

**Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Institute of Gender Studies**

**WOMEN'S PLACE IN POLITICS, FOCUSING ON THE
AFRICAN UNION DECLARATION ON GENDER EQUALITY
IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF NIGERIA**

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Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa: the Case of Nigeria**

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AD.....	Alliance for Democracy
ANPP.....	All Nigerian Peoples Party
AU.....	African Union
SDGEA.....	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
UNIFEM.....	United Nation Development Fund for Women
CEDAW.....	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CS.....	Civil Society
CSs.....	Civil Societies
DWA.....	Department of Women Affairs
ECOSOCC.....	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
FMWACD.....	Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Development
INEC.....	Independent National Electoral Commission
NCWD.....	National Centre for Women’s Development
NCWS.....	National Council of Women Societies
PDP.....	Peoples Democratic Party
PP.....	Political Party
TMG.....	Transition Monitoring Group
UN.....	United Nations
WAD.....	Women Affairs Department
WRAPA.....	Women’s Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative
WA.....	Women Affairs
WP.....	Women parliamentarians
MP.....	Men parliamentarians
P C W A.....	Parliamentarian Committee on Women Affairs
WB.....	Women in Business

Abstract

This study is on the place of women in politics with focus on the African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, in terms of the awareness, support for implementation, views of male parliamentarians about the declaration, factors responsible for poor representation of women in parliament, and political aspirations among business women. The main purpose was to know the level of implementation of the declaration, and to find out why there is still a huge gender gap (less than 8%) in the parliament, since Nigeria has carried out an election in 2007, three years after signing this AU declaration.

Quantitative and qualitative research methods were used to collect primary data/information for analysis of the set objectives. There was a triangulation of the primary data (quantitative and qualitative) together with some secondary data from the official documents. The results indicated that there is still lack of adequate awareness of the declaration among concerned bodies such as, the parliamentarians, political parties, women organization and the society in general. The study also revealed that all the coordinated efforts for gender balance in politics in Nigeria have yielded little or no significant result judging from the fact that the nation conducted last election in 2007. Also findings on the political aspirations of women in business which make up a large percentage of women in Nigeria indicated they have high aspiration to participate in politics, but are being discouraged by a number of personal and societal factors, top of them being violence and intimidation in politics. There is need for a more radical step such as the use of affirmative action or any other deliberate strategy for gender equity in politics to occur in Nigeria.

However, the optimism is that the findings revealed that the government gender machinery, namely the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development in Nigeria have gender parity as its priority with the development of a National Gender Policy even though the AU declaration is not independently focused on. Rather, there are general efforts on gender mainstreaming focusing on all the international and local instruments ratified and signed by Nigeria. The ministry is working in collaboration with both government and non – governmental agencies and political parties to deal with the issue of gender inequality in politics in Nigeria. Also on the awareness and implementation, Civil Societies working in the area of democracy and politics are involved in various programs to support proposals for constitutional reforms and adoption of affirmative action to cut the gender gap in politics.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Background of the Study

Gender inequalities in all aspects of life including politics can never be over emphasized and many researches and enquiries are needed to explore facts towards total elimination of all forms of gender inequalities in our society. It has been proven that gender equality results in development as all, women and men are given opportunity to contribute their roles and responsibilities in the process of human development.

As stated by Caldwell, Z. (2006) the full participation and involvement of women in every level of society is important for countries striving to become more open, stable and self-sufficient. It has become increasingly clear around the world that investment in women pay off in many folds. Caldwell further noted that when women are given opportunities for education, access to resources, and a place at the political table, not only are their quality of life improved, but also studies have shown that economies are strengthened, health care is enhanced, and policies that benefit children, families, and marginalized groups are given more attention.

A number of international declarations and conventions have been signed to end all forms of gender inequalities including women's representation and participation in politics at all levels. This is not just a Nigerian problem, or an African regional problem. Rather it is a global gender concern. In a 2004 address, Noeleen Heyzer, the Executive Director of the United Nation Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), noted that an increasing number of laws have also been passed in support of gender equality. At the international level, the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) stands out. Essentially a bill of rights for women, CEDAW is seen as a milestone in advancing the rights of women globally. By the second half of 2005, 180 governments had become a party to the convention. Gender is also taken more fully into account when fashioning policies. More than 118 countries have national plans of action for gender equality as well as laws and policies to promote women's human rights in specific areas, from education to land ownership (UN 2006).

Despite these positive moves towards gender equality, women are under represented in politics and few are in parliament compared to the men in various African nations' parliaments. As stated by Amina Mama (2004), African nations remain far short of even the negotiated compromise of a 30% quota of women in politics to which they all committed when they signed the Beijing platform. Her paper further stated that Africa has some of the lowest political representation rates for women in the world.

Some forms of structure have to be put in place to bring about changes in gender representation and participation in politics in Africa and in Nigeria in particular. Caldwell, Z. (2006) noted that it should be about women and men working together as partners to advance gender equity. But perhaps, this statement assumes that both women and men are on a level playing field. The reality is that there are huge gender gaps.

The issue of affirmative action comes to mind at this point and as noted by Amina Mama (2004), while it is clear that in broad terms, affirmative action is a prerequisite for getting women into politics, it is still proving controversial, even in those countries where it has already yielded significant results. She further stated that affirmative action has so far been too easily appropriated and manipulated by male political actors, the majority of whom remain deeply resistant to gender equality.

In pursuit of the solution to the problem of gender inequality, the African Union (AU) with the political, social, cultural and economic responsibilities to secure development in democracy, human rights, and a sustainable economy for Africa, took a major step. According to the AU 2004 report, in July 2003, the AU Secretariat under the leadership of the former Malian President Oumar Konare, made a commitment to gender parity which resulted in a policy ensuring that no less than 50% of the AU Commissioners would be women. At least one Commissioner from each region in Africa that is, the five regions, shall be a woman and this will mean five women and five men representatives as the commissioners are 10 in number. This move further resulted into a session on gender

during the Heads of State summit, which in turn brought about the *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA)* enshrined in Article 4 (1) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, and signed by all Heads of States on 8 July 2004.

The heads of state and governments of member countries of the AU among 13 agreements, in the declaration, agreed in No. 5, *to expand and promote the gender parity principle that was adopted regarding the Commission of the African Union to all the other organs of the African Union, including its NEPAD program, to the Regional Economic Communities, and to the National and Local levels in collaboration with Political Parties and the National Parliaments in their countries.* In addition, the protocol says that governments are obliged to promote the participation of women in governance (AU 2004). This move ensured proper addressing of gender issues and gender mainstreaming in Africa; it is an exciting development for the participation of women at leadership level. The AU equally put in place instruments for the monitoring and reporting of the implementation of the declaration by all states of the AU.

This study was designed based on feminist concern and voices to reassess and bring to the knowledge of the reader the facts from gender perspective about women's place in politics focusing on the AU declaration agreement No 5. It is a focus on the AU instrument for gender mainstreaming that is, the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, particularly agreement No 5 which addresses gender parity in politics. The aim is to find out the level of awareness, support for implementation, and views of men parliamentarians on the AU declaration. Factors responsible for poor representation of women in parliament, incorporation of the AU declaration, agreement No. 5 by political parties and the political aspirations among business women were also looked at.

The Nigerian government along with other AU member states agreed to extend the principles of the declaration to their various member countries in collaboration with political parties and the national parliament. This study therefore examines the role of the government gender machineries, political parties, the civil societies, women organizations in supporting the implementation of the declaration.

The issue of gender inequality in politics has been a lingering one. The problems, as described by Amina Mama (2004), are that the real challenges lie not in the making of declarations, nor even in their follow ups in constitutional and legislative provisions, or policies but in the lived realities of women's and men's lives. The realities of women's lives in Nigeria are reflected in the inequalities with the men in all spheres of life, social/cultural relations, economic status, and leadership position. In terms of women's place in politics in Nigeria, there are still huge gaps away from equal gender representation.

In Nigeria, apart from the signing of the AU (SDGEA), Section 42 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria guarantees every Nigerian (women and men), the right to freedom from discrimination and the freedom of association, which by extension includes political association and participation. To what extent is Nigeria implementing the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in African (SDGEA) with regards to agreement No 5? Are women politician, potential women politicians, even their men counterpart, the civil society and political parties aware of the AU declaration signed by the Nigerian government? What efforts are being made to implement it?

A lot of work has been done to answer questions surrounding women and politics. However, there is need for an analysis from gender perspective. Amina Mama (2004) in an editorial in *Feminist Africa* noted that the gender dynamics pervading the political sphere are still inadequately understood, and have remained very much subject to existing structures and manipulations that constantly subvert commitments to gender equality, and complicate the pursuit of gender just policies, but which remain under- researched.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Nigeria is developing and is the most populated country in Africa, with almost equal percentage of women and men in total population. Nigeria needs all the human capacities to contribute to the developmental processes in all spheres of life, in all leadership

positions including politics. The unequal representation of the two gender results in underdevelopment, as the full potentials of the country are underutilized.

The inclusion of women in leadership positions in politics and decision making level will bring about gender equity. The concerns of women and men in development in all aspects of the society, politically, economically, socially and culturally, need to be embraced. It is for the benefit of the society in general and not for the concerns of women alone.

1.3. Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine women's place in politics with regards to the AU SDGEA agreement No.5 in Nigeria.

1.3.1. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are:

1. to know the level of awareness, and support for the implementation of the AU SDGEA agreement No 5 among women and men parliamentarians, and women in business in Nigeria;
2. to discover the views of men in the Nigerian parliament concerning agreement No 5 of the AU SDGEA for a gender balanced assessment;
3. to know the factors responsible for the poor representation of women in parliament despite the presence of the AU SDGEA agreement *No 5*;
4. to know the extent of the implementation of agreement No 5 of the AU SDGEA to promote gender parity in representation in the Nigerian parliament;
5. to find out the level of awareness, and implementation of agreement No 5 of the AU SDGEA among officials of the Department of Women Affairs, the National Council of Women Societies, Civil Societies, and Political Parties;
6. to know the extent to which political parties in Nigeria has incorporated the AU SDGEA agreement No. 5 towards gender balance in party leadership and nominations;
7. to know the level of political aspiration among selected the women in business and factors that discourages their political aspiration.

1.4. Research Questions

1.4.1. Main Research Question

What is the place of women in politics in Nigeria with regards to the African Union SDGGEA, agreement No. 5 on gender parity in politics?

