement. This results in unequal access to peace processes, leading to discrimination against women and prompting scrutiny of the patriarchal ideologies entrenched in cultural practices.

Women are frequently perceived as inferior to men in many African nations, such as Ghana and Nigeria, and as lacking in the qualities of leadership. Elizabeth (2004) highlights that women's viewpoints and ideals will be undervalued as long as patriarchal structures are in place, which will make political change useless. The presence of patriarchal systems in Nigeria and Ghana prevents women from participating meaningfully and equally in peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and other peace processes, which impedes the execution of action plans.

In research on the role of women in promoting peace in Kenya, Komen (2011) notes that one difficulty is the "crab" mindset among women, where some of them have a tendency to denigrate other women. In Nigeria, there is a tendency known as "women are the enemy of

women," wherein women criticise other women instead of supporting them when they seek leadership roles. During elections, some women favour males over women more than they should, giving men the chance to marginalise women. Furthermore, although making up the majority of the population in many nations, women's active participation in politics is still restricted. According to Brownell (2011), women running for political offices frequently need to receive more votes even if they make up the majority of the population.

When women work to break through these hurdles, they frequently face stigma, labelling, and marginalisation. Owing to the persistence of patriarchy, patriarchal practises are frequently replicated by powerful organisations, state structures, and multinational organisations like the UN and AU. Women's full and equal participation in peace and security issues is impeded by these principles, particularly in formal negotiations and peacemaking procedures. Women have rarely participated formally in discussions since UNSCR 1325 was adopted. Their involvement is frequently rhetorical, tangential, and incomplete; this is known as "gender tokenism," in which women are utilised as props in exclusive talks to provide the impression that a peaceful settlement is being reached (ACCORD, 2020). In these situations, patriarchy still exists; it penetrates all facets of society, forms the social structure and value system, and is assimilated and tolerated by most people, including women. In many civilizations, men are seen as having control over women, and women are typically seen as subordinates to men. This is typical of patriarchal cultures seen in Africa and other parts of the world, where men occupy positions of authority and control and assign women to subservient roles (Chitando, 2019). Patriarchal norms severely restrict women's engagement in peace-building processes in African contexts, favouring men's participation and relegating women to less important responsibilities (Chitando, 2019). According to De Alwis et al. (2013), this is regrettable because it perpetuates harmful conventional notions of women as mothers and carers, which are focused more on their perceived femininity and talents than on their potential to contribute to long-term peace. Moreover, African cultures tend to marginalise women's viewpoints and prevent them from speaking up, especially when it comes to resolving conflicts (Adepoju et al., 2021).

In Nigerian the society, gender has, for the most part, received less attention. There are typically few incentives provided by traditional cultural structures to change the current power dynamics between men and women. Nigerian culture has been greatly impacted by cultural practices that impede women's independence, such as early or forced marriage, wife-inheritance, and widowhood customs (Nmadu, 2000). CEDAW paragraphs (1979) acknowledge the impact of these sociocultural practices and note that they increase women's susceptibility to physical, sexual, and mental abuse. Women's inferior status to men's is a common occurrence, albeit the type and degree of subordination differ between nations. In addition to moulding customs, cultures, and faiths that have shaped men and women's relationships for decades, gender role ideology also instills male dominance in institutions and societal structures at all levels of leadership (Salaam, 2003).

Gender stereotypes are socially manufactured labels that are used to maintain the structural hierarchy of male domination. Socialisation processes, gender stereotypes, and the continual threat of violence are all part of the power structure's maintenance of inequality in a society that is fundamentally unbalanced. Cultural standards that are strongly rooted in patriarchal influences serve to further perpetuate this dynamic (Bunch, 1998).

The results of the study highlight how the sociocultural environments in Ghana and Nigeria have a big influence on how UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is implemented. Additionally, the research indicates that religious ideologies also impede the successful implementation of Resolution 1325 in Nigeria and Ghana, in addition to patriarchy adding to the obstacles related to its implementation.

