ASSESSMENT OF THE FACTORS FOR LOW POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS OF WOMEN IN SELECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENTS OF KWARA STATE, NIGERIA

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the author of this thesis and that it is a record of my own research work. It has not been presented on any occasion or in any application for a higher degree. All sources of information including quotations (indented or enclosed in quotation marks) were acknowledged by references.

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CERTIFICATION

It is hereby certified that this research project was written by Rashida, Adamu Oyoru and was duly supervised by me and submitted to the Department of Politics and Governance, College of Humanities, Management and Social SciencesKwara State University; Malete.

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This dissertation is dedicated to Almighty Allah.

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ABSTRACT

This study has investigated the factors responsible for low participation of women in political process in Nigeria, particularly in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government Areas of Kwara State under the new dispensation of a democratic Government since 1999-2015. Thus, despite global campaign for gender equality, women's political representation in the country has failed to achieve the critical mass of 30% women's representation in the country's parliament. The global average representation of women in national politics is 10%; but in Nigeria, the figure has hardly ever been more than 4.8%.The following are the three objectives that the research work addressed (1) the examination of the impact of socio-cultural and economic influence on women political participation. (2) an examination on the role of Nigerian political parties on women political participation, and lastly (3)the level of improvement of women political participation since 1999 to date, being a period of democratic dispensation .To achieve the said objectives the study adopted both qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches . However, the findings of the study revealed that, most women in the selected local governments do not see themselves capable enough to hold political positions as a result of low self-esteem, lack of courage, zeal and inferiority complex. The study also found out that, the notion of the society about women politicians also contributes to low women political participation. As the society generally regard women politicians as irresponsible. Also the study revealed that, finance is another fundamental factor contributing to the low women political participation because, the political terrain of Nigeria is structured into money politics, that even the fellow women cannot support women political aspirants without money. Lastly, the research also found out that, most political parties in Nigeria only use the women as agents of mobilization and dump them after the election without adequate compensation. The study, thereafter, recommended that, there is need for the government to initiate plans, programmes in both public and private spheres for the re-orientation and reformation of customary and religious institutions to give women courage and more support. Not only that, government should ensure that the political environments is sanitized by curbing the culture of electoral violence and the use of thugs to make it conducive for women. Also support and courage should be given to women by political parties and gatekeepers within the parties should operate internal democracies so as to select women as candidates and flag bearers for elections. And INEC should also compel political parties to act in line with the requirements of the 35percent affirmative action for women.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

In history, among the most socially advanced nations of the world, the status of women was always seen as inferior to that of men, not only were women's roles secondary, women were in several cases, totally excluded from participating in certain activities. At both the national and international levels, there is a growing academic interest in the level of participation of women in politics. The "third wave" of globalization emphasizes the issue of democratization, women and human rights which dominate world interests. In Africa; our generation is accommodating more women in politics in the pursuance of the global affirmative action which stipulates 30% women participation in Government.

Thus, the stand of women in society in relation to men and their subordination, oppression, and marginalization has attracted the attention of scholars, activists, feminists and development workers. The issues relating to what is also known as low women participation has become very prominent in the last few decades (Makama, 2013:116). The increasing salience of women's issues and the resurgence of women's movements have raised popular consciousness and intense academic discourse on the poor participation of women in politics (Oni 2007:1). Although low political participation of women is a universal phenomenon (Lewu, 2005:62; Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012:51), their participation in democratic governance and human development cannot be over-emphasized; even Sustainable democratic Government relies upon the participation of all citizens in determining through elections and political processes, who governs them. It also depends upon the equality of all citizens under the law (Anifowose, 2004:205; Makama 2013:124).

Women's legal status is closely linked with their political participation and has an impact on their ability to contribute to and benefit from economic and social progress. The involvement of women in political activities underscores this correct assertion:

> Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective in all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved (Felicia & Carol, 2015:41).

The involvement of citizens including; both males and females in the management of public affairs, otherwise known as mass or popular participation is thus at the very heart of democracy (Agbalajobi, 2010:77). Putting it more succinctly, the Inter-Parliamentary Union incorporated in the Universal Declaration for Democracy asserts that:

> ''The achievement of democracy presupposes a genuine partnership between men and women in the conduct of the affairs of society in which they work in equality and complementarity drawing mutual enrichment from their differences (The Inter-parliamentary Union, 1999)''.

Although the equal political opportunities for women is a goal shared by both men and women and despite the increased support for women's equality for thousands of years, women record poor participation in politics and decision-making positions (Anifowose, 2004:204; Agbalajobi, 2010:078; Eme& Richard, 2015:17). This is despite the fact that women constitute roughly half of the current world population which stands at about 7.7 billion (United Nations 2018).

Consequently, gender inequality persists in Nigeria despite the fact that Women make up about 50% of Nigeria's population of over 120 million people; still their positions are weak when compared with their male counterparts (Ironsi, 2006). Even though their presence in the labour force has increased over the last 30 years, the participation of women in Nigeria's

workforce is still below that of men (Salami, 2007). Most Nigerian women are employed in low paid jobs and are underrepresented in several important fields, including the sciences, mathematics, and technology. Salami (2007) attributed the marginalization of women in these fields to factors such as disparities in male and female enrollments in education, and to micro- and macro-factors, which include discriminatory labour-market forces and restrictive traditional values, although gender inequalities affect women disproportionately as the entire society pays a price for them (Temesgen, 2008).

While the global average representation of women in national politics is 10%, in Nigeria, the figure has hardly ever been more than 4.8% (NseEtim, 2015:19; INEC, 2015). From the country's independence to 55 years after, there have been various degrees of women's participation in politics and governance and varying sets of limiting factors to women's political participation (Lewu, 2004:331 Adu, 2008; Agbalajobi, 2010:075 Makama, 2015:131).

 The world witnesses slow progress of women's participation in politics (UNDP Report, 2015). The International Union Report of 2015 indicates that, there were only forty-one Countries in the world where women attain the critical mass of 30% women's representation in the parliament out of which Rwanda, Bolivia, Andorra, Cuba, Seychelles, Sweden, Senegal, Finland, Ecuador, South Africa, Iceland and Spain were a handful of countries that have elected more than 40% women to their legislative body (IPU, 2015).

However, despite these international instruments to encourage women's involvement in political activities, Nigeria still witnesses slow progress of women's participation in politics (UNDP Report, 2005; Makama, 2013:116). The Inter-Parliamentary Union Report of 2015 indicated that there were only forty-one countries in the World where women attained the critical mass of 30% women representation in the parliament, out of which Rwanda, Bolivia, Andorra, Cuba, Seychelles, Sweden, Senegal, Finland, Ecuador, South Africa, Iceland and

Spain are a handful of countries that have elected more than 40% women to their legislative body (IPU, 2015). On the other hand, in terms of Ministerial appointment According to IPU report 2015 Nigeria was rank 24.1% with 7 appointed Ministers out of 29 Ministers and at present in Buhari's Government there are only five female ministers while Finland, Cabo Verde, Sweden, France are countries with more than 50% of appointed women Ministers (IPU report 2015); even in respect to the Beijing Declaration that was adopted for affirmative action on women by participating Governments at the world conference on September 15, 1995, admits *inter alia*:

> ''The status of women has advanced in some important respects in the past decades, but that progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men have persisted and major obstacles remain with serious consequences for the well-being of all people''.

In reference to the above assertions, the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA), Paragraph 28 and 29 of the Global Framework, which expounds the basis of remedial actions to be taken, captures the gross under-representation of the world's women in decision making and power relations in the various Countries of the United Nations. This is further explained in the preamble for the Strategic Objectives and Actions for the enhancement of women's access to power and decision-making thus:

> ''Despite widespread democratization in most countries, women are largely underrepresented at most levels of Government, especially in ministerial and other executive bodies or in achieving the target endorsed by the Economic and Social Council of having 30% women in positions of decision-making levels''.

Governments that are signatories to the agreements are bound to take specific measures to ensure women's access to full participation in political activities (Bruce, 2004:101). It is on the basis of the United Nations stipulations that various countries, including those of African countries, therefore, begin to intensify efforts to shift women from the periphery to the Centre

of national development processes and seek modalities for enhancing their political participation.

The Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was ratified by Nigeria in 1985 (Okome, 2006). Besides, Nigeria is also a signatory to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and on that basis constituted the National Committee on Affirmative Action (Anifowose, 2004:210). Furthermore, the National Policy on Women was adopted by the Federal Government of Nigeria in the year 2000. The goal of the policy is to eliminate all forms of Discrimination against Women, empowering them through enhanced strategic human resource development, and establishing a data bank on the implementation of a comprehensive national baseline survey. The specific objectives of the policy seek to ensure that the principles and provisions as contained in the Nigerian Constitution are effectively enforced, and that gender perspective is mainstreamed into all policies and programs based on a systematic gender analysis at all levels of Government (Agomo, 2004:977 & Oronsaye-Salami, 2005; National Gender report, 2006:7).

The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria by virtue of Section 40 states that:

> Every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons, and in particular, he may form or belong to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interests…

Section 42 of the same constitution states further that:

> Any citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion, or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person be subjected to any form of discrimination.

From the foregoing, there is nothing in the constitution, which excludes the participation of women in politics in Nigeria. (Agbalajobi, 2010:078; Makama, 2013:123). The Beijing Platform for Action as applied to Nigeria considers the inequality between men and women

in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels as one of the critical areas of concern for the empowerment of women. It stated Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for a simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. As stated in without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

> ''As a result of these commitments, Governments were expected to implement policies and programmes which would advance gender equality, including in leadership positions, giving women full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. The commitments and goals pertaining to gender equality in decision-making at the political and other levels have not yet been achieved. In both developing and developed countries, women continue to be under-represented in decision- making and leadership in several areas. The consequence of this gender gap is that women do not participate fully in decisions that shape their lives; communities and countries are not capitalizing on the full potential of one half of their societies'' (Temesgen, 2008).

As elsewhere in the world, women inclusion in Government has gone beyond a campaign issue to implementation. As in other democracies of the world, successive Governments in Nigeria have been engaged in the sustained campaign for greater and effective women participation in politics, which have predated the thirty percent affirmative action that came into existence in 1995. In the attainment of the said target, the Federal Government National Gender Policy and other programmes were used. Prior to the present civilian administration, previous military Governments had several programmes in place to empower women politically. For instance, the Federal Government on June 13, 1985 signed and ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against women (Okwum, 2012).

In spite of this effort, the development of corresponding economic, social and political power of women still leaves much to be desired despite their significant roles before and after

Nigerian independence, (Ikpe, 2004:20, Luka, 2011:27). The fact that the military ruled for years helped to institutionalize violations of human rights that resulted in very severe political, social and economic crises that negatively affected the Nigerian women (Olusoji et al, 2012). Hence, despite these anomalies some women in Nigeria have risen above the scourge by engaging in politics some of these women are Patricia Etteh, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala Gbemisola Rukayat Saraki, Sarah Jubril among others; In spite of the Individual efforts, women participation in the political process in Nigeria is still low. ==Though as rightly low women political participation has impacted negatively on the development of women's political right,== despite the many international norms and institutions designed to advance the course of women in Nigeria politics (Anifowose, 2004:209). Hence, there is the need to interrogate factors responsible for this phenomenon in Nigeria and to seek ways on how to engender a balance in the political affairs of the Nigerian state.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Nigeria is one of the countries where the female population is almost at par with the males. Some of the women in Nigeria have began to gain popularity in the political sphere of the country .Despite the recognition of these women in Nigerian political sphere and their inclusion in politics, there still persists poor participation of women in politics and the numbers of women in political positions in Nigeria is growing at a slow rate. Thus, the Beijing platform for Action and Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against women 1955 cum the Millennium submit (2000) which all laid emphasis on women equal participation in decision making has not been fully implemented in Nigeria thus, women continue to be under-represented in decision-making and leadership in several areas in the Country

At the Federal Executive Council, in Nigeria no woman has attained the position of presidency, in addition only few women have even developed the courage to contest for the position, for instance in the just concluded elections in 2015, only Sarah Jubril contested for the position of presidency (KOWA Party). Furthermore, Nigeria has not also elect a female Governors within the 36 States of the federation. Only few female candidates have contested for the positions. On the other hand, in terms of Ministerial appointment, Nigeria was ranked 17.6% with 6 appointed women ministers out of 34 in 1999-2003, in 2003-2007 there were only 5 women appointed as ministers with 13.5% out of 37; In 2007-2011 we had only 14.8% with 4 out of 27 cabinet members. In 2011-2015, 7 (24.1%) were appointed Ministers out of 29 Ministers.

In the Legislative Body; (Senate and House of Representatives), in 1999 only 3 (2.8%) were members of the senate out of the total number of 109 total members. In 2003 the red carpets accommodate 4(3.7%) women senators out of 109 members. In 2007 the upper chamber has 9(8.3%) women members out of 109, in 2011 the senate has 7(6.4%) women senators. Lastly, in 2015 only 22 women were members out of 469 members, eight (8) women in Senate, and 14 women in the House of Representatives; making the total percent to be 4.6%.

 In spite of the global and national affirmative action for option all involvement of women in the political process in Kwara State the problem of low participation of women in politics in the state still persists as reflected in the data below. In the forth legislature (1999-2003) no woman was a member of Kwara State House of Assembly. In the 5th Legislature only Hon. Amdalat Adekunle Badamosi was a member of the Kwara State Lawmakers out of 24 members of the Kwara State House of Assembly. In the 6th Legislature women were 3(12.5%) out of 24 Law-makers of the Kwara State House of Assembly. Furthermore, the 7th Legislature (2011-2015) accommodated 5(20.8%) out of a total of 24 total members of the law-makers. In the just concluded 2015 General Elections, out of the 24-members Kwara

State House of Assembly, only had 5 were women while in the same year the 19-members State Executive Council had only 4 females (www.kwara.gov.ng).

At the level of the Local Government the chairpersons were only 13 (1.8%) in 1999, 15 (1.9%) in 2003, and 27 (3.6%) in 2007 out of the total number of 2,700 total number of chairmen/chairpersons in the respective years. Finally, out of 6,368 Councilors there were only 69 women councilors (1.1%) which increased to 267 (4.2%) in 2003, and reduced to 235 (3.7%) in 2007. (www.inec.ng)

Similarly, in Ilorin West and Baruten Local Governments, between 1999-2003, there was neither a female Councilor nor supervisory councilors except in Offa Local Government that had an appointed supervisory councilor in 2004. Since then, the rate of women participation has been at minimal level; For instance, in Ilorin West Local Government Area between 2004-2007, 2007-2010, and 2010-2013 only 2 women out of 7 executive cabinet members, and 12 councilors except in 2013-2016 that they had 3 women as elected vice Chairman and two appointed supervisory councilors for education and works as this accumulates to 15.7% of the total representation of women (Author, 2016)

In addition, in Baruten LGA between 2004-2007 only two (2) women were in both the Executive and Legislative Arms of Government, while between 2007-2010 only one (1) supervisory councilor and there was no woman out of the 11 wards councilors but there was appointment of two (2) women supervisory councilors between 2013-2016. In Offa LGA, there were four (4) women councilors (two elected and two appointed supervisory) between 2004-2007. Thus, there were two elected women as vice-chairmen and councilors between 2007-2010 and 2010-2013.

In reference to the low women political participation in Kwara State, Alhaja Iyabo Adegbola Olaleye; the APC Women Leader in Offa Local Government while enlongating on low women political participation, she emphasised on the low educational status of most women

in Offa. Also, Mrs Babatunde Taibat, PDP Women Leader, Oko-Erin Ward in Ilorin West, posited that, women are faced with the problem of stigmatisation by the male counterparts as she responded and comment on cultural and religious customs which portrays most of the female politicians as inresponsible and infedels.

Consequently, the effort of women more often than not, have not been well felt in the socio-political and economic development of Nigeria based on the fact that political and economic development can only be achieved when the two genders have significant participation in the political system. Thus, the marginalization of women has caused Nigeria more harm than good, as the socio-political effects of the women are poorly felt.

Based on the above illustrations, scholars argued about various factors that affect active women's political participation which were reiterated as discriminatory, socio-economic, cultural and religious practices, unfavorable political environment, political parties' discrimination, wrong perception of women in politics, fellow women and media support. However, what is going to be the focal point here is the degree to which these factors uniquely influence women political participation in the Nigerian political system.

Consequently, given the fact that there is a difference between mere argument and empirical investigations to ascertain these factors which include, political parties support, gender equality policies and programmes in relation to the degree at which they affect the women attainment of positions of full political empowerment as such, diagnosis will bring to limelight valid modalities for improving women's Political participation in Nigeria, particularly within the selected three (3) local Government areas in Kwara State. It will also present a comprehensive analysis of political parties programmes that are geared towards promoting gender equality and women's political participation in the state from 1999-2015 being a period of democratic dispensation.

Based on the above observation and illustrations, the following are the questions this research tends to answer:

1.3   Research Questions

The main question raised in this study is: What are the factors that influence low women participation in Kwara State's political system? However, there are some specific questions with respect to women participation in the political system of the area under study. These are;

i.   To what extent does the socio-cultural and economic factors hinders women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government Areas of Kwara State?

ii.   To what extent does the role of Nigerian political parties affect women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West local governments of Kwara State?

iii. Is there any significant improvement in women participation in politics in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government Areas since 1999 to 2015 Being a Period of Democratic government

1.4   Objectives of the study

This Research study aims at assessing the rate at which the mere factors are responsible for the low women political participation, and the roles of Political Parties towards promoting gender equality in the selected three (3) Local Governments Areas of Kwara States. In pursuance of this, therefore, this study drives to achieve the following objectives:

i.   to assess the impact of socio-cultural and economic factors on low women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Governments Areas of Kwara State

ii.   to examine the impact of the role of Nigerian political parties, on the level of women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Governments Areas of Kwara State.

iii.   to evaluate if there is any significant improvement on the level of women participation in politics in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Governments Areas of Kwara State between 1999 to 2015

1.5   Research Hypothesis

$H0_1$ There is no significant influence between cultural and socio-economic factors and women's political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government areas.

$H0_2$ There is no significant influence between Nigerian Political parties and women political participation.

$H0_3$ There is no significant improvement on women participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west political system.

1.6   Significance of the Study

The research will serve as a basis for further research work, that is particularly related to the study (i.e. women political participation and gender equality in Nigeria) and the research findings would also be of assistance to the Government in formulating, implementing, and evaluating current and future policies and programmes in Nigeria and abroad.

The research work will equally be beneficial to NGOs, Scholars and Government Agencies such as Inter-parliamentary Union, United Nations' Division for the Advancement of Women, (DAW) Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW) among others agencies on gender-related issues based on the fact that, the research distinguished itself from others by underscoring women political participation at the grass-root level.

Finally, the suggestions and recommendations that will be proffered in this study will help improve the level of political participation of women in Nigeria, particularly in Kwara States which is the study area.

1.7   Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study focuses primarily on critical assessment of low women political participation in Kwara State from 1999-2015 being a period of democratic dispensation. It took three local government areas in to cognizance, which include, Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West as case study. Efforts were put in place by going to some ministries, departments, agencies as well as state political offices to obtain data for proper analysis.

1.8   Operational Definitions of Terms

The terms and concepts used in this study were defined as they were interpreted in relation to this study. An outline of the definitions applied in the study follows.

Political Participation

Political participation is a variety of ways in which people try to exercise influence over the political process; for Maclosky, political participation is a series of voluntary activities through which members of a society share in the direct or indirect selection of rulers and formation of public policy." According to Lawson and Was bum, political participation is "the process by which individuals acting singly or through group organization attempt to influence decision-making or alter the manner in which power may be distributed and the principles by which it may be exercised in a particular society.'

Women

Women Refers to the female gender, the opposite of male gender. The word woman can be used generally to mean any female human, or specifically, to mean an adult female as contrasted with a girl. The New Merriam-Webster Dictionary (1989) also defines a woman as an adult female person. Looking at the concept from the Nigerian political arena, we can state that a woman is one who has attained the age of franchise and by Nigerian standard the minimum age is 18 years.

According to Otite and Ogionwo (2006), women constitute about 50% of the Nigeria population and over 70% of them may be described as rural. They are mothers, wives, and even workers. However, they argue that the perception of women is still culture-bound when related to men in matters of wealth, power and prestige under the prevailing patriarchal environment.

Affirmative Action

The American Dorsey Dictionary defines Affirmative Action as specific efforts to recruit, hire and promote disadvantaged groups for the purpose of eliminating the present effects of past discrimination. Affirmative action can also mean a set of corrective measures or interventions employed for redressing inequities, inequalities and injustices of the past suffered by persons or certain groups of people. Since creation, many people have suffered discrimination or deprivation on account of race, colour and sex, but the most universal aspect of discrimination is sex [male or female]. *While defining the ter*m in relation to the research work, Affirmative Action have been adopted by various Government in the world in relation to promoting active women political participations in the political affairs of the state; In Nigeria therefore, the 35% Affirmative Action was enacted particularly during President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan administration as a progressive step towards promoting women political participation in the state.

Active Participation

Active participation here refers to political participation which is seen as those voluntary activities by which members of the society share in the selection of leaders, and directly or indirectly in the formation of policy, and is a civic right of all citizens. Political Participation involves essential political activities such as attending political meetings, rallies, campaigns, nominations, elections, etc. holding political party offices and public offices; contesting for

elective positions; voting in elections; holding elective and appointive positions; attaining political power in legislative bodies; and other electoral activities.

Political Parties

A political party is defined as an organized group of people with similar political aims and opinions, that seeks to influence public policy by getting its candidates (which may be either male or female) to be elected into public office.

Political Parties tend to be deeply and durably entrenched in specific substructures of society in a sustainable and well-functioning democracy. They can link the Governmental institutions to the elements of the civil society in a free and fair society, and are regarded as necessary for the proper functioning of any modern democratic political system. Political Parties are often described as institutionalized mediators between civil society and those who decide and implement decisions. As such, they enable their members' and supporters' demands to be addressed in parliament and in Government. Even though parties fulfill many vital roles and perform several functions in a democratic society, the nomination and presentation of candidates in the electoral campaign are the most visible function to the electorate i.e. the nomination of women as parties' flag bearers is the responsibilities of the political parties in relation to the pattern of electoral process adopted by respective countries of the world.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1   Introduction

This chapter reviews previous related studies, observations, opinions, comments, ideas, and knowledge that shed light on the key concepts under discussion – Women and political participation. The essence of this section is to create a bond between related previous studies and this research. An attempt is also made to conceptualize this study within theoretical framework relevant to the field of study.

2.2   Conceptual Clarification

2.2.1   The Concept of Democracy

The term democracy is derived from two Greek words: demos which mean people and kratos which means rule. Literarily, democracy means 'rule by the people' Appadorai (2004) described democracy as a system of Government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by them. In the ancient states, direct democracy was possible because all adult members of the community could easily take part in decision making. Population growth and expansion in political boundaries have made direct democracy impracticable in the modern political system. This is the reason why representative democracy has replaced direct democracy in different parts of the world. Representative democracy is an indirect democracy where sovereignty is held by the people's representatives. Watter Lanqueur cited in Idowu (1998) pointed out that although the conditions of modern state make direct participation of all the people in Government of the state impossible, the concept of democracy still emphasises the rule of the people. That is, the sovereign power is indirectly exercised by the people through a system of representation.

Consequently, political participation, particularly in the electoral process, is a fundamental requirement of representative democracy. This is the reason why Appadorai (2004) argued that where, on account of anatmosphere of fear and coercion, people do not feel free to discuss or vote, democracy cannot be said to exist, even though the other political rights are enjoyed by the people. Joshi, D and O' Dell (2010) identified some of their requirements of democratic rule as: at least two party system to give room for freedom of choice; periodic election that is based on universal adult suffrage; free and fair election to allow the political party that has the support of the majority to control the machinery of Government and civil liberties such as freedom of association, religion, speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest.

In addition to the above assertion, Representative democracy rests on the assumptions that the citizens possess and demonstrate some civic capacities. These civic capacities as entrenched by Appadorai, (2004) involve three qualities: intelligence, self-control and conscience. That is the citizens must be able to understand the interest of the community, to subordinate his own will to the general will and must feel his responsibility to the community and be prepared to serve it by voting. In the contrary, indolence, indifference and political apathy have hindered the entrenchment and sustenance of representative democracy in Nigeria. Furthermore, Falade and Orungbemi (2010) argued that true democratic governance is absent in Nigeria and many parts of Africa. The political culture in Nigeria is characterized by intolerance, intimidation, thuggery, assassination, bitterness, apathy, indolence, money and ethnic politics. As a result of this, the ingredients of democracy have not been able to thrive after many years of political independence in Nigeria.

2.2.2   Political Participation: A Conceptual Discourse

A conceptual analysis of citizens' participation in politics will not be thorough without a clarification of what constitutes politics. This section therefore briefly considers the concept of politics.

2.2.2.1 The Concept of Politics

The concept of politics has been viewed in different perspectives by scholars who have written on the subject matter. The idea of Aristotle that 'man is by nature a political animal' and his conclusion that politics is the 'master science' because it involves the intricacy of conflicts and conflict resolution on the distribution of power and resources in the society readily comes to the fore; thus, Heywood (1997:10) inextricably linked politics to Government, the phenomenon of conflict and cooperation when he defined politics as the art of a phenomenon which relates to the public affair as means of resolving conflicts either by compromise, conciliation or negotiation, rather than through force and naked power. Sodaro (2001:27) share this view by defining politics as the process by which communities pursue collective goals and deal with their conflicts authoritatively by means of Government. Easton (1990) defines politics as the 'authoritative allocation of values' in a political system. By this, Easton sees politics as encompassing the various processes through which Government responds to the pressures and demands of allocating benefits, rewards or penalties in a society.

This is why Lasswell (1958) sees politics as the determination of who gets what, when and how. It is, however, observed that the various definitions above, consider the concept of politics from the viewpoint of the normative function of politics which is the resolution of conflict of interests. However, it is necessary that it ascribes value be also put to bear. In doing so, the concept of politics will not just be limited to the view of the developed countries, but will also be relevant to the context of the developing countries particularly Africa. The opinion of Sodaro, (2001) that politics is a process connotes its continuing sequence of events and interactions among various actors (individuals, organisations, and Government) which generally take place within a structure of rules, procedures and

institutions rather than haphazardly. Following this view, therefore, Dahl (1963) defines politics as any stable pattern of human relationships that involves power and influence.

While all the above conceptual definitions of politics portray the view of these writers as it relates to the theme under discussion, one finds the basic thrust of politics from these various scholarly views. In this regards, therefore, politics involves such issues as the exercise of power or authority, a collective decision-making process, allocation of scarce resources among contending factors, the making and preserving of rules and the practice of deception and manipulation. The fact that politics permeates every aspect of life owes to Aristotle's submission that 'it is only within a political community that human beings can live the good life.' It is imperative to grasp the truth that all social problems are in one way or the other linked to political decisions of the powers that be, a participation in this essential ingredient of a political system is therefore very much a necessity (Kumari&Kidwai, 1994: 11).

In any case, however, it can be said that in modern democracies there cannot be political power without the political participation and adequate group representation. And by extension, political participation connotes a variety of ways in which people try to (and of course are supposed to) exercise influence over the political process, the kind of political process which has the potential of attracting the best brains cutting across all genders, whether male or female. (Erunke, 2013:04).

2.2.2.2 The Concept of Political Participation

The concept of political participation is one of those concepts in the Social Sciences that have been subjected to several interpretations and meanings by scholars and practitioners (Chukwuemeka & Eze, 2011). Almond and Verba (1963) viewed political participation as consisting of those legal activities of private citizens, which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of Government personnel and the activity they undertake. This definition emphasizes conventional political participation and excluded unconventional

politics, such as illegal political protest, political thuggery, politically motivated terrorist attacks, hijack of ballot boxes among others. Political participation has also been conceived as activities of citizens designed to influence Government decision making. This definition, in a wide sense, comprises all the activities of individual and groups, conventional or unconventional that target decision-making process with a view to impacting a change.

Anifowose, (2004), observed that the definition of political participation is far from being straightforward and that one problem of the various definitions is that they are more or less exclusive. They argue that the perception of political participation as a voluntary action through which people seek to influence the making of public policy excludes those forms of participation that are coerced. Thus, they defined political participation as a term that denotes the action by which individuals take part in the political process. Bari (2005), suggested that political participation consists of taking part in the process of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies. This conception, however, did not take into account the passive form of politics, such as discussing political issues with colleagues or making a joke about a politician and his political activities. Herderson, (2006), considered citizen participation in a decision that affects them as being imperative for democratic consolidation in any society. In a similar perception, Eme et al. (2015) have contended that efficiency in public administration is strengthened and enhanced by citizens' participation in the political process. (Eme et al 2015)

Simbine (2006) cited in Agbalajobi, (2010) sees political participation as those voluntary activities by which members of the society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy. He thus opines that political participation is a civic right of all citizens. In considering its relevance to national development, George-Agbalajobi, (2010) describes political participation as the ability of an individual citizen to initiate and participate in legislative policies and laws that are germane to national

development. Thus, democracy is inconceivable without political participation; According to Kumari and Kidwai (1999) contented that citizens' participation in politics is very important because it determines how much power is controlled. Thus, he argued that in every society, the wielders of political power are very keen on ensuring, at least, some amount of political participation by the people.

Political participation is the involvement of the citizens in the political system. Eakin cited in Adelekan (2010) described political participation as the process through which the individual plays a role in the political life of his society and has the opportunity to take part in deciding what common goals of the society are and the best way of achieving these goals. According to Akamare (2003) political participation is aspect of political behaviour and it focuses on the way in which individuals take part in politics. It is a voluntary activity and one may participate directly or indirectly. The various ways by which the people can be involved in the political system include selection or election of political leaders, formulation of policies, community activities and other civic engagements. According to Awolowo and Aluko (2010), the essence of political participation in any society, either civilized or primitive, is to seek control of power, acquisition of power and to influence decision making. That is, Political participation is a means of contributing one's quota to the political system and overall development of the nation. Hence, Political participation is one of the fundamental requirements of democratic governance. Furthermore, Adelekan (2010) emphasized that ideally, democracy means individual participation in the decisions that involves one's life. In a democratic system, there is the necessity for the citizenry to be fully involved in the democratic procedures of the choice of rulers and effective communication of the public policies and attitudes.

Theoretically, political participation has a long genealogy. Like most concepts that are used today, it is an unfolding concept with the direct participation of the Greek city-states to the

Schumpeterian rejection of that model, the concept has been central to every discussion about democracy Bari, (2005). Anifowose (2004:205) defines political participation as those voluntary activities such as holding public and party office, being a candidate for office, attending election campaigns, voting and exposing oneself to political stimuli. Similarly, Sanghera, (2005) on the other hand, described political participation as the active engagement of individuals and groups with the Governmental processes that affect their lives. This encompasses both the involvements in decision-making and acts of opposition.