1.4.2. Specific Research Questions

The following questions have been set in accordance with the above specific objectives.

1. What is the level of awareness and support for the implementation of the AU SDGGEA, agreement No 5 for gender parity in representation in politics among women and men parliamentarian and women in business in Nigeria?
2. What are the views of the Nigerian men in parliament concerning the AU SDGGEA, agreement No 5 for gender parity in politics?
3. What are the factors responsible for the poor representation of women in parliament in Nigeria despite the presence of the AU declaration?
4. What is the extent of the implementation of the AU SDGGEA, agreement No 5 for gender parity in political representation in Nigeria?
5. Are officials of the Department of Women Affairs, the National Council of Women Societies, Civil Societies and leaders of Political Parties, in Nigeria aware of the AU SDGGEA, agreement No 5;
6. What are the steps taking by the political parties in Nigeria to incorporate the AU SDGGEA, agreement No 5 for gender parity in nominations and leadership position in their party?
7. What is the level of political aspiration among selected women in business, and what are the factors that discourage their aspiration?

1.5. Definition of Key Terms

◆ Democracy

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2003), democracy is a government by the people especially by the rule of majority, in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation involving periodically held elections.

It is usually used to describe a political system where the legitimacy of exercising power stems from the consent of the people. It is a government by the people, through free and frequent elections in which the citizens of a state vote directly on all governmental affairs or indirectly through democratically elected representatives. A democracy has the presence of institutions and procedures through which citizens can express preferences about policies and leaders; and there is existence of institutionalized constraints on the power of the executive; and the guarantee of civil liberties to all citizens (UN Inter-Parliamentary Council 1997).

It is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people which has the principle of equality of rights, opportunity, and treatment. It is a fair and equal treatment of everyone in an organization or nation, and their right to take part in making decisions (Google 2008). In the presence of gender inequality, it is safe to say there is no true democracy. As noted by Whitworth, S. (1994), it is necessary to achieve equality between women and men; and only “parity democracy”, will realize genuine democracy; and finally women will better represent women’s interest. Autocracy is the absence of democracy.

◆ **Federation**

Farlex, The Free Dictionary (2008), defines a federation as relating to the central government of a federation; a federal district set aside as the seat of the national government. It is characterized by or constituting of a form of government in which power is divided between one central and several regional authorities, a form of government in which a union of states recognizes the sovereign of a central authority while retaining certain residual powers of government. It constitutes a form of government in which sovereign power is divided between a central authority and a number of constituent political units.

◆ **Gender Inequalities**

Gender can be defined as socially constructed through social interactions and sex has been defined as biologically constructed through chromosomes and genes. Gender inequalities are the obvious or hidden disparities among individuals based on sex, female

or male. The opposite of this with the absence of disparities and all forms of dichotomy is gender equality. As stated by Macklem, T. (2003), it is a familiar fact that women's lives have long been, and to some extent still are, led through socially defined roles, to which women are committed not by choice of their own but by the circumstance of their sex. As is also well known, those roles have been almost exclusively domestic or quasi-domestic in character (Macklem, T. 2003).

The dichotomous nature of gender lends to the creation of inequality that manifests in numerous dimensions of daily life. These include economic, political, social-cultural, and roles played or assigned to individuals in the society and more. The direct effect of gender inequalities are gender roles which are defined as a set of perceived behavioral norms associated particularly with males or females, in a given social group or system. It can be a form of division of labor based on sex or by gender. As the roles are assigned based on gender, the inequality sets in because of the perceived norm that certain roles should be played based on the biological make up of the individual.

Bem, S.L. (1993), noted that gender inequalities are typically attributed to one or the other of two casual factors. Either women are being denied access by policies and practices that intentionally discriminate against even those women whose situations are most similar to men's in which case the government must step in to remedy the situation; or alternatively, women's biological, psychological, and historical differences from men lead them to make the kind of choices that are inconsistent with building the kind of career as men, in which case, there is no one to blame for gender inequality (Bem, S.L. 1993).

◆ **Godfatherism**

The term Godfatherism as used in the Nigerian political scene denotes the personality and status of person or persons an individual in politics associates with, or has a relationship with. They are usually well known individuals, who most of the time has the financial and social know how and ability. Above all, are well connected in the corridors of power to sponsor a political candidate. Political godfathers' powers are beyond ethnicity or state

of origin barriers. They have the power to decide those to be nominated for election, and decide their fate at will. The godfathers usually at the end of the day use the same candidates they sponsored to gain more power and authority in the society, sometimes through intimidation. At times, godfathers may be close relatives like parents or spouses.

◆ **Parliament**

Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2003) defines parliament as a formal conference for the discussion of public affairs, a supreme legislative body of a state or major political unit that comprises a series of individual assemblages. The Parliament is a legislative assembly in a country. It is the name given to an assembly of elected representatives who participate in the ruling of the country. It is the national assembly of elected representatives, comprising of an upper and lower house, which forms the sovereignty of the legislature of the nation. It consists of the political assembly in which elected representatives talk about and vote upon proposed laws. In Nigeria the upper house is called the Senate while the lower house is called House of representative. Both houses are called the National Assembly which is the Parliament.

◆ **Politics**

According to the Merriam Webster (2003), politics is the art or science of government, the art or science concerned with guiding or influencing governmental policy and with winning and holding control over a government. Politics is the process by which groups of people make decisions. Most commonly it is generalized as "who gets what, when, why, and how." Although the term is generally applied to behavior within civil government, politics is observed in all human group interactions, including corporate, academics and religious institutions. It consists of social relations involving authority or power and refers to the regulation of a political unit, and to the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy.

◆ **Political Representation and Participation**

According to the New Encyclopedia Britannica (1997), the principle of representation was one of the greatest political discoveries of the later middle Ages, that is, at the emergence of the modern world with the failure and collapse of absolutism.

Political representation according to Debabu, E. (2005) is creating the opportunity to reach the political platform where decisions are made and are effectively implemented. Unless somebody is represented in a given proportion, one cannot effectively participate in either the making of decisions or the implementation of those decisions. In representation percentages are important but do not constitute the determining factor. However, less percentage in terms of representation can prevent a group from pushing its interests forward since in democracy decisions are made through voting.

Debabu, E. further noted that physical participation alone is not effective by itself and definitely not enough. One must know one's interest and must at the same time be able to effectively articulate those interests, lobby and advocate for them. Participation in this context therefore means the ability to effectively articulate and put forward one's interests.

Whitworth, S. (1994) noted that, descriptive representation or mirror representation is used by feminists in demand for a gender balance in politics. It means that representation ought to mirror the people in society at large. Whitworth further made a clarifying link between representation and participation and stated that, the other side of representation is participation; and that while both refer to the same phenomenon of political action which is used for society as a whole, representation predominantly signifies its use for other people, while participation refers to its use for the individual actors.

◆ **Partisan politics**

This term as used in the Nigerian political scene refers to active political activities, active in terms of membership of a party, participating in all activities, and strategies for nominations, campaigning, as a candidate for a post or in support of other candidates.

◆ **Sexual Promiscuity**

This is perceived to be sexually immoral or loose. In the context as used in this study it refers to the notion that women who go into politics and are successful have to give in easily to the advances from men for sex, or offer sex freely to men in order to get opportunities and support in the political arena before they can be successful.

1.6. Theoretical Framework

Since this study is mainly about women's place in politics and being a feminist based study, there is need for theoretical analysis of the study. Three theories on women and politics in this regard are examined. The first theory is the behavioral political theory, an approach of international relations and political science. The other two are the social liberal feminists on gender and politics, and the third world feminists' perspectives on gender and politics.

1.6.1 The Behavioral Political Theory

According to Beckman, P. R. (1994), each political theory is built upon a set of assumptions about who and what is important to observe and think about if we want to understand world politics. Beckman further stated that these questions should be asked in order to have an understanding of how political theories relate with women. How does the theory deal with women? How does it address the question of gender? What critique can we make of the theory with a consciousness about gender? Can we develop more gender-conscious theories that provide a better understanding of world politics than existing ones? The possible answer to these questions might be to see women or gender as an overlooked factor and what we need to do is to make women or gender an explicit part of the theory (Beckman, 1994).

The behavioral political theory was popularized in the 1960s. It applies principles of scientific method to understand how the world operates in politics, economic, diplomacy and military relations. This theory searches for patterns in the variables it studies in order to highlight differences and discover similarities. Even though the theory focuses on human activities, it has not examined male and female differences, the gender question. As Feste, k. A. (1994) puts it, perhaps it is because science has operated under an assumption that the environment of international politics is gender blind, or they made deliberate assumption of gender exclusion.

This theory seeks to explore, describe, explain, and predict events in the world through properly gathered and widely supported empirical evidence and examination of

observable instances. In this theory, the *Why* of the nature of women's representation and participation in leadership and politics as it is, is analyzed empirically. Since men rule the world of politics, there are enough empirical evidences to make analysis on them. On the part of the women, they have not been equally represented and participated in politics like the men; hence there are no observable evidences to serve as variables for the scientific analysis of women. For example as Feste, k. A. (1994) asked, do women make a difference? How much better would the world be if national defense ministers throughout the world were women? Questions like these can only be answered by systematically drawn evidence. This theory suggests that women are anomalies, which makes them a poor case for scientific theory testing as demanded by the behavioral political theory.

Gender has also been excluded, may be because there are no women in the system routinely regularized, and well represented. Simply asserting that men restrict women from professional advancement, or assuming that women are inherently more peace-minded is not a proper scientific argument; there has to be well documented evidence. The other aspect is that women's issues are complex, cuts across all aspects of human life and empirical explanation is not always adequate to analyze women's issues.

However as noted by Feste, k. A. (1994), the behavioral school is not, as a matter of fact, immune from such venture of scientific experiments on women, but owing to its emphasis on empirical information and strict rules of evidence for scientifically drawn conclusions, coupled with the male bias in its implicit assumptions, these issues have not been addressed. The inequalities in gender and political representation and participation persist as long as there are no existing empirical evidences to include gender issues.

1.6.2. Social Liberal Feminists Theory on Gender and Politics

The various feminist theories have something to say about the issue of gender and politics. As stated by Sandra Whitworth, (1994), it is assumed that women are naturally absent from world politics or that world politics is somehow gender neutral. Feminists have therefore developed different strategies for making women and gender relations

visible within world politics. The second theoretical application is the Social liberal feminist theory. They are of the view that women have been less represented in most important public spheres of modern society, in social, political and economic life. They have analysed the extent to which women are underrepresented within leadership and political positions, and worked out how women may overcome the obstacles to their representation and participation in politics (Whitworth, S. 1994).