References

- Accord (2020) Resolution 1325 in 2020 : Looking forward, Looking back. https://www.google.com/url?esrc=s&q=&rct=j&sa=U&url=https://www.africaportal.org/documents/6790/1325_in_2020.pdf&ved=2ahUKEwj68q7O5Jf6AhV1g_0HHT6bC5IQFnoECAIQAg&usq=AOvVaw0cd2vubnEsIZ_rOpi6RTio
- Adepoju, O .A.Gberevbie, D.E. &Ibhawoh B. (2021). Culture and Women Participation in Peacebuilding in Africa: Perspective of National Culture and Social Role Theories Academy of Strategic Management Journal 20(3)<https://www.abacademies.org/articles/Culture-and-women-participation-in-peacebuilding-in-africa-perspective-of-national-culture-and-social-role-theories-1939-6104-20-3-754.pdf>
- Amedzrator, L.M. (2014). Breaking the inertia: women’s role in mediation and peace processes in West Africa. Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, <https://www.google.com/url?esrc=s&q=&rct=j&sa=U&url=https://www.africaportal.org/documents/12367/Lydia-KAIPTC->
- Awodipe, T., &Omolaoye, S. (2022, April 15). Women claim closeness to governance as FG urges better deal. <https://guardian.ng/news/women-claim-closeness-to-governance-as-fg-urges-better-deal/>
- Brownell, M. (2011). interviewed by Okyere, F. & Abdallah, M. Improving West Africa's Capacity in Mediation and Peace Processes <https://www.google.com/url?esrc=s&q=&rct=j&sa=U&url=https://www.africaportal.org/documents/12367/Lydia-KAIPTC>
- Brunch (1998). Vol. 488, THE DEMOCRATIC GULAG: Patriarchy, Leadership & Education (2015), pp. 15-67 In Robert Bahlieda Published By: Peter Lang AG <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45136330>
- Chitando, A. (2019). From victims to the vaunted: Young women and peace building in Mashonaland East, Zimbabwe. African Security Review, 28(2), 110-123.
- Dakuku, P. (2022). Nigeria: Women At War – Gender Equality Bills to the Rescue. Afro News <https://afro.news/2022/03/14/nigeria-women-at-war-gender-equality-bills-to-the-rescue/>
- De Alwis, M., Mertus, J., &Sajjad, T. (2013). Women and peace processes. In Cohen, C. (Eds.), Women and Wars (pp. 169-193). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ekhtator, E. O. (2018). ‘Protection and Promotion of Women’s Rights in Nigeria: Constraints and Prospects, <https://researchgate.net/publication/328276496>
- Ghana National gender policy (2015). Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. <https://www.mogcsp.gov.gh/mdocs-posts/national-gender-policy/>
- Makama, G. A. (2013). Patriarchy and Gender Inequality in Nigeria: The Way Forward European Scientific Journal 9(17)
- Muli, J. M. (2014). Factors influencing women’s participation in sustainable peace building: A case of Kibra region, Nairobi; Kenya. Unpublished thesis. Nairobi University. <https://sta.uwi.edu/fhe/dlcc/dr-muli-amaye>

- Nkamnebe, A. D. (2009). "Addressing Gender-Based Constraints and Issue in Attaining the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria" (Lead Paper Presented at POFSA 4thAnnual National Conference).
- Nyarko-Yirenkyi, A. (2022) Ghana: Pass Affirmative Action Bill into Law to Address Gender Inequalities. allafrica.com/stories/202208050159.html
- Nmadu, T. (2000). "On Our Feet: Women in Grassroot Development", in *Journal of Women in Academics*, 1(1)165-171.
- Rahila (1992)Justice Rahila Hadea Cudjoe in 1992.
https://www.google.com/url?esrc=s&q=&rct=j&sa=U&url=https://www.ajol.info/index.php/naujilj/article/view/206732/194946&ved=2ahUKEwjqnvdD3pf6AhV4i_0HHeKnDHkQFnoECAEQAg&usg=AOvVaw0URMT13AAcUUFYPSdXDd8
- Stewart, F. (2020). 'Root Causes of Violent Conflict in Developing Countries'. p.18,
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1122271/>
- Thelma, E. (2007). *Combatants in West Africa: Progress or Regress?" WANEP- From the Field 5thEdition.*<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/143491213.pdf>
- UN News (2018).Global perspective Human stories Service and Sacrifice: Honouring Nigeria's contribution to UN peacekeeping
<https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/02/1002901>
- Yarkin, E. (2015). Ghana Women at War in a Country at Peace
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/women-at-war-in-country-in-peace-ghana/>