Consequently, Lewu (2005:63) however, defines political participation as a variety of ways in which people try to exercise influence over the political process. For Lawson &Wasburn (1969), political participation 'is the process by which individuals acting singly or through group organisation attempt to influence decision-making or alter the manner in which power may be distributed and the principles by which it may be exercised in a particular society.' Contrarily, however, Lawson (1997) argues that those within the democratic systems appreciate the fact that individuals have little or no capacity to influence the course of politics; thus a desire to bring serious changes in the course of politics is done by concerted efforts of people of the same socio-political interest such as political parties, or social movements.

To this extent, Political participation, therefore, describes the extent to which individual members of society share, take part or get involved in the life of that society (Agbaje, 1999:193). Consequently, the political power that women or any group of persons in a society have would be linked directly to the degree of their participation in the political process of that society (Lewu, 2005:63).

However, the absence or under-representation of women in the very process of decision making and implementation undermines the fundamental concept of a democratic form of governance which assumes that participation and representation in all areas and levels of

public life should be equally available to women and men (Aluko, 2011). The concept of women's participation in politics would logically result from the synthesis of the essential political activities that women in Nigeria engage in such as:

i. Attaining political power in legislative bodies

ii. Holding public and party office

iii. Attending political meetings and election rallies and campaigns

iv. Voting in an election

v. Fielding self as a candidate to be elected

vi. Participation in political discussions and debates

2.2.3 Forms of Political Participation

There are various extralegal institutions through which ordinary people can participate in politics; however, it is not uncommon, for practitioners of politics to emphasize voting as a critical and essential aspect of authentic participation; voting conversely, according to Kumari and Kidwai (1994:25), is the minimal form of political participation. Thus, Klein (2005) states that political participation can take many forms, the most notable of which is voting in elections, but also including joining a political party, standing as candidates in an election, joining a non-Governmental advocacy group, or participating in the demonstration. Beyond voting, therefore, political scientists have stressed the essence of political interest as well as attention to public issues in establishing who actually participates in politics. These orientations have been labeled as 'psychological' involvement in politics (McGlen and Connor, 1983). In their study of the patterns of political attitudes and democracy, Almond and Verba (1963) identified a fourfold typology of political partisanship:

> The first type of partisan is the openly partisan. The open partisan is emotionally inclined towards politics. He is emotionally involved in campaigns, but not so intensely partisan as too detached from relating with members of other parties. The

second partisan is the apathetic partisan. He expresses no feeling of anger, pleasure or contempt about politics. The Intense partisan, on the other hand, is the activity involved and emotionally attached to electoral contests. The fourth partisan is the parochial partisan who is indifferent about elections and relatively uninvolved in politics (Almond, et 'al, 1963:155).

With this, Sanghera (2005) and Magstadt (2006) identify two forms of political participation (1) Legal forms of political participation and (2) illegal or contentious forms of political participation.

2.2.3.1   Legal forms of Political Participation

Sanghera and Magstadt (2006) further categorize legal forms of participation into conventional political participation and unconventional political participation. A conventional form of political participation refers to routine, an institutional and regular form of political actions, the most visible of which is voting. Thus, Kumari and Kidwai (1999) noted that citizens in a democratic political system do not usually go beyond voting in political involvement. While Magstadt (2006) admits that voting is the most visible form of conventional participation, he, however, asserts that the effectiveness of voting as a measure of active citizens' participation depends on the fairness of the election, the size of the electorate and the availability of meaningful choices. Attending political rallies, responding to political polls, standing for office and campaigning for a political party are other forms of conventional political participation.

The unconventional forms of political participation according to Magstadt (2006) or any form of political actions that is though legal, but are considered as inappropriate by a majority of citizens. Such forms of participation are signing a petition and attending a peaceful demonstration of interest groups (Sanghera, 2005).

2.2.3.2 Illegal/ Contentious forms of Political Participation

Sanghera (2006) refers to this form of political participation as illegal means of political expression such as violent protest, riots, rallies, marches and revolutions and refusal to pay taxes. He noted, however, that once particular kinds of contentious politics become institutionalized and legitimate, they become conventional forms of political participation. Magstadt (2006) on the other hand, argues that actions classified as illegal forms of political participation differ among various political regimes. According to him, authoritarian Government will have more actions termed illegal participation than a democratic regime. He listed civil disobedience, political terrorism, subversion and sedition as forms of illegal forms of political participation. From the foregoing analysis, therefore, it is obvious that individuals adopt different modes of participation in politics depending on the opportunities open to them but also upon their own interests and propensities.

Consequently, researchers have observed variations in political participations across the globe. Several explanations have been offered for these variations. These factors include among others, the sense of personal political efficacy, intensity of party and issue preferences, education, income, race, religion, politicization of the family and friends, structure of the electoral system, and perceived closeness of electoral competition (Bruce, 2004). In the view of Steiner (1988) however, the general level of participation in a society is the extent to which the people as a whole are active in politics. Inglehart (2003) on the other hand categorizes these factors into micro-level and macro-level characteristics. The micro-level characteristics are those factors that are centred on the political individuals and his or her belief, attitudes, and values. Such characteristics include resources such as income, education, and employment or transportation) and psychological characteristics such as political attitudes and orientations. The macro-level characteristics that affect political

participation, on the other hand, include such factors as electoral rules, periodic elections, and the cost in time, money and effort.

2.2.4   Conceptual Clarification on Women and Political Participation

Throughout the world, the power relations that shape social, political, economic and cultural life prevent women from participating fully in all areas of their lives, whether it's in the home, or in the public arena (Abdu, 2003). According to Inter-parliamentary Union Report (2015), the global average representation of women in national politics is 6.7%. Notable exceptions include the Rwanda, Bolivia, Finland, Sweden and France, where proportional representation is practiced (IPU Report, 2015).

The first ever women's rights convention (which had more than one hundred women in attendance was held in 1948 at Seneca Falls, New York at the instance of women like Lacretia Moth and Elizabeth Candy Stanton. The group demanded equal rights, including voting right; New Zealand was the first country to allow women to vote in 1893. In the United States of America, however, women did not enjoy the franchise until 1920, and similarly, Britain did not allow women franchise until 1928. This political right of women in France was not allowed until 1944, Italy, 1945 and China 1947. Nigerian women's enfranchisement came in 1959 while in Switzerland women were not allowed to vote until 1971 (Ajayi, 2004:138). For the first time in history in 1919, the American-born Lady Nancy Astor became the first woman elected to take her seat in the British parliament after fulfilling certain age and property (Johnson, 2003).

Several national and international documents and human rights mechanisms have been put forward to encourage women's participation in politics, including the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), elaborate the nature of women's civil and political rights and the steps required to promote greater equality between

women and men in this area (Akinboye, 2004). The Beijing Platform for Action, the principal international action plan on women's rights, contains a section on women in power and decision-making, which states that the empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of women's social, economic and political status is essential for the achievement of both transparent and accountable Government and administration and sustainable development in all areas of the society.

Paradoxically, despite the increasing involvement of women in political activities and the acknowledged women's crucial role in nation building, the prevailing trend witness a seeming aberration which put limitations on women participation in political activities (Akinboye, 2004). Most countries of the world still fall short of the critical mass of 30% of women political representation (IPU, 2015).

Historically Nigerian women have proved their worth and contributed immensely to the development of the country. Notable women such as Mrs. Okonjo-lweala the Minister of Finance under the Olusegun Obasanjo administration and the first female to occupy such a position was due to her expertise able to turn Nigeria from a debtor nation to a debt free nation. The slow pace of Nigeria's development is undoubtedly linked to the under utilization of the enormous resources that women can bring in which is lacking due to the unequal exclusion and representation of women in governance. Several factors are responsible for women's under-representation, which include the absence of proper adherence legal framework and lack of implementation of the existing laws and policies supporting equality and equitable participation of women in politics and governance (Bisi, O.O 2012)

2.2.5   Legal Framework for Women's Political Participation in Nigeria

The under-representation of Nigerian women in the political space belies the numerical strength of almost 50% of the population. Women constitute less than 8% in the National

Assembly and even a lower percentage of the various States Houses of Assembly with some of the States Houses of Assembly being all male legislative Houses.

Paradoxically, Nigerian women constitute a formidable resource with many of them qualified and highly qualified for any elective or appointive position in the body polity that their under-representation cannot be said to be the lack of qualified women to occupy such positions.

2.2.5.1   1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

It will be wrong to lay the dismal level of political participation of women in Nigeria at the doorstep of lack of legal framework for the equal participation of men and women in all the affairs of the Nation.

> The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which is today the ground norm of the country, in its chapter IV, guarantees equality of sexes and non-discrimination in any respect on account of sex.

This provision, if strictly adhered to should guarantee equal participation of women and men in the political space. It should also provide the opportunity to enforce the provision through litigation (Olateru, 2012).

2.2.5.2   National Gender Policy 2006

Supplementing the Constitution and to bridge the gender gap in the political representation as well as other spheres of life the National Executive Council adopted the National Gender Policy which stipulates the implementation of 35% quota reserved for women in political and economic as a temporary measure to bridge the existing gender gap. Again, the National Gender Policy is also considered as a toothless bulldog as it cannot be enforced through litigation or redress by the law courts. In addition, it does not have any compelling effect on the Political Parties and gatekeepers within the parties who do not operate internal democracies and fail to select women as candidates for elections. The 2011 general elections were a classic example of a situation where there were available women who aspired to

occupy various political positions at the National and State levels, but were short changed and failed to be selected at the various party primaries which generally lacked internal democracy. In reality, over 10,000 women across the nation and political parties were aspirants and only about 800 emerged as candidates with a marginal proportion eventually succeeding in the elections. Were the political parties to have incorporated the 35% affirmative action in line with the National gender policy and other international instruments which Nigeria has covenanted to uphold, the number of women would have been greatly enhanced (Olateru, 2012).

2.2.5.3   International Commitments

Nigeria is obliged to implement all its commitments which guarantee gender equality both at Regional and international levels. Notable amongst these instruments are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, The International covenant on civil and political rights (ICCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Ratification and Enforcement) Act Cap 10, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990, The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) 1995, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of women and the Millennium Development Goals. Examining these instruments one finds that CEDAW for example in its Article 1 condemns all forms of discrimination against women on the basis *"of political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.".* Although Nigeria ratified CEDAW since 1989, it has not domesticated the law to make it applicable in Nigeria, despite various advocacies and clamor for the passage of the CEDAW Bill through the successive National Assembly since 1999. Though the African Charter on Human and People's Rights has been domesticated through the promulgation of the Act in 1990, the law is not fully implemented to ensure equality of women and men in the political

arena. The Protocol to the Charter on women's Rights also is not being implemented and has not been domesticated to make it part of Nigerian's laws (Bisi, O.O. 2012).

> It is pertinent to mention that the African Union in its Constitutive Act makes it obligatory that gender equality is guaranteed and enforced by member nations including Nigeria. Article 11 of the Act specifically provides that: '' ... it is a binding obligation to ensure that women have every opportunity to contribute in terms of full equality to political and socio-economic development in all our countries"

Nigeria is in flagrant abuse of this obligation as it affects women' political participation and representation (Olateru, 2012).

Furthermore, the successive 5 yearly reviews of the Beijing Platform for Action show that Nigeria has not fully implemented the commitments under the BPFA especially the recommended provision of the affirmative Action Policy. The current position of Nigeria makes it even more impracticable that the country will meet the Millennium Development Goals (Agbalajobi, 2010).

2.2.5.4   Affirmative Action

Affirmative action means special consideration for disadvantaged groups in publicly funded opportunities. Thus, the purpose is to create a level playing field as the groups preferred are often those that have discriminated against in the past. Many Governments around the world have affirmative action policies in their National Gender Policy. Affirmative action is a major key strategy adopted by policy makers and Governments to promote gender equality.

The concept came into widespread use following the 1995 UN International conference on women and the adoption of the Beijing Platform for action for women advancement. The concept of affirmative action draws on lessons learnt from past efforts to try and redress a gender-blind approach to development that has tended to ignore and marginalize women. Consequently, strategies continue to evolve that focus increasingly on addressing unequal

power relations between men and women (Gender relations). Affirmative action aims at addressing the past inequalities between men and women. The mainstreaming approach recognizes that gender equality is critical to the achievement of other development goals including poverty reduction. (Evans and Lawrence, 2015)

In variable, Katznelson (2005) finds the origin of affirmative action in the New Deal policies of the 1930sand 1940s. According to him, the prehistory of affirmative action was supported by Southern Democrats who were actually devoted to preserving a strict racial hierarchy, and that the resulting legislation was explicitly designed for the majority. Its policies made sure that whites received the full benefit of rising prosperity while blacks were deliberately left out. Katznelson et al (2005) arguing for the case of racial discrimination in the U.S. make a strong case that the GI Bill, an ostensibly color-blind initiative, unfairly privileged white veterans by turning benefits administration over to local Governments, thereby ensuring that Southern blacks would find it nearly impossible to participate. The study closes with suggestions for rectifying racial inequality, but its strongest merit is its subtle recalibration of a crucial piece of American history. (Evans and Lawrence, 2015)

2.2.6   Consequences of women participating in politics

With a view to the role of women in politics, many researches have proved that "women are critical to economic development, active civil society, and good governance, especially in developing countries." As Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen claimed, the economic, political, and social participation of women is the most important force for development today. Women, who have long been treated as passive recipients of aid, are now generally seen as active agents of change who can help the whole community. And a variety of researches suggest that accordingly the benefits to women are the greatest, when aids focused on improving their education, their control over resources, and their political voice.

One of the advantages of female politics is that women are less corrupt than men. Female's behaviour is always different from male according to practical experiments. Rivas (2012) argues that women can be more careful for the relationship and have higher standards of ethics, implying that women are more willing to sacrifice private benefits for the public. Besides, women are more risk averse than men, leading them less corrupt since corruption can be regarded as a risky activity. Just as previous research acknowledged, 'Women attach great importance to the quality of contact between people and bare less individualistic than men. (ENE, 1997)' Focusing on Asia, Panday (2008) mentioned that women's participation in parliament certainly has a positive impact on the character of Asian parliaments and make public policies create 'a more peaceful, productive and less corrupt societies'.

Another advantage which is widely proved is that the presence of more women in parliament brings better governance. Achieving gender equality is seen as essential to reducing poverty and improving governance. Women's participation in politics can facilitate democracy, not only because it improves their civil rights and helps them speak out their interests, but also because powerful women tend to make different policy choices from their male counterparts, which are beneficial to the local distribution of public resources and the development. When a woman is in charge, they invest more in infrastructure which matches the needs of women in order to cover the imbalance of women resulting from the past ignorance of women (Coleman 2004). The 56th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference points out that the political culture can be changed by more women participation in the decision making and women represent change and creation.

On the microeconomic aspect, Khandker (2005) proved that female microeconomic borrowing is much more efficient than male's borrowing, showing that women are better microeconomic operators. This efficiency may also have an impact when women are in the

office. Moreover, microfinance endows greatest long-term interests on the social status of women. Studies show that women with microfinance can obtain loan.

Hillary Clinton, an ex- secretary of State a serious contender in United States politics argues that "if half of the world's population remains vulnerable to economic, political, legal, and social marginalization, our hope of advancing democracy and prosperity will remain in serious jeopardy. In her speech therefore, she posited that the United State must remain an ambiguous and unequivocal voice in support of women's right in every country, every region, on every continent". Similarly, Madeleine, K. Albright, (an ex- US Representative in the UN and an ex-Special Adviser) chairperson, of the National Democratic Institute of Nigeria also said:

> "every country deserves to have the best possible leader and that means that women have to be given a chance to compete. If they are never given a chance to compete in the electoral process, then countries are really robbing themselves of a great deal of talent". (Adeleke, 2014)

Anifowose (2004) is of the opinion that that for any nation to realize the noble idea of democracy with its emphasis on participation, competition and liberty of the people, there is need for the promotion of gender equality. Democracy will not bring development to a country wherethere is no active involvement and participation of the two sexes; male and female (Anifowose, 2004). Daramola and Oniovokukor (2006) entrenched that intra-state conflict is likely to occur in States where gender equality in political representation, has not been achieved. Thus, he opted that ethnic mobilization is more likely to readily develop where there are severe gender inequalities since gender relations contribute crucially to the shaping of group identities, in ways that influence the dynamics of inter-group conflict. In other words, ethnic nationalism is essentially patriarchal and it promoted more effectively where gender inequality is relatively high.

According to Haque ensuring women's political participation is essential to bring legitimacy to Government and establish democracy in its real and practical manner, as validity and trustworthiness of democracy can be in question if females, who are 50% of the population, stay marginalized or segregated from the political and public institutions in the society (Hague, 2003). In addition to this the degree and level of women's representation in the Government has considerable and significant impacts on the lives of the people in any operational political and public milieu (Panday, 2008). Therefore, increasing women's representation and participation in the political and public decision making positions: Is a question of democracy, democratic process, and equality as well as a question of political and civil rights that has been guaranteed by the international organizations' (UN) agreements, treaties, covenants and conventions;

Consequently, women participation in politics also allows women to address their basic problems and needs in the community; and ensures the openness (transparency), real fight against rent-seeking (mainly the recently rampant corruption), accountability, political commitment, political leadership, and political responsiveness of the existing national, regional, zonal/districts, and local levels political democracy, democratization process, and governance of the Governments and political institutions, and promotes peace and democratic development in any country as a whole (Melesse, 2014).

More over without greater representation of women in parliamentary and executive positions as well as in the judiciary, it is difficult to achieve participatory, accountable, and transparent governance which can ensure political, cultural, social and economic priority goals of the wider society. Besides, every human being has the right to participate in decisions that define her or his life. This right is the foundation of the ideal of equal participation in decision-making among women and men. This right argues that since women know their situation best, they should participate equally with men to have their perspective effectively

incorporated at all levels of decision-making, from the private to the public spheres of their lives, from the local to the global (Miranda, 2005).

Equality in political decision-making performs a leverage function without which it is highly unlikely that a real integration of the equality dimension in Government policy-making is feasible. In this respect, women's equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women. Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved (FWCW,1995).

2.2.7   Factors Affecting Women's Political Participation

Women's participation and access to formal political power structures vary across countries (Bari, 2005). Recent literatures on women and politics have identified various factors that affect women's participation in politics across the globe. Of the factors explored, research finds the following four factors to be particularly important: (1) socioeconomic (2) cultural factor; (3) historical legacies stemming from a society's cultural and political traditions; and (4) Inferiority complex of women (Agbalajobi, 2010; NseEtim, 2015).

2.2.7.1   Discriminatory Socio-cultural and Religious Practices

The entrenched socio-cultural and religious practices in Nigeria skewed in favour of men and against women constitute serious challenge to women active participation in politics. Women (including Nigerian women), according to Muoghalu and Abrifor (2012), are discouraged from participating in public life from childhood through adulthood by authority figures such as husbands, fathers, mothers and other relations due to cultural image of a virtuous woman defined as quiet, submissive who should be seen and not heard. Because of the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society, most Nigerians including women still believe and accept the

traditional perspectives that view women as inferior to men, second class citizens, weaker sex, to be seen and not heard, child bearers/ primary care-givers, etc. In most cases, they feel the game of politics is an exclusive reserve of men and dare not venture into it and those who manage to venture are usually contented with the back seats (Ngara et al., 2013).

Likewise, religious practices are used as powerful instruments of stereotype against Nigerian women political aspirants/politicians from active participation in politics. For instance, in Northern Nigeria, the purdah system (i.e. house seclusion of women) of the Islamic doctrine strictly bars women from participating in politics either as voters, political aspirants or even participating in campaigns/other electoral activities. However, when it comes to the issue of political leadership and formulation of Government policies women's role in Islam is limited to supportive and advisory (Nwankwo and Surma, 2008). Also, the Christian doctrine does not accord women much role in public life.

Cultural norms, values and customary practices have great influence on women's political participation. Babatunde (2003) defines culture as a socially created a phenomenon that is influenced by the history, social experiences and material circumstances of the people. Among the cultural ideological factors that affect women's political participation is patriarchy system (Bari, 2005). Patriarchy is characterized by male kinship, permanent marriage and paternal authority (Agbalajobi, 2010). Fayomi and Igbelina-Igbokwe (2006) note the influence of patriarchal cultural structure on the social status of the female gender. Makama (2015) defined patriarchy as a system of male authority which oppresses women through its social, political and economic institutions. Here, the central focus of power is the father, and the factual importance of motherhood kinship structure and history is denied (Makama, 2015:117). In other words, patriarchy describes a distribution of power and resources within the family in a manner that men maintain power and control of resources,

and women are powerless and dependent on men (Makama, 2015:116). Thus, men dominate the political game and set the standards for evaluation.

According to Kelly, (2013) he noted a number of barriers are imposed on women via cultural practices. Nigerian society is permeated by patriarchy whereby women are expected to conform to and confine themselves to male dominance and female subservience. Women are seen to belong to the home, be incapable of making sound decisions and it is unbecoming of women to expose themselves in public for political activities such as campaign rallies. Men often find it incredible and impracticable to see their wives participating in politics (Kelly, 2013).

In addition, most societies in Nigeria, just like in many other African states also prohibit women from taking part in active politics based on religious beliefs. Politics in this part of the world is seen as a dirty-game and sacrilegious and so, has the capacity of defiling any spiritual individual who is conscious of eternity, considering that there is life after death. There are however very many uncanny things that go with politics in underdeveloped societies such as vote buying, ballot-box stuffing, arson, assassination of political opponents, violence and the like. Therefore, engaging in this kind of misdemeanors by adherents of true worshipers of God is a bad process; it therefore becomes a critical element in scaring away persons or groups from politics (Acha, 2015).

2.2.7.2   Inferiority Complex among Women

It was argued by Karl Marx that the inferiority nature of women generally, was a function of chauvinistic nature of men to perpetuate their domination on them in all ramifications; Politics generally is a game of wit and the strong appears to take it all in the political gaining that follows. It, therefore, follows that man by nature are stronger and virile enough to play the game of politics, as popularly reckon women are physically weak and hence, have no ego to compete favourably with men in the turbulent activities. Agbalajobi (2010) opined that

winning public elections in Nigeria is a matter of force or "do-or-die" affairs. Therefore, those who possess physical stamina and strength to use brutal force are men. Hence, women would have to give way for the men to take whatever is available by force.

This negative factor entrenches feelings of inferiority complex and other vices that perpetually put women at a disadvantage position (Akinboye, 2004). Additionally, research finding shows gender role ideology which does not only create a duality of femininity and masculinity but also places them in a hierarchical fashion in which women are subordinated to men. Women also find it hard to participate in politics due to the limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres (Bari, 2005). Felicia et al (2015) however, noted a rising gender-egalitarian attitude that gives rise to an emancipative worldview, reflected in self-expression values that emphasize the autonomy of women. According to these scholars, this rise in emancipative orientations consequently leads to increase in women's empowerment and political participation throughout society. This perspective highlights changes in modern societies particularly conducive to women's empowerment and, therefore, establishes a link between the cultural factor and women involvement in public life. Felicia, (2015)

2.2.7.3   Gender roles-patriarchy:

The family is the main institution of patriarchy, which is an important concept in explaining gender inequality (Kate, 2007). Literarily, it means "the rule of the father"; more broadly, it refers to a society ruled and dominated by men over women. This is inherent in most African families. Giving men a higher social status over females has crept into public life, which reflects in state activities. The family plays an important role in maintaining this patriarchal order across generations. The socialization of children to expect and accept different roles in life has created a social mechanism for the development of values that engender the several forms of discrimination against the female sex. The greatest psychological weapon available

to man is the length of time they have enjoyed dominance over women, who have taken it for granted especially in the area of politics that often continue to stereotype women and justify their subordination (Damilola, 2010).

2.2.7.4   Socio-economic Development

Women's historical experience of discrimination puts them at a disadvantage position economically. Socio-economic status of women to a greater extent plays a significant role in enhancing their participation and representation in political decision making bodies. In this regard Shvedova in 2002 argues that social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies (Shedova, 2002). In other word Lack of economic resources is one of the biggest obstacles that prevent women from participating in politics in greater numbers. Making it easier for women to access economic resources, therefore, is a key in expanding women's presence in the political realm (Tovar, 2007). The study done by Seyedeh et al also revealed that most of women are financially dependent on their husbands or relatives (Sheyedeh and Hossein, 2010). So they may not be possible to them to enter in political campaign. Sarah Jubril, woman presidential aspirant in the 2015 general election in Nigeria also argues that lack of financial resources is the overwhelming obstacles to women political participation. Women move from their father's home to their husband's home . . . They are like refugees. They have no base from which to develop contacts with the people or to build knowledge and experience about the issues. Furthermore, they have no money of their own; the money belongs to their fathers, their husbands or their in-laws. Given the rising cost of running an effective campaign, this poses another serious hurdle for women in the developing world (Maryam, 2015).

Alexander and Welzel (2007) refer to this as economic modernity. This is the view of the classical development. In relations to gender equality, this approach holds that economic development is central to increasing the pool of women eligible for positions of social power

(Alexander and Welzel, 2007). Thus, Babatunde (2003) argues that a country's level of development correlates with women's participation in politics and decreases existing barriers to political activity and participation. These scholars establish that increased economic development associated with a more broad-based distribution of educational and occupational resources. Greater access to educational and occupational resources increases women's chances of professional development, creating a larger pool of women eligible for power positions such as political office. Others note that higher levels of economic development bring more social services to societies. These developmental measures such as an increase in per capita, gross domestic product, women in the workforce and women's literacy positively influence the percentage of women's political participation (Babatunde, 2003).

As if that is not enough, William (1997) also identifies socio-economic as a factor in women's low political. Women according to fisher constitute the majority of the poor and the illiterate in both urban and rural areas in Africa and many young women between the ages of 15 and 25 have been pushed into sex work and face the risk of HIV/Aids infection. The problem is exacerbated by the current trend towards institutionalizing money-politics as well as high registration and nomination fees. Although waivers are granted to women with regards to nomination fees, the absence of a ceiling on campaign expenditure, however, undermines the efficacy of such gesture William, (1997).

2.2.7.5 Historical Legacies

Researchers have presented historical legacies potentially capable of affecting women's social and political status (Omotola, 2007). Scholars argue that a country's developmental trend of social modernization create cultural and institutional legacies that affect societies' abilities to improve women's lives. Alexander and Welzel (2007) note that the emergence of institutions, whether cultural or the result of policy, sometimes consists of types of social organization that has a continuing and somewhat determinant influence on phenomena

relevant to those institutions far into the future. This influence can take the form of an inertial tendency where institutions affect relevant phenomena that would have otherwise changed due to other social forces. This view considers some measures of path dependent processes capable of affecting gender equality: Protestant religious traditions, a long tradition of female suffrage, colonialism and a state tradition of investing into welfare rather than coercive forces.

Depending on the nature of a society's traditions, religions vary in opportunity for women's emancipation (Amadiume, 1997; Inglehart and Norris 2003). For instance, relative to other religious heritages, scholars find that a Protestant religious heritage improves the status of women in a country. Protestantism holds a tradition, particularly hospitable to democratic values, such as respect for individualism, reciprocity and popular sovereignty (Inglehart and Welzel2005). Researchers also approach the impact of religious legacy on women's empowerment through measures of publics' levels of secularization (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). As societies secularize there is greater deference to rationality and expertise, and this typically gives rise to the modern state and widespread social services. The secularizing trend typically occurs from the pre-industrial through the industrializing pace of modernization. During this transition, traditional units restrictive of women's development, such as the family and the church lose their authority as individuals place greater emphasis on rationality and individualism (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart and Welzel 2005).

In addition to religion, path dependent processes with respect to women's suffrage policy may affect the potential to increase women's political participation in particular societies. Some studies have also stressed the salience of the epoch character of colonialism, particularly in African countries. They have argued that colonialism in Africa was male dominated and did nothing to deviate from the preclusion of women from the public sphere

and their limitation in the economic sphere (Omotola, 2007). Countries with earlier suffragist policies for reforming women's formal political exclusion are likely to have a stronger institutional legacy of women's formal political inclusion; State-financed welfare policy is another central factor to society's progress in political participation by women.

2.2.7.6   Under-representation of Women in Governance

Nigerian women are marginalized, discriminated against and are greatly under-represented in politics and governance where important decisions are taken relative to their male-counterparts which is a terrible challenge to their active participation in the nation's politics. It is regrettable that although women constitute the greater number of the registered voters in any elections held in Nigeria, they are yet to experience full representative positions (Okoronkwo-Chukwu, 2013). The 1999 Nigeria Constitution generally refers to non-discrimination on the basis of sex, etc. but is not explicit in ensuring equal representation on gender basis, takes no cognizance of the disadvantaged position of women, and has no provision for gender equality. Likewise, "the Federal Character Principle, which is meant to ensure equitable representation of states and ethnic groups in national appointments, actually places Nigerian women at additional disadvantage by implying that they can only represent their ethnic and states of origin. Where culture does not permit a woman to represent her place of birth, she loses a golden opportunity. There have been many cases where a woman's state of origin disallows her appointment and the husband's state also refuses to endorse her. In many of these instances the Government plays safe by appointing a man instead. And this has continued to consolidate women's under-representation in national politics (Agbalajobi, 2010). Based on the quota allocation system as approved by the UN to be implemented in global politics, and the Beijing Conference agreement on 30% public seats and positions to be reserved for women, it is evident that there has been an increase in the number of Nigerian women in elective and appointive positions. Yet, there is still under-representation of

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Nigerian women in governance which is another major challenge to their active participation in politics.

2.2.7.7   Unhealthy Political Environment

Unhealthy Political environment is another challenge to women active participation in politics in Nigeria. The political terrain in Nigeria is do-or-die affair fraught with violence, maiming, assassinations, threats, blackmail, intimidation, humiliation, etc which are used by mostly men to scare women away from active participation in politics in Nigeria.

Involvement of thugs before, during and after elections (Kolawal et al., 2012), and the attendant insecurity such as destruction of lives and properties that characterized a typical electoral process in Nigeria makes politics something out-of-the-way for most women (Ngara et al., 2013). An illustration of electoral violence in Nigeria is the testimony of a female aspirant, Dorathy Nyone who narrated that "a ward chairman was shot dead; all the women and most of the men fled the scene. My husband rushed there and took me home. I was scared; men who were fully prepared for violence were the only ones who remained behind to hand pick the various winners" (Luka, 2011). Nigerian women have over the years become targets of violence of diverse forms based on their positions in promoting transformative politics (Agblajaobi, 2010).