The Social liberal feminists aim to incorporate women into the mainstream of contemporary society. They outline the extent to which women are under represented in politics and seek ways women may overcome the barriers to their representation and participation in politics. They have come to the conclusions that the explanation of the inequality in gender and politics is in the socialization process of girls and women. For example Whitworth, S. (1994) noted that it is young boys, not little girls who are encouraged to play with guns and military toys, by extension to arms control and security issues. This in turn leads to underrepresentation of women in arms control policy throughout the world.

Another example of women's under representation in decision making attributed to the socialization process girls undergo is cited by Betsy Thom (1981). She has stated that many women within the United Nations system are less ambitious than men, having internalized society's expectations that they are not suited for policy making positions. In addition, the Social liberal feminist have argued that women often face a double edged situation balancing career and family responsibilities, thereby limiting their opportunities.

Apart from inequality in representation, the Social liberal feminists have also pointed out some factors that create barriers to women's participation. Women are systematically discriminated against by men in authority. Even those women who are successful must work harder to be taken seriously by their colleagues (Whitworth, S 1994). Liberal feminists accept the distinction between public/private politics and thus accept the view

that women have traditionally been excluded because high politics have not been about issues which are of interest to women specifically.

Voet, R. (1998) noted that, within the Social liberal feminists, concerns about women's representation and participation in politics were not an issue initially. For them, they had struggled and won suffrage for women in liberal democracies and they gave up, believing that the gender problem in politics was solved. The liberals were of the view that women have the same political rights as men, and there is no specific gender problem left as far as representation is concerned. If fewer women than men happen to be affected as representatives it is because voters have considered them less able (Voet, R. 1998). These views were criticized by more classical Social liberal feminists who pointed out that what is needed to be represented in politics were interest. The interests of men and women were not identical, and that women needed to be given a chance to defend their own interests.

Part of the argument put up is that women also have the freedom to form all women party, but this has not been practical. As noted by Voet R. (1998), this according to social liberals is not practicable because women are too divided amongst themselves on general issues. Secondly, since people vote for someone who represents general interests of the society, women's parties hardly stand a chance. Voet noted that, the social liberals in recent time have argued that due to the size of modern states, we need representatives. Moreover, political issues have become so complicated in modern societies that ordinary citizens cannot be expected to have sound judgment on all issues; women need to be represented to address their own issues.

Another solution suggested by social liberals is that societal attitudes in the process of socialization, the division of labour within the home, educational and career opportunities must all change before greater number of women enters decision making position. Representative bodies should reflect differences in society by being composed of its different segments.

1.6.3. Third World Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Politics

This aspect of the literature review presents the third world particularly the African feminist view on gender and politics. Sedghi, H. (1994) defines the term third world as a social – scientific category which stems from a symmetrical global power relation. The western definition she stated portrays the first world as the developed capitalized western societies, and second world to be the state planned economies and communist societies of the former Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies, and what is left is the third world. These definitions ignored the varied experiences of third world inhabitants. They also implied a hierarchy in which the third world was last, and inherent in these definitions was the distortions of the third world as it is referred to as underdeveloped, inferior, uncivilized, backward and traditional (Sedghi, H. 1994).

This same distortion Sedghi argued was made of the third world women's movements and struggles. She noted that in the west, there is Eurocentric view that women's movements are purely European and North American and not indigenous to Asia or Africa. As early as the eighth century, for instance, women of the Sufi sect of Islam contested the established male hegemony and its effect on them. In the 19th century India, there were women's rights and education movements by women. Again many third world women's movements emerged with or from various local resistance movements questioning colonial and imperial domination (Sedghi, H. 1994). Third world women have to confront and resist the dilemma of a double edge sword, internal and international patriarchy. On the other hand, siding with national patriarchy in defence of the nation against international enemies betrays women's demands for the gender equality in national politics.

It is very important to note that the third world women consist of women of varied cultures and societies. As noted by Sedghi, H (1994) in the work "third world politics" it is necessary in any presentation on the perspective of the third world women to avoid falling on the western reporters trap of thinking that third world women's histories and perspectives are the same as each other, or that they are similar to the histories and

perspectives of western women. Sedghi, H. (1994) further noted that the theory of the third world women on politics is based on their experiences as they see world politics as a struggle against domination by class, race, the state and gender and that these multiple layers of struggle may be engaged individually or simultaneously. To the third world feminists therefore, the central characteristics of world politics are the struggle for control over life, the ability to make life choices, or to have the power to make those choices.

The main actors in world politics, she suggested, are the women and men involved sometimes together, sometimes not, in the struggle against domination, whether exercised by class, race, the state or gender. The goal of the third world feminist struggle remains the eradication of the multiple forms of domination both at the national and international level. There are a multitude of third world women's responses to world politics, responses that are specific to time and places. But there are also universal and common grounds that transcend such variations. Any attempt to develop a theory of world politics from the world feminist perspectives must respond to the complexities and specificities of women's varied voice and historical experiences (Sedghi, H. 1994).

Narrowing it down to African feminist perspective, many African scholars and feminists are of the opinion that the issues on gender inequality in all aspects including politics, should be seen differently for the African societies from that of the Western societies. As cited by Oyewunmi, O. (2003), while recognizing the so-called status of women in Africa, there are concerns about how western writers conceptualize and present the African women. In the African society, it is not just simply a distinction between two genders and sex, but other local African categories such as ethnicity, seniority, and race which comes to play in all aspects of life including politics and decision making power and therefore should be applied (Oyewunmi, O. 2003).

The role of colonization and capitalism, which are the products of the western world, are not considered while analyzing the African women's problems or gender issues in Africa. As presented later on in this work in chapter two on Nigerian women in politics and

leadership positions in the traditional society reveal that African women were represented and participated significantly in political and leadership activities. This position was lost with the arrival of western colonialism and imperialism. Okome, M. O. (2003) noted that the condition of women in Africa is grossly over generalized as compressed, and downtrodden. Neither class nor status is taken into consideration. In respect to gender discourse on women and decision-making power or politics, this is not only African women's issue. The problem of women not being adequately represented in governance due to patriarchy is not only African women's problem (Okome, M. O. 2003).

1.7. Rationale of the Study

The rationale behind this study is based on the reasoning that there is need to focus on women's place in politics as the problem of inequality in gender representation in the Nigerian parliament persists. One can not deny that there is very obvious gender inequality in politics, despite the presence of the AU (SDGEA) agreement No 5. The needs to explore the reason why so and thereby find solution to the inequality makes this study rational.

1.8. Significance of the Study

Based on the specific and general objectives of this study, which is on the assessment of the women's place in politics focusing on the AU SDGEA, agreement No 5 in Nigeria, it is important to have an understanding of the root causes of the gender differentiations that permeate the political sphere, and have maintained the status quo that complicates the pursuit of gender equality in political representation and participation for a very long period. Hopefully, the findings of this study will ease the move towards gender parity in politics, particularly in the Nigerian parliament.

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical consideration is very important since the issues are gender sensitive and political in nature. This helps to give confidence to the women participants in particular, to open up and contribute more efficiently. The objectives, significance and relevance of the study to the society in general were made known to the participants and respondents. They agreed on their own volition to participate in the study. Their individual names are

not mentioned, but their positions and the organizations they represent are mentioned in the presentation and analysis of the results.

1.10. Limitation of the Study

The study limited itself to agreement of No 5 of the AU SDGEA out of 13 agreements on the declaration in relation to women's place in politics in terms of awareness, support for and implementation. Factors responsible for poor representation of women were limited to the national parliament in Nigeria. Other leadership positions such as the executive, judiciary, ministerial arms of the government, the 36 states of the nation and the state offices of the political parties were not the major focus. Business women's political aspirations were limited to selected women within Abuja federal capital territory.

Another limitation of this study was the difficulty in reaching some of the respondents and participants, especially the parliamentarians, and the senior officials in the ministry. It took several visits and efforts to cross the bureaucracy hurdles, and in between the study, the parliamentarians went on a three week recess. This delayed the gathering of data and information for analysis. Due to this difficulty, the study is handicapped in in-depth analysis of the focused issues. The study was also limited in the area of literature review as the researcher could not find previously published work related to the study.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Related literatures to this study are reviewed under the following headings.

2.1. The African Union and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA)

Thirty-nine years after the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was launched to end colonialism and unite the peoples of Africa, the continent's leaders inaugurated its successor, the African Union, in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002. The new organization inherits the OAU's mantle of pan-Africanism, but has a broader mandate to meet the challenges of a rapidly globalizing era. The OAU helped to decolonize the continent, but was often criticized for failing to address many other issues, including Africa's growing poverty and fragile economies. While the OAU was in principle a political organization, the AU emphasizes economic integration as the route to political unity. The purpose of the Union is to help secure Africa's democracy, human rights, and a sustainable economy, especially by bringing an end to intra-African conflict and creating an effective common market. The African Union (AU) comprises of all African states as its members (AU Commission 2007).

The AU has 53 member states except Morocco that chose not to be a member because of its dispute with the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara), which is a member of the AU. The Union expects to create 17 constituent bodies. The main decision-making organ is the Assembly of heads of state. Next is the Executive Council, made up of foreign ministers. The Commission, which is the secretariat, oversees the day-to-day running of the AU. It comprises of 10 members and, under the rules, 5 must be women and is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with a chairperson. Other institutions of the AU include the Executive Council made up of foreign ministers, the Permanent Representatives Committee that consists of Ambassadors and other officials accredited to the AU, the Pan African Parliament, and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC), a Civil Society Consultative Body, the African Court of Justice, Peace and Security Council, Specialized Technical Committees, Financial Institutions, and Human Rights Institutions. There is also a "peer" review mechanism, whereby heads of state

commit to good governance practices and regularly review each other's performance (AU Commission 2007).

There are on going discussions on the unification of Africa as a United State. A 2006 AU report entitled “An African Union Government: Towards the United States of Africa” proposes a three-phase process to achieve the Union Government. All Member States accept the United States of Africa as a common and desirable goal but differences exist over the modalities and time frame for achieving this goal and the appropriate pace of integration. In addition, there is a common agreement on the need for an audit review of the state of the Union in order to know the areas in which significant improvements have to be made to accelerate the integration process (AU Commission 2007, Public Consultation on the Grant Debate on an African Union Government). The debate is still in progress.

The African Union has adopted gender equality in Africa as one of its principles; perhaps the Union realized that no meaningful development can occur without addressing the issue of gender equality. To this regard, the AU embarked on a new chapter of moving forward the agenda of gender equality in Africa; this is demonstrated in the adoption of the *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA)* in 2004. The declaration contains 13 articles or agreements. According to (FAS 2005), the SDGEA can be divided into two sections. Articles (1 to 11) deal with the issues of Governance, Peace and Security, Human Rights, Health, Education and Economic Empowerment. There have been consolidated efforts to disseminate, monitor, evaluate and report the implementation of the AU Gender Parity Principle. This aspect is entrenched in Articles 12 and 13 in the declaration.

The joint efforts of all governments at all levels, especially the parliaments, civil societies, political parties, grass route organizations are essential to the implementation of the AU Gender Equality Principle. As noted by Mkwezalamba, M. the Commissioner for Economic Affairs African Union in 2007, the important role that Parliaments play in our various countries as lawmakers cannot be over-emphasized. Therefore, the AU needs

their support in ensuring that the contents of the declaration are mainstreamed in their day-to-day activities of looking at issues of national interest.

According to the Women Gender and Development Directorate of the African Union (2005), for the first time in history, a continental organization took ownership of a gender-mainstreaming program at the highest level. This was unavoidable if the envisaged development is to occur. The progress made by the AU in support of gender parity is in line with the report by the United Nation Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in 2005 on the 7th African Regional Conference on Women Beijing+10 that “gender equality is a means of achieving and sustaining development”. The report further stated that more emphasis needs to be placed on increasing organizations and governments understanding of, and commitment to gender equality as a necessity to achieving sustainable and effective programs and policies”.

The extension of the AU gender parity principle to the National level for all member states is an excellent step in line with the UNECA’s Guidelines for Formulating and Implementing National Gender Policies (2007). It states that a good gender policy framework is one of the critical variables that are central to the effective implementation of the regional and international commitments to gender equality and women’s empowerment.

2.2. Gender Inequality in Representation, Participation in Politics in Nigeria

According to IDEA (2007), the issue of women in politics is on the agenda of many international, regional and local organizations. The emphasis so far has been on the number of women in politics and ways to increase their participation, that is, the quantitative aspects. In Nigeria the women representation and participation in politics is very poor. A number of factors have been postulated as the cause for gender inequality in politics globally, even in the very economically advanced or industrialized nations.

As noted by Arceneaux, K. (2001), explanations regarding the gender gap in state legislative representation have centered on attitudinal, institutional, and situational

characteristics of the states. With regard to attitudinal characteristics, researchers have primarily focused on the impact political culture and ideologies have on female representation. Less attention has been paid to specific gender-role attitudes due to the lack of a state-level gender-role attitudes measure. Consequently, little is understood about how culture, ideology, and gender-role attitudes relate to one another or female representation in the states.

In Nigeria, this view by Arceneaux is very much applicable but with more other variables. These include the impact of patriarchy, religion, lack of proper and adequate educational opportunities, economic and financial status and the impact of colonialism. As noted by Dawodu S. T. (2006), Nigerian women have encountered a number of problems while venturing into politics. There is large scale discrimination from the men folk. Since men are usually the majority in the political party setup, they tend to dominate the party hierarchy and are therefore at advantage in influencing the parties' internal politics in allocating political offices, selecting or electing candidates for elections (Dawodu S. T. 2006).

Qualls, A. (2007) noted that, today in Nigeria women play a minimal role in politics, although the 1979 Constitution guaranteed their rights. The political parties do not look favorably upon female candidates. This is not far from the gender insensitive pattern of political parties globally, and obviously one of the major reasons why women's representation and participation in politics is still disproportionate to men. Dawodu S. T. (2006) asserted that this is because of the social, cultural and religious attitudes of different Nigerian societies which most often tend to relegate women to the background. As a result, only very few men, even among the educated, allow their wives to come out and participate in politics.

In Northern Nigeria, an important factor inhibiting women's participation is the Purdah system (i.e. house seclusion of women). However there was a reawakening of women's participation in politics in the 1979 election when Mallam Amina Kano the national

leader and presidential candidate of the then Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) announced that his vice presidential running mate for (1983) would be a woman. As noted by Callaway B. J. (1987), findings suggest a dramatic awakening of women's interest and participation in public affairs then. This awakening is not encouraged because Islam as practiced presents a major constrain upon any effort towards dramatic change in the public role of women, limiting freedom of choice and movements by gender and according privileges to men while defining restrictions for women (Callaway, B. J. 1987).

In the geographical heartland of Hausa/ Islamic culture in Northern Nigeria, the call for a fundamental reconsideration of the position of women has occasioned public controversy. The subordination of women to men and their exclusion from the world of men is central to the conception of Islam, where a sharp differentiation between male and female roles is maintained. The belief that domestic unit must be more closely ministered to by women in order to nature the young is a part of this cultural conditioning (Callaway, B. J. 1987).

Another problem facing women is lack of adequate education. Women constitute a larger percentage of the illiterate group in Nigeria. This is attributed to the fact that most parents prefer to send their sons to school, instead of their daughters whom they feel would eventually get married and thus get incorporated into another family. Thus, a larger percentage of the girls remain uneducated and unexposed. Lack of adequate finance is also a crucial hindrance to effective female participation in politics in Nigeria. A large portion of the Nigerian female population is not as financially strong as their male counterparts. Family responsibilities and childbearing also hinder women from participating effectively in partisan politics (Dawodu, S. T. 2006).

2.3. Nigerian Women in Politics and Leadership Positions in Traditional Society

Were the Nigerian women visible at the decision making level and the public sphere in the pre-Islamic, pre-Christianity, and pre-colonial eras? Qualls, A. (2007) pointed out that in pre-colonial Nigeria, women had a much larger position in politics. Unfortunately, the western influences restricted women's participation. Now women have relatively little

opportunity to become involved in politics. As western values gained influence in colonial Nigeria, women lost some of their traditional rights. In most cultures and traditions of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria women were very active in politics and leadership position before the external political and religious influences. A focus on the Hausa women of Northern Nigeria and the Igbo women of Eastern Nigeria provides examples of the roles and position of power women had.

In the early Hausa history before and even at the arrival of Islam, women's role in the traditional setting was very significant. There were queens and other prominent title holders. The king was known as (Sariki) and he ruled with the queen mother (Magajiya). She was not necessarily the king's biological mother. The queen mother had the power to counter mind the king's instruction, could even depose the king and had the authority to grant pardons to offenders in the community which was executive authority. She held the port folio of an adviser to the king in all aspects. She was of high royal status with three other female title holders as assistant. Callaway, B. J. (1987).

Another powerful woman as noted by Callaway in the system was the Iya. She was the spiritual and religious leader of the community and had the authority to supervise the religious rituals prepared. She was in charge of the magicians and medicine men and women. She initiated the Bori (the pre-Islamic Hausa states religion). The continued success of the states was dependent to large measure on the efficacy of the Bori rites performed. The Iya organized and supervised the initiation of a new Magajiya. Both the Magajiya and the Iya commended position in the society's wealth (the kudin Saranta).

Smith, M. G. (1978) noted that the importance of female power holders in the early history of the Hausa land is also exemplified in the myths of creation and origin which in the king lists or royal chronicle shows that in Hausa states women were politically significant. There was the existence of female officers in various states and evidence of actual female rulers. Also the political place once held by women of the ruling class was allied with and by pre-historical socio-religious conventions and institutions. Smith,

(1978) further noted that the title Magajiya continued to represent a remnant of female authority and considerable responsibility in the Hausa states up until the Islamic Jihad in 1804. Today where it exists, it is only symbolic. After the 13th century the influence of Islam became even more pervasive and women's public roles, titles, and offices diminished or were assumed by men (Callaway, 1987).

As late as the 15th or 16th century instances of women in important public roles were recorded in history the most striking and impressive evidence of them is that of queen Amina of Zazzau or Zaria and was known throughout Nigeria and beyond as the greatest Hausa ruler. At age 16 Amina assumed the post of Magajiya and had forty assistants. At the death of her father the Sarki in 1576, Amina became the queen. She expanded her rulership South and West of the banks of the River Niger. She built great walls around the cities conquered and to this day the walls of many towns are called Ganuwar Amina (Amina's walls).

By the end of the 16th century, standing influence and authority of women title-holders coincided with the growing influence of Islam that ushered in the Jihad wars in the Hausa States 1804 to 1812. For royal women the most important consequence of this was the loss of their ritual religious authority and with it the priority foundation of their political influence. The title of Magajiya has been retained with the ruling class of some Hausa States (Emirates) but has been short of any political significance.

Callaway (1987) further stated that women in the post Jihad North of Nigeria were already political minors when the British colonialists arrived and presumably the subordination of women concurred with predilection of the British for a male controlled society. In the years that followed the arrival of the British and until independence in 1960, the notion that women bore any interests that would warrant their having political place in northern Nigeria had no relevance.

Another major ethnic group in Nigeria that has evidence of women exercising positions of authority outside the home are the Igbos of Eastern Nigeria. As noted by Mohammed, H. D. (1985) in the Igbo society, women have a series of roles in the political life of their communities despite the patrilineal organization of Igbo society. Mohammed further stated that in the Igbo society political powers are diffused, the leadership was fluid and informal. Communities' decisions were made in a variety of gatherings such as the village-wide assemblies, women's meetings, and age grades secret and titled societies. Decisions were made by discussions until mutual agreement was reached. Any adult present contributes, female or male, and age did not confer leadership unless accompanied by wisdom and the ability to speak. There were no distinctions between political authorities to issue commands. Women as well as men thus had access to political participation; for women as well as for men public status was achieved and not ascribed. A woman's status was determined more by her own achievements than by her husband's (Mohammed, H. D. 1985).

In the traditional Igbo society, women had political institutions. These institutions were used to express women's disapproval and secure their demands by collective public demonstration and through group strikes. An example of this was the lineage-wide or village-wide gathering of all wives (the Inyemedi) who provided women with a forum through which to develop their political talents, protect their interest as traders, farmers, wives, and mothers through collective actions against individual women, individual men and men as a group in the society. They made rules about markets, crops, and livestock that applied to men as well as women, and exercised pressure to maintain moral norms among women. They heard complains from wives about mistreatment by individual husbands and discussed how to deal with problems they were having with the men as a whole (Mohammed, H. D. 1985).