2.2.7.8   Political Party Discrimination

In Nigeria, political party is the framework for the attainment of political ambitions by politicians. Its hierarchy, membership, and funding are still male-dominated which made it possible for them to be influencing the party's internal politics and often sideline women. The manifestos and constitutions of political parties in Nigeria rarely mention Affirmative Action for women, and when they do, their commitments are lower than the bench mark set by regional and International conventions. The political party discrimination against women in politics in Nigeria is often a deliberate effort to humiliate and frustrate them into losing focus

and excluding them from active participation in politics. For instance, the timing of political meetings (mostly late in the night) and serious politicking which involves a lot of traveling automatically exclude mostly married women from active participation in politics (Kassa, 2015).

The governance structures in the political parties may play a critical role on who actually gets nominated to vie for elective positions. The Nigerian women are not likely to be voted into key positions in the political party hierarchy. The highest position held by women in a number of key political parties include most insignificant posts of ex-officio members and women leaders whose importance is only for mobilizing womenfolk to vote for men. Thus, they are usually unable to assert themselves or push for the interest of women during nominations leading to marginalization of women during election. In addition, most Nigerian political parties marginalize and discriminate against female political aspirants by excluding them from politics through traditional methods based on male-centred interpretation of culture, religion and sharp practices of "zone out" and "step-down techniques mainly for women. The "zone out" technique is where a political party simply zones out the seat of a female aspirant to a constituency she is not regarded as an indigene while "step-down" technique is where a female candidate who has clearly scaled through party nomination and is eligible to contest an election is simply asked to step down for a more suitable candidate (mostly men).

An example of affirmative action by political parties is mainly waiving of the fees obtaining the party nomination forms for women into elective positions. Affirmative action in the form of special seats for women is one of the recommendations that would help address poor representation. However, it will not work in all cases. Provision of room for nominations of women after the elections is not yet applicable in Nigeria. In most political parties in Nigeria, the discrimination against women from the men folk in selecting, electing or voting for

candidates for elections and in allocating political offices which most often tend to relegate women to the background is a critical challenge to women active participation in politics.

2.2.7.9   Wrong Perception of Women in Politics

In Nigeria, women who are actively participating in politics are seen and treated as free women (prostitutes/wayward) of easy virtues, stubborn people, whores, too domineering, culturally rebels, etc. It is observed that during campaign, the political opponents (mostly men) use the alleged loose moral standing of these women against them and often insult them directly in public. Thus, they are often subjected to public ridicule and are socially stigmatized by both men and women. The use of negative labeling; derogatory names; abusive language and expressions to describe Nigerian women in politics discourage many of them from active participation in the nation's politics.

2.2.7.10   Lack of Family, Fellow Women and Media Supports

Lack of family support is a critical challenge to women active participation in politics in Nigeria. Because of the patriarchal nature of Nigerian society, it is culturally assumed that women must seek permission from the men/husbands before venturing into politics. However, if such permission is not granted, the only option for such women is to drop their political ambitions. Thus, most family members especially husbands even among the educated ones do not allow women wives to participate actively in politics in Nigeria. Many poor women political aspirants do not enjoy family support financially, socially, and otherwise.

The Nigerian women political aspirants/politicians lack support of their fellow women politically which is a major challenge to their active participation in politics. It is unfortunate that women in Nigeria do not have expected confidence in the leadership abilities of their fellow women and do not support them to win elections. Although, factors like envy, jealousy, and other problems associated with interpersonal relations are common with

women, generally, most women would rather vote or support men to win election than their fellow women in spite of their numerical strength and such is applicable to Nigerian women (Ngara et al., 2013).

However, this has placed the Nigerian men at an advantage vis-avis their women counterparts when it comes to mobilizing support for elections. In Nigeria, "a classical example of this scenario was the case of Mrs. Sarah Jubril, who contested against President Goodluck Jonathan and former Vice-President Atiku Abubakar in the People's Democratic Party presidential primaries preparatory to the 2011 general elections. At the end of the exercise, Sarah Jubril pulled only one vote -obviously an own vote. This shows that even her closest female supporters did not vote for her (Ngara et al., 2013). However, many Nigerian women psychologically regard and perceive the social stigma that politics is a "dirty game" and as such tend to wrongly perceive fellow women into politics as arrogant and irresponsible and want to pull them down. As a result of this syndrome, most Nigerian women dread politics to retain their good personality traits and not break their matrimonial home (for the married ones).

Another serious challenge to women active participation in politics in Nigeria is lack of media support. Most of the political feats of women in Nigerian cultural histories are not properly mentioned / documented and most often down-played to make them irrelevant to the national history and heritage mainly because of the patriarchal nature of the nation. Unfortunately, most media houses refuse to project the female political aspirants. For instance, Hon. Barrister (Mrs.) Ugochi Nnanna- Okoro, politician and former People's Democratic Party governorship aspirant in Imo state in the 2003 general elections in Nigeria had ugly experiences with the media. Ugochi, according to Nwankwo (2005) "was shocked to find her access to state-owned Radio and Television Stations blocked. Money she paid for publicity was returned to her 'on the pretext that failed to get approval from the Imo State

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Government, also at the Imo Broadcasting service, some retorted, 'Madam take back your money. I don't want to be sacked' she said". Most media publicly present stereotyped or negative images of Nigerian women political aspirants/politicians. They appear to disparage women roles and contributions to national development. There is always poor media coverage of women political campaign and other electoral activities thereby discriminating against them to probably favour their male counterparts.

2.2.7.11   Indigenization of Women Political Aspirants

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, according to Olufemi (2006) continues to act as an impediment to women's active political ambitions as married women is often confronted with the problem of constituency, especially if she is married outside her locality or state of origin as she cannot claim the state of origin of her husband. If a married Nigerian woman goes back to her constituency or birth/state of origin, she is likely to receive the same discriminatory treatment for she is regarded as being over ambitious and a "non-indigene" by her own state of origin. Similarly, such women have no base from which to develop political contacts with the people or build knowledge and experience about the issues in the areas and are not considered for elective positions. Thus, the indigenization of Nigerian women that discourages them from active participation in politics is a remarkable challenge.

Much research confirms that a key barrier to women's full social inclusion and autonomy has been and continues to be institutional arrangements that restrict the state's role in critiquing and domestic responsibilities Welfare policy is capable of alleviating these barriers by expanding the scope of the state's involvement in these everyday household necessities through, for instance, state-supported childcare. Thus, state legacies with respect to welfare policies are an additional form of historical institutionalism that could potentially offset the empowerment modernization brings to women (Yahaya, 1999).

Taking the factors as a whole, economic development, socio-cultural factor, together with historical legacies, as well as various inferiority complex of women among other mere believed are the likely correlates of various aspects of women's participation in politics. What is less clear, however, is the degree to which these four mere factors uniquely influence women's participation in political activities. This, therefore, necessitates a comparative assessment of the same cultural and political predictors of women's participation in Nigerian politics to confirm the relative degree to which the political environment matters with respect to the women's attainment of positions of full political empowerment. It is useful to ask whether and to what extent economic development, socio-cultural factor, historical legacies and inferiority complex uniquely influence women's prominence in Nigerian politics. Do these factors correlate, shift, increase or diminish? Is it the case that conditions in the political environment become more important when accounting for women's participation in politics? This study, therefore, assesses the extent to which these factors have affected political participation by women in Nigeria, particularly, Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Governments of Kwara State between 1999 and 2015.

2.2.8 Conceptualization of Political Parties on Women Participation

The process of candidate recruitment and nomination is probably the most important for political parties to address if women's political participation is to be promoted. Parties are the vital link for achieving equality and inclusive participation, given that they maintain firm control over the nomination of candidates for elective offices. Political parties vary substantially with regard to how they nominate candidates, the number of women selected, where women rank on party lists, and the proportion of women who make it to the office. Parties also vary in their breadth of participation and degree of decentralization (Daniel, 2012).

Be that as it may, in the pre-electoral phase, recruiting and nominating candidates is probably the most crucial process for ensuring that women participate in politics. The gender gap widens significantly as candidates for political office move from being eligible to becoming aspirants to finally being nominated by the party. It is important for parties to incorporate rules that guarantee women's representation. When this commitment is unwritten and informal, it is much more difficult to devise strategies for women to break into the inner circle of power, and harder to hold the party accountable when the commitment is not realized. If a party's internal organization is weak and the rules for recruitment are not clear, decisions tend to be made by a limited number of elites, usually men. In recent years, electoral quotas have become a popular policy measure to bring more women into politics (Lai, 2013).

Consequently, advanced democratic governance requires creating and sustaining an environment of inclusive and responsive political processes and promoting the empowerment of women. The inclusion of the perspectives of women and their participation in politics are prerequisites for democratic development and contribute to good governance. Political parties are the most important institutions that affect the political participation of women. In most countries they are responsible for candidate recruitment and selection, and decide on which issues are placed on the policy agenda. How women participate in political parties – or how political parties encourage and nurture women's involvement can be best explained with an illustrative diagram below:

Eligibles
Women comprise atleast 50% of eligible candidates

Aspirants
fewer women than men Aspirants

Nomines
Fewer women are nominated by political parties

Elected women members 8% men 92%
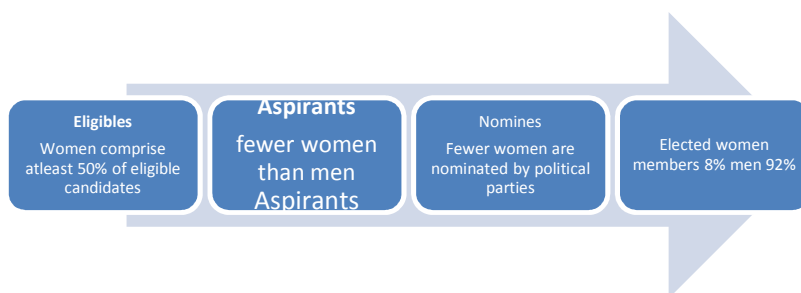
Figure 1: Stages of candidates Recruitment
Source: UNDP Report, 2014

2.2.9   Political parties, Affirmative Action and Women Participation; the Nexus

Though the Beijing conference of 1995 recommended 35% allocation for women in political positions, power and decision making but that has not been the case in Nigeria where women can barely boost of 5 percent. However, it must be noted that the minimal rise in gender participation in the country has been attached to appointive positions having failed to produce women in elective posts. President Muhammadu Buhari recently reiterated his commitment to implement the cardinal policies of the All Progressives Congress (APC) in order to move the country forward. What do our women stand to benefit if this is done? In its manifesto, the APC vowed to ensure that the rights of women are protected as enshrined in the nation's constitution with a guarantee that women are adequately represented in Government appointments and provided greater opportunities in education, job creation and economic empowerment. It also promised the promotion of the concept of reserving a minimum number of seats in the National Assembly for women. So, it is cheering news not only for the electorate but the womenfolk who have been relegated to the background in decision-making process over the years. There is no gainsaying the fact that an increase in women representation in the Government can empower women with its multiplier effects in overall development.

In the Fourth Republic which started on May 29, 1999, the Nigerian political terrain witnessed an increase in the number of women political appointees, even though women did not perform well at the elections. There were 9 females in the Federal Executive Council out of 44 as the then President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo appointed four women out of the 29 senior ministers representing 13.7% and three out of the 18 junior ministers representing 16.6%. Without bias, the immediate past administration of President Goodluck Jonathan made some inroads by establishing some structures to enhance the empowerment of women politically and chief among these is the establishment of Political Trust Fund to provide

support to women aspirants willing to participate in elections at various levels. Women's representation during Jonathan's regime rose from 10% in 2011 to over 33% in 2013. Though, this may be a sort of increase in women participation in politics, it is still light years away from the global perspectives especially in elective posts.

Participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting, Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of Government. Under international standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects of the political process. In practice, however, it is often harder for women to exercise this right. In post-conflict countries there are frequently extra barriers to women's participation, and special care is required to ensure their rights are respected in this regard.

Political parties are among the most important institutions affecting women's political participation. In most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence. The role of women in political parties is, therefore, a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment, particularly at the national level. Because political parties are so influential in shaping women's political prospects, Governments and international organizations seeking to advance the participation of women in elections justifiably tend to focus on the role of political parties (Nigra and Ayabam, 2013).

Ndieli's appeal however, seems belated, as all the political parties held their primaries in January and the outcome indicate no marked change in the status quo. Commenting on the dismal performance of women in the political parities' primaries, Mrs. Josephine Anenih, the then Minister of Women Affairs and Social Development, said that, the much desired 35 percent affirmative action for women in elective positions may be unrealistic, going by the

outcome of the parties' primaries. She, nonetheless, concedes that there has been an increase in awareness around the issue of women's participation in politics and governance, noting that the number of women aspirants was unprecedented in the recent parties' primaries, when compared with the previous years.

Joy Ezeilo (2006), a UNIFEM Consultant on affirmative action for women, says that, even though about two-thirds of Nigerian voters are women, electoral and power-sharing arrangements fail to consider the interests of the women, thereby rendering them politically powerless. She argues that, the number of female legislators across the country is very low and faults the Electoral Act as "being gender blind and biased'' for not allowing INEC to compel political parties to act in line with the requirements of the 35 percent affirmative action for women.

Thus; Ezeilo (2006), expatiates that the Act tacitly allows candidates to spend huge sums of money during their campaigns, giving the men undue financial advantage over female aspirants. "The Government should adopt special measures and mechanisms for achieving minimum standards for women's participation in political parties and in Government,'' Mrs. Ene Ede, the Executive Director of Equity Advocates, a women's rights group, stresses the need to create a wider room for women's participation in governance.

2.2.10   Mechanisms for Increasing Women's Participation, Representation and Leadership

Experts considered the various mechanisms to increase women's presence in legislatures and discussed the impact of electoral quotas. They noted that in general, *political parties* may develop incentives to attract women to the party such as providing funding to run an election campaign, providing access to networks, training and skills development for women candidates to stand for election, or setting targets within the party for a certain number of executive positions to be held by women.

The most common mechanism for increasing women's participation in politics is an *electoral quota*, which is defined as a mandatory percentage of women candidates for public elections. While in a few countries reserved seats for women existed as far back as the 1950s, the real push for quotas came in the 1990s with the introduction of quotas in Argentina in 1991 and the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action at the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. While quotas were met with great hope by women throughout the world, their history is decidedly mixed. In mapping the implementation of quotas, International IDEA found nearly 100 countries that had either implemented quotas, previously used quotas or were considering implementing quotas. Of these, 10 countries had adopted reserved seat guarantees and30 countries had adopted legislation mandating quotas. In addition, 130 political parties in 61countries had voluntarily adopted quotas. The most up to date information is made widely accessible through International IDEA/Stockholm University Global Database on Electoral Quotas for Women website (www.quotaproject.org). Thus, ''Quotas'' can be effective as evidence showed in countries of the world that practice it, examples of countries where quotas have had immediate and direct effect on women's participation were Argentina, women's participation increased from 5 to 25 and then to 30 percent in the space of two elections. Rwanda is now the world leader in women's representation, with 48.8 percent of women in the Parliament. The increase in women's representation in Rwanda is in part due to the adoption of quotas.

Training and skills development; in order for quotas to be effective, both women and men need access to training and skills development. Given that many women have had little experience with running for political office, it is of utmost importance that training be made readily available to allow women to develop and fine-tune their political skills. Once in office, women may also benefit from leadership training and mentoring to increase efficiency and ensure sustainability. Training programs should also target men, to expose them to the

complexities of gender discrimination and the necessity of and mechanisms for promoting women in public office (Kasamo, 2012).

2.2.11   The Roles of Political Parties cum Law-makers towards promoting Women's Political Participation

Increase the vote-winning potential of your party list by placing both women and men candidates in competitive positions. Parties seen as more inclusive in their leadership have a better opportunity to reach out to their constituents and broaden their base. Short-term financial advantages should be weighed against the long-term credibility of the party as a force for improvement.

- In systems where campaign finance is predominantly controlled by political parties, ensure that women and men candidates have equal access to funding.
- In systems where campaign finance activities are mainly carried out by individual candidates, political parties should assist women candidates by including them in party campaign efforts to raise their public profile and encourage the fundraising activities by women candidates.

Political parties are the major 'gatekeepers' in determining who will be candidates in elected office. They play a critical role in advancing or impeding women's participation in decision-making bodies. Through the process of candidate selection (where candidates are taken on by the party for election), women face a number of obstacles. Men are often viewed as more viable and better candidates and are given preference to female candidates. Assess the impact of the role of money in politics on gender equality, including the gender impact of existing political finance regulations. Ensure that general legislation on gender equality also includes provisions relating to equality in electoral competition, and specific provisions on political party and campaign finance. Donation and/or spending limits could help reduce the funding gap between women and men candidates.

Consider tying the provision of public funding to the equal nomination of women and men candidates, while ensuring that within electoral systems that utilize party-list proportional representation, political parties are unable to circumvent the rules by only nominating women at the bottom of their candidate lists. Consideration of other financial provisions that can help reverse the challenges that women candidates face in raising sufficient funds to make their voices heard.

2.3   Gap in Literature Review/Appraisal

The literatures reviewed in the course of this study exposed some lacuna; scholar's literatures have failed to properly analyze the interrelatedness and linkage between and among the main factors which affect women political participation in Nigeria. In other words, there has been a trend of sole identification and analysis of each factor affecting women's participation rather than the interrelationship between or among them. It is important to note that women participation is a yardstick for democratic consolidation in Nigeria, which will consequently result in an improvement of such outlined factors. In relation to the above, an accurate depiction of how cultural views affect and relate to political participation is the case of Sen. Gbemisola Saraki's aspiration in 2011 and 2015 gubernatorial election in Kwara State, her ambition was not fully achieved despite Gbemisola's economic buoyancy in organizing campaigns, empowering both men and women in the State, discard inferiority complex, we are to note that socio-cultural factor hindered her ambitions as most people disregard women to be their leader and forgetting her intellectual, financial and moral competence as eligible for the honourary post.

Also is the case of Sarah Jubril, who was the only woman out of eleven candidates contesting for the post of presidency (www.inec.org.ng) her courage was not appreciated despite her intellectual competence and leadership traits as at the end of the election even Nigerian women failed to encourage her courage by not supporting her during campaigns and election

period (Makama, 2015). This scenario depicted other factors as attitude of women, political environment, finance and probably the roles of political parties. In addition, Aishatu Jumai Al-Hassan also fails in her gubernatorial election in Taraba State based on varieties of factors which were not documented in reviewing literature such as the attitude of people towards women, attitude of women towards women aspirants, financial constraints, unstable political environment, electoral fraud among others.

It is on this basis that, this research aims to look at the role of political parties and some other factors in enhancing women participation by holding key leadership positions through elective or appointive means. Thus, the research focuses on electoral process that is, nomination of women as flag bearers of the various political parties in Nigeria. And when the party wins what is the quota of women representatives from the political parties.

These above issues trigger the need to fill relevant research gaps and address certain questions:

- What are the factors responsible for women's low political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west local Government areas of Kwara State?

- Is there any significant improvement in women representation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government areas since 1999 to 2015?

- To what extent, has Nigerian political parties geared towards encouraging, sponsoring and promoting women political aspirants towards power acquisition?

2.3.1   Empirical Review of the Literature

The study reviewed some literatures to be able to find empirical issues to research and these are represented in the table below;

Table 1: Empirical Review of Literatures

S/No	Author	Topic	Methodology	Findings	Gaps	Areas of Research on
1.	Oni Samuel .O	Women and Political Participation: A comparative Study of Lagos and Ogun States (1999-2007)	Qualitative and Quantitative including field survey	1. The study reveals that patriarchal system and male domination of the society, which relegates women to subordinate roles has created women's inferiority complex and alienated them from the mainstream politics in Nigeria. 2. In addition, the study also revealed that the stigmatization of women's political participation by fellow women discourages the political participation of women in Lagos and Ogun States.	1. The study failed to properly analyse the interrelatedness and linkages between and among the mere argued factors which affect women political participation in Nigeria. 2. In other words, the study solely identified and analysed each mere argued factors affecting women's participation rather than the interrelationship between or among the mere argued factors.	1. This work will study the selected Local Government in Kwara State and their mere argued factors affecting women's political participation cum the synergy, linkages and interrelatedness among each of the mere argued factors militating against ample women's political participation
2.	Nse Etim Akpan	Men without Women: An Analysis on the 2015 General Election in Nigeria.	Qualitative	1. The research focuses on women participation in the just concluded 2015 General Election. 2. It argued on women's political involvement in the just concluded 2015 General Election.	1. The gap is that the study failed to give an account of past women performance prior to 2015 General Elections. 2. The study also fails to discuss why only few women scaled through the party primaries cum flag	1. The areas to research on are conceptualization of political parties on women participation looking at political parties, Affirmative and women participation, the nexus. 2. Efforts will also be on evaluating the roles of political parties cum law-

				3. His works equally identified and discussed the problems faced by women in their quest to participate in politics.	bearers.	makers towards promoting women's political participation.
3.	Damilola Taiye Agbalajobi	A woman's Participation and the Political Process in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects.	Qualitative	1. His area of research is armed at evaluating women's participation in politics, cum those factors responsible for increase in participation and those that hamper participation. 2. His work also assessed other intervening variables that affects women's increased in political participation and informs others intend to do so. 3. This work therefore, examines the theoretical perspectives of the discrimination and inequality suffered by women.	1. The gap in this study is that no synergy was made between women political participation and the roles of political parties. 2. The study does not give a statistical analysis on whether there is significant improvement in women's participation. 3. No efforts was made to expatiate and discussed vividly feminism as patriarchal cannot be analysed without making reference to feminist theorem.	1. The study will assess, if there is any significant improvement in women's participation in Nigeria. 2. It will also explain and assesses the level of political parties support, render to women who are politically inclined.
4.	Mercy Idika	The participation of women in politics in Nigeria: A case-Study of the Legislative Assembly and the executive 1999-2007	Qualitative	1. The study explore the extend women have participated in politics. 2.The study examine the	1. The study time span was between 1999-2007. Furthermore, the study concentrated solely on the Federal level of	1. This study will analyse and assesses the participation of women at all level of Government in Nigeria and the targeted time

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				numbers of women in politics at the legislative Assembly and at the executive in Nigeria between the period of 1999-2007

3. The study also investigated the major problems militating against women participation in politics. | governance but fail to investigate women participation at the State House of Assembly cum local Government Council.

2. The study merely explained and investigated the major problems militating against women participation in politics but fail to show the significant relationship between the merely hypothesized problems affecting women political participation.

3. The study lack strong regional (state) focus on the level of women political participation. | span will be forth republic (199-2015).

2. To assess if there is any relationship between socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for low women participation in the selected Local Government. |
| 5. | Ugwuegede Patience Nwabunkeonye | Challenges to Women Active Participation in Politics in Nigeria. | Qualitative | 1. The study examined only the challenges Nigerian women face in active politics such as discriminatory socio-cultural and religious practice, lack of finance, under-representation of women in governance, unhealthy political environment, lack of family, fellow women | 1. The gap to fill in this study is to discuss vividly on the problems and prospect of political parties as well as the interrelatedness cum linkages among the mere challenges to women active participation in Nigeria. | 1. To assess the level of participation parties' support, render to women who are politically inclined and showed the relationship between socio-economic and cultural cum other challenges to women active participation in the selected local Government Areas in Kwara State. |

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				and media support, indigenisation of women political aspirants among others challenges.		
6.	Lolita Cigane and Magnus Ohman	Political Finance and Gender Equality Case-Study of Yemen and Tunisia	Qualitative and Descriptive Analysis	1. The study examined the relationship between gender equality and political finance. 2. It reviewed political finance regulations that may impact the chances of women and men to effectively run for elected office.	1. The work is myopic as it only focus solely on finance while other mere argument militating against worthwhile women political participation were left untouched	1. This work will assess others mere argued factors militating against women political participation, which includes; discriminatory socio-cultural and religious practices, inferiority complex among women, historical legacies, political parties, unhealthy political environment, wrong perception of women in policies, lack of family, fellow women and media support.
7.	Adekoya, Helen Odunola (Ph.D.); Akintayo, Johnson Babafemi (Ph.D.); Adegoke, Jesulayomi Lois	The Role of Radio in the Mobilization of Women towards Political Participation: A study of Ogun State Nigeria	Qualitative and Quantitative	1. The study examined the importance of women's participation in politics and how the radio has been used to facilitate and improved participation.	1. The gap here is that the work is limited in scope, lacks historical perspectives on the subject matter (women's political participation)	1. The study will assess the historical background on women's political participation in Nigeria cum the role of mass media towards encouraging ample women's participation in politics.
8.	Olu Awofeso (Ph.D) and Temitayo Isaac Odeyemi	Gender and Political Participation in Nigeria: A Cultural Perspective.	Qualitative and Quantitative	1. The research works unveils the extent at which cultural values have impeded the female folks from	1. The study is short-sighted as it viewed women impede only from the cultural argument cum perspectives.	1. This study will analyse women political impede from political parties to others mere challenges militating against women

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				participating in politics in Nigeria.		active political participation.
9.	Nigra, Christopher Ochanja	Women in Politics and Decision Making in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospect	Qualitative	1. The research examined the challenges and prospects of women in politics and decision making in Nigeria. 2.Furthermore, the research also reveals that problems that account for the comparatively low presence of women in politics and decision making in Nigeria, includes lack of funds, negative perception of politics by women, low self-confidence, cultural and religious barriers, political violence, low level of educational attainment and marginalizatio n in political party leadership.	1. The study data does not show whether there is any significant improvement in women political parties from 1999-2011, despite the statistical comparism constructed in his work.	1. To assess if there is any significant improvement in women's participation in Offa, Barutten and Ilorin West Local Government Council from 1999-2015
10.	Eme, Okechukw u Innocent; Onyishi Anthony O and Nwaoha Chimaraok e	Women Marginalization in Electoral Politics in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective.	Qualitative and Quantitative	1. His works analyses marginalizatio n of women in decision-making and the challenges encountered by female politicians on their way to political participation in Nigeria.	1. The research work did not pick a particular state in Nigeria as a unit of analysis	1. The research tends to assess low women political participation in Nigeria cum political parties support, render to women who are politically inclined.

| | | | | 2. He also contends that the power relations that have presented women from political activism operated in many levels of society, from the most personal to the highly public.

3. Furthermore, he argued that the gender uneven electoral politics in Nigeria is as a result of men majority in political party hierarchy, which places them at a vantage position to influence party's internal politics in term of selecting or electing candidates for electrons and political patronage.

4. The study also notes that socio-cultural, economic, political organizational, legal and political factors have be combined to shape the home-centred perception of Nigerian women and explains the | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| 11. | Emelle Blomgren | Women and Political Participation: A minor Field Study on Hindrances for Women's Political Participation in Georgia | Qualitative and Quantitative | 1. The research work examine the hindrances for women to participate in politics in order to facilitate a deeper understanding of the known phenomenon of under-representation of women in politics as the study main focus was Georgia.

2. In addition, the researcher also argued that major obstacles for women to participate in politics are public opinion, the electoral system and the nomination process in political parties in Georgia. | 1. The work does not give a comprehensive analyses of the Georgia women performance at both the executive and the legislative cum appointive and electives positions in all Governmental offices. | 1. The study will evaluate the performance of women at the executive and legislative arms of Government; including in the appointment and electives positions in Nigeria from 1999-2015. |

Source: self (2018)

The above table explained in detail the empirical reviewed literatures and as a result of the reviewed works of the scholars stated in the table, some gaps were identified which helps in strengthening this study.

2.4   Theoretical Framework

Several theories were provided as valuable framework for conceptualizing Women political participation in Nigeria. Thus, the focus of this study includes patriarchal theory and the feminist theory.

2.4.1   Patriarchal Theory

The word "patriarchy" existed before the current resurgence of the women's movement and women's studies courses, the concept has been recreated in the past two decades to analyse the origins and conditions of men's oppression of women (Kamarae, 1992). Originally the theory describes the power of the father as head of household, the term 'patriarchy' has been used within post 1960s feminism to refer to the systematic organization of male supremacy and female subordination (Kamarae, 1992; Stacey, 1993; Aina, 1998; etc.). The term has been defined as a system of male authority which oppresses women through its social, political and economic institutions.

Thus, Sir Henry Maine was the chief advocacy and profounder of the patriarchal theory. He defined it as theory of the origin of society in separate families, held together by the authority and protection of the eldest male descendant. Hence, the patriarchal theory traces the origin of the state in a patriarchal family; other profounder of the theory were Millet (1969) and Beauvoir (1953), In addition, they also explained the theory as described in the assertion below:

> Patriarchal theory of the state is nothing but an expansion of the family. In the beginning there was a husband and wife and children. The father was the chief controlling authority. With the passage of time, the family expanded and changed into clan which further developed into a tribe. This tribe occupied a village, each having a chief. Many such villages united in a single community, which was nearly self-sufficient.

In addition to the above explanations, 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, inferiority and legitimized by differences in gender and generation. Patriarchy structure has been a major feature of the traditional society. It is a structure of a set of social relations with material base which enables men to dominate women (Stacey 1993; Kramarae 1992; Lerner 1986; Humm 1989; Aina 1998).

Consequently, patriarchy as conveyed by Kamla Bhasin (1993) refers to rules controlled by the 'male figure' or patriarch. The word 'patriarch' was initially used to describe characters in a male dominated family where women, children, slaves, and domestic helpers were under the domination of the male figure. Today, the term 'patriarch' is widely used to describe male domination and a power relationship between the dominating male and the subordinate female.

Patriarchy   is a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women. The material base of patriarchy is men's control over women labour power. That control is maintained by excluding women from access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting women's sexuality. Men exercise their control in receiving personal service work from women, in not having to do housework or rear children, in having access to women's bodies for sex, and in feeling powerful and being powerful. The crucial elements of patriarchy as we currently experience them are heterosexual marriage, female child rearing and house work, women's economic dependence on men reinforced by arrangements in the labour market), the state, the numerous institutions based on social relations among men-clubs, sports, unions, professions, universities, churches, corporation's armies (Hartman, 1997).

Meanwhile, political manifestation of patriarchy is men's control exerted control over women's political aspirations, and control of women's 'free' choices in their lives. As these can be recognized by acts of discrimination that cause various forms of disparities such as in

education, power acquisition, inheritance, work opportunities and strategic career paths, salaries and wages among others. Be that as it may be, it is a system of social stratification and differentiation on the basis of sex, which provides material advantages to males while simultaneously placing severe constraints on the roles and activities of females (Aina 1998:6).