These authorities and influences in the hands of the Igbo women in the pre-colonial era were undermined when the British colonial government appointed warrant chiefs in the Igbo communities. The British tried to introduce the idea of native administration into the

Igbo traditional system described as a diffuse authority, fluid and informal leadership, with shared rights of enforcement, and a more or less stable balance of male and female power (Mohammed, 1985 p 49). The appointment of one man, the warrant chief was an abrogation of the Igbo concepts. In 1933, the British colonial government made reforms but the women's traditional political role was ignored. The reforms adjusted the traditional Igbo male roles to reflect male domination corresponding with those of the Europeans. The new domination was perpetuated by new economic measures; it was done by recruitment of only men as part of the native administration and supported by ideology in mission schools (Mohammed, 1985). This action by the British Colonial authority led to the loss of position in politics and leadership by the women in Igbo culture.

As Nigeria became an independent state in 1960 the intense struggle between regional elites and a central Federal first Republic ended in a coup d' e'tat in 1966 leading to a civil war, and from 1966 to 1979 Nigeria experienced a succession of military regimes. Perhaps one of the most significant outcomes of the break up of the first Republic resulting in civil war was further enfranchisement of women in the entire country (Callaway, 1987).

2.4. Gender and Democracy in Nigeria

Democracy is a government of the people by the people for the people. This is generally known as participatory or representative democracy. Political power belongs to the people and the people exercise their power under a democratic system to make it meaningful (Dawodu, S. T. (2007). It is characterized by checks and balances and involves a process of feedback which together guarantees utmost accountability. In Nigeria, efforts have been made to have a truly democratic government severally since after independence in 1960. Nigeria's post-independence was marked by a series of military interventions in politics: coups, counter-coups, and a civil war (1967-70) Nigeria has only enjoyed three short periods of democratic rule – 1960 to 1965 (the first republic), 1979-83 (the second republic), and 1999 to the date (the third republic).

Democracy in Nigeria as it is today is characterized by a multi-party system. Nearly 50 political parties are officially registered but only three, the ruling PDP, the ANPP and the AD have electoral strength. The overriding periods, totalling 29 years, saw military governments in place. The undermining of democracy in Nigeria started with the 1964 federal elections which was marred by violence and rigging. Inter-party and inter-ethnic tensions ultimately led to a military takeover in January 1966. The inability still to conduct a free and fair election to usher in a truly democratic government is a major set back (Dawodu, S. T. 2006).

According to the Foreign & Commonwealth Department (2007), the 2007 elections, held in April 2007, were heavily criticized by foreign and domestic observer groups who alleged that elections were poorly organized with large-scale rigging. The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and its Presidential candidate, Umaru Yar'Adua, were returned with large majorities. A number of legal challenges to the declared results were mounted in the Courts. This does not represent a good experience of democracy, and is undermining one of the essential elements of the United Nations Universal Declaration on Democracy that the key element in the exercise of democracy is the holding of free and fair elections at regular intervals enabling the people's will to be expressed. Elections should be held on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage so that all voters can choose their representatives in conditions of equality, openness and transparency that stimulate political competition. To that end, civil and political rights are essential, and more particularly among them, the rights to vote and to be elected, the rights to freedom of expression and assembly, access to information and the right to organize political parties and carry out political activities (UN Inter-Parliamentary Council 1997).

According to Olukoya, S. (2007), it can be said that achieving gender equality is near impossible the way and manner in which the election are conducted presently. Report on the 2007 elections in Nigeria, emphasized on the violence that marked the election and the effect it has on women's participation in democratic process in Nigeria. Olukoya, giving an account of a female aspirant, Nyone, representing Gokana area in South-Eastern Rivers State for the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) was reported as

saying as follows: *"I drew up a manifesto and went ahead with mobilizing a lot of support, especially among my fellow women, and I was confident that I would win the party primaries. On the day of the primaries, to elect candidates, certain contestants came to the venue with armed thugs, and violence broke out even before the start of the vote. Chairs were thrown, and then guns, knives and other weapons were used. A ward chairman was shot dead; all the women and most of the men fled the scene. My husband rushed there and quickly took me home. I was scared,"* said Nyone.

Nyone continued as she stated that, *"men who were fully prepared for the violence were the only ones who remained behind to hand pick the various winners. I am not ready to go through it again. I was in the field doing all the hard work in order to win the party primaries, but the men sat at home taking decisions as to who should be declared winner"*. From this experience, Nyone was reported as saying that political violence will remain the strongest factor militating against female politicians. Olukoya further concluded that Nyone's case is not unique. Situations like this are detrimental to gender equality in politics for a true democracy.

Democracy by itself is not a self-fulfilling system for it contains certain innate limitations, which must be addressed for democracy to have a meaningful and positive impact on human society. To this effect, Dawodu, S. T. (2007), noted that taking into consideration the fragile nature of the nascent democracy in Nigeria the rule of law becomes imperative, the promotion of fundamental freedoms becomes indispensable and accountability, transparency and due process must be the guiding principle in the conduct of public affairs.

2.5. AU Report on the Implementation of the SDGEA Agreement No. 5

Yearly, a report is expected from member states of the AU on measures taken to implement the principle of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, and all issues raised in the declaration both at the national and regional levels in accordance with agreement No. 13 of the declaration.

In the report, each member country of the Union is evaluated on the implementation of all the agreements of the declaration. The AU Commission itself and other organs of the

Union are evaluated as well. These countries namely, Algeria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa and Tunisia have reported. So far, in the period 2005 to 2007, the AU has received only sixteen of the fifty-three country reports. Each country's first report has the purpose of providing baseline data from which future progress can be measured. The lack of reports from the majority of countries makes it difficult for the AU to monitor and evaluate overall African progress, and to identify the main regional issues which need to be addressed (AU 2007).

The overall evaluation on the implementation of agreement No 5 indicates that the concerns are on the proportion of women in parliament and holding ministerial positions, and whether the government has instituted a quota system to improve women's representation. According to the country reports, Rwanda is by far the most successful country with a percentage of women in parliament of 48%, as a direct result of a government instituted quota system requiring at least 30% women in all public decision making institutions. Uganda and South Africa are next as these countries have higher levels in their overall Gender Equality Index, presumably as a result of their successful policies of affirmative action to increase the proportion of women in decision making positions both within the legislature and within government(AU 2007 report).

The report on Nigeria's implementation indicates that there is in existence some institutional mechanisms to promote women's empowerment and gender equality as follows:

- ◆ Chapter IV Sections 42 (I), (a), (b), (2) and (3) of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution provides for non-discrimination on the basis of gender, religion, ethnicity, age or circumstances of birth against all Nigerian citizens.
- ◆ The Federal Ministry of Women Affairs (FMWA) which is the national gender focal machinery and in charge of implementing the national gender policy.

- ◆ The National Centre for Women's Development (NCWD), a division under the FMWA is responsible for promoting women's advancement through research, training and documentation.

In addition to these institutional machineries, the implementation of agreement No 5 on gender parity has been evaluated and reported as follows: Section 42 of the 1999 Constitution in Nigeria guarantees every Nigerian (women and men), the rights to freedom from discrimination and the freedom of association, which by extension includes political association and participation.

On the elective front, which is the major core of this thesis, there is a marginal increase in the number of women elected into both the Upper & Lower Houses of the National Assembly. In the National Assembly, there are four (9) women out of 109 senators and 25 women out of 360 members of the Federal House of Representatives. Of significance is the number of female deputy governors, which has increased from 1 to 4. Furthermore, 2 out of the 36 State Houses of Assembly speakers are women; there are 47 women Local Government Chair out of 774. In 2005, the first female justice of the Supreme Court and the first female Police Commissioner were appointed. Women constitute about 19 per cent of members of the Federal cabinet in comparison to 12 percent four years ago. Presently, women represent 22 per cent of Federal Permanent Secretaries as against about 10 per cent in 2003 (AU 2007 Report).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This chapter contains aspects of the methodology for this research.

3.1. Research Design

Table 3.1. : Research Design

Research Method	Data Sources	Tools Used	Nature of Sample	Sample Size		
				F	M	Total
Quantitative	Primary	Questionnaire	Parliamentarians	34	44	78
			Women in Business	102	-	102
			Total	136	44	180
Qualitative	Primary	In-depth Interview guide	Officers, W A D of the (FMWACD)	3	2	5
			Members, P C W A	3	1	4
			Members, N C W S	3	-	3
			Officials, C S	3	1	4
			Party officials, (PDP, ANPP, AD)	3	9	12
			Total	15	13	28
Total Sample Used (both methods)				151	57	208

(Source: Survey conducted by the Researcher, April and May 2008 in Abuja, Nigeria.)

3.2. Methods of Study

This study applied both quantitative and qualitative approaches for the presentation and analysis of data collected on women's place in politics focusing on the AU SDGEA

agreements No.5 in Nigeria. The focus is in terms of level of awareness and implementation, views of men parliamentarians, factors responsible for poor representation of women in parliament and political aspirations of women in business. Being a feminist research, and on the issue of gender representation in politics, it is paramount that both methods are used to have a deep and factual exploration. The instrument used for the quantitative survey method was questionnaire to measure some specific variables that will provide answer to the research questions and achieve the set objective. For the qualitative method, in-depth interview with question guide provided answers to the more hidden variables surrounding the issue of gender and politics.

In line with the feminist research suggestions, there was a triangulation of the findings from primary sources (quantitative and qualitative) and secondary sources for a wholesome presentation of the findings. The secondary sources were from the official documents of the FMWAYD namely, the Nigeria Initial Report on the Implementation SDGEA (2004-2006) and the Nigerian National Gender Policy, Situation Analysis and Framework (2007).

3.3. Study Area and Field Organization

3.3.1. Profile on the Federal Republic of Nigeria; the System of Government

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. Situated on the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, Nigeria gained independence from Britain on October 1st 1960, became a member of the Commonwealth and the United Nation. Nigeria has about 250 ethnic and linguistic groups. English is the official language and the three main indigenous languages are Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo. The main religions are Christianity, Islam and indigenous African religion. According to the (World Bank 2006) report, Nigeria's main export income earners are petroleum, and by- petroleum products, cocoa, and rubber, and the GNI per capita is \$560 US dollars.