In addition to the above explanations, the tradition depicted that men do not participate in domestic work including child rearing – such tasks are considered to be the exclusive domain of women. Males are classed as having the following qualities: strength, vigour, virile/powerful courage, self-confidence and the ability to meet the outside world; that is animal and human intruders head on and deal with it effectively. These qualities were reflected in the kinds of work that men engaged in. Men were responsible for much of what was thought of as "heavy" labour. Men in short provided for their families (Bernard 1981; Aweda 1984; Carrigan et al, 1987; Stock 1995; Silberschmidt, 1999).

By contrast, to see patriarchy as an "ideological mode" is to see ideas as sustaining themselves. The struggle for the liberation of women then ceases to be linked to the struggle against material exploitation which can tie in with the mundane concerns of millions of working women and men. Instead it becomes what Alexander and Taylor call for – a cultural struggle to change people's ideas in isolation from changing society. It is easy to see from this how ideas about the autonomy of the women's movement develop.

In modern or contemporary society, the entry of women into the public domain is embedded within the subordinating structure. Aside from separation of work type, women also receive different salaries to men, and do not have equal career opportunities (Collin, 2008). Moreover, there are numerous companies that limit the access of employment for married women. On the other hand, a single woman may experience stricter controls wills, even though violence towards women in both the public and private domain is uncontrollable. In

other words, women have entered the public domain but under unfair circumstances; despites women contribution in the workplace, and in state cum cultural institutions, still they remain inferior. The patriarchal practices in the private and public domains are connected by a continuous line; they are not separate and the relationship is reciprocal.

Some women have recognised a contradiction here, and so have tried to develop, more recently, materialist theories of patriarchy. They argue that men (all men) benefit from women's oppression, and that they are able to do so because of the fundamental biological differences between the sexes. Here lies the basis for patriarchy. As Roberta Hamilton puts it:

> "The women activist has addressed their advocacy to patriarchal ideology, that patriarchal mode which defines the system of male domination and female subjugation in any society''.

According to Brittan, Patriarchal is the masculine ideology that justifies and naturalises male domination. As such, the theory showed the fundamental difference between men and women cum political dominance of men in the public and private spheres (Brittan 1989:4). In the works of Lindsay and Miescher (2003), and Schmidt (2004), they opted that different groups of men were engaged in struggles with the colonial state, with the capitalist economic sector, and in the domestic arena – in the first two instances, they fought to preserve or gain political and economic power, while, in the third they attempted to maintain patriarchal dominance in the household.

Walby contended that women were segregated in the private domain and public domain. In the private sphere, the area of patriarchy is the household, where the patriarch exerts direct control over women both in the reproductive process (biological and social) and the household's domestic environment. Meanwhile, in the public arena, patriarchy finds its footing in structures other than the household without abandoning the patriarch's control as practiced in the household.

Walby defines patriarchy as "systems and practices that shape the social structure where men oppress and exploit women." He viewed the existence of patriarchy in two domaisn (private and public domains). Patriarchy in the private domain as discussed by Walby is represented by men as fathers or husbands, who, by subordinating women, gain economic-political and social-cultural benefits. The exclusion of women in other areas would not be sustained without the patriarchal structure in the household. Respect or control over women's resources is done collectively instead of individually by the patriarchs. The household is the site of patriarchal oppression but the control is not as durable as patriarchal power in the public domain. (Walby, 1982)

The second aspect of private and public patriarchy is the institutions in the respective domains. This shows women's transformation from being individuals to being part of a collective, from participating in private to public spheres, from exclusion to segregation. Walby classifies patriarchal structures or areas where women are subordinate into six institutions or categories: the state, the household, paid employment, tradition, sexuality, and violence. In terms of paid employment, women are mobilized from their exclusion in the household, working without wages, to a paid employment mechanism that segregates. In the household domain, women undergo lifelong restrictions and still today are reduced simply to their reproductive function. Cultural institutions in the meantime attempt to end women's exclusion, yet allow women's subordination to linger. In state institutions, from being excluded from state affairs women are now allowed to entering although in subordinate positions (Walby, 1982).

Kamla Bhasin, (1999), is of the opinion that the theory emphasizes on the male control over females in all aspects of economy-politics and social-culture through religious institutions, households or families, judicial systems, political systems and institutions, the media, and education systems. In a society-constructed system, patriarchy is dispersed and shaped

differently by different historical eras, social systems, classes, and races, yet maintains a universal principle of operation.

Hartmann defines patriarchy as "a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence or solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women." She further argues that "the material base upon which patriarchy rests lies most fundamentally in men's control over women's labour power;

> It does not rest solely on childbearing in the family, but on all the social structures which enable men to control women's labour". "Control is maintained by denying women access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting women's sexuality".

The common contention to all theories of patriarchy is that male domination has remained the same, regardless of other changes in society. Thus patriarchy endures and the struggle against it is something apart from the struggle against capitalism. In the biological theories, the problem is reduced to that of the differences of men from women. Logically the solution is the eradication or removal of these creatures. These arguments are fairly easy to dismiss and have little influence in Nigeria at any rate.

2.4.2   Justification of the Theory for the Study (Political System)

The above analysis and explanations depicted the power of the male permeates everything; it is diffuse and concrete, symbolic and literal, universal and expressed with local variations which obscure its universality. Women are thought of as a sub- group in a man's world. Relating the theory to the issue under investigation, Nigerian society is a patriarchy one where men dominate everything, including the political arena. Women are marginalized in national and local politics and more generally in the public and private life of our nation despite their numerical strength (over 50%) in term of the population (NPC, 2006). Women were conferred with the subordinate position relative to men's and as such; they are expected

to play second fiddle roles in the society (Anifowose, 2004; Agbalajobi, 2010; ArowoloandAluko, 2010; Uhunmwuangho, 2011).

Despite the constitutional right every citizenry, men and women are entitled to the rights to be elected as people's representatives in parliament even though the number of elected women is still significantly low. Cultural institutions at present seem to promote efforts to increase women's participation however; they still appear to regard women's positions as inferior. 8. Inter-parliament research10 identifies gender stereotyping that actively persists within state policies and political institutions. 'Politics' still bears the negative stigma of being unsuitable for women, a notion that is maintained by educational, religious, and media institutions. As a result, even though the country's political system has opened its doors to women, enabling women to participate in elections for parliamentary representatives, women are still assigned to subordinate positions determined by the state's patriarchy.

Despite the 30% quota to ensure women's representation in political institutions, patriarchal tradition does not immediately accept it as state policy. Women are still required to fight to overcome patriarchal obstacles in order to achieve the 30% quota. To illustrate women's strategies to overcome patriarchal state constraints. There is a National Gender Policy that commits to ensuring Affirmative Action for women, however, women's representation remains below the 35% target. Suffice to mention that, the manifestos and constitutions of political parties in Nigeria rarely mention Affirmative Action for women, and when they do, their commitments are lower than the bench mark set by regional and International conventions.

Women Participation in Nigerian politics is an issue of great importance. Women have been put at the background politically for years; this has engendered a consciousness of women under-representation in public life. In order to improve the socio-political status of women in Nigeria, numerous women Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's), have sprung up. They

have embarked on campaigns to encourage women's participation in politics, although in reality, this campaign has not gone beyond the conference halls of hotels and pages of newspapers that is it has not actually reached the grassroots. One of the strategies is to soften the ground for the female contestants by agitating for some concession. This is called affirmative action.

The statistical diagram below analyzed the theoretical framework on the patriarchal nature of the Nigeria Society using the numbers of women in the Nigeria National Assembly from 1999 to 2015

Table 2: Statistics on Women Representation in Nigeria, National Assembly 1999-2015

Years	Senate (109)	House of Representatives (360)
1999	3 (2.8%)	12 (3.3%)
2003	4 (3.7%)	21 (5.8%)
2007	9 (8.3%)	26 (7.2%)
2011	7(6.4%)	25 (6.9%)
2015	7 (6.2%)	14(5.2%)

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2.4.3   Critique of Patriarchal Theory

Theories of patriarchy are not in fact theories of women's liberation. Instead of starting with an assessment of the material position of women in capitalist society, they start with crude biological assessments of the positions of men and women. According to Lewis et al (2002) patriarchal theory lacks way forward for women's liberation. Thus, it was out of the conflict between this economic and social reality that the ideas of women's liberation sprang. Women somehow felt that they were as good as any man and the reality of their lives was that they

were indeed usually doing more than most men, being burdened in the home as well (Lewis et al, 2002).

In the early years of the women's movement, the feeling was that not that everything not only could change, but was changing. The aftermath of 1968's left a large radicalised layer open to the ideas of the women's movement. Many of the ideas put forward by women inside the women's movement (overwhelmingly the educated professionals) struck a chord with working class women (Ohman, 2001).

Today things are rather different. The lack of general economic struggles of the last five years and the lack of political confidence within the working class has resulted in widespread demoralisation among sections of those radicalised in the 60s and early 70s. The women's movement appears to have suffered this particularly acutely. The feeling is that nothing can be done, so all we can do is sort out our own ideas. Consequently, arguments about changing the whole of society are replaced by exhortations to change our own lifestyles. Instead of activity we are confronted with an abstract moralist which demands that the small number of men (and women) who accept the ideas of women's liberation purge themselves of 'deviations' as a substitute for changing society. The logic is that if we change the attitudes of men we can change the world – as though it were men, not capitalism, which is the problem. It is from these ideas that the theory of patriarchy has developed and which now in turn reinforces these ideas (John, 2007).

The patriarchal theory pointed no way forward to how women can get liberated. Instead it demands theoretical correctness from the few while accepting inaction by the many. Some women today are taking the theory to its conclusion and arguing for separate lifestyles within capitalism – separate homes, single sex schools, and separate social lives. Not only do these 'solutions' fail to see the connection between material being and consciousness, and how that consciousness changes, but they are also profoundly elitist. They assume a certain level of

income, which means a certain level of housing and a certain choice about where one lives, sends one's children to school and so on. For most women the choice simply isn't there. When Hartmann talks about the divorce rate evening up between the classes, she doesn't consider how miserable life was for women and men of the working classes who for generations couldn't divorce. Even today where divorce is relatively simple to obtain, there must be hundreds of thousands of couples who stay together out of material constraint (they can't afford two mortgages, the council will not rehouse if one leaves the marital home, there is virtually no cheap private accommodation). For the mass of the working class, such solutions are simply Utopian and we should treat them as such (Lewis, et al, 2002).

Conclusion

The exercise of women's power, according to Farzana Bari 2012 is a social asset, and political capacity needs to be enhanced continuously. Thus, she connoted that women's passage from the private to the public realm in politics is like that of a path through a forest; a test of women's capabilities to go over and above patriarchal obstacles. In order to overcome the constraints, women, collectively and individually, must use various strategies to unlock the previously closed patriarchal state arena in order to participate. Although in the short term access into politics has not proven to be effective in eliminating patriarchal systems in the state, we may regard the experiences of the women as lessons learned for other women, and as valuable insights on how to gradually negate the state's patriarchy.

2.4.4   Feminism Theory

The term feminism can be used to describe a political, cultural or economic movement aimed at establishing equal rights and legal protection for women. Feminism involves political and sociological theories and philosophies concerned with issues of gender difference, as well as a movement that advocates gender equality for women and campaigns for women's rights and interests. Although the terms "feminism" and "feminist" did not gain widespread use until the

1970s, they were already being used in the public parlance much earlier; for instance, Katherine Hepburn speaks of the "feminist movement" in the 1942 film Woman of the Year (Pratto et al, 1997).

Thus, other prominent founders of the theory were Betty Friedan, (1921) *An America Feminist and social critic*; Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986) *French philosopher, novelist, and feminist*; Jean-Paul Sartre; *the Second Sex 1949*; Kate Millett, (1934) *American feminist theorist and artist cum founder of Radical Feminism*; Germaine Greer, (1939): *An Australian feminist and cultural critic*; Juliet Mitchell, (1940) *British feminist and psychoanalyst*. Jesse Bernard (1903-1996); Janet Saltzman Chafetz(1974) *masculine/feminine; feminist sociology (1988); Gender Equity, (1990)*; Heidi Hartmann, (1981) *The unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism Research professor on women's studies, George Washington University*; Rae Lesser Blumberg, (1984) *An American Theorist of Gender and Stratification.*

However, feminism has been defined as advocacy for social equality for men and women. Feminism is generally opposed to patriarchy and sexism (Igube, 2004). In addition, Abdulkadir (2003) define feminism as an ideology which seeks to assert the principle that women should have political, economic, and social rights equal to those of men. It is a movement that entrenches these rights through the emancipation of women, liberating them from class and gender exploitation and oppression.

Consequently, Feminists advocate for equal rights for men and women in all spheres of life. Feminist ideology means agitation for women's economic, social, legal, political, educational rights which will lead to their empowerment vis-a-vis development. Indeed, the concept has been defined as a collection of movements aimed at defining, establishing, and defending equal political, economic, and social rights and equal opportunities for women (Adadevoh, 2001). Its concepts overlap with those of women's rights. An examination of the above definition shows that feminism is also a movement or advocacy which campaigns for

women's rights and interests. Iwuchukwu (2006) in his contention, define feminism as the belief in the importance of gender equality invalidating the idea of gender hierarchy as a socially constructed concept. Feminism is mainly focused on women's issues, but because feminism seeks gender equality, some feminists argue that men's liberation is therefore a necessary part of feminism, and that men are also harmed by sexism and gender roles. Feminist scholars have always presented meticulous exposition on sexual inequalities and patterns of feminine science, all of which focus on questions of different oppressions and injustices (Nwagwu and Ifeanacho, 2009 in Fatile et al, 2012).

In whatever manner feminism displays or distinguishes itself, what is constant in all its shackles is the determination of every group to uplift womanhood and strive towards liberation and emancipation of women (Ezeigbo, 1996). Furthermore, Feminist theory also focuses on the promotion of women's rights and interests. Politics is grounded in the nature of society in which it takes place. (Fatile et al, 2012 cited in Osaghae, 1997,) made one of the elaborate attempts at explaining the political behavioral and institutional patterns of societies in terms of Weberian postulations on individuals and collective values embedded in their culture. The central thrust of Osaghe's perspective is on the impact of the country –wide premium placed on the male-female role in politics.

> Feminism has altered predominant perspectives in a wide range of areas within Western society, ranging from culture to law. Feminist activists have campaigned for women's legal rights (rights of contract, property rights, voting rights); for women's right to bodily integrity and autonomy, for abortion rights, and for reproductive rights (including access to contraception and quality prenatal care); for protection of women and girls from domestic violence, sexual harassment and rape; for workplace rights, including maternity leave and equal pay; against misogyny; and against other forms of gender-specific discrimination against women.

Based on the above assertion, Feminists and scholars have divided the movement's history into three "waves". The first wave refers mainly to women's suffrage movements of the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (mainly concerned with women's right to vote). The second wave refers to the ideas and actions associated with the women's liberation movement beginning in the 1960s (which campaigned for legal and social rights for women). The third wave refers to a continuation of, and a reaction to the perceived failures of, second-wave feminism, beginning in the 1990s.

The feminist movement has effected change in Western society, including women's suffrage; greater access to education; more nearly equitable pay with men; the right to initiate divorce proceedings and "no fault" divorce; and the right of women to make individual decisions regarding pregnancy (including access to contraceptives and abortion); as well as the right to own property.

Nigerian feminists have contributed to the political and socio-economic development of the Nigerian women. They have achieved this through the formation of women liberation movements such as: Women in Nigeria (WIN). This organization originated from the interest generated in Women's affairs by the First Annual Women in Nigerian Conference held in 1982. Members of WIN believe that the liberation of women cannot be fully achieved outside the context of the liberation of the oppressed and the poor majority of the people of Nigeria (Igube, 2004). He further noted the objectives of WIN to include: Promoting the study of conditions of women in Nigeria with the aim of combating discriminatory and sexist practices in the family, work place and in the wider society; Defending the rights of women with reference to the Nigerian constitution and United Nations Human Rights Conventions; Fighting against sexual harassment and abuse in the family and other spheres; Forming links and working with organizations and groups fighting sex and class abuse; Ensuring for women equal access to education; Information dissemination on women issues; Fighting against poverty among women, ensuring equal access of both men and women to economic opportunities; and Fighting for

social justice (Igube, 2004). Yet, another organization worthy of mentioning that has identified itself with women's liberation movement is the organization known as Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA). Sani (2001) posits that WRAPA was registered in 1999 and is a non-Governmental, non-profit making organization set up with the aim of promoting and improving social justice especially for women. WRAPA renders services to women in areas of legal aid and counseling, access to education for the girl-child, adult literacy and civic education towards sensitization and mobilization for the uplifting of their fundamental human rights and advocacy for law and reforms in that regard (Igube, 2004). A critical analysis of all the above discussed women organizations suggest that they are all geared towards women emancipation as well as increased involvement in politics. However, in spite of all the previous efforts of the Former First Lady Dame Patient Goodluck Jonathan through her pet project –Women for Change and Development Initiative (WCDI) to affect same, it is of knowledge that women are yet to translate their numerical strength to electoral victory. The interface between Nigerian Politics and Gender Issues in Nigeria, many women register as party members but do not regularly participate in party meetings and caucuses where important decisions are taken. They dreaded such party congregations because of fear of violence and the nocturnal character of the meetings, which they believe, only dirty and irresponsible women can attend (Agbolahan, 2016).

2.4.5 Element of Feminism Theory (Movements and ideologies)

Several sub-movements of feminist ideology have developed over the years; some of the major subtypes are listed below. These movements often overlap, and some feminists identify themselves with several types of feminist thought such as;

Socialist and Marxist

Socialist feminism connects the oppression of women to Marxist ideas about exploitation, oppression and labor. Socialist feminists think unequal standing in both the workplace and

the domestic sphere holds women down (Pratto, 1999). Socialist feminists see prostitution, domestic work, childcare and marriage as ways in which women are exploited by a patriarchal system that devalues women and the substantial work they do. Socialist feminists focus their energies on broad change that affects society as a whole, rather than on an individual basis. They see the need to work alongside not just men, but all other groups, as they see the oppression of women as a part of a larger pattern that affects everyone involved in the capitalist system.

Marx felt when class oppression was overcome; gender oppression would vanish as well. According to some socialist feminists, this view of gender oppression as a sub-class of class oppression is naive and much of the work of socialist feminists has gone towards separating gender phenomena from class phenomena. Some contributors to socialist feminism have criticized these traditional Marxist ideas for being largely silent on gender oppression except to subsume it underneath broader class oppression. Other socialist feminists many of whom belong to Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party, two long-lived American organizations, point to the classic Marxist writings of Frederick Engels and August Bebel as a powerful explanation of the link between gender oppression and class exploitation (Sidanius, et al, 1999).

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism considers the male controlled capitalist hierarchy, which it describes as sexist, as the defining feature of women's oppression. Radical feminists believe that women can free themselves only when they have done away with what they consider an inherently oppressive and dominating patriarchal system. Radical feminists feel that there is a male-based authority and power structure and that it is responsible for oppression and inequality, and that as long as the system and its values are in place, society will not be able to be

reformed in any significant way. Some radical feminists see no alternatives other than the total uprooting and reconstruction of society in order to achieve their goals.

Over time, a number of sub-types of Radical feminism have emerged, such as Cultural feminism, Separatist feminism and Anti-pornography feminism. Cultural feminism is the ideology of a "female nature" or "female essence" that attempts to revalidate what they consider undervalued female attributes. It emphasizes the difference between women and men but considers that difference to be psychological, and to be culturally constructed rather than biologically innate. Its critics assert that because it is based on an essentialist view of the differences between women and men and advocates independence and institution building, it has led feminists to retreat from politics to "life-style" One such critic, Alice Echols (a feminist historian and cultural theorist), credits Red stockings member Brooke Williams with introducing the term cultural feminism in 1975 to describe the de-politicisation of radical feminism.

Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism asserts the equality of men and women through political and legal reform. It is an individualistic form of feminism, which focuses on women's ability to show and maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Liberal feminism uses the personal interactions between men and women as the place from which to transform society. According to liberal feminists, all women are capable of asserting their ability to achieve equality, therefore it is possible for change to happen without altering the structure of society. Issues important to liberal feminists include reproductive and abortion rights, sexual harassment, voting, education, "equal pay for equal work", affordable childcare, affordable health care, and bringing to light the frequency of sexual and domestic violence against women.

2.4.6 Justification of Feminism Theory

African women, especially in Nigeria are exploited and marginalized. Despite, the fact that women constitute about 56% of the total population (NPC, 2011), they are discriminated against in the political process. It would appear that the marginalization of Nigerian women is more pronounced in the democratization processes. Women in Nigeria constitute more than two - thirds of the country's 70% adult non literate population while they hold less than five percent (5%) of the important decision making positions (UNDP HDI, 2009). The present National Assembly in Nigeria has an appallingly low average of 7.05percent of women in both Senate and House of Representatives (Fatile et al, 2012).

The marginalization of women in the parliaments' leadership manifests deep bias in their in-house politics. Besides competitive elective positions, women have also been reduced to sideline actors in appointive posts at all levels of governance. At the federal level, Obasanjo's second term cabinet has only6 or 12 percent women out of 49 ministers, the rest were men. Only three of the six were given substantive cabinet posts. None of the three was put in-charge of key ministries such as Petroleum, Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs and Defense. One of the three, (Mrs. Mobolaji Osomo) was sacked by the President for administrative impropriety on Government's housing scheme, thereby reducing women slots to 5 or 10 percent ministers. And out of11 Senior Special Advisers to the President, only 1 or 9.1 percent was a female. Appointment to ambassadorial positions and into the 36 states' cabinets and boards of public parastatals and corporations at the Federal and State levels are also lacking in gender justice and consciousness (Ajayi, 2005 cited in Fatile, 2012)

The Nigerian constitution of 1999 Section 40 states the following: Every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons, and in particular he may form or belong to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interests: Provided that the provisions of this section shall not derogate

from the powers conferred by this Constitution on the Independent National Electoral Commission with respect to political parties to which that Commission does not accord recognition. Section 42(1) of the same constitution states further that: A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such person be subjected to any form of discrimination. This further confirms that you can go to court to seek redress if as a woman your franchise is violated and that the constitution as a whole prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. Section 77 of the Constitution also states: (1) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, every Senatorial district or Federal constituency established in accordance with the provisions of this Part of this Chapter shall return member who shall be directly elected to the Senate or the House of Representatives in such manner as may be prescribed by an act of the National Assembly. (2) Every citizen of Nigeria, who has attained the age of eighteen years residing in Nigeria at the time of the registration of voters for purposes of election to a legislative house, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter for that election.

From the foregoing, it appears that there is nothing in the constitution, which excludes the participation of women in politics in Nigeria. Yet when it comes to actual practice, there is extensive discrimination. Few and almost insignificant number of women were elected into various posts in the 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 general elections held in the country. Men dominate most public offices till date. Female gubernatorial candidates have emerged but none has ever won and same goes for the Presidency. Legislative representation has witnessed the presence of women yet they remain under-represented when compared to their male counterparts. Following two decades of military rule statistics revealed that women only secured 3% representation in contested positions in 1999, 4% in 2003, while in 2007 they made only 6%. Few and almost insignificant number of women were elected into various posts in the past four general elections held in the country between1999 and 2011.

The result of the survey shows that no woman was elected as governor of any state in the federation. We only had few women as members of Houses of Assembly across the country and as members of the upper house (Senate) and lower house (House of Representative) of the National Assembly. According to the figures collated from the database of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), records shows that a total 7160candidates (men and women) contested in the April elections. Of this number, only 628 women participated. Out of the 25 candidates' that participated for the office of the President, only 1is a woman while 5 women contested for the office of the Vice President. From the table we could see that, 8(7.34%) out of the 109senator's elected in 2011 were women compared to 9(8.26%) in 2007, while only 12(3.33) out of 360members of House of Representatives are women, down from 25(6.94) in 2007. Out of Nigeria's 36states only Only-Lagos state voted in a woman deputy governor, and no woman was elected as governor. In a related development the first and only female Speaker of the House of Assembly in Nigeria, Mrs. Margaret Ichen was frustrated out of office in Benue State. Women have not received much support from the men because those who have found themselves at one position of authority or the other are frustrated out of office or forced to step down. Different reasons are attributed for the low level of involvement of women in politics. This includes; Gender roles – Patriarchy; Virility deficiency – women's conception of politics; Lack of economic incentives (Financial backing); Discriminatory customs and laws etc. (Nkoyo, 2002 and UNESCO, 1999).

There is a National Gender Policy that commits to ensure Affirmative Action for women, however, women's representation remains below the 35% target. Suffice to mention that, the manifestos and constitutions of political parties in Nigeria rarely mention Affirmative Action for women, and when they do, their commitments are lower than the bench mark set by regional and International conventions.

Women Participation in Nigerian politics is an issue of great importance. Women have been put at the background politically for years; this has engendered the consciousness of women under-representation in public life. In order to improve the socio-political status of women from the table we could see that 8 (i.e. 7.34%) out of the 109 senator's elected in 2011 were women compared to 9 (i.e. 8.26%) in 2007, while only 12 (i.e. 3.33) outs of 360members of House of Representatives are women, down from 25 (i.e. 6.94) in 2007.

The forth republic which began in 1999 saw women taking a similar low participation in the Nigeria's political process. The 1999 general elections saw only 181 positions won by women out of the 11, 881 available positions throughout the country (Luka, 2011:28). The elections saw only five (i.e. 4.6%) women out of 109 senators elected into the Senate while 13 (i.e.3.6%) women were elected to the House of Representatives out of 360 seats (i.e. 6.3) percent women representation in the national parliament (Ajayi, 2007:139). While there were 36 gubernatorial seats, no female featured. Nigeria had only one female deputy Governor – Chief Kofoworola Akerele-Bucknor, deputy governor of Lagos State (1999 -2003), and of the 990 seats available for the States House of Assembly in the country only 12 (i.e. 1.21%) women were elected (Adu, 2008:27). At the local level, out of the 774 local Government chairpersons across the nation, only 9 were women and only 143 out of the 8,700 councilors were women (Babatunde, 2003; Anifowose, 2004:210).

The poor performance of women in this election was the basis for the national summit for all women politicians organized by the International Human Rights Law Group, Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) and Gender and Development Action (GADA) held on June 28, 2002, in Abuja. The objective of the summit was to enhance women's active participation in Nigerian politics (Akiyode-Afolabi and Arogundade, 2003:64).

Despite all efforts geared at improving women's participation in politics in Nigeria, the 2003 elections did not witness any significant improvement. In the elections that was held that year (2003), only 21 (i.e. 6.1%) women out of the 360 members worn seats in the House of Representatives. Similarly, out of 109 senatorial seats, only 3 (i.e. 2.7 %) women were elected to the Senate, which is just 8.8 percent women representation in the national parliament (UNDP Report, 2003:47; Ojo, 2003:16). Out of the 36 gubernatorial seats available, no woman was elected and of the 990 seats available for the States House of Assembly in the country, 38 (3.84%) women were elected (Adu, 2008:27). In 2007 only 25 (i.e. 6.9%) women out of the 358 seats were elected into the House of Representatives and 9 (i.e. 8.3%) women out of the 109 seats were elected to the Senate, that is 7.3 percent women representation in the national parliament while, out of the 36 gubernatorial seats available, no woman was elected and out of the 990 seats available for the States House of Assembly in the country, 54 (i.e. 5.5%) women were elected (Nigeria CEDAW NGO Coalition Shadow Report, 2008:10).

The records from the database of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) showed that in the 2007 elections a total of 7160 candidates (both men and women) contested in the April elections. Of this number, only 628 women representing 8.8% of the total candidates that participated. A total of 3141 candidates contested for seats in the National Assembly (799 candidates for the senate and 2342 candidates for the House of Representatives). Of this number, only 209 or 6.7% were women (59 or 7.4% women for the Senate and 150 or 6.4% women for House of Representative) (Okocha, 2007). The analysis above indicates a 2%, 4% and 6% women representation in 1999, 2003 and 2007 respectively. However, the trend shows an improvement in women's representation. This was due to the conscious affirmative efforts of the Obasanjo's administration to involve more women in his political administration (Luka, 2011:29). As a result, political parties took a

decision to waive for the women the payment of pre-registration levies for political aspirants in the country. In addition the national summit for all women politicians organized by the International Human Rights Law Group, Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) and Gender and Development Action (GADA) held on June 28, 2002 in Abuja with the objective of enhancing women's active participation in Nigerian politics and the awareness campaigns by these and other gender-related organizations and NGOs spurred women in the federation to vie for political candidature in the 2003 and 2007 general elections (Akiyode-Afolabi and Arogundade, 2003:64).

In the history of Nigeria, there has been no woman ever elected as a state governor, while only 6 women have ever been elected as deputy Governors (from Lagos, Ogun, Osun, Imo, Plateau and Anambra States). Thus, the perception that democracy would automatically boost women political participation has not been validated after seventeen years of the return to civilian rule. Nigeria still falls short of the desired result of giving females the opportunities and access to opportunities to advance socially, economically and politically ((Ojo, 2003: Babatunde, 2003; The Nigeria CEDAW NGO Coalition Shadow Report, 2008:3, Adu, 2008:27).

Consequently, in 2011, the National Assembly had seven (7) (i.e. 6.4%) female members and twenty-five (25) (i.e. 6.9%) female members in the Lower House. In 2015, the National Assembly has Eight (8) (i.e. 6.4%) female members in the Senate and (19) (i.e. 5.2%) female in the House of Representatives, the table below illustrates the above explanation.

Table 3: Statistics on Women Representation

Years	Senate (109)	House of Representatives (360)	Governorship 36	Deputy Governorship 36	State Houses of Assembly 990
1999	3 (2.8%)	12 (3.3%)	0%	-0%	12 (1.21%)
2003	4 (3.7%)	21 (5.8%)	0%	2 (5.55%)	38 (3.84%)
2007	9 (8.3%)	26 (7.2%)	0%	6 (16.6%)	54 (5.45%)
2011	7(6.4%)	25 (6.9%)	0%	1 (0.09%)	68 (6.9%)
2015	7 (6.2%)	14(5.2%)	0%	4 (16.6%)	-

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2.4.7 Critique of the theory

Feminist theory is an extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical fields. It encompasses work in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, economics, women's studies, literary criticism, art history, psychoanalysis and philosophy. Feminist theory aims to unravel gender inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. While providing a critique of these social and political relations, much of feminist theory focuses on the promotion of women's rights and interests. Themes explored in feminist theory include discrimination, stereotyping, objectification (especially sexual objectification), oppression and patriarchy.

The American literary critic and feminist Elaine Showalter describes the phased development of feminist theory. The first she calls "feminist critique," in which the feminist reader examines the ideologies behind literary phenomena. The second Showalter calls "gynocriticism," in which the "woman is producer of textual meaning" including "the psychodynamics of female creativity; linguistics and the problem of a female language; the trajectory of the individual or collective female literary career and literary history." The last phase she calls "gender theory," in which the "ideological inscription and the literary effects of the sex/gender system" are explored. The scholar TorilMoi criticized this model, seeing it

as an essentialist and deterministic model for female subjectivity that fails to account for the situation of women outside the West.

Self Determination Theory

Self-determination was developed by Edward L. Deci and Richard M. Ryan. The theory is a micro theory of human motivation and personality that concern peoples inherent growth tendencies and innate psychological needs. It is concerned the motivation behind choices people make without external influence and interference.

Self-determination theory focuses on the degree to which an individual's behavior is self-motivated and self-determined. Self-determination theory believe that human nature shows persistent positive features, that it repeatedly shows effort, agency and commitment in their life which, the theory calls inherent growth tendency.

The theory identifies three key psychological needs that are believed to be both innate and universal:

Autonomy

Autonomy is considered to be the most important of the three psychological needs. Autonomy, in this context, does not imply working without constraints. Autonomy is defined by SDT as acting with a sense of consent and volition. Research indicates that intrinsic motivation is positively impacted when employees feel at least some level of autonomy in task selection, especially when feedback is considered non-controlling. Additionally, research indicates that contingent-based rewards have a substantially negative impact on intrinsic motivation.

Competence

Competence is considered to be the second most important of the three psychological needs. In SDT, competence is "viewed as a cognitive set or map representing one's confidence in

one's skills and abilities". Competence is regarded as an innate need, and one that humans have a natural appetite to develop.

Relatedness

Relatedness refers to the norms and values that create meaning and are reinforced through socialization. Within SDT, it is considered fairly less important than autonomy and competence. High levels of relatedness have been associated with overall well-being in psychological surveys.

"SDT begins by embracing the assumption that all individuals have natural, innate, and constructive tendencies to develop an ever more elaborated and unified sense of self. That is, we assume people have a primary propensity to forge interconnections among aspects of their own psyches as well as with other individuals and groups in their social worlds.

"Social environments can, according to this perspective, both facilitate and enable the growth and integration propensities with which the human psyche is endowed, or they can disrupt, forestall, and fragment these processes resulting in behaviors and inner experiences that represent the darker side of humanity.

Self-determination theory extends the understanding of the human intrinsic nature to its motivation and performance.

Women are very hardworking, intelligent and smart individuals but in relation to self-determination theory which divides these intrinsic motivational elements into Competence, Autonomy and Relatedness.

In relation to the understanding that woman intrinsic motivation is mostly influenced by external features based on the essential role they perform.

Therefore where they need and receive their competence, autonomy and relatedness most times are outside their work environment which does not rise from their normal self to work.

Women are being chased away with this kinds of theories if we concentrate on its autonomy and relatedness aspect, because the societal believe does not support seeing women as autonomous personality, it is, therefore, a wrong thing to happen because the belief is they should seek their intrinsic motivation most especially their autonomy from a man.

In relation to the leadership categorization theory, where followers already have a prototype, of conventional norms which the woman tenets doesn't meet.

The woman claims of leadership here is not the problem of incapability but that of the pictorial disposition which reflects a connection between leader and the followers in respect to leadership qualities and roles. The exquisite expected respect of institutional rules likewise physical, mental and health aspect of the person must be in order. In respect to the view point of leader categorization it feels like degrading of the leadership role when a woman fills this post, because the societal convention doesn't correlate with women taking leadership role.

Thus, women are subject to limited intrinsic motivational environment due to their responsibilities in the society, and where they are meant to be heard or seen.

Motivation is a universal language and it doesn't respect the force of others in one's choice of life events, it needs to be freed from other people's voices which the women have failed to continuously have, limiting their beliefs in themselves, in their competence, autonomy, and relatedness.

Politics is a multi-dynamic activities with a need of a fierce leader who can be acceptable to people, and manage people. Someone who can make them see and act on their visions and missions.

Politics is an art and only the one who can manipulate understanding, categorization, needs, personal interest, self-motivation and external environment can wield it and device it into principle and regulations for people to work with.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN

NIGERIA

3.1   Pre-Colonial Period

Prior to colonial experience, the Nigerian women played active and productive roles in their respective traditional political governance (Erunke and Shuaibu, 2013:02). Although women's political participation during the pre-colonial era was not equal to that of men, the position of women in governance was complementary rather than subordinate (Erunke and Shuaibu, 2013). Even in the most conservative societies of Nigeria, women contributed tremendously to the development of their societies (Awe, 1992:11). In the pre-colonial Nigeria, they occupied important roles in the traditional political life and in their different regions; they were actively engaged in politics and held decision-making roles in the Governmental institution of their respective regions (Luka, 2011:27).

The extent of women's participation in the public sphere in the pre-colonial Nigeria however, depended very much on how their particular society was organized, whether in the form of monarchy like the Yoruba kingdom or as republican like the Igbo tribes (Emeka et al 2015:01). The traditional Nigerian society was segregated between genders which enabled the measurement of power and achievements. The complementarities' role of women was, however, embedded in sex segregation, which determined gender position, status and power in the society and provided them their own spheres of operation and control (Emeka et al 2015:10).

Consequently, certain political structures, which allowed for power sharing between men and women were articulated and firmly put in place. Women, for instance, had access to political participation through a complex and sophisticated network of relationship, rights and control

of power with men in certain societies, their role was complementary or subordinate in others (Erunke and Shauibu, 2013:03).

This, however, does not mean that women occupied equal roles with men in the society. There were very few women who possessed political power in the pre-colonial Nigeria (Awe, 1992). Only very few women were initiated into traditional cuts such as *Ogboni, Osugbo, Ekpo, Ekpe, Eyo, etcetera. (*Ojuolape, 2001:1) Some notable women in the traditional political governance in the South West Nigeria include the *Erelu, Ayaba* and *Olori* (king's Wives", *Iyalode* (Women's Leader), *Iyalaje* (Market Women's Leader), *Yeye Oba* (King's Mother) and *Iya-olosa* (Goddess priests), *Moremi* of Ife, *Efusetan* of Ibadan and *Emotan*. One cannot undermine the significant role of *Iya Afin, Iya Agan* and *Iya Abiye* to the palace administrations of the various kingdoms (Nwanckwo, 1999:14; Afolabi, 2013:40)

Likewise, the influence and contributions of *Queen Amina* of Zaria to the political development of the Northern Nigeria's emirate and the achievement of *Kambasa* of Bony in the dim pre-colonial past is by no means negligible (Awe, 1992). The change of Government from the Hausa aristocracy to the Fulani/Muslim hegemony, however, totally excluded women from the public sphere. After the reign of Amina in the pre-Islamic past of Zaria, there was no woman who sat in the court of any Hausa ruler (Abubakar, 1992:11). Islam made a strict division of the spheres of the different genders. Women were not to be seen in the public spheres (Modo1996:99).

Women's participation in public life in Benin Empire was limited (Ikpe, 2004:24). There was no women's representation among the various grades of chiefs. Men dominated the different craft guilds and even controlled the markets as agents of the Benin King. The only important female political figure was the Iyaoba (the King's Mother) with her court at Uselu. She did not sit in the Oba's council and as such did not take part in decision making. Some of them, such as Iya oba Idia, reputed to have contributed personally to the success of Esiegie's

campaigns against Idah, through her powerful and contributions to the successful reign of their sons (Ikpe, 1997:251). They, however, did not act as spokespersons for women in Benin.

Despite the lack of sufficient literature and history that captures the relevance of women in that era and the fact that conventional African history provides only fragmentary images of women, the pre-colonial Nigeria through a patriarchal society, women were not completely left out of the political scene (Ojo, 2003). However, the coming of Westernization destroyed their political positions and then marginalized them in the modern political institutions (Allen, 1972).

3.2   Colonial Period

Women's poor participation in politics, like many other problems in Nigeria, has a deep root in the system carved and imposed by colonialism (Agbalajobi 2010). It began with the colonial occupation, starting with the fusion of the three regions (Yoruba in the southwest, the Igbo in the southeast, and the Hausa/Fulani in the North) to the Nigeria's independence and its governance, and then to the post-independent Nigeria (Mba, 1982). Colonialism played a significant role in the political participation of women in Nigeria. The advent of colonialism and its attendant political and economic subjugation subsequently entrenched the masculinity of politics and subordinated the women under the men (Erunke and Shuibu, 2013:026).

The colonial administration created a patriarchy Government in which women were not allowed to hold any authoritative positions (Kamene, 1991). Thus, the lack of recognition of the Nigerian women's political/leadership role in the mainstream politics in Nigeria today is traceable to the colonial invention (Allen, 1972). Colonial administration restructured the feminine relevance in governance by divesting the women of their political powers (Ajayi, 2007:138). This was exacerbated by the policy introduced in which men were believed to

have the potential of activeness in the society, and those that were lucky to receive some education got recruited to the colonial overlords. The colonial administration gender policies eroded female participation both in politics and economy as women were denied both electoral and job opportunities (MBA, 1982; Olojede, 1999 &Ikpe, 2004:30).

Thus, this practice, to a large extent, served to reinforce and generalize patriarchal values in the country and significantly marked the beginning of low participation of the females in the formal agencies of Government, a phenomenon that has continued till date (Enemuo, 1999:232). In fact, a section of the women in South Western Nigeria voted for the first time in the nation's electoral history in the 1959 general elections, while their Northern counterparts were disenfranchised and it was not until 1976, fifty-four years after the elective principle was introduced to Nigeria, that the Northern women first enjoyed franchise rights (Ajayi, 2004:138).

In furtherance of the colonial masters' attempt to restructure the traditional African economies in order to make them ready market for European manufacturers and sources of cheap raw materials for their factories, only men were granted economic power in the production of export crops while the women were left to concentrate on the production of food crops (Akiyode-Afolabi and Arogundade, 2003:77). All these have resulted in gender insensitivity in the design and implementation of public policy and have significantly assisted in perpetuating gender inequality in the various gamut of social life. At the same time, the masculinity of politics was so entrenched that the machinery put in place during the colonial period, systematically rendered women invisible as they were considered unsuitable for the rigors of public life; hence, they were not allowed to vote, to contest elections, to sit in parliament or to be employed in the civil service (Akinboye, 2004:237).

Despite the alienation of women from the mainstream of Nigerian politics during colonial administration, the Nigerian womenfolk made it relevance by its contributions to nationalist

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movements, which constituted vanguards against the colonial administration. Women political activism dates back to 1929/30 Aba women riot against colonial tax policies. The Nigeria women's opposition against the municipalisation of their community in 1954, the Eastern Region women's opposition to new school fees in 1958; and the series of protests between 1946 and 1958 by the Abeokuta Women's Union led by Mrs. FunmilayoRansome-Kuti were invaluable in the country's struggle for independence (Nwankwo, 1996:16).

Consequently, a major landmark achievement in the political development of women during the colonial era was the formulation of a women's political party in 1944 spearheaded by Mrs. Oyinkan Abayomi (Ojo, 2003; Akiyode-Afolabi, 2003:11). At the individual levels, however, women, notably including Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, Margaret Ekpo and Gambo Sawaba, participated in the anti-colonial political struggle and took part in the negotiations for independence (Akiyode-Afolabi and Arogunde, 2003:11).

However, the limited gains made by women did not translate into participation in decision making during this colonial period. Men dominated in the first political parties while actively depending on the material and mobilization support from women. The Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), and Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) garnered varying levels of support from women's groups. However, women did not feature prominently in the leadership of these and other parties during the nationalist era and after independence (Ahonsi-Yakubu, 2001:151). In the 1958 elections, only Wuraola Esan got appointed to the Senate of 36 members while no woman was elected to the 312-member House of Representatives and none was in the federal cabinet (Nwankwo, 1996:17).

3.3 Postcolonial Period

During the early colonial period, the political administration of most Nigerian communities was dominated by men. The British made use of male traditional rulers as Sole Native

Authorities. According to Mba, women under colonialism felt victimized and deprived. Thus, this was the basis of women's political actions which culminated in various protest movements which were prevalent, especially in Southern Nigeria during the time (Ikpe, 1997:257).

Thus, the most important contribution of Nigerian women to the political development of the Nigerian nation was largely confined to constant protests against colonial policies which were unfavorable to their well-being. From 1918 till the end of the colonial rule, there were protests against different colonial ordinances like the Native Revenue Ordinance Perhaps the most widespread and significant of these protests was the Aba Riots of 1929 (Mba, 1982:21).

Furthermore, women's involvement in the political development during the colonial period in Nigeria was not only political agitations but also to the formation of modern pressure groups and political parties (Lewu, 2003:61). In 1901, Lady Obasa formed the Lagos Women's League as a pressure group for better sanitary conditions and women's education. In keeping with the political development of the 1940s, Lady Abayomi established the Women's Party in 1944. Although the party did not have large numbers following, it's agitated for welfare issues and the equality of the sexes. Likewise, the Abeokuta Ladies Club, founded by Mrs Ransome Kuti metamorphosed into the Abeokuta Women's Union in 1946. In 1949, the scope of this party was extended and its name was changed to the Nigerian Women's Union (Mba, 1982:25-26). Although these women's organizations did not grow into mass parties, they helped to bring women's welfare matters in an organized manner to the attention of the colonial Government and the public. They thus sensitized the enlightened the public about the problems of women, suggested solutions and agitated for their implementation (Olalere 2015:15)

Apart from establishing their own parties, women were involved in the establishment and growth of the political parties which dominated Nigerian politics from 1951 till independence

(Ikpe, 1993:259). Through the women's wings of the parties, women could mobilize grassroots women for their parties. However, only very few women were privileged to be admitted into the upper echelons of the parties. Many of such women included the wives of the leaders of the parties. However, a few women were able to distinguish themselves. One of such women was Margaret Ekpo of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroun, (NCNC). She was a veteran politician who won the election on her own merit into the Eastern House of Assembly in 1953/1954 and attended Constitutional Conferences. In the House, she continuously raised issues relating to women's welfare, their economic status and social welfare in general. Other women politicians of this era included Lady Abayomi, Mrs Kuti, Miss Young and Mrs. Femi-Pearse (Mba, 1982:134-155). In Northern Nigeria, women did not participate so directly in party politics, they were important in rallying grassroot women for voting purposes. A good example was Hajia Gambo Sawaba of the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU). Despite their immense contributions, women party functionaries were treated only as adjuncts and their activities were largely confined to the women's wing. In other words, they were not adequately rewarded in terms of elective and appointive positions. They remained women-voter catchers for their parties (Olalere 2015:14) Hence, after independence, mass political action by women dwindled. This development was caused by the acrimonious politics of the post-independence era, the bitter rivalries of the ethnic-based and personality dominated political parties and the paternalistic nature of their organization. They became detrimental to women's participation in politics. In fact, these developments split the women into opposing camps so that mass action became impossible (Ikpe, 1997:262). For example, Mrs Esan resigned from the Action Group (AG) in 1964 in protest against the party's alliance with the National Council of Nigerian and Cameroons; she continued to serve in the Senate and supported the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) Government set up by S. L. Akintola. However, some women continued to play an

important role in the women's wing of the major political parties and a few won elections to the different Houses. Mrs. Bernice Kerry with Wuraola Esan in the Federal Parliament while Mrs. Margaret Ekpo and Mrs. Janet Muokelu were in the Eastern Nigerian House of Assembly but there was no female Minister during the time (Mba, 1982. 189). This situation was aggravated by the imposition of military rule. Despite the political setback experienced at national and state levels, women's political relevance increased at community levels where women were organized and mobilized for community development. In this way, countless women's organizations contributed to the building and running of community schools, maternity homes and hospitals, motherless babies" homes, roads and markets (Ikpe, 1993:260).

With the birth of the Second Republic (1979-1983), after about thirteen years of military intervention, Nigeria returned to democratic rule. The election that produced President Alhaji Shehu Shagari was fraught with manipulations and falsification of ballot reports. The president himself was inept and his presidency was defined by massive corruption and political intrigues (Akinola, 2009). The military seized upon these faults to depose the Government in December, 1983 (Akinni and Adesote, 2014:101). The women were also involved in the politics of the day. Most of them were members of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). Only four out of 475 candidates who contested for Senate seats were women and none was successful. Only two women were elected to the Federal House of Representatives and five women made it to the State Houses (Mba, 1982:303). With this few seats won, the women were poorly represented in the ruling bodies of all the parties. They were once again pushed to the women's wing of the political parties to continue to act as voter-catchers. However, women who participated actively in the civilian politics of 1979 were according to Attoe (2002), such women as Mrs. J. C. Eze and Mrs. V. O. Nnaji and Mrs. A. Babatope were part of the women in the Government at the

time. Thus, once again, women did not have adequate representation and could not influence matters in their favour. The political lethargy which had gripped women during the long years of military rule prevented the effective development of organised women participation. With the demise of that inglorious Republic in 1983, women once again retreated to the backwaters of national politics (Ikpe, 1997:263-264).

The military regime of General Babangida, however, did a lot to foster the cause of the Nigerian women and enhance the image of the Nigerian womanhood. For instance, for the first time, a female Vice Chancellor, in the person of Grace Alele Williams of Benin was appointed. Women ambassadors were appointed and all Military Governors were directed to appoint at least one woman into their cabinets. The cause of women was further enhanced with the inauguration in 1987 of the Better Life Programme for Rural Women by Mrs. Maryam Babangida (Ikpe, 1997:264). For many women, Mrs Babangida provided an example of how well-placed women could use their positions to the benefits of their fellow women. However, the aims of alleviating poverty and increasing the economic power of women were not achieved during this period. The program also ignored the articulate members of the Nigerian womanhood whose economic and political clout could help to ameliorate the plight of women in Nigeria (Olalere, 2015:7)

Military rule in Nigeria continued up till 1992/1993 when the process of transition programme was initiated by General Ibrahim Babangida. The annulment, of the June 12, 1993, the presidential election was adjudged the fairest and freest election, locally and internationally, since independence but Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, made the transition programme to be unsuccessful. This development was followed by an Interim National Government (ING), headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan. The ING which was put in place in August 1993 was due to intense pressure mounted by the people of the South-Western Nigeria following the annulment of the June 12 presidential election (an election won by

Chief M.K.O. Abiola, who hails from the South West). The new Government did not last for more than three months before it was later overthrown through a bloodless coup by late General Sanni Abacha (Akinbi and Adesote, 2014:103).

3.4   Women's Political Participation in Nigeria 1999 – 2015

The forth republic which began in 1999 saw women taking a similar low participation in the Nigeria's political process. The 1999 general elections saw only 181 positions won by women out of the 11, 881 available positions throughout the country (Luka, 2011:28). The election saw only five (i.e. 4.6%) women out of 109 senators elected into the Senate while 13 (i.e. 3.6%) women were elected to the House of Representatives of 360 seats i.e. 6.3 percent women representation in the national parliament (Ajayi, 2007:139). While there were 36 gubernatorial seats, no female featured. Nigeria had only one female deputy Governor – Chief Kofoworola Akerele-Bucknor, deputy governor of Lagos State (1999 -2003), and of the 990 seats available for the States House of Assembly in the country only 12 (i.e. 1.21%) of women were elected (Adu, 2008:27). At the local level, out of the 774 local Government chairpersons across the nation, only 9 were women and only 143 out of the 8,700 councilors were women (Babatunde, 2003; Anifowose, 2004:210).

The poor performance of women in this election was the basis for the national summit for all women politicians organized by the International Human Rights Law Group, Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) and Gender and Development Action (GADA) held on June 28, 2002, in Abuja. The objective of the summit was to enhance women's active participation in Nigerian politics (Akiyode-Afolabi and Arogundade, 2003:64).

Despite all efforts geared at improving women's participation in politics in Nigeria, the 2003 elections did not witness any significant improvement. In the elections that were held that year (2003), only 21 (6.1%) women out of the 360 member won seats in the House of

Representatives. Similarly, out of 109 senatorial seats, only 3 (i.e. 2.7 %) women were elected to the Senate, which is just 8.8 percent women representation in the national parliament (UNDP Report, 2003:47; Ojo, 2003:16). Out of the 36 gubernatorial seats available, no woman was elected and of the 990 seats available for the States House of Assembly in the country, 38 (i.e. 3.84%) women were elected (Adu, 2008:27). In 2007 only 25 (i.e. 6.9%) women out of the 358 seats were elected into the House of Representatives and 9 (i.e. 8.3%) women out of the 109 seats were elected to the Senate, that is 7.3 percent women representation in the national parliament while, out of the 36 gubernatorial seats available, no woman was elected and of the 990 seats available for the States House of Assembly in the country, 54 (i.e. 5.5%) of women were elected (Nigeria CEDAW NGO Coalition Shadow Report, 2008:10).

The records from the database of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) showed that in the 2007 elections a total of 7160 candidates (both men and women) contested in the April elections. Of this number, only 628 women representing 8.8% of the total candidates participated. A total of 3141 candidates contested for seats in the National Assembly (799 candidates for the senate and 2342 candidates for the House of Representatives). Of this number, only 209 or 6.7% were women (59 or 7.4% women for the Senate and 150 or 6.4% women for House of Representative) (Okocha, 2007). The analysis above indicates a 2%, 4% and 6% women representation in 1999, 2003 and 2007 respectively. However, the trend shows an improvement in women's representation. This was due to the conscious affirmative efforts of the Obasanjo's administration to involve more women in his political administration (Luka, 2011:29). As a result, political parties took a decision to waive for the women the payment of pre-registration levies for political aspirants in the country. In addition the national summit for all women politicians organized by the International Human Rights Law Group, Centre for Development and Population Activities

(CEDPA) and Gender and Development Action (GADA) held on June 28, 2002 in Abuja with the objective of enhancing women's active participation in Nigerian politics and the awareness campaigns by these and other gender-related organizations and NGOs spurred women in the federation to vie for political candidature in the 2003 and 2007 general elections (Akiyode-Afolabi and Arogundade, 2003:64).

In the history of Nigeria, there has been no woman ever elected as a state governor, while only 6 women have ever been elected as deputy Governors (from Lagos, Ogun, Osun, Imo, Plateau and Anambra States). Thus, the perception that democracy would automatically boost women political participation has not been validated after about seventeen years of the return to civilian rule. Nigeria still falls short of the desired result of giving the females the opportunities and access to opportunities to advance socially, economically and politically ((Ojo, 2003: Babatunde, 2003; The Nigeria CEDAW NGO Coalition Shadow Report, 2008:3, Adu, 2008:27).

Consequently, in 2011, the National Assembly had seven (7) (i.e. 6.4%) female members and twenty-five (25) (i.e. 6.9%) female members in the Lower House. In 2015, the National Assembly has Eight (8) (i.e. 6.4%) female members in the Senate and (19) (i.e. 5.2%) female in the House of Representatives, the table below illustrates the above explanation.

Table 4: Statistics on Women Representation

Years	Senate (109)	House of Representatives (360)	Governorship 36	Deputy Governorship 36	State Houses of Assembly 990
1999	3 (2.8%)	12 (3.3%)	0%	-0%	12 (1.21%)
2003	4 (3.7%)	21 (5.8%)	0%	2 (5.55%)	38 (3.84%)
2007	9 (8.3%)	26 (7.2%)	0%	6 (16.6)	54 (5.45%)
2011	7(6.4%)	25 (6.9%)	0%	1 (0.09)	68 (6.9%)
2015	7 (6.2%)	14(5.2%)	0%	4 (16.6	-

www.inec.org.ngApril, 2015

3.5 Women's Political Participation in Kwara State

Kwara State was created in May 1967, as one of the first 12 states to replace the nation's four regions. Originally, the state was known as West Central State but the name was changed to Kwara, a local name for the Niger River. The size of the state has been reduced over the years, as new states have been created within the federation. The total landmass of Kwara State today is 32,500 square kilometers. The State of Harmony on account of the peaceful relations that exist among its multicultural and diverse population of about 2.5 million people; who are Followers of the three great religious faiths to be found in Nigeria, Islam, Christianity and traditional religion, coexist within the state. Kwara state consists of sixteen local Government areas; Asa, Baruten, Edu, Ekiti, lfelodun, Ilorin-East, Ilorin-West, Irepodun, Kaiama, Moro, Offa, Oyun, llorin-South, Isin, Oke-Ero and Patigi. (www.kwarastate.gov.ng)

During the period in the history of Kwara State the struggle of women to rise up as part of the society who could contribute meaningfully to the development and growth started. Thus, an attempt by women has been termed as a struggle because they were pushing against opposition from their male counterpart. This was done by political participation. Women

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formed themselves into various groups, units, and social clubs even though there were limited opportunities open to them to contribute to politics, they still held the economic reins, and they were not completely at sea about social organizations.

At that time, the women leaders who stood out in most of the political and social metamorphosis were Alhaja Akosila, Rukayat Shittu who were wealthy traders in various merchandise whose trading activities expanded to neighboring towns like Ogbomosho and Offa. They used their positions of wealth because their trade was vast even though they were unacknowledged; they were still very much involved in the affairs of Kwara State in general. Their loving disposition drew people to them and with time the formation of market women associations came into being (Murtal, 2013:18)

Women thus, had the market system under them and dictated the commercial pace in entire Kwara State. Their economic hold became strengthened. Contrary to some opinion, women were most sensitive to any change since it was apparent that they wanted to understand what was going on, they were attentive and devoted to their different trade associations, social clubs. This way, they generated support from the state Government. The methods of women participation in politics were done effectively through their trade union and progressive unions. Incentives were, however, given to women to entice them for politics; verbal campaigns were also organized through the various levels, which were at the zonal, state and ward levels. These networks were used to mobilize women for party politics Shahu, 2003)

3.6   Women and Elections in Kwara State

In the third and fourth republics in Kwara, we had a number of women who were in the vanguard of struggle for feminine participation in politics and therefore some were able to participate fully in the political activities in Kwara State at that time; an outstanding example of such women was Sara Jubril, Alhaja Banke Badmus, Mrs. Bamidele, Amina Ndalolo, Gbemisola Saraki and a host of others. Sarah Jubril was one of the women in politics during

this specific period, her political activities started during Gen. Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (IBB) transition programmes. She served as a commissioner during the military regime in Ilorin in 1985 immediately she left appointment as a commissioner. She joined the social Democratic Party (SDP) one of the registered political parties then in Nigeria, her participation in politics started from the grassroots where she contested for election in her ward in Edu Local Government level; she was also nominated as the flag bearer of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) from the ward to local Government level. She was also nominated from the local Government level to state congress of the party thereby representing the state as the presidential flag bearer of the party in which she came forth with Chief M.K.O Abiola emerging as the flag bearer of the party which was consequently annulled (Alhaji Ibrahim.J. interview cited in Shehu, 2003).

The annulled election generated a lot of uprising and crisis in the political scene. This eventually led to a change of Government thus, bringing an end to the transition programme of that time. The Gen. Sani Abacha military regime witnessed another transition programme between 1993 and 1998 before the demise of Gen Sani Abacha, Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar took over power and also had its own transition programme. In 2002, Sarah Jubril resurfaced on the political scene she was a staunch member and co-founder of the Progressive Action Congress (PAC) a registered party at the time.

Mrs. Sarah Jubril became the flag bearer of the party in the 2003 presidential election, which made her the first woman in Nigerian politics to contest for the seat of presidency. Although she lost in the presidential election of 2003, she created a landmark. Thus, Alhaja Banke Badmus is another force to reckon with in the election processes and mobilization in Kwara State. Her political activities became notable during the Ibrahim Babangida's transitional era. She was one of Late Abubakar Olushola Saraki's political machineries, she is a notable grassroot women mobilizer especially in Offa where she is firmly rooted. She contested for

the seat of Federal House of representative representing Offa, Oyun and Ifelodun federal constituency under the platform of the committee for national consensus (CNC) one of the five registered political parties of Gen. SaniAbacha transition programme. She won, but the death of Gen. Abacha disrupted the whole elections and also brought an end to that transition programme (Shahu, 2003).

Alhaja Banke Badmus continued her political activity and mobilization under the new political dispensation of Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar where she immediately joined the ANPP during Abdulsalami's transitional era. She was highly instrumental to the wining of elections and she was appointed as commissioner of education under the Government of Alhaji Mohammed Lawal. She later joined the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in 2003 and contested for the state house of assembly under Essa/Shawo constituency Offa which she also won and became a member of Kwara State House of Assembly thereby making her the only woman and deputy speaker of the House. Among other women who are also prominent in the politics of Kwara State is, Gbemisola Saraki. Though new in politics, she has fared well in the elections through her father's influence Dr. Olushola Saraki a strong political icon in Ilorin and a kingmaker (Alh. Akankwe.S. interview cited in Shehu 2003)

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODO1LOGY

4.1. Introduction

Research Methodology simply means methods or means used to achieve an objective. It is the process or methods applied by Researcher to carry out Research work. Thus, this research work was based on facts, ideas and logical thoughts. The data needed for the research were collated from both primary and secondary sources.

4.2. Research Design

The research design adopted for this study was based on the survey method; Quantitative and qualitative data were generated through a field survey of research design. The survey method is a means of collecting large and standardized data from the field using well-structured questionnaires and interview; Standardized data that would enable the researcher to exploit the factors that are not directly observable.

4.3. Sample and Sampling Technique

The study areas were the selected three (3) local Government areas within Kwara States. Thus, the selection was based on the three (3) senatorial divisions in Kwara state which are as Follows; Offa from Kwara South, Baruten; Kwara North and Ilorin West Local Government in Kwara Central. The choice of these selected local Government areas of the study, therefore, provided a platform for comprehensive investigation of women's political participation in Nigeria. However, because of the fact that the entire population cannot be used due to complexities and unrealistic attempt at reaching the whole elements, Cluster, and Proportional sampling technique were adopted so as to give everybody in the sample frame equal chance of being selected for inclusion in the sample size.

4.4   Description of Study Area

The study areas description were the selected three (3) local Governments in Kwara States, as the selected Local Government Areas covered the three senatorial districts in the state which are as followed: Offa from Kwara South, Baruten from Kwara North and Ilorin West from Kwara Central.

4.4.1   Offa Local Government

Offa is a city located in Kwara South of Nigeria with a population of about 113,830 inhabitants according to the 2006 population census. The vegetation in Offa is savanna vegetation and the town is noted for its weaving and dyeing trade, using vegetable dyes made from locally grown indigo and other plants. The key religions practiced in the town are: - Islam, Christianity and Traditional religions. The ancient tradition for which the town is known is wrestling. The two Royal families in the city of Offa are the Anilelerin and Olugbense. They are well-known in the history of Offa. Some prominent families who are well known are the Ijaiyas, the Olatinwos, the Giwas and the Adekeyes.