According to the Nigerian Census Commission (2007), the 2006 census puts the population at 140,003,542 with 71,709,859 male (51.23%) and 68,293,859 female (48.77). Literacy rates 70.9 percent for men and 54.8 percent for women, 67 percent of

the people have access to medical services and life expectancy for the total population is 51 to 56 years. For men life expectancy is 51 to 58 and that of women is 51 to 55 (UNESCO 2007).

As stated by Obasi, N.K. (2007), the Federal Republic of Nigeria is governed in accordance with the provisions of a constitution. At the Federal level, the Government is headed by an elected **President**. As provided for by the constitution, the President is the Head of State, the Chief Executive of the Federation as well as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The President and his ministers form the Federal Executive Council, with the President as the Chairman. There is a **Vice President** who assists the President and is nominated by the presidential candidate. The Vice President's tenure of office is concurrent with that of the President

The highest law-making body of the Federation is the **National Assembly, (the Parliament)**. The National Assembly is made up of an Upper House known as the **Senate** and a Lower House known as the **House of Representatives**. The Senate is headed by a Senate President, who is supported by a Deputy Senate President. It consists of three members from each of the 36 States of the Federation and one member from the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Thus, the Senate has a total of 109 members. The House of Representative has 360 members, and is presided over by the Speaker of the House, supported by a Deputy Speaker. The Parliament has the responsibility of making laws for the good governance of the federation. The two Upper and Lower Houses make a total of 469 members of the Parliament.

While the Legislature is responsible for making laws and the Executive is charged with the implementation of such law, the Judiciary is responsible for the interpretation of the law in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. The constitution provides for Federal and State Courts, as well as Election Tribunals. Islamic Law (Sharia) rules one-third of Nigeria's 36 states mainly in the Northern part. This has considerable impact on the rights of women in political representation. The 1999 constitution of the Federal

Republic of Nigeria reveals that there is provision for equal opportunities. In chapter 2, section 7, sub-section 2 of the constitution it is stated that every citizen shall have equality of right, obligations and opportunities before the law (Obasi, N.K. 2007).

3.3.2. Study Site

Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory is the seat of the Federal government, and has the concentration of politician at the National level; it provided the researcher with the right population for sample for the research questions. To collect the needed data for quantitative analysis, the following research sites have been selected. The Nigerian National Assembly (the Parliament) is located in the Central business district targeting women and men parliamentarians. Three other districts namely, Maitama, Wuse and Gariki, were also selected to administer questionnaire targeting the women in business. The four districts were purposively sampled because they have a mixture of high income, middle income, and not very low income classes of Abuja population. They also have high concentration of business complexes where business women were targeted. The Central Business District houses the Federal House of Assembly for the parliamentary samples. These selected districts were suitable for the selection of the appropriate respondents for the quantitative data collection.

For the qualitative in-depth interviews, the offices of the national headquarters' of the three political parties in majority in the parliament namely, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) with a total of 299 seats; the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) with 123 seats; the Alliance for Democracy (AD) with 40 seats at the 2007 election and Members of the Parliamentarian Committee on Women Affairs. Also the Department of Women Affairs, Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development, Office of the National Council of Women Societies and two active Civil Societies, namely, the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) and the Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) are all located within the Abuja Federal Capital Territory.

3.4. Sampling Techniques

3.4.1. Quantitative Sampling Techniques

Random and purposive sampling techniques were used for the selection of the respondents for the quantitative data collection. The 34 women parliamentarians were purposively selected because they are the only women in parliament and they make 7.25% of the parliamentarians. 44 men parliamentarians were randomly selected from the total men parliamentarians. Random selection was also used to select the 102 women in business from 1020 population.

3.4.2. Qualitative Sampling Techniques

The participants were selected based on purposive sampling and on the convenience and relevance of their participation towards providing answers to the research questions of this study.

3.5. Sample Size Determination

The population for quantitative data collection for this research is made up of women and men from the study area and field organizations. The first sample of women was determined by the total number of women in the parliament, 9 of them from the Upper House (the Senate) and 25 from the Lower House (the House of Representative). This gives a total of the only 34 women parliamentarians.

The second sample of women for the quantitative analysis was women in business. The rationale for the selection of the business women was for an opportunity to find out their views on women's place in politics in Nigeria as they represent a large population of Nigerian women. 182 women were from the Maitama business complexes, 460 from Wuse business complexes, and 378 from Gariki business complexes. This gave a population of 1020 women, which is the total number of women doing business at the selected business complexes. 10% of these women which is 102 were used to administer the research questionnaire.

Also sampled from the parliament for quantitative analysis are 44 men to obtain a gendered perspective on the issue. This sample of men parliamentarians represents 10% of 435 which is the total number of men parliamentarians in the assembly.

For the qualitative analysis, the first sample was from the FMWACD. The rationale for the selection of the ministry is that it is part of the institutional mechanisms to promote women's empowerment and gender equality. At the Ministry, the interview was conducted at the WAD with the Director (a woman), the three Deputy Directors (a woman and two men) and a Principal Women Development Officer (a woman). This gave a total of 5 participants.

Members of the Senate and House of Representative Committees on Women Affairs were also sampled for interview. The committee members were selected because they are directly responsible for issues relating to women that are brought to the parliament. Each of these two Upper and Lower Houses Committees has an average of 16 members. Out of these, 2 chairpersons and 2 leaders of Sub-Committees on gender issues, giving a total of four were interviewed.

Members of the National Council of Women Societies were also interviewed. The NCWS were selected because they consist of an assembly of different women's societies all over Nigeria. The National President of the Council whose office is in Abuja, the political adviser to the Council, and the Matron for the Abuja Federal Capital Territory office of the Council making a total of 3 were sampled for interview. Members of the council are spread all over the country, and this limited the number of women selected from this group for the research.

Two members, each from two active Civil Societies in Abuja working on gender issues, specifically on politics and democracy namely, the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) and the Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) were interviewed. The rationale for the selection of the two was C.S. is based on the wide

coverage and nature of their activities. The TMG is a coalition of all the Nigerian human rights organizations working on monitoring the progress of democracy and elections in Nigeria. WRAPA is a leading voice in advocacy for enactment of various bills on protection of women's rights. In 2007, the organization was selected to implement the MDG program to enhance political participation of women in seven states in Nigeria, including the North West.

Interviews were also conducted at the headquarters of the three political parties in majority at the parliament namely, PDP, ANPP & AD. 4 participants from each of the parties were selected. The National Chairperson, a Deputy Chairperson, National Political Adviser, and leader of Women's Wing of each of the three parties were interviewed. This totaled up to 12 participants. The political parties are very crucial for the successful implementation of the African Union gender parity as mentioned in the declaration.

3.6. Sources and Instruments of Data Collection

Primary sources were used in this research. The instruments used for the collection of the primary data were, structured questionnaire for the quantitative data collection and the qualitative data were collected using In-depth interviews with question guide. These tools were developed by the researcher after a careful study and understanding of the issue from the literature reviews, and the development of the research questions. The instruments were designed to collect the appropriate data to answer the research questions and achieve the set objectives.

The questionnaire covered different variables such as demographic information of respondents, awareness and implementation of the AU (SDGEA), views of men parliamentarians on the AU (SDGEA), and factors for gender inequality in parliamentary representation, and political aspiration of women in business in Nigeria. The views of the business women are essential as they make a large percentage of women in Nigeria, and are potential women politicians that could be encouraged to come to fill the gap missing in women's representation and participation in politics in Nigeria.

Two different sets of guided questions were used for the interview. The first set was used for the participants at the Department of Women Affairs, Members of Parliamentarian Committee on Women Affairs, Members of the National Council of Women Societies and officials of two Civil Societies namely, the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) and the Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA). The second set of guided interview questions were used for the participant at the three political parties in majority in the parliament, the PDP, ANPP, and AD.

3.7. Data Collection Procedure Followed

For a very high percentage of distribution and collection of the questionnaires, the researcher involved the services of two research assistants. The assistance and corporation of office assistants and secretaries working in the field organizations where the interviews were conducted was also involved. In this way, these individuals who are well-known by the respondents made approaching them easier. The qualitative data collection was conducted directly by the researcher. All these were supported by simple and direct written and verbal explanation of the importance of the study and why they should participate in it.

3.8. Methods of Data Analysis

After the quantitative data were collected, they were examined for comprehensiveness and regularity and were analyzed and presented using statistical techniques. Data was analyzed with frequencies and percentages.

The qualitative data accessed using the in-depth interviews were presented and analyzed qualitatively. The results were examined in relation with existing literature reviewed and the theoretical issues discussed. In addition, the results were analyzed considering the set objectives, the research questions and the implications of results for the national, regional, and international declarations towards gender equality in political role, representation and participation.

CHAPTER FOUR: QUANTITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION

This chapter contains presentation of data from the quantitative tool, they are descriptive in nature and are fully analyzed in relation with the set objectives and research question for the study.

4.1. Personal Profile of Survey Respondents

The detailed data as shown in tables (4.1.1.), (4.1.2.) and (4.1.3.) below presents the demographic information on age, educational level, marital status, parental status, religion, number of years in parliament and types of business women are engaged in.

4.1.1. Age, Educational Level, and Marital Status.

Table 4.1.1. on page 41 showed that majority of the women parliamentarians 79.41% and women in business 60.79% are within the range of 40 to 59, while only 40.91% of the men parliamentarians are within the age range of 40 to 59. A larger number of men 15.91% are within age group 20 and 39 compared to the women parliamentarians with only 5.88%. The entire respondents indicated that those within the age range of 20 to 39 years are 18.33% those within 40 to 59 years are 59.45 % and 22.22% are within 60 to 80.

On the educational level of the respondents, the same table (4.1.1.) indicated some interesting variation. Out of the 34 women parliamentarian, 76.47% of them acquired higher level of education, while 23.53% attained school level. Looking at the table the men parliamentarians who acquired higher level of education are 61.36% and those with school level education are 38.64%. Here the gender comparison reveals an interesting emerging finding that 26 (76.47) and 27 (61.36) of women and men parliamentarians respectively acquired higher education. Here education plays a promising role in women's representation in politics. It also reveals that women who go into politics and are voted into the parliament in Nigeria are mostly well mature women in terms of age and with high level of education compared to the men. The business women who aspire to go into politics fall short in educational level. 85.29% of them attained school level and only 14.71% of them studied up to higher level. This further confirms that poor representation of women in the parliament is related to the low-level education of women who could be potential candidates.