Table 5: Politically, Offa LGA is divided into four (4) districts and 12 wards which are as followed;

S/N	Ojomu Districts	Essa	Districts	Shawo Districts	Balogun Districts
1	Ojomu Central A	Essa	A	Shawo South West	Balogun
2	Ojomu Central B	Essa	B	Shawo South East	Igboidun
3	Ojomu South East	Essa	C	Shawo Centre	
4	Ojomu North West				

Offa LGA information office

Tertiary institutions in the town include the Federal Polytechnic, Offa, established in 1992, the Kwara State College of Health Technology (established 1976), and the Nigeria Navy School of Health Science. Offa Grammar School is the first community grammar school in

northern Nigeria. Offa has more recently become well known in Nigeria for being home to Adesoye College, one of the most prominent private schools in Nigeria. The school's proprietor, Chief Adesoye is also the founder of Okin Biscuits. Both institutions have brought him and Offa fame throughout Nigeria, (www.kwara.gov.ng/offa/index/phd).

4.4.2   Baruten Local Government

Baruten local Government was created on August 27, 1991 by the General Babagida's administration. It has its headquarter at Kosubosu. Baruten comprises four districts viz: Gwanara, Ilesha, Okuta and Yashikira. Other towns in Baruten include Kenu, Tabira, Gbabe, Ningrume, Shinawu, Shiya, Boriya and Chikanda. Baruten local Government shares boundary on the West with Borgu province of Republic of Benin, Ifedapo local Government of Oyo state on the south, Borgu local Government of Niger state on the north and Kaiama local Government on the east. Baruten local Government has a male population of one hundred and eight thousand, one hundred and fifty-three (108,153), one hundred and one thousand, three hundred and six (101,306) female population and a total population of two hundred and nine thousand, four hundred and fifty-nine (209,459) according to the 2006 population census. Baruten local Government is situated in the north-west of Kwara State. It occupies a total land mass of about three thousand five hundred and nineteen square miles (3519). That is about one third of the total land mass of Kwara State. Baruten is predominantly rural and also, situated at the Nigeria-Benin boarder.

Table 6: Politically, Baruten LGA is divided into four (4) districts and 11 wards which are as followed;

S/N	Ilesha Districts	Okuta Districts	Gwanara Districts	Yashikira Districts
1	Ilesha Ward	Okuta Ward	Gwanara Ward	Yashikira Ward
2	Sinawu/Tunbuya Ward	Boriya/Shiya Ward	Kpura/Yakira Ward	Gure/Gwasoro Ward
3	Bode/Babane Ward	Kenu/Tabera Ward	<mark>Bwe/Kiyeru</mark> Ward	

Baruten LGA information office

The predominant tribe is the Batonu speaking people (Borgawas <mark>or Baruba).</mark> Other tribes include Bokobaru, Fulani, Hausa, Shabe, and Yoruba's. Farming is the major occupation of the people. Crops grown include yams, cassava, maize, guinea corn, groundnut, soyabeans etc. Other occupational activities are fishing, hunting and cattle rearing.

4.4.3   History of Ilorin West

Ilorin West local Government area of Kwara state is located between latitude 80 30' north and longitude 40 35' east. It is situated in the traditional zone between northern and southern parts of Nigeria. Ilorin west local Government was created by the defunct Ilorin local Government in October, 1991 and is regarded today as the premier local Government council in the state, not only because of its historical antecedent, but also because it hosts the headquarters of the emirate council. It has an estimated land area of 54.2 sqkms. The local Government plays a dual role; first as the state capital, at the same time, the headquarters of the local Government.

Table 7: Politically, Ilorin West LGA is divided into four (4) districts and 12 wards which are as followed;

S/N	Ajikobi Districts	Alanamu Districts	Wara Osin Districts	Maggagi Districts
1	Ajikobi Ward	Alanamu	Wara Osin Ward	Maggagi Ward
2	Oloje Ward	Adewole	Oko Erin Ward	Babboki Ward
3	Ogidi Ward	Ubaden Ward	Badari Ward	
4	Oju Ekun Zarumi Ward			

Baruten LGA information office

According to the 2006 population figure, the local Government has a total population of three hundred and forty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six (346,666); the traditional rulers are directly under the Emir of Ilorin and assist in the collection of revenue. As direct custodians of custom in their areas, they are responsible for maintaining law and order. They also feature prominently in social gatherings organised by the local Government. Thus, the Local Government major natural resources are Clay, Granite and Kaolin. In addition Ilorin West Local Government is also the home of numerous centers in the state such as: Pottery Center at Ogidi-Banni, Aso-Oke weaving center, Asa-Dam water works, Ilorin International Airport, Kwara State Stadium Complex, Ilorin Hitro-Park and Okesuna Rock (www.kwara.gov.ng/ilorin west/index)

4.5 Population of the study Areas

The study population would consist of the population of the selected tree (3) Local Government Areas in Kwara State with an estimated population as followed:

S/N	Selected Local Government Areas	Population
1	Offa Local Government	113,830
2	Baruten Local Government	209,459
3	Ilorin west Local Government	346,666
	Total	**669,955**

4.6   Sample Size

To obtain a representative sample size, Yamane formula was adopted so as to arrive at valid sample size since the entire population cannot be accessed. The Yamane formula is stated below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where n= sample size

N= population

e= significant level (5%)

In applying the formula for selecting a sample size for the three (3) selected Local Government Areas with its population

$$n = \frac{669,955}{1+669,955\,(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{669,955}{1+669,955\,(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{669,955}{1+1675.8875}$$

$$n = \frac{669,955}{1675.8875}$$

n= 399.76   The sample size is 400 approximately.

4.7   Population and Sample of the Study Area

The population of this study involves all citizens within the three (3) selected local Government areas in Kwara State, which is about 669,955 according to the 2006 Population Census. In order to determine the sample size of the entire population, the Yamane formula was adopted, as a result,400 people were drawn as the sample of the entire population as

respondents. The study employed Cluster sampling technique where by, questionnaires were distributed to people who served as the sample of the entire population and constructive interview was also carried out in each of the selected Local Government Areas within Kwara States.

Table 8: Population of the Study Area

S/N	Selected Local Government Areas	Population
1	Offa Local Government	113,830
2	Baruten Local Government	209,459
3	Ilorin West Local Government	346,666
	Total	669,955

Source: 2006 National Population Commission (www.npc.gov.ng)

Table 9: Sample of the Study Area

The three (3) selected Local Government Sample Frame

S/N	Local Government area	Population	Sample	% of Sample	No of Questionnaires administered	No of Wards	No of Questionnaires administered to each ward
1	**Offa**	113,830	68	17%	58	12	6
2	**Ilorin West**	346,666	207	51.7%	213	12	18
3	**Baruten**	209,459	125	31.2%	129	11	11
	Total	669,955	**400**	**100**	**400**		

Source: (www.kwara.gov.ng/index.php/LocalGovernment-population)

4.8   Data Collection Technique

The technique used in selecting respondents for the study is Clustering and Proportional sampling technique. A total of 400 questionnaires were administered to the three (3) selected local Government areas within the state.

4.9   Sources of Data

The study engaged both primary and secondary sources of data. By primary sources, required data and information are collected directly from the sample under study through the use of well-structured questionnaires, and Personal interview with Women Political Icons in the study Areas which are as follows:

   a. Women leaders

   b. Women parties' members

   c. Party leaders

   d. Male party members

   e. Interview women-political aspirants

   f. Interview women in elective/ appointive positions

Thus, the Secondary source of data refers to the information gathered from already published or unpublished materials such as Government gazettes, Women NGO's Reports, Bulletin, magazines, journals, newspapers, articles, relevant textbooks, National Population Commission, materials from the internet and term papers. In addition, the secondary sources of data in this study will also involve extensive and thorough library research and examination of existing literature, archival documents in the subject areas.

4.10   Research Instrument for Data Collection

A Structured questionnaire was designed as a research instrument to collect data on low women's political participation in the selected three (3) local governments of the State. This questionnaire was divided into sections in line with the formulated hypothesis. The well-

structured questionnaire consisted of section A to E while A is bordering on personal data and B to E focus on the main thrust of the study, and the respondents view were measured on a Likert Scale where;

Strongly disagree;	=	1
Disagree;	=	2
Neutral;	=	3
Agree;	=	4
Strongly Agree.	=	5

Performance Measurement

Performance measurement according to Max Mollin (2018) means a regular measurement of outcomes and results which generates reliable data on the effectiveness and efficiency of performance.

Table 10: Performance Measurement

Original model	Restructured model	Description
Input	Resources/ funding	The ability to examine the extent at which the women are financially empowered to participate in Nigerian politics. The ability to evaluate the extent at which the women show interest in politics,
Activity	Tasks	Ability to identify the responsibility given to the women in Nigerian politics.
Output	Service delivery	Ability of the women to fulfill what is supposed to provide accurately.
Outcome	Specific result	The ability to evaluate both end outcomes and intermediate outcomes of the specific assignment given to the women in Nigerian politics.

Source: Max, 2018, linking performance measurement and organizational excellence. Faculty of Organization and Management, Sheffield Hallon University, Sheffield, UK.

The table above showed the performance measurement of the Nigerian women participation o

in politics, and to what extent the expected results were realized as a result of women

participation in politics.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter dwells succinctly on the presentation and analysis of the data obtained in the course of this study. Data were collated and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 21.0) software package. Statistical analyses include frequency distribution tables, Chi-Square, and simple percentages. Thus, this section is categorized into three segments; the first segment discussed the demographic profile of respondents, the second segment provides the analysed statistical figure collated from the field and the final segment shows the findings in relation to the research objectives cum hypotheses.

In the course of the data analysis and interpretation, the word "non-response" stands for respondents that were indifferent to some of the questions asked. Short descriptive analyses of the tables were also diagrammatized for the purpose of clarity.

5.2   Demographic Profiles of Respondents

A total number of 400 questionnaires were (distributed using a proportional sample frame to the selected Local Government areas i.e. Ilorin West, Offa and Baruten Local Government Areas of Kwara State) were self-administered to respondents and 347 (i.e. 86.75%) of the questionnaires were duly recovered for analysis. Respondents of this study encompasses women leaders, Women parties' members, Party leaders, Male party members, women political aspirants, women in elective and appointive positions across the selected local Government areas.

5.3   Analysis and Findings

This section focuses on the analysis of collated data from the respondents within the mainframe of the selected local Government areas in Kwara state. Below are the stated objectives of the study:

i.   to assess the impact of socio-cultural and economic factors on low women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Governments Areas of Kwara State

ii.   To what extent does the role of Nigerian political parties affect women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West local governments of Kwara State?

iii.   Is there any significant improvement in women participation in politics in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government Areas since 1999 to 2015

i.   **Section A: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

Table 11: Age Distribution of Respondents

AGE	18-28		29-38		39 and Above		Non-Response		TOTAL
LOCAL GOVT	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	
Ilorin West	26	15.7	52	31.3	81	48.8	7	4.2	166(100%)
Baruten	41	39.8	33	32.0	27	26.2	2	1.9	103(100%)
Offa	39	50.0	27	34.6	12	15.4	-	-	78(100%)

Source: Field Reports, 2017

The table presented above shows the age distribution of the respondents. Out of 347 questionnaires collated from the field work, 166 questionnaires were received from Ilorin west local Government area. As reflected in the above table, 26 (i.e. 15.7%) respondents were between the ages 18-28. While 52 (i.e. 31.3%) falls between ages 29-38 and 81 (i.e. 48.8%) respondents were between ages 39 and above. As 7(i.e. 4.2%) of the respondents failed to disclosed their age. In Baruten local Government area 103 questionnaires were received; 41(39.8%) of the respondents were between ages 18-28; 52 (32.0%) were between ages 29-38; age 39 and above 27 (i.e. 26.2%) respondents and 2 (i.e. 1.9%) respondents were undecided. Lastly the above table also shows 78 questionnaires received from Offa local Government area with 39 (i.e. 50%) of the respondents were between ages 18-28, while 27

(i.e. 34.6%) respondents were between ages 29-38 and age 39 and above represent 12 (i.e. 15.4%)

The citizens, 18 years were excluded from the study since the constitution of the land legitimately disallows this group of individuals from political participation in the country. It is clear from the table above that more of the respondents were above 28 years of age. This enabled the researcher gather very useful information since individuals between this age are experienced and expected to have a substantial knowledge about the field of study.

Table 12: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

MARRITAL STATUS	Single		Married		Divorce		Non-Response		TOTAL
LOCAL GOVT	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	
Ilorin West	20	2.0	140	84.3	2	1.2	4	2.4	166(100%)
Baruten	42	40.8	49	47.6	10	9.7	2	1.9	103(100%)
Offa	39	50.0	36	46.2	3	3.8	-	-	78(100%)

Source: Field Reports, 2017

The table presented above shows the marital status of respondents; out of 347 questionnaires collated from the field work. The researcher recovered 166 administered questionnaires in Ilorin west local Government area. Thus, 20 (i.e. 12.0%) of the respondents were shown to be single; While 140 (i.e. 84.3%) were married and 2 (i.e. 1.2%) respondents were divorcees, as 4 (i.e. 2.4%) respondents were indifferent of the question asked. In Baruten local Government area 103 10 (i.e. 9.7%) respondents were divorced; 2 (i.e. 1.9%) respondents were indifferent of the question asked. In addition, the table above also shows that 78 questionnaires were received from Offa local Government area with 39 (i.e. 50%) of the respondents reflected to be single, while 36 (i.e. 46.2%) respondents were married and those divorced above represent 3 (i.e. 3.8%).

Table 13: Occupational Distribution of Respondents

OCCUPATION	Government		Private		NGO		Self-Employ		Others		TOTAL
LOCAL GOVT	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	
IlorinWest	19	11.4	45	27.1	9	5.4	85	51.2	8	4.8	166(100%)
Baruten	43	41.7	38	36.9	4	3.9	6	5.8	12	11.7	103(100%)
Offa	18	23.1	45	57.7	5	6.4	7	9.0	3	3.8	78(100%)

Source: Field Reports, 2016

According to the above table 166 administered questionnaires were received from Ilorin west local Government area. Thus, 19 (i.e. 11.4%) of the respondents have shown that they work under Government paraststals; While 45 (i.e. 27.1%) of the respondents work with private organizations; 9 (i.e. 5.4%) of the respondents work with Non-Governmental Organisations related to women affairs, 85 (i.e. 51.2) were self-employed 8 (i.e. 4.8%) belong to others i.e. Students and the unemployed members of the society. In Baruten local Government area, 103 questionnaires were received; 43 (i.e. 41.7%) respondents represented Government workers particularly in women ministry; 38 (i.e. 36.9) work with the private organizations, 4 (i.e. 3.9%), 6 (i.e. 5.8%) work with NGO's and self-employ respectively. 12 (i.e. 11.7%) respondents were others i.e. students and unemployed members of the society.

Furthermore, the table above also shows that 78 questionnaires were received from Offa local Government area with 18 (i.e. 23.1%) of respondents reflected to be Government workers, while 45 (i.e. 57.7%) worked with private organizations 7 (i.e. 9.0%), 5 i.e. (i.e. 6.4%) work with NGO's and self-employed respectively 3 (i.e. 3.8%) respondents were others i.e. students and unemployed members of the society. Based on the above table it has been shown that respondents cut across different discipline and occupation as this aids the researchers to gather experience and valuable information from the respondents.

Table 14: Educational Distribution of Respondents

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATION	Primary Education		Secondary Education		Tertiary Education		Non-Response		TOTAL
LOCAL GOVT	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	
Ilorin West	63	38.0	60	36.1	27	16.3	16	9.6	166(100%)
Baruten	8	7.8	36	35.0	52	50.5	7	6.8	103(100%)
Offa	2	2.6	26	33.3	48	61.5	2	2.6	78(100%)

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table presented above shows the educational distribution of respondents. In Ilorin west local Government; 166 questionnaires were received. Thus, 63 (i.e. 38.0%) of the respondents possessed only primary education; while 60 (i.e. 36.1) of the respondents acquired secondary education, 27 (i.e. 16.3%) are for tertiary education (i.e. NCE, ND, HND, B.Sc., Master and Ph. D) 16 (i.e. 9.6%) of the respondents were undecided. In Baruten local Government area 103 questionnaires were received; 8 (i.e. 7.8%) of the respondents acquired primary education; 36 (i.e. 35.0%) had secondary education, 52 (i.e. 50.5%) acquired education up to tertiary level. 7 (i.e. 6.8%) of the respondents were indifferent of the question asked. In conclusion, the table above also shows that 78 questionnaires were received from Offa local Government area with 2 (i.e. 2.6%) of respondents reflected to have acquired only primary education, while 26 (i.e. 33.3%) only had secondary education 7 (i.e. 9%) and 48 (i.e. 61.5%) had tertiary education respectively 2 (i.e. 2.6%) of the respondents failed to disclose their academic qualification. Based on the above table it is evident that most of the respondents were literate and learners as this enabled the researcher to express the context of the research to the respondents.

Section B: *Analysis of Research Objectives*

Objective 1: To assess if there is any relationship between socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for low women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Governments Areas of Kwara State

    i.   **Most women in these local Government areas do not see themselves capable enough to hold political office**

Table 15: Distribution of Respondents on Women's Low Self-esteem

FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	9	5.4	12	7.2	8	4.8	65	39.2	72	43.4	**166(100%)**
Baruten	19	18.4	26	25.2	8	7.8	19	18.4	31	30.1	**103(100%)**
Offa	1	1.3	12	15.4	4	5.1	30	38.5	31	39.7	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

Table above illustrates the percentage response of respondents; thus, in Ilorin west 12 (i.e. 7.2%) and 9 (i.e. 5.4%) disagree and strongly disagree on the statement that most women in Ilorin west local Government do not see themselves capable enough to hold political office while 65 (i.e. 39.2%) and 72 (i.e. 43.4%) agreed and strongly agreed respectively with 8 (i.e. 4.8%) non-responsive. As reflected in the above table, it was also indicated in Baruten local that Government 26 (i.e. 25.2%) and 19 (i.e. 18.4%) disagreed and strongly disagreed on the assertion that most women in the local Government do not see themselves capable enough to hold political office while 19 (i.e. 18.4%) and 31 (i.e. 30.1%) agreed and strongly agreed while 8 (i.e. 7.8%) non-responsive. Lastly, in Offa 61 (i.e. 78.2%) of the respondents were in support that most women in the local Government do not see themselves capable enough to hold political office while 13 (i.e. 16.7%) of the respondents argued against the assertion.

Without an iota of doubt, the above data indicated that women in the selected local Government area exhibit low self-esteem toward political power acquisition. Furthermore, structured interview conducted with women political leaders and aspirants supported the above statistical data collated. This is presented as follow:

Hajia Sa'a Kwara State House of Assembly (KWHA, Aspirant, 2015) opined that:

> Most of the women lack courage and determination, as this factor also served as detriment to her defeat; being the first female political aspirant in the local Government; that she lack genuine support to boost her courage and enthusiasm toward politics (Fieldwork, 2017).

Women leader APC in Offa Local Government contends that:

> Most women lack the zeal to contest as majority of the women are basically hindered by inferiority complex and subordinates to the men counterparts.

Following the presentation of the respondents in this study, it was observed that most women in the selected local Government do not see themselves capable enough to hold a political position. As explicated by the interviewed respondents; low self-esteem, lack of courage, zeal and inferiority complex of women served as detriment to low women political participation cum power acquisition *(Fieldwork, 2017)*.

ii.   The society generally regards women politicians as infidels/irresponsible

Table 16: Distribution of Respondents on Society myth

CULTURAL FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	29	17.5	27	16.3	1	0.6	45	27.1	64	38.6	**166(100%)**
Baruten	14	13.6	32	31.1	2	1.9	25	24.3	30	29.1	**103(100%)**
Offa	11	14.1	16	20.5	-	-	26	33.3	25	32.1	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

Table above shows that in Ilorin west, 27 (i.e. 16.3%) and 29 (i.e. 17.5%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the society generally regards women politicians as infidels and irresponsible whereas 45 (i.e. 27.1%) and 64 (i.e. 38.6%) agreed and strongly agreed that the society generally regards women politicians as infidels and irresponsible with 1 (i.e. 0.6%) non-response. Furthermore, in Baruten 32 (i.e. 31.1%) and 14 (i.e. 13.6%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the society generally regards women politicians as infidels /irresponsible while 25 (i.e. 24.3%) and 30 (i.e. 29.1%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the society generally regards women politicians as infidels and irresponsible with 2 (i.e. 1.9%) non-response. Finally, in Offa, 16 (i.e. 20.5%) and 11 (i.e. 14.1%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the statement that, the society generally regards women politicians as unfaithful /irresponsible, while 26 (i.e. 33.3%) and 25 (i.e. 32.1%) of the respondents supported that the society generally regards women politician as infidels and irresponsible.

Hence, as reflected in the above data analysis, majority of the respondents in the selected local Governments supported the assertion that, the society generally regards women politicians as infidels and irresponsible. To buttress the data presented, here are comments made by some selected interviewed respondents.

Alhaja Iyabo APC women leader in Offa posited that:

> The perspectives which members of the society viewed women politicians are not encouraging; particularly the married women. Most of them, their husbands curtail their participation (Fieldwork, 2017).

In addition, the **Baruten PDP** women leader also supported the assertion that:

> Most women disengage themselves from political participation so as not to be stained by barbaric words of the society members regarding them; as being infidels and irresponsible. In addition, she confirms that the society only

recognized women roles to be solely family/domestic work
at home (Fieldwork, 2017).

Sequel to the respective views of the respondents in the selected local Government areas, it was confirmed that, the society generally regards women politicians as infidels and irresponsible to their homes, family and husband. With this, most of the women disengage themselves from any form of political participation so that they are not associated with those barbaric words *(Author, 2017).*

iii. On the basis of political competence, our society rated men over women

Table 17: Distribution of Respondents on women incompetency and inequality

CULTURAL FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	70	42.2	43	25.9	3	1.8	29	17.5	21	12.7	166(100%)
Baruten	16	15.5	31	30.1	1	1.0	32	31.1	23	22.3	103(100%)
Offa	7	9.0	13	16.7	4	1.1	38	48.7	20	25.6	78(100%)

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 43 (i.e. 25.9%) and 70 (i.e. 42.2%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that on the basis of political competence, our society rates men over women while 29 (i.e. 17.5%) and 21 (i.e. 12.7%) agreed and strongly agreed that on the basis of political competence, our society rate men over women with 3(1.8%) non-response. Furthermore, in Baruten 31 (i.e. 30.1%) and 16 (i.e. 15.5%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that on the basis of political competence, our society rate men over women while 32 (i.e. 31.1%) and 23 (i.e. 22.3%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that on the basis of political competence, our society rates men over women with 1 (i.e. 1.0%) non-response. This table also showed that in Offa 13 (i.e. 16.7%) and 7 (i.e. 9.0%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the statement that on the basis of political

competence, our society rate men over women while 38 (i.e. 48.7%) and 20 (i.e. 25.6%) of the respondents supported that on the basis of political competence, our society rate men over women.

Thus, respondents reacted to this questions based on the societal setting; as the statement was rejected in Ilorin west indicating that the society perceived the women to possess high potential and competency while in Baruten and Offa it was supported as majority of the respondents argued in support that our society rates men over women on the basis of political competency. This showed that, women were only given little or no chance to participate in the political affairs of the state.

To buttress the data presented, here are comments made by some selected interviewed respondents:

> The **respondents A1** from Ilorin West local Government area of Kwara state, rejected the assertion, she opined that based on civilization and myriad of awareness in the area; women were perceived to be political competent if they are fully empowered and guide right towards political power acquisition; she added that Ilorin west have installed women as vice chairman in the local Government and many women were also on the race to be political aspirants in the forth coming local Government election.
>
> The **respondents B1 and C1** in Baruten and Offa local Governments lamented that the societal setting have allowed men to be rated more as per political competency. Thus, they explained that the society rated women to be under controlled of the male counterpart and have political assurance and confidence on the men than the women.

In summary, societal milieu also played credent role in this situation as majority of respondents in Ilorin west local Government rejected the assertion that on the basis of political competence, our society rates men over women. While respondents from Baruten and Offa local Governments expressed bitterness on the rate at which the society rated men over women on the basis of political competence.

iv.   The domination of men in politics discourage women from participation

Table 18: Distribution of Respondents on male political dominance

CULTURAL FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	19	11.4	41	24.7	4	2.4	83	50.0	19	11.4	**166(100%)**
Baruten	8	7.8	30	29.1	1	1.0	34	33.0	30	29.1	**103(100%)**
Offa	6	7.7	16	20.5	-	-	36	46.2	20	25.6	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

Table above shows that in Ilorin west 41 (i.e. 24.7%) and 19 (i.e. 11.4%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that, the domination of men in politics discourages women from participation while 83 (i.e. 50.0%) and 19 (i.e. 11.4%) agreed and strongly agreed that the domination of men in politics discourages women from participation with 4 (i.e. 2.4%) non-response. We have similar scenario in Baruten local Government where 31 (i.e. 29.1%) and 8 (i.e. 7.8%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the domination of men in politics discourages women from participation while 34 (i.e. 33.0%) and 30 (i.e. 29.1%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the domination of men in politics discourages women from participation with 1 (i.e. 1.0%) non-response. This table also showed that in Offa local Government 16 (i.e. 20.5%) and 6 (i.e. 7.7%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the statement that the domination of men in politics discourages women from participation while 36 (i.e. 46.2%) and 20 (i.e. 25.6%) of respondents supported that the domination of men in politics discourages women from participation.

Consequent to the above data analysis, it is evident that majority of the respondents in the three selected local Governments opined that the domination of men in politics discourages

women from participation as various political positions were occupied by men and even to some extent only few women aspirants as against numerous men counterpart.

To buttress the quantitative data presented above, here are some responses made by some selected interviewed respondents.

> The **respondents A2** from Ilorin West local Government area of Kwara state, stated that male dominance in the political terrain have discouraged most of her fellow women who have the interest; she pin-pointed on god-fatherism syndrome in Nigerian politics; as most of the people to rally-around for support in nursing political ambitious are men possessing selfish interest (Fieldwork, 2017).

> **The respondent B2** from Baruten local Government emphasized that; it's hardly women nurse political ambition as politics are majorly categorized to be solely for men; that the only areas women are mostly needed is for rally, she also prostrate that even in the rally female seen found themselves un-fits as against their male counterpart.

Reference to the above views by respondents in the selected three (3) local Governments of Kwara State, evidence showed that the domination of men in politics discourages women from political participation; despite the proclamations of section 42 of 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended which declares equal participation of all citizenry in irrespective of tribe colour, gender and religious.

v. **Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics**

Table 19: Distribution of Respondents on cultural discouragement

CULTURAL FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	62	37.3	48	28.9	4	2.4	34	20.5	18	10.8	**166(100%)**
Baruten	19	18.4	37	35.9	1	1.0	31	30.1	15	14.6	**103(100%)**
Offa	10	12.8	22	28.2	2	2.6	21	26.9	23	29.5	**78(100%)**

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 48 (i.e. 28.9%) and 62 (i.e. 37.3%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on assertion that our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics while 34 (i.e. 20.5%) and 18 (i.e. 10.8%) agree and strongly agreed that our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics with 3 (i.e. 1.8%) non-response. Furthermore, in Baruten 37 (i.e. 35.9%) and 19 (i.e. 18.4%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics while 31 (i.e. 30.1%) and 15 (i.e. 14.6%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics with 1 (i.e. 1.0%) non-response. This table also showed that in Offa 22 (i.e. 28.2%) and 10 (i.e. 12.8%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the statement that our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics while 21 (i.e. 26.9.7%) and 23 (i.e. 29.5%) of the respondents opined that our culture does not encourage women involvement in politics.

As reflected in the above table, evidence showed that majority of the respondents argued against the aforementioned statement which stated that our culture does not encourage women involvement in politics. As this quantitative data were also supported by the comments of the interviewed respondents.

> **The respondent A3** from Ilorin west makes some declaration that the culture of the land does not forbid them from acquiring political position; but it was just lack of awareness on the importance of political participation among women. In addition, she buttresses the fact that the male counterparts in the society forged unspoken words so as to scare the women politicians and aspirants.

> **The respondents C3** from Offa; also argues there is nothing like culture restricting them from participating but poor finance and lack of empowerment among women as politics cannot be fully practiced without finance.

Without an iota of doubt, evidence showed clearly in response to respondents' opinions that culture naturally does not forbid women from acquiring political power.

vi. **The majority of women in this local Government are not educated enough to participate in politics**

Table 20: Distribution of Respondents on women's educational resources

SOCIO-ECONOMICS FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	29	17.5	54	32.5	4	2.4	30	18.1	49	29.5	**166(100%)**
Baruten	22	21.4	31	30.1	1	1.0	35	34.0	14	13.6	**103(100%)**
Offa	8	10.3	20	25.6	-	-	23	29.5	27	34.6	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin West 54 (i.e. 32.5%) and 29 (i.e. 17.5%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the majority of women in the local Government are not educated enough to participate in politics while 30 (i.e. 18.1%) and 49 (i.e. 29.5%) agree and strongly agreed that the majority of women in this local Government are not educated enough to participate in politics with 4 (i.e. 2.4%) non-response. Also the table showed that in Baruten 31 (i.e. 30.1%) and 22 (i.e. 21.4%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the majority of women in this local Government are not educated enough to participate in politics while 35 (i.e. 34.0%) and 14 (i.e. 13.6%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that on the basis of political competence, our society rates men over women with 1(1.0%) non-response. This table also showed that in Offa 20 (i.e. 25.6%) and 8 (i.e. 10.3%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the majority of women in this local Government are not educated enough to participate in politics while 23 (i.e. 29.5%) and 27 (i.e. 34.6%) of the respondents that the majority of women in this local Government are not educated enough to participate in politics.

Considering the opinion of the respondents; as depicted by the above analysis, respondents in Ilorin west and Baruten local Government make it clear that women possessed the academic qualification required for them to contest and participate in politics that educational qualification does not affect or hinders women political participation. Thus this opinion was further explained by the comments of the interviewed respondents below

> **Respondent A4 and B4**; comment that most of the women in their ward possessed at least O' Level and above which is the constitutional requirement for an elective position particularly at the grass-root level.

> **Respondent C4** in Offa local Government posited that the few learned women in this local Government do not even show interest, talk more of participation. She lamented; 'most of the women that developed interest in becoming political aspirants were sometimes curtailed and pull down depicts that possessing the academic qualification'.

A cursory look at the opinion of the respondents in this study, educational qualification only affected women in Offa while in Baruten and Ilorin west showed that majority of the women possessed the educational qualification for power acquisition and politics

The kind of occupations of women in these local Government areas do not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics

Table 21: Distribution of Respondents on women's Occupational Resources

SOCIO-ECONOMICS FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	70	42.2	64	38.6	1	0.6	19	11.4	12	7.2	**166(100%)**
Baruten	19	18.4	38	36.9	1	1.0	26	25.2	19	18.4	**103(100%)**
Offa	10	12.8	12	15.3	-	-	28	35.9	28	35.9	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 70 (i.e. 42.2%) and 64 (i.e. 38.6%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the kind of occupations of women in this local Government does not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics while 19 (i.e. 11.4%) and 12 (i.e. 7.2%) agree and strongly agreed that the kind of occupations of women in this local Government does not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics with 1(0.6%) non-response.

Also the table showed that in Baruten 38 (i.e. 36.19%) and 19 (i.e. 18.4%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the kind of occupations of women in this local Government does not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics while 26 (i.e. 25.2%) and 19 (i.e. 18.4%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the kind of occupations of women in this local Government does not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics with 1 (i.e. 1.0%) non-response. This table also showed that in Offa 12 (i.e. 15.3%) and 10 (i.e. 12.8%) of the respondents disagree and strongly disagree on the fact that the kind of occupations of women in this local Government does not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics while 28 (i.e. 35.9%) and 28 (i.e. 35.9%) of the respondents the kind of occupations of women in this local Government does not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics.

In addition to the above anlaysis here are the opinions of interviewed respondents from the local government

> **Respondent C5** responded that the kind of occupation women engage in Offa is either petty trading or civil service work which without doubt have no restriction to their participation in politics; she even mentioned the roles of market leader towards supporting politician.
>
> **Respondent A5 and B5** in Ilorin west and Baruten showed that the occupation of women does not afford them the financial strength to contest for any political position; that most of the women were regarded as followers.

Evaluating the responses of the respondents from the selected local Governments, evidence showed that educational qualification affects women in Baruten and Ilorin but does not affect women in Offa Local Government.

vii.   Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in these local Governments to participate in politics

Table 22: Distribution of Respondents on women's financial sponsorship

SOCIO-ECONOMICS FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	19	11.4	36	21.7	3	1.8	57	34.3	51	30.7	**166(100%)**
Baruten	9	8.7	25	24.3	2	1.9	39	37.9	28	27.2	**103(100%)**
Offa	5	6.4	17	21.8	-	-	24	30.8	32	41.0	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 36 (i.e. 21.7%) and 19 (i.e. 11.4%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics while 57 (i.e. 34.3%) and 51 (i.e. 30.7%) agree and strongly agreed that the kind of occupations of women in this local Government does not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics with 3(1.8%) non-response.

Also the table showed that in Baruten 25 (i.e. 24.3%) and 9 (i.e. 8.7%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics while 39 (i.e. 37.9%) and 28 (i.e. 27.2%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics with 2 (i.e. 1.9%) non-response. This table also showed that in Offa 17 (i.e. 21.8%) and 5 (i.e. 6.4%) of respondents disagree and strongly disagree on the fact that lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women

in this local Government to participate in politics while 24 (i.e. 30.8%) and 32 (i.e. 41.0%) of respondents that lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics.

> **Respondent A6** discussed extensively on the role of finance to women political participation; she lamented that women were only entitled to little or no financial support. Most of the appointment and empowerment that will elevate women financial buoyancy were being denied. Thus, she emphasized that the political terrain of Nigeria was structured into money politics that even their fellow women cannot support candidate that cannot entice them with money.
>
> In addition, **Respondent C6** from Offa, opined that the cost of campaign, party form and other logistic expenses scare the majority of the women in the ward from contesting for any political positions.
> Furthermore, **Respondent B6** from Baruten, explains based on her experience, that the money and other economic items she budgets to nurse her political ambition were not enough and there was no external financial support.

Following the responses from respondents; it has become evident that Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in the selected local Governments to participate in politics. Consequently, the only way through when women political participation can be enhanced is by supporting the women financial particularly by the political party they belong and subsidizing the cost of purchasing forms.

i.   **The level of women's literacy in these local Government hinders them from participating in politics**

Table 23: Distribution of Respondents on women literacy

SOCIO-ECONOMICS FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	24	14.5	28	16.9	1	0.6	55	33.1	58	34.9	**166(100%)**
Baruten	11	10.7	43	41.7	-	-	29	28.2	20	19.4	**103(100%)**
Offa	8	10.3	18	23.1	-	-	27	34.6	25	32.1	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 28 (i.e. 16.9%) and 24 (i.e. 14.5%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the level of women's literacy in this local Government hinders them from participating in politics while 55 (i.e. 33.1%) and 58 (i.e. 34.9%) agreed and strongly agreed that the level of women's literacy in this local Government hinders them from participating in politics with 1 (i.e. 0.6%) non-response.

Also the table showed that in Baruten 11 (i.e. 10.7%) and 43 (i.e. 41.7%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the level of women's literacy in this local Government hinders them from participating in politics while 29 (i.e. 28.2%) and 20 (i.e. 19.4%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the level of women's literacy in this local Government hinders them from participating in politics. This table also showed that in Offa 18 (i.e. 23.1%) and 8 (i.e. 10.3%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the level of women's literacy in this local Government hinders them from participating in politics while (i.e. 34.6%) and 25 (i.e. 32.1%) of respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the level of women's literacy in this local Government hinders them from participating in politics.

As depicted by the above table; it's inevitable to say that the level of women's literacy in Ilorin west and Offa local Government hinders them from participating in politics. This means that adequate awareness is not readily made available to change the mind set of people towards politics while Baruten as explained in the statistical data showed that the level of literacy among women is very high; as most of the women know the importance of political participation.

To buttress the data, here are the comments made by interviewed respondents:

> **Respondents A7:** she explained that more education and political mobilization is needed to be carried out; particularly among the market women; explaining the significance of their participation.

> **The Respondent B7** from Baruten contends that the literacy level among the women in the local Government is not significant as more awareness is needed to be created so as to sensitize women.

x.   **The prevailing per capital income in the country encourages women's political participation**

Table 24: Distribution of Respondents on women per capital income

SOCIO-ECONOMICS FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	37	22.3	34	20.5	2	1.2	27	16.3	66	39.8	166(100%)
Baruten	6	5.8	17	16.5	2	1.9	51	49.5	26	25.2	103(100%)
Offa	6	7.7	10	12.8	1	1.3	40	51.3	21	26.9	78(100%)

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 34 (i.e. 20.5%) and 37(i.e. 22.3%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the prevailing per capital income in the country encourages women political participation while 27 (i.e. 16.3%) and 66 (i.e. 39.8%) agreed

and strongly agreed that the prevailing per capital income in the country encourages women political participation with 2 (i.e. 1.2%) non-response.

Also the table showed that in Baruten 17 (i.e. 16.5%) and 6 (i.e. 5.8.7%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the prevailing per capital income in the country encourages wome political participation while 51 (i.e. 49.5%) and 26 (i.e. 25.2%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the prevailing per capital income in the country encourages women political participation.

This table also showed that in Offa 10 (i.e. 12.8%) and 6 (i.e. 7.7%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the prevailing per capital income in the country encourages women political participation while 40 (i.e. 51.3%) and 21 (i.e. 26.9%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the prevailing per capital income in the country encourages women political participation with 1 (i.e. 1.3%) non-response.

From the above data analyses; evidence showed that prevailing per capital income does not discourage women political participation. Thus, in the selected local Government areas, the majority of the respondents opined that the prevailing per capital income in the country encourages women political participation.

xi.   Our religious heritage does not encourage women to participate in politics

Table 25: Distribution of Respondents on Religious beliefs

Historical Heritages	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	109	65.7	29	17.5	1	0.6	18	10.8	9	5.4	**166(100%)**
Baruten	16	15.5	38	36.9	2	1.9	29	28.2	20	19.4	**103(100%)**
Offa	3	3.8	22	28.2	-	-	34	43.6	19	24.4	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 29 (i.e. 17.5%) and 109 (i.e. 65.7%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that our religious heritage does not encourage women to participate in politics while 18 (i.e. 10.8%) and 9 (i.e. 9.4%) agreed and strongly agreed that our religious heritage do not encourage women to participate in politics with 1 (i.e. 0.6%) non-response. Also the table showed that in Baruten 38 (i.e. 36.9%) and 16(15.5%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that our religious heritage does not encourage women to participate in politics while 29 (i.e. 28.2%) and 20 (i.e. 19.2%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that our religious heritage does not encourage women to participate in politics with 2 (i.e. 1.9%) non-response. In Offa 22 (i.e. 28.2%) and 3 (i.e. 3.8%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that our religious heritage does not encourage women to participate in politics while 34 (i.e. 43.6%) and 19 (i.e. 24.4%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that our religious heritage do not encourage women to participate in politics.

Sequent from the above data, evidence showed that religious belief does not affect women political participation in Ilorin west; but different is the case in Baruten and Offa local Government as Respondents lament on the effects of socio-cultural cum religious belief which restricted majority of interested women from participating in politics.

xii.   Women are expected to be homemakers rather than political leaders

Table 26: Distribution of Respondents on Family roles &responsibilities

Historical Heritages	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	33	19.9	29	17.5	3	1.8	80	48.2	23	13.9	**166(100%)**
Baruten	12	11.7	45	43.7	-	-	35	34.0	11	10.7	**103(100%)**
Offa	14	17.9	29	37.2	-	-	26	33.3	9	11.5	**78(100%)**

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 29 (i.e. 17.5%) and 33 (i.e. 19.9%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the statement that women are expected to be homemakers rather than political leaders while 80 (i.e. 48.2%) and 23 (i.e. 13.9%) agreed and strongly agreed on the statement that women are expected to be homemakers rather than political leaders with 3 (i.e. 1.8%) non-response. Also the table showed that in Baruten 45 (i.e. 43.7%) and 12 (i.e. 11.7.7%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the view that women are expected to be homemakers rather than political leaders while 35 (i.e. 37.2%) and 11 (i.e. 10.7%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed on the assertion that women are expected to be homemakers rather than political leaders. This table also showed that in Offa 29 (i.e. 37.2%) and 14 (i.e. 17.9%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the view that women are expected to be homemakers rather than political leaders while 26 (i.e. 33.3%) and 9 (i.e. 11.5%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed on the statement that women are expected to be homemakers rather than political leaders.

> Respondent B7 from Baruten said that sometimes the roles of women in up-keeping the home and family cannot be overemphasized as one has to forgone one for another.

Scrutinizing the comments from the respondents, it can be depicted that the family roles played by women affect their readiness and participation in politics; as the majority of the respondents regard women to be home makers rather than being political leaders.

xiii.   The discrimination against women during the long military rule in Nigeria has discouraged many women from political participation

Table 27: Distribution of Respondents on women discrimination during military regimes

Historical Heritages	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	16	9.6	28	16.9	-	-	100	60.2	22	13.3	**166(100%)**
Baruten	2	1.9	28	27.2	-	-	44	42.7	29	28.2	**103(100%)**
Offa	7	9.0	27	34.6	-	-	26	33.3	18	23.1	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 28 (i.e. 16.9%) and 16 (i.e. 9.6%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the argument that the discrimination against women during the long military rule in Nigeria has discouraged many women from political participation while 100 (i.e. 60.2%) and 22 (i.e. 13.3%) agreed and strongly agreed on the argument that the discrimination against women during the long military rule in Nigeria has discouraged many women from political participation. Also the table showed that in Baruten 28 (i.e. 27.2%) and 2 (i.e. 1.9%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the argument that the discrimination against women during the long military rule in Nigeria has discouraged many women from political participation while 44 (i.e. 42.7%) and 29 (i.e. 28.2%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed on the argumetn that the discrimination against women during the long military rule in Nigeria has discouraged many women from political participation. This table also showed that in Offa 27 (i.e. 34.6%) and 7 (i.e. 9.0%) of respondents disagree and strongly disagreed on the argument that the discrimination against women during the long military rule in Nigeria has discouraged many women from political participation while 26 (i.e. 33.3%) and 18 (i.e. 23.1%) of respondents agreed and strongly

agreed on the view that the discrimination against women during the long military rule in Nigeria has discouraged many women from political participation.

In addition to the above data, a respondents from Baruten opined that militarization of polling station, and other such military power displayed during election; has make her fellow women to develop phobia in politics and electioneering.

> In addition; respondent C8 form Offa, also entrenched on the jungle justices during military regime which has scared most of the prominent women politicians from disengaging themselves in politics.
>
> Respondent A8 from Ilorin west disclosed that the comment and responses made by her fellow women while she was canvassing; is that ''politics is perceived to be a dirty game and do and die syndrome.

Aggregating the comment and responses from respondents from various local Government areas; it was confirmed that the discrimination of women and other practices during military rule discouraged and made women to develop political apathy.

xiv.   The marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women's political participation

Table 28: Distribution of Respondents on Marginalization of women during colonial period

Historical Heritages	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	28	16.9	17	10.2	5	3.0	96	57.8	20	12.0	**166(100%)**
Baruten	5	4.9	29	28.2	2	1.9	42	40.8	25	24.3	**103(100%)**
Offa	9	11.5	13	16.7	3	3.8	32	41.0	21	26.9	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 17 (i.e. 10.2%) and 28 (i.e. 16.9%) respondents disagree and strongly disagreed on the view that the marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women political participation while 96 (i.e. 57.8%) and 20 (i.e. 12.0%) agreed and strongly agreed on the view that the marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women political participation with 5 (i.e. 3.0%) non-response. Also the table showed that in Baruten 5 (i.e. 4.9%) and 29 (i.e. 28.2%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the basis that the marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women political participation while 42 (i.e. 40.8%) and 25 (i.e. 24.3%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women political participation. Furthermore, in Offa 13 (i.e. 16.7%) and 9 (i.e. 11.5%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the basis that the marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women political participation while 32 (i.e. 41.0%) and 21 (i.e. 26.9%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women political participation with 3 (i.e. 3.8%) non-response.

In relation to the above, it was believed that the marginalization of women in various forms of discrimination and criteria in Nigeria also aggravate low participation of women in the political affairs of the country. Hence; the majority of the respondents in the selected local Government supported the view that the marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women political participation.

Objective 2: To assess the level of political parties' support, to women who are politically inclined.

xv. Nigeria political parties promote active women political participation in Kwara State

Table 29: Distribution of Respondents on Party's support

POLITICAL PARTY FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	55	33.1	46	27.7	-	-	55	33.1	10	6.0	**166(100%)**
Baruten	3	2.9	37	35.9	-	-	45	43.7	18	17.5	**103(100%)**
Offa	3	3.8	20	25.6	-	-	26	33.3	29	37.2	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 46 (i.e. 27.7%) and 55 (i.e. 33.1%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the submission that Nigeria political parties promote active women political participation in Kwara State while 55 (i.e. 33.1%) and 10 (i.e. 6.0%) agreed and strongly agreed on the view that, Nigeria political parties promote active women political participation in Kwara State. Also the table showed that in Baruten 3 (i.e. 2.9%) and 37 (i.e. 35.9%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the statement that Nigeria political parties promote active women political participation in Kwara State while 45 (i.e. 43.7%) and 18 (i.e. 17.5%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed on the statement that Nigeria political parties promote active women political participation in Kwara State. This table also showed that in Offa 20 (i.e. 25.6%) and 3 (i.e. 3.8%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed on the assertion that Nigeria political parties promote active women political participation in Kwara State while 26 (i.e. 33.3%) and 29 (i.e. 37.2%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed on the statement that Nigeria political parties promote active women political participation in Kwara State.

> The **respondent A9** from Ilorin west laments on the negligence of political parties in supporting and empowering women inclined; to participate in politics, she noted that the political parties only use the women for political campaign and fail to fulfill their promises in terms of appointing

women into vital portfolio in the party apart from women
leader position.

In juxtaposition of the respondents' comment and the data analyzed; it is apparent that in Ilorin west local Government political parties do not promote active participation of women as majority of the respondent disagreed and strongly disagreed on the assertion the situation was, however, while different in Offa and Baruten, evidence in the above statistical figures showed that political parties promote active political participation of women in the local government areas.

xvi.   Women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers

Table 30: Distribution of Respondents on Political Parties Factors

POLITICAL PARTY FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	26	15.7	45	27.1	1	0.6	70	42.2	24	14.5	166(100%)
Baruten	8	7.8	38	36.9	1	1.0	43	41.7	13	12.6	103(100%)
Offa	4	5.1	18	23.1	-	-	30	38.5	26	33.3	78(100%)

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 26 (i.e. 15.7%) and 45 (i.e. 27.1%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag-bearers while 70 (i.e. 42.2%) and 24 (i.e. 14.5%) agreed and strongly agreed that women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers. Also the table showed that in Baruten 38 (i.e. 36.9%) and 8 (i.e. 7.8%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers while 43 (i.e. 41.7%) and 13 (i.e. 12.6%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers. This table also showed that in Offa 18 (i.e. 23.1%) and 4 (i.e. 5.1%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag

bearers while 30 (i.e. 38.5%) and 26 (i.e. 33.3%) of the respondents agreed and strongly

agreed that women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers. This is

supported with the outcome of the interview conducted below

> **Respondent A9** form Ilorin responded since parties are
> mainly dominated and control by the men, women find it
> difficult to sail through the tedious criteria so as to be elected
> as the flag bearer of the party

> **Respondent B9** also added that in short note political parties
> do not have confidence on the women being their flag
> bearers. And political parties prefer to present male
> counterparts in an election

> **Respondents C9** from Offa, responded that without
> hesitation no active political party can present women for the
> Government even if the women accomplished all criteria
> needed they are still denied the support.

A meticulous overview of the respondent's opinion reveals that women are not considered by

political parties as selected party's flag bearers;

xvii.   Women are generally protected by party's constitution

Table 31: Distribution of Respondents on Political Parties Factors

POLITICAL PARTY FACTORS	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Non-Response		Agree		Strongly Agree		TOTAL
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Ilorin West	49	29.5	32	19.3	4	2.4	51	30.7	30	18.1	**166(100%)**
Baruten	10	9.7	28	27.2	1	1.0	44	42.7	20	19.4	**103(100%)**
Offa	1	1.3	24	30.8	-	-	19	24.4	34	43.6	**78(100%)**

Source: Field Reports, 2016

The table above shows that in Ilorin west 32 (i.e. 19.3%) and 49 (i.e. 29.5%) respondents

disagreed and strongly disagreed that women are generally protected by party's constitution

while 51 (i.e. 30.7%) and 30 (i.e. 18.1%) agreed and strongly agreed that women are

generally protected by party's constitution. Also the table showed that in Baruten 28 (i.e.

27.2%) and 10 (i.e. 9.7%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that women

are generally protected by party's constitution while 44 (i.e. 42.7%) and 20(19.4%)

respondents agreed and strongly agreed that women are generally protected by party's constitution. This table also showed that in Offa 1 (i.e. 1.3%) and 24 (i.e. 30.8%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that women are generally protected by party's constitution while 19 (i.e. 24.4%) and 34 (i.e. 43.6%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that women are generally protected by party's constitution.

While interviewing respondents on constitutional provision as regard women protection in the party, the PDP women leader responded that the party constitution does not protect women; she emphasized that there is need for quota system within the party so as to create conducive environment for women contestants.

In addition, respondents B10 from Baruten opined that despite the low participation of women the party still place women on same conditions with their male counterpart.

Objectives 3: To assess if there is any significant improvement in women participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government areas from 1999 to 2015

In order to effectively proof if there is any significant improvement in women participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government areas, secondary data derived from past records in the three local governments from 1999-2016was utilized. The analysis is shown in table 32 below

Table 32: Percentage of Women Representation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government Council (from 1999-2016)

Election Year	Offa			Baruten			Ilorin West			% increase		
	C	S	Total (%)	C	S	Total (%)	C	S	Total (%)	Offa	Baruten	Ilo/West
1999-2003	0	1	1(4.2)	0	0	0(0)	0	0	0(0)	-	-	-
2004-2007	2	2	4(16.7)	2	2	4(17.4)	2	2	4(16.7)	3%	17.4%	16.7%
2007-2010	2	0	2(8.3)	0	1	1(4.3)	2	2	4(16.7)	0.5%	-0.75%	0%
2010-2013	2	0	2(8.3)	0	0	0(0)	2	2	4(16.7)	0%	-1%	0%
2013-2016	-	-	-	0	2	2(8.7)	1	2	3(12.5)	-	8.7%	0.25%
Total Available Positions	*12*	*7*	*24*	*11*	*7*	*23*	*12*	*7*	*24*			

Source: Field Reports, 2016

As reflected in the above tabulated data collated from each of the local Government areas, evidence showed that, between 1999-2003 no elected female councilor in Offa local Government. In 2004-2007 only two (2) female elected councilors out of twelve (12) available position signifying (16.7%); likewise, in 2007-2010, 2010-2013. On the other hand, Offa had one (1) female supervisory councilor out of seven (7) available positions with (8.3%), two (2) between 2004 and 2007 signifying 16.6% and no woman was appointed in 2007-2010 and 2010-2013.

In Ilorin west local Government, no woman was elected nor appointed between 1999-2003; while only two women councilors and supervisory councilors were appointed between 2004-2007, 2007-2010, 2010-2013. While in 2013-2016 only one woman councilor and two women supervisory-councilors were in the council.

In Baruten local Government, no female councilor and supervisory councilor s appointed between 1999-2003; two (2) women councilors and supervisory councilors were appointed between 2004 and 2007; only one (1) female supervisory councilor was appointed between 2007-2010. A woman was neither elected nor appointed between 2010-2013. In 2013-2016 only two (2) women were appointed.

From the result presented above, the percentage increase in women representation in the selected local Government supervisory and Councillorship positions for all of the years is less than 30%affirmative action as stipulates in the World Women Declaration (1995) in Beijing. Thus, the above statistical analyses therefore, make juxtaposition on objective three of the study; thus, the collated data shows that there is no significant improvement in women representation in the selected local Government councils since 1999-2015.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS

6.1   Introduction

This chapter is primarily designed to extensively analyse the results of both quantitative and qualitative data collated in the field work in a view to present facts about low women political participation in the selected local Government in Kwara State. The issues to discuss in this chapter are; chi-square test analysis, interview findings, and hypotheses tested.

6.2   Chi-square Test

Chi-square test is a statistical test used to compare the observed and expected frequencies and determine whether there is a statistically significant difference between variables. Thus, based on the outcome of the chi-square test; null hypothesis or alternative hypothesis are either rejected or fail to be rejected (accepted). According to Levin (1999) Chi-square test enables researchers to compare observed and expected frequency objectives. Since decision is not be possible by mere-looking at different variables. Furthermore, Plackett and Pearson posited that the Chi-square is commonly used for testing relationships between categorical variables. Thus the null hypothesis of the Chi-square test is that no relationships exist on the categorical variable in the population. Hence we reject the Null hypothesis if the statistical analysis shows that the significance level is below the cut-off value (0.05 or 0.01) and otherwise.

6.3   Analysis of Findings

For the purpose of the study, the research objectives were stated in the study as aforementioned in the chapter one (1) is as follows for statistical analysis:

Objective 1: To assess if there is any relationship between socio-economic and cultural factors and low women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Governments Areas of Kwara State?

Objective 2: To assess the level of political parties support, render to women, who are politically inclined. And three questions were set to analyse the respondents' views

Objectives 3: To assess if there is any significant improvement in women's participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government council from 1999 to 2015

6.4 Chi-square Test Model

Table 33: Summary of Chi-square test

Type	Aim	Hypotheses	Statistics df H0 acceptance Rule
Independence	One population. - Type of variables: nominal, dichotomical, ordinal or grouped interval - Each population is at least 10 times as large as its respective sample	Research hypothesis: The two variables are dependent (or related). H0: There is no association between two variables. (The two variables are independent). Ha: There is an association between two variables.	$\square 2 \square \square E \,(O- E)2$ E $df = (r - 1)(c - 1)$
Goodness-of-fit	- One sample. - Compares the expected and observed values to determine how well the experimenter's predictions fit the data.	H0: The observed values are equal to theoretical values (expected). (The data followed the assumed distribution). Ha: The observed values are not equal to theoretical values (expected). (The data did not follow the assumed distribution).	$\square 2 \square \square E \,(O- E)2$ E $df = (r - 1)(c - 1)$

Source: Sorana et al. (2011)

The agreement between observation and hypothesis is analyzed by dividing the observations in a defined number of intervals (*f*). The X2 statistic is calculated based on the formula presented in Equation (1).

$$\chi2 = \underline{E\ (O - E)\ 2}$$

$$E$$

$$df = (r - 1)\ (c - 1)$$

Where $\chi2$= value of Chi-square statistics; $\chi2$ = value of the Chi-square parameter from Chi-square distribution; *Oi* = experimental (observed) frequency associated to the *ith* frequency class; *Ei* = expected frequency calculated from the theoretical distribution law for the *ith* frequency class; *t* = number of parameters in theoretical distribution estimated from central moments. Thus, the probability to reject the null hypothesis is calculated based on the theoretical distribution ($\chi2$). The null hypothesis is rejected if ($\chi2$ cdf ($\chi2$, f-t-1)) is lower than or equal to (0.05)5% (level of significant/ P-value).

6.5   Hypothesis Testing

This section examines the effect of cultural and socio-economic factors cum the roles of political parties towards women political participation in the selected Local Government Areas. Thus, earlier researches have shown mere believe as a determinant to the level of women involvement in political activities in the various countries all over the world.

Hence, attempt is also made to assess, examine and put to test the mere hypothesized believes in the political environment of Nigeria particularly, Kwara State and to test the three hypothetical statements made on the basis of the research objectives in chapter one of this research study.

These hypotheses are:

H0$_1$ There is no significant influence between cultural cum socio-economic factors and women's political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government Areas.

H0$_2$ There is no significant impact between Nigerian political parties and women political participation.

H0$_3$ There is no significant improvement in women participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government Areas since 1999-2015

The acceptance or rejection of the ***null hypothesis*** 1 (H0$_1$) will be tested using chi-square statistical tools (i.e. testing for relationship between categorical variables). The dependent variable is women political participation while the independent variables are cultural and socio-economic factors as highlighted in the study. ***Null hypothesis 2 (*H0$_2$*)*** will be tested using chi-square statistical tool, as the dependent variable is women political participation while the independent variable is political parties i.e. party constitution, party support, and party mandate. Furthermore, the ***null hypothesis 3*** (H0$_3$) will be tested using the simple percentage cum frequency table (% increase) so as to test if there is any significance improvement in women representation in the Selected Local Government Areas; below are the results of the statistical tests.

Decision Rule: the null hypotheses are measured by the p-value. Thus if the p-value is less than the conventional significance level (0.05), the null hypothesis is rejected. On the other hand, if the p-value is higher than the significance level; the null hypotheses are accepted (source: Plackett and Pearson, 1983).

Hypothesis 1 (H0₁): There is no significant influence between cultural cum socio-economic factors and women political participation in Baruten Local Government Council

Table 34: Chi-Square Test Statistics   Table 35: Chi-Square Test Statistics

Cultural Believes	Chi-Square	Df	Asymp. Sig.	Socio-Economic Believes	Chi-Square	Df	Asymp. Sig.
Ilorin West	26.346[a]	3	.000	**Ilorin West**	21.221[b]	3	.000
Baruten	12.353[a]	3	.006	**Baruten**	18.248[b]	3	.000
Offa	5.786	3	0.122	**Offa**	3.930	1	.047

a. Local govt. respondents: Baruten local govt.

b. Independent Variable: cultural and socio-economic factors

c. Dependent Variable: Women political participation

The table above shows the influence of each of the independent variables to the model and its significance. As depicted in the above data analysis; hypothesis 1(H0₁) was rejected in Ilorin west local Government with Chi-square value of 26.346 and 21.221 with a corresponding p-value of 0.000 and 0.000 respectively which is less than the conventional significant value (0.05) therefore, the result showed that there is a significant influence between Culture cum socio-economic and women political participation.

In Baruten local Government; hypothesis 1(H0₁) was also rejected with Chi-square value of 12.353 and 18.248 with a corresponding p-value of 0.006 and .000 respectively which is less than the conventional significant value (0.05) therefore, the result above also showed that there is a significant influence between Culture cum socio-economic and women political participation.

In Offa however; hypothesis 1 was accepted with Chi-square value of 5.786 and 20.154 with a corresponding p-value of 0.122 and .000 respectively which is above the conventional significant value (0.05) as such, the result showed that there is no significant influence between Culture cum socio-economic and women political participation. NB: as the case may be the majority of the respondents are dissatisfied on the influence of the societal culture to the level of women political participation. While it was confirmed that socio-economic status influences the level of women political participation in terms of elective positions.

Decision: Hypothesis 1(H0$_1$) was rejected in Ilorin west and Baruten but accepted in Offa local Government area. The result of the interview conducted is analysed below to further buttress the argument of the respondents.

The Interview Conducted on the significant influence between cultural cum socio-economic factors and Women political participation in Baruteen Local Government Council

> **Respondent A**: Baruten PDP Women Leader remarks on the significant influence of culture towards women political engagement. She responded that most women disengage themselves from political participation in order to be tarnished by barbaric words from members of the society. In addition, she further entrenched on the social stratification, as the society is structured to be patriarchy where the men are regarded to be more relevant in political hemisphere as against the women counterpart.

> **Respondent B** Kwara State House of Assembly Aspirant stated that despite the constitutional stipulation on equal political right for both gender irrespective of religious believes, race or ethnic differences yet some syndrome known to be mere-cultural believes couple with god-fatherism are hallowing Nigerian political system making women weakling women aspiration and inspiration towards politics.

> **Respondent C** APC women leader Ogidi ward; make some declaration that sheds more light to the study, she explained that:

''the culture of the land does not forbid them from acquiring political position; but it was just lack of awareness on the importance of political participation among women'' In addition, she buttresses that ''the male counterparts in the society forged unspoken words so as to scare the women politics or aspirant''.

Respondent D   Secretary to Offa local Government Chairmanship acted on and complement   Respondent C views that ''there is nothing like culture restricting women from participating but poor finance and lack of empowerment among women as politics cannot be fully practiced without finance''.

Respondent E: Former Vice-chairman Offa local Government opined that ''the cost of campaign, party form and other logistic expenses scared the majority of the women in the ward from contesting for elective positions''.

Respondent F: Former Baruten supervisory councilor on Welfare; discussed extensively on the role of finance to women political participation and lamented on the fact that women are only entitled to little or no financial support. She further explains that most of the appointments and empowerments that will financially support their political ambition were being denied. In addition, she also pointed that the political terrain of Nigeria is structured as money politics that even their fellow women cannot support female political aspirants' without money.