Table 4.1.1. :Distribution of Survey Respondents by Age, Educational Level, and Marital Status.

Personal Data Profile	Study Respondents							
	Women Parliamentarians		Women in Business		Men Parliamentarians		Total	
	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%
Age								
20 – 39 years	02	5.88	24	23.53	07	15.91	33	18.33
40 -59 years	27	79.41	62	60.79	18	40.91	107	59.45
60 – 80 years	05	14.71	16	15.68	19	43.18	40	22.22
Total	34	100	102	100	44	100	180	100
Ed. Level								
School Level	08	23.53	87	85.29	17	38.64	112	62.23
Higher Ed.	26	76.47	15	14.71	27	61.36	68	37.77
Total	34	100	102	100	44	100	180	100
Marital Status								
Single	02	05.88	15	14.70	10	22.73	27	15
Married	30	88.24	80	78.44	34	77.27	144	80
Others	02	05.88	07	06.86	-	-	09	05
Total	34	100	102	100	44	100	180	100

(Source: Survey conducted by the Researcher in April and May 2008)

Looking at the same table above, more of the women parliamentarians are also married compared to the men. This could be seen as extra efforts by the women politicians to prove they are capable, earn respect and in position to compete with the men. This is in relation to the view by the Social Liberals as noted by Whitworth, S (1994) that part of the barriers to women's participation is that women are systematically discriminated

against by men in authority and even those women who are successful must work harder to be taken seriously by their colleagues.

4.1.2. Parental Status, Religion, and the Number of years in Parliament.

The data in table (4.1.2.) on page 43 indicated that among the women parliamentarians, 67.65% of them have grown up children, while 32.35% of them have children that are still young. The men parliamentarians have 59.10% grown up children and 44.12% young children. Among the women in business, 55.88% of them have grown up children and 44.12% of them are with young children.

In terms of distribution by type of religion, 67.65% of the women parliamentarians are Christians while 32.35 of them are Muslims. For the men parliamentarians, the data shows that 54.55% of them are Christians while the Muslims are 45.45%. Among the women in business, 61.76% of them are Christians and 38.24% of them are Muslim.

Concerning the number of years in parliament, 20.58% of the women have been there for less than 4 years and 52.95% of them have been in parliament for between 4 to 7 years. 26.47% of them have been parliamentarians for 8 years and above. On the part of the male parliamentarians, 27.27% of them have been in parliament for less than 4 years, while 52.55% of them have been in parliament for between 4 to 7 years. 20.46% of them have been there for 8 years and above.

Young Children	11	32.35	45	44.12	18	40.90	74	41.12
Total	34	100	102	100	44	100	180	100
Religion	Study Respondents							
Personal data profile	Women Parliamentarians	67.65	Women in Business	61.76	Men Parliamentarians	54.55	110	61.12
	f.	32.35	f.	38.24	f.	45.45	Total f.	38.88
Parental Status	34	100	102	100	44	100	180	100
Years in Parliament	23	67.65	57	55.88	26	59.10	106	58.88
Children								

< 4 Years	07	20.58	-	-	12	27.27	19	24.35
4 -7 Years	18	52.95	-	-	23	52.27	41	52.55
8 yrs &Above	09	26.47	-	-	09	20.46	18	23.10
Total	34	100	-	-	44	100	78	100

Table 4.1.2.: Distribution of Survey Respondents by Parental Status, Religion, and Years in Parliament.

(Source: Survey conducted by the Researcher in April and May 2008)

These presented data indicated that most of the women parliamentarians have grown up children and are Christians as well. It can be asserted that as the women get relieved from family commitments and responsibilities of caring for the needs of young children, they have ample time to be engaged in political activities. On the part of the men parliamentarians there is no significant difference between those with young children and those grown up children. This can be attributed to the fact that the men are not usually engaged in household work that are related with raising young children in the society, hence they can set out for partisan politics no matter at whatever age their children are.

Also in terms of the religion, most of the women parliamentarians are Christians; this is reflective of the restrictions on Muslim women in Northern Nigeria. This is related to the previously noted view in the literature review of this study, that Northern Muslim women in Nigeria face more barriers than the Christian women due to the Sharia law (Islamic law) and the practice of Purdah (i.e. house seclusion of women) as an important factor inhibiting women's participation. It is also noted in the Initial Country Report on the Implementation of the AU SDGEA by the FMWA (2006), that the low level of women's participation in politics and public life has been attributed to a number of factors including traditional and religious beliefs.

4.1.3. Types of Business Women Are Engaged In

In table (4.1.3) below with distribution on the type of businesses the sampled business women are engaged in, 51.96% of them are engaged in trading. In manufacturing, only

11.76% of them are involved, while 20.58% of them are in services such as hair dressing, secretarial, fashion and others. Only very few women are involved in imports at 10.78% and even fewer in export at 4.92%.

Table 4.1.3.: Distributions of Types of Business Women are engaged in

Type of Business or Entrepreneurship	Business Women Respondents	
	Frequency	Percentage
Trading	53	51.96
Manufacturing	12	11.76
Services (Hair dressing, Secretarial, Fashion, etc)	21	20.58
Imports	11	10.78
Exports	05	04.92
Total	102	100

(Source: Survey conducted by the Researcher in April and May 2008)

This is a reflection of the realities of the economic strength of women in Nigeria as few of them are engaged in huge income earning business activities such as manufacturing, importation, and exportation. As indicated by the (FMWACD 2006) report on the implementation of the AU (SDGEA) in Nigeria, the gender disparity indicator in core development shows that women are more in less income generating activities such as informal sector, 87% for women and 13% for men, in food processing 90% for women and 10 % for men. With this result, one could come to the conclusion that due to this gender disparity in economic activities, women do not have enough financing to pursue political activities fully.

4.2. Assessment of the AU (SDGEA) Agreement No. 5 on Gender Parity

The AU SDGEA agreement No. 5., is assessed as follows using the data collected on level of awareness, and support for implementation, views of men parliamentarians on the declaration, factors responsible for poor representation of women in parliament, political aspirations of women in business, factors that discourage political aspiration of the women and other related findings.

4.2.1. Level of Awareness among Women, Men Parliamentarians and Business Women

Table (4.2.1.) on page 46 contains the quantitative data on the level of awareness of the AU SDGEA presented and analyzed as follows.

Table 4.2.1.: Distribution of Survey Respondents on Awareness of the AU (SDGEA) Agreement No. 5.

Item	Respondents												Sub-Total				G. Total	
	Women Parliamentarian				Women in Business				Men Parliamentarian									
	Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		f.	%
	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%
1. Lack of Individual awareness	19	55.88	15	44.12	75	73.53	27	26.47	27	61.36	17	16.66	121	67.22	59	32.78	180	100
2. Lack of General awareness.	23	67.65	11	32.35	79	77.45	23	22.55	27	61.36	17	38.64	129	71.67	51	28.33	180	100

(Source: Survey conducted by the Researcher in April and May 2008)

On the same (table 4.2.1.) above, data on lack of individual awareness revealed that among women parliamentarians 55.88% were not aware of the declaration, 44.12% of them indicated awareness. 67.65% of the women parliamentarians also indicate that there is lack of general awareness among fellow parliamentarians, politicians and the society in general. Among the business women sampled, 73.53% of them agreed that they are not aware of the AU SDGEA and 77.45% of them agreed that there is lack of general awareness of the declaration among parliamentarians, politicians and the society in general.

On the part of the men parliamentarian, 61.36% of them indicated lack of awareness, and only (16.66%) are aware. The same percentage of men parliamentarians (61.36%) agreed that there is lack of general awareness among fellow parliamentarians, politicians, and the society in general. On the whole, 67.22% of the sampled respondents for the quantitative data indicated that they lack individual awareness, while 71.67% of them agreed that there is lack of awareness among the parliamentarians, politicians and the society in general.

With the result of this survey indicating very low level of awareness, the concern is about the implementation of the declaration. However, there is no surprise as this could be attributed to the fact that while the AU SDGEA has emphasized annual report by member states on progress made on the implementation of the principle of gender equality and gender mainstreaming (agreement no. 13), there was no emphasis on creating awareness about agreement No 5 as a speedy way to make gender equality in politics possible the way it is on agreement No. 3, emphasizing on public campaigns against gender based violence. Perhaps the lack of awareness could be attributed to lack of media coverage of the African Union declaration emphasizing its value towards solving the gender inequality in politics in Nigeria.

The roles of the parliamentarians are very crucial to the success of the AU SDGEA, agreement No.5. Like the political parties, they are mentioned in the declaration as one

of the collaborators for the successful implementation of the declaration. If they lack awareness of the declaration it is a serious gender concern on politics and representation in Nigeria.

4.2.2. Men Parliamentarians' Views on the AU SDGEA Agreement No. 5.

Here the data on the views of the men parliamentarian on the AU declaration is presented and analyzed. In table (4.2.2.) below 52.27% of the men parliamentarians indicated that as a Nigerian man they will support the use of affirmative action with constitutional support for the implementation of the AU declaration, agreement No.5 and 47.73% of them disagreed.

Table 4.2.2.: Distribution of Men Parliamentarians 'Views on the AU SDGEA Agreement No. 5.

Items	Response					
	Yes		No		Total	
	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%
1. As a Nigerian Man, will you support use of Affirmative action with Constitution for implementation?	23	52.27	21	47.73	44	100
2. As a Parliamentarian, will you support use of Affirmative action with Constitution for implementation?	27	61.36	17	38.64	44	100
3. Use of Affirmative action at party level for nomination of candidates for gender balance.	22	50	22	50	44	100

(Source: Survey conducted in April and May 2008)

When asked if they will support affirmative action as a parliamentarian, 61.36% of them said 'yes' while 38.64% indicated 'no'. Concerning the use of affirmative action, at their political party level for the nomination of candidates and party leadership for gender

balance, the men parliamentarians were equally divided in opinion as 50% by 50% yes and no was indicated.