Analysis of Respondent Views

Without an iota of doubt, most of the respondent laid more emphasis on the socio-economic factors and the fear of image of women being tarnished by derogatory words and expression by the members of the society was also disclosed. It was argued that there is nothing in the constitution or cultural norms and values that restricted women from political participation. According to Agbalajobi, 2010 and Makama, 2013 ''there is nothing in the constitution that excludes the participation of women in politics in Nigeria that the low women participation

could be attributed to mere believes such as culture, socio-economic, low self-esteem of women or lack of interest among women in the political terrain''.

Whereas, Fayomi & Igbelina-Igbokwe, 2006 noted the influence of patriarchal-cultural-structure on the social status of the female gender; Kelly on the other hand explained that women were merely seen to belong to the home, be incapable of making sound decisions and it is unbecoming of women to expose themselves in public for political activities such as campaign, rallies and men often find it incredible and impracticable to see their wives participating in politics.

Babatunde, (2003) argued that a country's level of development correlates with women's participation in politics and decreases existing barriers to political activity and participation. He emphasized further that increased economic development in addition to more broad-based distribution of educational and occupational resources after women participation in politics. With this, one can say greater access to educational and occupational resources increases women's chances of professional development, creating a larger pool of women eligible for power positions. In addition, the response of the respondents also showed that increase in per-capital, gross domestic product, women in the workforce and women's literacy positively influence the percentage of women's political participation.

Hypothesis 2 (H0₂): There is no significant impact between Nigerian political parties and women political participation.

Table 36: Chi-Square Test Statistics

Political parties Roles	Chi-Square	Df	Asymp. Sig.
Ilorin West	21.006	2	.862
Baruten	3.654	2	.000
Offa	0.297	2	.000

a. Local govt. of respondents: Baruten local govt.
b. Independent Variable: political parties
c. Dependent Variable: Women political participation

The table above is a reflection of data analysis on hypothesis 2 as explicated in Ilorin west local Government with Chi-square value of 21.006 with a corresponding p-value of 0.862 which is above the conventional significant value (0.05) The result showed that there is no significant impact between Nigerian political parties and women political participation.

In Baruten local Government; hypothesis 1 was also accepted with Chi-square value of 3.654 with a corresponding p-value of 0.006 which is less than the conventional significant value (0.05) Therefore, the result above also showed that there is no significant impact between Nigerian political parties and women political participation.

In Offa, hypothesis 1 was accepted with Chi-square value of 0.297 with a corresponding p-value of 0.000 respectively which is above the conventional significant value (0.05) The result showed that there is significant influence between Nigerian political parties and women political participation.

Decision: Hypothesis 2 was accepted in Ilorin west but was rejected in Baruten and Offa Local Government Areas. The result of the interview conducted is analysed below to buttress further the argument of the respondents.

The Interview Conducted on the significant influence between political parties' roles and Women political participation in Baruten Local Government Council

Respondent A: The PDP Chairman Kwara State Chapter explained during the interview that the parties reckon with the roles and significant of women to the success of any elections the party won; as he posited on the significant roles played by the party towards encouraging women ample participation. Emphasized on political awareness and campaigns conducted by the party so as to elicit women political participation. In addition, he disclosed that women ward leaders, women leaders and other women principal officers in the will be trained so that the training and knowledge gained can be reflected in their respective locality and wards within Kwara State.

Respondent BAPC Party Secretary responded that the party is working toward having more women as party flag bearers; she cited the roles of the party towards expecially in supporting the current Chairman of Ilorin west local Government.

Respondent C   A woman political aspirant in Baruten lamented on the negligence of political party tin the area of supporting and empowering women. She noted that the political party only use the women for political campaigns and fails to fulfill their promises in term of appointing women into vital economic appointive positions apart from the traditional women leader positions.

Respondent D   According to the women leaders in Ajikobi and Oloje ward in Ilorin; despite their efforts and support towards party flag bearers selected/elected by the party; the party deny them some benefits such as appointment of women to key positions that will strengthen and promote their political ambitions. They also entrenched that the party does not have confidence on female aspirants even some difficult criteria were placed on female aspirants; in this case some women aspirants have no choice than to step-down if they can not meet the conditions.

Analysis of Respondents' Views

The significance of political parties towards the participation of women in politics cannot be over emphasized as parties are the vital links for achieving equality and inclusive participation given that they maintain firm control over the nomination of candidates for electives and appointive positions. To buttress this assertion, Daniel, 2013 opted that gender gap widens significantly as candidates for political office move from being eligible to becoming aspirants to finally being nominated by the party (flag bearer). In his words he observed that party incorporated rules guarantee women's representation.

Lai, 2013) as quoted posited that '' electoral quotas have become a popular policy measure to bring more women into politics. Empirically, it was observed that political parties were the

most important institutions that affect the political participation of women since they are constitutionally responsible for candidate recruitment and selections.

Evaluating the response of respondent, **Respondents A & C** showed that women are motivated and geared towards political participation by their respective political parties; thus this depicted that the political parties in Nigeria played their statutory roles through myriad of campaigns, poverty alleviation programmes, lectures and symposia organized in the local Government. In addition, the party hierarchy also recognizes women, giving them portfolios in the party (women leader, caucus mobilisation) among others; sensitizing the women towards power acquisition (Author, 2017).

Hypothesis 3 (H0$_{3)}$: there is no significant improvement in women participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government Areas since 1999 to 2015?

Table 37: Percentage of Women Representation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government Councils, from 1999-2016

Election Year	Offa			Baruten			Ilorin West			% increase		
	C	S	Total (%)	C	S	Total (%)	C	S	Total (%)	Offa	Baruten	Ilo/West
1999-2003	0	1	1(4.2)	0	0	0(0)	0	0	0(0)	-	-	-
2004-2007	2	2	4(16.7)	2	2	4(17.4)	2	2	4(16.7)	3%	17.4%	16.7%
2007-2010	2	0	2(8.3)	0	1	1(4.3)	2	2	4(16.7)	0.5%	-0.75%	0%
2010-2013	2	0	2(8.3)	0	0	0(0)	2	2	4(16.7)	0%	-1%	0%
2013-2016	-	-	-	0	2	2(8.7)	1	2	3(12.5)	-	8.7%	0.25%
Total Available Positions	*12*	*7*	*24*	*11*	*7*	*23*	*12*	*7*	*24*			

Source: Field Reports, 2016

As reflected in the above tabulated data collated from each of the local Government. Evidence showed that between 1999-2003 there was no elected councilor in Offa local Government. In 2004-2007 there were only two (2) elected councilors out of twelve (12) available positions signifying (16.7%); on the other hands, between 2007-2010, 2010-2013.

Offa experienced one (1) female supervisory councilor out of seven (7) available positions with (8.3%), two (2) between 2004 and 2007 signifying 16.6% and no woman was appointed between 2007-2010 and 2010-2013.

In Ilorin west local Government, no woman was elected and appointed between 1999-2003; while only two women councilors and supervisory councilor were appointed between 2004-2007, 2007-2010, 2010-2013. Between 2013-2016 one councilor and two supervisory-councilors were also elected.

In Baruten local Government no councilor and supervisory councilor was appointed between 1999-2003; two (2) councilors and supervisory councilors were elected between 2004 and 2007; only one (1) supervisory councilor was elected between 2007-2010. No women were elected nor appointed between 2010-2013. In 2013-2016 only two (2) women were appointed.

From the result presented above, the percentage increase in women representation in the selected local Government supervisory and Councillorship positions for all the years is less than 30%affirmative action as stipulated in the World Women Declaration in (1995) in Beijing. Thus, the above statistical analyses therefore, make juxtaposition on hypothesis three of the study; thus, the collated data show that *there is no significant improvement in women representation in the selected local Government councils since 1999-2015.*

Decision: Hypothesis 3 was accepted in all the three selected Local Government councils (Ilorin West, Baruten and Offa). The result of the interview conducted is analysed below to further buttress the argument of the respondents.

> **Respondent A** A stakeholder in Baruten Local Government Area; she said hardly do we see women political aspirants, that the local council generally have little or no women politician. She said since 1999-2015 only two (2) women councilor and four (4) supervisory- councilors were appointed. In view of the scanty figure she commented that '' you see it is very

poor and we said the constitution give women and men equal right.

Respondent B: A Principal Officer in Offa Local Government secretariat; suggested that the Nigerian constitution should legalize the quota system into the elective and appointive positions into all tiers of Government. She entrenched that the political parties should also be mandated to give at least 30% slot to the women political aspirants and party flag bearers.

Respondent C: From Ilorin west local government area she makes references to the statistics figure at hand in women councilors and supervisory councilor appointed/or elected. She compared Ilorin west local council with other local Governments in Kwara State and she posited that more of the achievement should also be seen in other local councils here in Kwara State.

6.6   Summary of Research Hypothesis

The studies examines three (3) hypotheses based on the effect of cultural cum socio-economic factors, the roles of political parties toward women political involvement in the selected local Government and assess the level of improvement in women political participation. Below are the results of the hypotheses:

Table 38: Summary of Hypothesis one (1) Results in the selected Local Government

Socio-Economic Believes	Decision	Results
Ilorin West	REJECTED	Chi-square value 21.221b P-value: .000
Baruten	REJECTED	Chi-square value18.248b P-value: .000
Offa	ACCEPTED	Chi-square value 3.930 P-value: .047

Source: *Results from the Primary Data Collated, 2017*

Table 39: Summary of Hypothesis one (1) Results in the selected Local Government

Cultural Believes	Decision	Results
Ilorin West	REJECTED	Chi-square value 26.346[a] P-value: .000
Baruten	REJECTED	Chi-square value12.353[a] P-value: .006
Offa	ACCEPTED	Chi-square value 5.786 P-value: 0.122

Source: *Results from the Primary Data Collated, 2017*

Table 40: Summary of Hypothesis two (2) Results in the selected Local Government

Political Party Impacts	Decision	Results
Ilorin West	ACCEPTED	Chi-square value 21.006 P-value: .862
Baruten	REJECTED	Chi-square value 3.654 P-value: .000
Offa	REJECTED	Chi-square value 0.297 P-value:.000

Source:*Results from the Primary Data Collated, 2017*

Table 41: Summary of Hypothesis three (3) Results in the selected Local Government

Significant improvement	Decision	Results
Ilorin West	ACCEPTED	Average % of women = 12.52%(less than 30 % affirmation)
Baruten	ACCEPTED	Average % of women = 6.08%(less than 30 % affirmation)
Offa	ACCEPTED	Average % of women = 9.4%(less than 30 % affirmation)

Source: *Results from the Primary Data Collated, 2017*

The above table shows the summary of the Null hypotheses stated in the study; Based on the decision rule of p-value of 0.05 and %increase for Hypothesis three in Ilorin west and Baruten local Government Areas, hypothesis $H0_1$ was rejected (there is significant influence between cultural and socio-economic factors and women's political participation) but the hypothesis was accepted in Offa local Government Area (i.e. there is no significant influence between cultural and Socio-economic factors and women's political participation)

The summary also disclosed that $H0_2$ was accepted (i.e. there is no significant impact between Nigerian Political Parties and women political participation) in Ilorin West local Government but it was rejected (i.e. there is significant impact between Nigerian Political Parties and women political participation) in Baruten and Offa Local Government Areas.

In conclusion, $H0_3$ was accepted in all the three local Government area council (i.e. there is no significant increase in women political participation.

6.6.1   Major Findings

From the analyses of the result of the survey results above as well as inferences from evidence from secondary sources of data presented in this work, the following finding were made:

1. it was observed that most women in the selected local government areas do not see themselves capable enough to hold a political position which was further explained by the interview respondents A from Baruten, and Respondent B, from Ilorin west that, low self-esteem, lack of courage, zeal and inferiority complex of women served as detriment to low women political participation.

2. We also found out that, there is often low women participation in politics as a result of the fact that, the society generally regards women politicians as irresponsible and unfaithful to their marital vows. Respondent A, Offa Local Government afford that, the perspective of the society about women politicians is not encouraging which made

some of their husbands to curtail their participation in politics. Respondent B from Baruten Local Government also supported this in her words; 'most women disengaged themselves from political participation in order not to be affected by the derogatory words and expression that the members of the society associate with them, regarding them as adulterous and irresponsible.

3. We also found out that cultural practices in Kwara State does not in any way hindered women in political participation but ignorance on their part do affect them. Many of the women believe that a godfather is needed or one has to be financially buoyant before she can be involved in political activity.

4. The research found out that most political parties in Nigeria only use the women to serve as agents of mobilization during campaigns and rallies, and later dump them after elections without any form of adequate compensation. Even those that must have contested for one position or another, are not adequately compensated when they fail to win the position and by so doing, it demoralizes the women.

5. We also found out that religion is considered as a reason for many of the women low political participation.

6. The research also found out that, despite all efforts made by the different governments, since the country returned back to democratic rule in 1999, there is still no significance improvement in the level of women participation in Nigeria's politics because the percentage increase in women representation in the selected local governments position (chairperson, councillorship and supervisory) for all the years is still less than the 30%affirmative action as stipulated in the world women declaration in (1995) in Beijing.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion and conclusions that were made from the results of the statistical analysis presented in the previous chapter. Thus, this chapter is divided into five main sections. The first section basically summarize the main findings of the study; followed by discussion of the implications of the study and several recommendations were made to give valid modalities. In addition, the limitations of the study discussed and suggestions for future research were made and the final conclusion brings the study to an end.

7.2 Summary

Although women low political participation is a universal phenomenon (Lewu, 2005:62; Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012:51), however the prudent roles of women participation in democratic governance and human development cannot be over-emphasized,even sustainable democratic Governments rely on the participation of all citizens in determining through elections and political processes, who governs them. It also depends on the equality of all citizens under the law (Anifowose, 2004:205; Makama 2013:124). Even among the most socially advanced nations of the world, the status of women has always been as inferior to that of men, not only were women roles secondary, women were in several cases, totally excluded from participating in certain political activities. In addition, the stand of women in the society in relation to men and the subordination, oppression, and marginalization of women has attracted the attention of scholars, activists, feminists and development workers. The issues relating to what is also known as low women participation has become very prominent in the modern dispensation. Furthermore, despite the fact that women constitute about half of the world's population and the increasing agitation for gender equality all over the world

however, for years, women still record poor participation in politics and decision making positions.

The dismal participation of women in Nigeria's political development became a worrisome phenomenon when after five consecutive successful legitimate change of Government through democratic electoral process following the nation's return to civilian administration in 1999; Nigeria fails to achieve the critical mass of 30% women's representation in the National Assembly. Like other countries in the world, women constitute half of the Nigeria's population, yet this numerical strength of Nigerian women does not translate into increase in women participation in political activities in the country (Agbalajobi, 2010:077).

Series of literatures on women in politics have discussed various factors that affect active women political participation across various countries of the world. The faction that account for this are reiterated as discriminatory, socio-economic, cultural and religious practices, unfavorable political environment, political parties' discrimination, wrong perception of women in politics, fellow women and media support among others. However, this research work shows the mere-factors and the degree at which they affected women attainment of positions of full political empowerment in Nigeria, particularly within the selected three (3) local Government areas in Kwara state. It also presented a comprehensive analysis of political party programmes that geared towards promoting gender equality and women political participation in the state from 1999-2015 being a period of democratic dispensation.

 Suquel to the literature review and theoretical framework, some hypothetical statements were developed and tested. These hypotheses are:

   $H0_1$ There is no significant influence between cultural socio-economic factors and women political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government council's political system

H0₂   There is no significant influence between Nigerian political parties and women political participation

H0₃   There is no significant increase in women participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west local Government council's political system

7.3   Implication of the Study

Various statistical techniques including Chi-square, frequency tables and simple percentages were employed to test the above hypotheses. The statistical results that emanated from critical analyses of the data collected indicate important findings;

Table 6.4.2 showed the influence of each of the independent variable to the model and its significance. As depicted in the above data analysis; hypothesis 1 was accepted in Ilorin west local Government with Chi-square value of 26.346 and 21.221 with a corresponding p-value of 0.000 and .000 respectively which is less than the conventional significant value (0.05) Therefore, the result showed that there is a significant influence between Culture cum socio-economic and women political participation.

In Baruten local Government; hypothesis 1 was also accepted with Chi-square value of 12.353 and 18.248 with a corresponding p-value of 0.006 and .000 respectively which is less than the conventional significant value (0.05) Therefore, the result also showed that there is a significant influence between Culture and socio-economic influence and women political participation.

In Offa however; hypothesis 1 was accepted with Chi-square value of 5.786 and 20.154 with a corresponding p-value of 0.122 and .000 respectively which is above the conventional significant value (0.05) The result showed that there is no significant influence between Culture and socio-economic influence and women political participation. NB: as the case may be the majority of the respondents were dissatisfied on the influence of the societal culture to the level of women political participation. While it was confirmed that socio-

economic status influences the level of women political participation in terms of elective positions.

In Ilorin west and Baruten local Government Areas, hypothesis $H0_1$ was rejected (i.e. there is significant influence between cultural and socio-economic factors and women's political participation) but the hypothesis was accepted in Offa local Government Area (i.e. there is no significant influence between cultural and socio-economic factors and women political participation).

Consequently, the Chi-square test was also used in testing hypothesis two (2), This showed that there is no significant influence between Nigerian political parties and women political participation

Decision: The summary also disclosed that $H0_2$ was accepted (i.e. there is no significant impact between Nigerian Political Parties and women political participation) in Ilorin West local Government but it was rejected (i.e. there is significant impact between Nigerian Political Parties and women political participation) in Baruten and Offa Local Government Areas.

Consequently, the percentage increase of women representation from the result presented above, the percentage increase in women's representation in the selected local Government supervisory and Councillorship positions for all the years is less than 30% affirmative action as stipulates in the World Women Declaration in (1995) in Beijing. Thus, the above statistical analysis therefore, proffered answer to Research question two (2); as the collated data shows that *there is no significant improvement in women representation in the selected local Government councils since 1999-2015* (Author, 2016).

Decision: Hypothesis 3, Ultimately, $H0_3$ was accepted in all the three local Government areas (i.e. there is no significant increase in women political participation).

7.4   Limitation of the Study

Though the research was conducted under precaution consideration, but it is inevitable to disclose that this study has its limitation which could have some effects on the findings of the research that warrant some explanations. This study focuses on women political participation in the selected three (3) local Governments in Kwara State. The generalization of the findings made across the three selected local Governments have some limitations in other areas of human endeavours. However, this might cut short the generality of the findings and conclusion of the study, as the study serves as the basis upon which other research study can be expanded.

Sequel to the above, the research design employed qualitative and statistical analysis as responses of the respondents were limited to the predetermined structured interviews and question in relation to issues on women political participation. In addition, some of the relevant documents demanded from stakeholders to make the study more empirical were not released to support the data collected.

7.5   Policy Recommendations

Consequently, the effort of women more often than not, have not been well felt in the socio-political and economic development of Nigeria based on the fact that political and economic development can only be achieved when the two genders have significant participation in the political system. Thus, the Marginalization of women has caused Nigeria more harm than good, as the socio-political effects of the women are poorly felt. In order to achieve the goal of improved women political participation, the following policy recommendations are suggested.

1. There is an urgent need to promote girl child education in Nigeria in order to curb the level of illiteracy among the females. This is very important because an educated

female will hardly see herself inferior to anyone. This will go a long way in solving the challenge of incompetence acknowledged by the women in the selected local government areas of kwara State.

2. Government should embark on mass campaigns for awareness and sensitization for the need of women to get involved in politics. This will help in eroding the erroneous believe that women in politics are irresponsible and adulterous.

3. The National Assembly should ensure that the issue of money politics and vote buying is criminalized in the ongoing electoral reforms. Women should also be made to spend less for party tickets than the male counterparts contesting for the same political post. This will help in motivating women to actively participate in politics without intimidation from the male money bag politicians.

4. Nigerian Governments should domesticate, incorporate and implement CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against women) policies and programmes that were signed and ratified in June 13, 1985; as it would advance gender equality, in leadership positions, giving women full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making.

5. Government should consciously mainstream women's perspectives and issues in all policies, plans and progammes in public and private spheres; reformation of customary and religious institutions of the states so as avoid discrimination against women involvement in public life. Sensitization crusade and the upholding of the psychological position of women folk, removal or abolition of party tenet unfavorable to indiscriminating participation, abolition of societal legal code with regard to sexism and finally the society needs to be educated and sensitized on the needs of women in present political system, the religion bodies show also should work diligently in encouraging women participation. The patriarchal structures that reinforce power imbalance between women and men should be dismantled.

6. Government should ensure that the political environment is conducive for women by curbing the culture of electoral violence and the use of political thugs and gangsters to

suppress and witch-hunt political opponents in the country and the political environment should be conducive for women participation. Government should provide adequate security throughout election periods for immediate investigation of the use of political thugs and gangsters during political campaigns and voting by political parties or aspirants, and conviction of such acts through the adjudication of Election Tribunal which should lead to automatic disqualification of such political party or aspirants by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

7. Government should partner with women's movements and civil society organizations, such as Gender and Development Action (GADA), Gender Rights Advancement and Development (GRAND), Civil Liberties Organization, Rural Women Empowerment Network (RUWEN), Legal Defence and Assistance Project (LEDAP), National Council of Women Societies (NCWS) Women in Nigeria (WIN) etc. to embark on awareness and enlightenment campaigns towards changing societal perception that women are inferior to men, and that the women in politics are irresponsible.

8. In addition, the Political Parties and gatekeepers within the parties should operate internal democracies so as to select women as candidates and flag bearers for elections by complying with the affirmative action policy. Furthermore, on the issue of finance, the political parties should waive for the women the payment of pre-registration levies for political aspirants in the country as a way of supporting and encouraging women who are politically inclined.

9. INEC should compel political parties to act in line with the requirements of the 35 percent affirmative action for women as these measures and mechanisms will help in achieving minimum standards for women participation in politics and Governance.

Conclusion

This study has examined low women political participation in Nigeria, particularly in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government of Kwara State under the new dispensation of a democratic Government since 1999. Despite global campaign for gender equality, women political representation in the country has failed to achieve the critical mass of 30% women

representation in the country's parliament. The country's discriminatory, socio-economic, cultural and religious practices, unfavorable political environment, wrong perception of women in politics, fellow women and media support but our political parties in one way or another encourages women political participation.

Invariably, the imperative of democratic consolidation in Nigeria requires that women, who constitute half of the national population, should find prominence in the mainstream political development of the nation since democracy is only achievable on the altar of popular participation of every citizen of the society, males and females alike. It is, therefore, concluded that any corrective measure adopted to address the low participation of women in Nigerian politics will only be superficial unless the nation's discriminatory, unfavorable political environment, wrong perception of women in politics, fellow women and media support, cultural and socioeconomic factors that limit women empowerment are decisively addressed.

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APPENDICES

QUESTIONAIRE

Department of Politics and Governance,

College of Humanities, management and Social Sciences,

Kwara State University,

Malete,

Kwara State,

5thseptember, 2016.

Dear Sir/Madam,

This questionnaire is designed to investigate ''the reasons for the low women political participation in Nigerian politics: A case study of some selected Local Governments in Kwara State, Nigeria''. This project is being undertaken in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Philosophy Degree (Ph.D.) in Political Science in the above-named institution.

Please kindly complete this questionnaire as honestly as you can. All information supplied will be used solely for the purpose of this study, and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Rashidah Adamu Oyoru (Mrs.)

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A – BIO-DATA

1. Sex: Male ☐   Female ☐

2. Age: 18 – 28 ☐   29 –38 ☐   39 - Above ☐

3. Marital Status: Single ☐   Married ☐   Divorced ☐

4. Occupation: Government ☐   Private ☐   NGO's ☐

Self-Employ ☐   Others ☐

5. Academic Qualification: Primary Education ☐ Secondary Education ☐ Tertiary Education ☐

6. State/LGA---

The following statements using a five (5) Likert scale construct, where five (5) is the highest,

the Likert scale is given as follows:

  1- Strongly disagree;

  2- Disagree;

  3- Undecided;

  4- Agree;

  5- Strongly Agree.

Please tick in the number that corresponds to your answer to each of the questions.

S/N	SECTION B: CULTURAL FACTORS	1 S.D	2 D	3 U	4 A	5 S.A
1	Most women in this local Government do not see themselves capable enough to hold political office.					
2	The society generally regards women politicians as infidelity/irresponsible.					
3	On the basis of political competence, our society rates men over women					
4	The domination of men in politics discourages women from participation					
5	Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics					

S/N	SECTIONC:SOCIO-ECONOMICS FACTORS	1 S.D	2 D	3 U	4 A	5 S.A
6	The majority of women in this local Government are not educated enough to participate in politics					
7	The kind of occupations of women in this Local Government does not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics					
8	Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this Local Government to participate in politics					
9	The level of women's literacy in this Local Government hinders them from participating in politics					
10	The prevailing per capita income in the country encourages women's political participation					
S/N	SECTION D: HISTORICAL HERITAGE	1 S.D	2 D	3 U	4 A	5
11	Our religious heritages do not encourage women to participate in politics					
12	Women are expected to be homemakers rather than political leaders					
13	The discrimination against women during the long military rule in Nigeria has discouraged many women from political participation					
14	The marginalization of women during colonial period still affects women's political participation.					
	SECTION E: Assessment of the roles of political parties toward women participation	1 S.D	2 D	3 U	4 A	5
15	Nigeria political parties promote active women's political participation in Kwara State.					
16	Women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers					
17	Women are generally protected by parties' constitution.					

SECTION E: WOMENS POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE

18.   Using the scale 1 – 3 (1 being the highest and 3 the least), how will you arrange the following factors, according to how they hinder women's political participation in this state?

    a.   Present economic situation …………………

    b.   The culture and traditions of our society………………

    c.   Our past history and practices i.e. colonialism, military rule and religious practices…………

19.   How can women's participation in politics be encouraged;

(a) At the Local Government level: ---

(b) By Political parties: ---

The Yamane formula for Determining Sample Size

$$n= \frac{N}{1+ (e)2}$$

Where n= sample size

    N= population

    e= significant level (5%)

n applying the formula for selecting a sample size for the three (3) selected Local Government Area with its population

$$n= \frac{669,955}{1+669,955 (0.05)2}$$

$$n= \underline{669,955}$$

$$1+669,955 \ (0.0025)$$

$$n= \underline{\ 669,955}$$

$$1+1675.8875$$

$$n= \underline{669,955}$$

$$1675.8875$$

n= 399.76   The sample size is 400 approximately.

$H0_1$ There is no significant influence between cultural cum socio-economic factors and women's political participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin west Local Government Council

$H0_2$ There is no significant improvement in women participation in Offa, Baruten and Ilorin West Local Government Area since 1999-2015

$H0_3$ There is no significant impact between Nigerian political parties and women political participation.

Chi-square Data

Chi-Square Test

There is no significant influence between cultural cum socio-economic factors and women's political participation in Baruten Local Government Council

Variable1: Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics

Likert Scale	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Strongly Disagree	19	25.5	-6.5
Disagree	37	25.5	11.5
Agree	31	25.5	5.5
Strongly Agree	15	25.5	-10.5
Total	102		

Variable2: **Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics**

Likert Scale	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Strongly Disagree	9	25.3	-16.3
Disagree	25	25.3	-.3
Agree	39	25.3	13.8
Strongly Agree	28	25.3	2.8
Total	101		

Chi-Square Test Statistics

	Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics	Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics
Chi-Square	12.353[a]	18.248[b]
Df	3	3
Asymp. Sig.	.006	.000

Source: Field Reports, 2017

Hypothesis 1

There is no significant influence between cultural cum socio-economic factors and women's
   political participation in Ilorin west Local Government Council

Chi-Square Test

Frequencies of cultural and socio-economic factors and Women's political participation in Ilorin west Local Government council of Kwara State

Variable1: Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics

Likert Scale	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Strongly Disagree	62	40.5	21.5
Disagree	48	40.5	7.5
Agree	34	40.5	-6.5
Strongly Agree	18	40.5	-22.5
Total	162		

Variable2: Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics

Likert Scale	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Strongly Disagree	19	40.8	-21.8
Disagree	36	40.8	-4.8
Agree	57	40.8	16.3
Strongly Agree	51	40.8	10.3
Total	163		

Test Statistics

	Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics	Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics
Chi-Square	26.346[a]	21.221[b]
Df	3	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000

Source: Field Reports, 2016

Hypothesis 1

There is no significant influence between cultural cum socio-economic factors and women's

political participation in Offa Local Government Council

Chi-Square Test

Frequencies of cultural and socio-economic factors and Women's political participation in

Offa Local Government council *of Kwara State*

Variable1: Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics

Likert Scale	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Strongly Disagree	10	19.0	-9.0
Disagree	22	19.0	3.0
Agree	21	19.0	2.0
Strongly Agree	23	19.0	4.0
Total	76		

Variable2: Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics

Likert Scale	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Strongly Disagree	5	19.5	-14.5
Disagree	17	19.5	-2.5
Agree	24	19.5	4.5
Strongly Agree	32	19.5	12.5
Total	78		

Chi-square Friedman Test

	Mean Rank
Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics	1.41
Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this local Government to participate in politics	1.59

N	76
Chi-Square	3.930
Df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.047

Hypothesis 2

The roles of political parties have led to a significant improvement in women political participation in Offa, local Government of Kwara state

Chi-square Friedman Test

Frequencies on the roles of Political Parties towards improving women political participation in Offa, Local Government Areas *of Kwara State*

Ranks

	Mean Rank
Nigeria political parties promote active women's political participation in Kwara State	1.98
Women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers	2.03
Women are generally protected by parties constitution	1.99

Test Statistics (a)

N	78
Chi-Square	.297
Df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.862

Hypothesis 2

There is no significant impact between Nigerian political parties and women political participation in Baruten local Government

Chi-square Friedman Test

Frequencies on the roles of Political Parties towards improving women political participation in Baruten, Local Government Areas *of Kwara State*

Ranks

	Mean Rank
Nigeria political parties promote active women's political participation in Kwara State	2.06
Women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers	1.88
Women are generally protected by parties constitution	2.05

Test Statistics (b)

N	101
Chi-Square	3.654
Df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.161

Hypothesis 2

There is no significant impact between Nigerian political parties and women political participationin Ilorin west

Chi-square Friedman Test

Frequencies on the roles of Political Parties towards improving women political participation in Ilorin west, Local Government Areas *of Kwara State*

Ranks

	Mean Rank
Nigeria political parties promote active women's political participation in Kwara State	1.76
Women are considered by political parties as selected party's flag bearers	2.16
Women are generally protected by parties constitution	2.08

Test Statistics (c)

N	162
Chi-Square	21.006
Df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000