An analysis of this result could mean that the men parliamentarian in Nigeria are not ready for any radical step that will result in gender equality in politics in Nigeria. The use of affirmative action has been adopted by some of the African countries such as South Africa, and Uganda. Rwanda in particular has achieved 48% according to the 2007 report on AU SDGEA implementation (AU 2007 Report). From the divided opinion shown by the men parliamentarians towards the use of affirmative action in political party nomination and leadership it indicates that the aim of the AU that political parties will be local agencies for implementation as present in the AU declaration itself is defeated. The partial support shown by the men parliamentarians to the use of affirmative action could be interpreted as a result of the strong patriarchal block put up for years by men to resist the emancipation of women.

4.2.3. Personal Factors Responsible for Poor Representation of Women in Parliament

Table (4.2.3.) on page 50 contains the personal factors for poor representation of women in parliament. On the view that household tasks and family commitments contribute to poor representation of women in parliament, 58.82% of the women parliamentarian indicated 'yes', for the women in business 67.65 of them said yes while 72.73% of men parliamentarians also said 'yes'. The percentage of women parliamentarians indicating 'yes' yet also being in parliament may be attributed to their haven devised means of coping with household responsibilities such as the use of domestic workers. Besides, on the data on their ages, the women parliamentarian fell within ages 40 to 59 years. At this age range they have perhaps passed the childrearing age since in the personal data profile 67.65% of them indicated having grown up children.

The high number of women in business supporting the view that household tasks and family commitments deter women from joining political activities may be due to the fact that unlike the women parliamentarians already in office, they have not devised coping mechanisms.

Table 4.2.3.: Distribution of Survey Respondents on Personal Factors Responsible For Poor Representation and Participation of Women in the Nigerian Parliament

Item	Respondents												Sub-Total				G. Total	
	Women Parliamentarian (34)				Women in Business (102)				Men Parliamentarian (44)									
	Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		f.	%
	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%				
1. Household tasks and family commitments	20	58.82	14	41.18	69	67.65	33	32.35	32	72.72	12	27.28	121	67.22	59	32.78	180	100
2. Grown up children	27	79.42	07	20.58	71	69.61	31	30.39	39	88.64	05	11.63	137	76.12	43	23.88	180	100
3. Parental or spousal tie to a famous male politician	12	35.29	22	64.71	87	65.29	15	14.71	27	61.36	17	38.64	126	70	54	30	180	100
4. W.P. are Sexually promiscuous	03	8.82	31	91.18	42	41.18	60	58.82	19	43.18	25	56.82	64	27.78	116	72.22	180	100

(Source: Survey conducted by the Researcher in April and May 2008)

They are yet to devise means of coping with the household commitments like the women parliamentarian. On the part of the men parliamentarians, a whopping number of them said 'yes'. In general, the 67.22% of the respondents indicated yes, while 32.78% of them disagreed.

On the view that women with grown up children find it easier to be involved in politics than those with young children 79.42% of the women parliamentarians said 'yes' and 69.61% of those in business agreed as well. Again the position of the women parliamentarians can be attributed to the fact that they have experienced the situation.

On the part of the men parliamentarians, their position is in relation with the society's idea on gender role. Catering for young Children is the duty of the women, the mothers at home while the men, the fathers' responsibilities are outside the home.

Concerning, the view that women who succeed in party nomination and are voted into parliament usually have a parental or spousal tie with a famous male politician, 64.7% of the women parliamentarian did not support this view. 65.29% of women in business supported the view. On the part of the men parliamentarians, by 61.36% of them agreed.

The women parliamentarians are not in support of this view perhaps because of the use of the term "Godfatherisms" in the Nigerian political scene. The women do not want to associate themselves with the controversies surrounding god fathers in politics, who after sponsoring political candidates both financially and with power status will turn around to use them for their own benefit within the corridors of power. Again the women parliamentarians perhaps believe that they worked hard, even harder than their male counterpart and deserve the merit of making it to the parliament by their own personal efforts. The overall position of the entire respondents on this view was 70% agreeing and 30% disagreeing.

On the view that women politicians are sexually promiscuous and therefore do not get the support of their family and the society in general for representation and participation in parliament, an overwhelming 91.18% of the women parliamentarian disagreed. 58.82% of the women in business disagreed. On the part of the men parliamentarians, 43.18% of them supported the view while 56.82% of them did not support.

The position of the women parliamentarian is perhaps a sharp defensive reaction against the tradition of women's sexuality being used as a weapon to perpetuate patriarchy that puts women in subordinate position. For the women in business, average support for the view is not far from the fact that women over the years has been made to believe that they can not measure up to the men, except when they use their sexuality. It also relates to the issue of self confidence and empowerment which the business women may lack since they are not in partisan politics.

4.2.4. Societal Factors for Poor Representation of Women in the Parliament

A lot of reasons have been suggested for gender inequality in representation and participation in parliament in Nigeria. The data on table (4.2.4.) on page 53 showed the societal factors that contribute to gender inequality in parliament. On question whether sexual harassment of female politicians by the male politicians contribute to gender inequality in the Nigerian parliament, 67.65% of the women in parliament did not agree, 59.80% of the business women supported the view. 70.45% of the men parliamentarians did not support the view.

Again the reaction of the women parliamentarians could be related to a natural defence against the use of women sexuality to put them in a subordinate position. This use of women's sexuality deterring women in the endeavours men dominate is a common occurrence.

Table 4.2.4.: Distribution of Survey Respondents on Societal Factors Responsible For Low Representation and Participation of Women in the Nigerian Parliament

Item	Respondents												Sub-Total				G. Total	
	Women Parliamentarians (34)				Women in Business (102)				Men Parliamentarians (44)									
	Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		f.	%
	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%				
1. Sexual harassment	11	32.35	23	67.65	61	59.80	41	40.20	13	29.55	31	70.45	85	47.22	95	52.78	180	100
2. Violence and intimidation	32	94.12	02	5.88	92	90.19	10	9.81	23	52.27	21	47.73	147	81.66	33	18.34	180	100
3. Gender gaps in quality and level of education	29	85.29	05	14.71	78	76.47	24	23.53	29	65.91	15	30.09	136	75.56	44	24.44	180	100
4. Gender gaps in economic and financial status	27	79.41	07	20.59	63	61.76	39	38.24	36	81.82	08	18.18	126	70	54	30	180	100
5. Tradition, culture, religion	29	85.29	05	14.71	83	81.37	19	18.63	23	52.7	21	47.72	135	75	45	25	180	100

(Source: Survey conducted by the Researcher in April and May 2008)

Business women, on the other hand, admitting to the existence of sexual harassment is equally related to the use of sexuality to keep women in subordinate position in the society, making them believe in the notion that to achieve success in the male dominated field as a woman, you have to give in to sexual harassment.

Perhaps the data on the men parliamentarians who were against the existence of sexual harassment confirms that sexual harassment does not really exist in the political scene as viewed. The rumour of sexual harassment in politics acts as a tactics to keep women away from partisan politics. Perhaps the denial is a way of defending their ego as men since sexual harassment in the tradition of Nigeria is not accorded serious attention even when there are evidences to prove it. It is one of the gender issues not spoken about openly in Nigeria. In general, 52.78% of the respondents disagreed while 47.22% of them agreed to the existence of sexual harassment against woman politicians.

Concerning the issue of violence and intimidation in partisan politics in Nigeria as a factor responsible for gender inequality in the Nigerian parliament, 94.12% of the women parliamentarian supported the view, 92.16% of the women in business also supported. However, only 52.27% of the men parliamentarians agreed. 81.66% of the total respondents agreed that violence and intimidation in partisan politics contribute to the gender inequality in the parliament.

The women parliamentarians' position could have been as a result of direct experiences in political activities, while that of the women in business could be as a result of the various incidents of violence during campaigns and voting in Nigeria they have witnessed or heard of. The average support from the men politicians is perhaps again due to self defence as they are the ones, usually accused of perpetuating and instigating violence as a means to intimidate the women and even their opponents to withdraw their candidature.

Gender gap in the level and quality of education as a factor for the inequality was also examined. The data as presented indicated that 85.29% of the women parliamentarian

supported this view. 76.47% of the women in business also agreed. Among the men parliamentarians, 65.91% of them agreed. 75.56% of the whole respondents agreed that gender gap in the level and quality of education is a factor for the inequality in representation in parliament.

The issue of gender gap in education has long been raised as a strong factor contributing to gender inequality in all spheres of life. This view is also supported by the (FMWACD 2007) National Gender Policy Situation Analysis and Framework that education, be it formal or non-formal improves the individual's quality of life and offers access to employment income, and political power. Women's education should be a priority because it is the key to gender equity. When people are educated, they are empowered to know and fight for their rights.

Data was also collected on the view that gender gaps in economic and financial status in Nigeria contribute to gender inequality in the parliament. The data collected indicated that 79.41% of the women in parliament supported this view, 61.76% of those in business also supported this view. 81.82% of men parliaments supported the view. The issue of poor financial background as a factor that hinders women's political activity is established by this result. The three categories of sampled respondents were in support of the view. In general 70% of them agreed that financial and economic status is part of the hindrances.

The data on the view that tradition, cultural and religious believes as a factor responsible for inequality in gender representation in parliament indicated that 85.29% of the women in parliament said 'yes', while 81.37% of the women in business supported the view. 75% of the men in parliament also agreed. This view has been widely alleged for long and is further confirmed by the result of this survey.

4.2.5. Support for Implementation

As stated in the general objective, the main concern of this study is to make an assessment of the implementation of agreement *No. 5* of the AU SDGEA. Judging from the 2007 AU report on the implementation, Nigeria has only achieved 7.25% for women parliamentary representation at the last election in 2007. This is an indication that there is need for strong support for implementation of the AU declaration.

Table (4.2.5.) on page 57, contains the views of the respondents on the agencies and organizations that should be supporting the implementation of the declaration. On whether the government gender machineries in Nigeria namely, the FMWAYD and the NCWD has a major role to play in creating awareness, and support for the implementation of the AU SDGEA, an overwhelming 85:29% of the women parliamentarians indicated yes and 72.55% of the women in business chose yes. On the part of the men parliamentarians, 72.73% of them indicated yes. 75% of the total respondents agreed, and just 25% of them did not agree. This result implies that these two government gender machineries have the huge responsibilities in creating awareness and to give support for the implementation of the AU SDGEA agreement No. 5. In line with this result, this study in chapter five has a qualitative presentation on the findings on the role the FMWAYD has played in support of the implementation of the AU declaration.

Table 4.2.5.: Distribution of Survey Respondents on Support for the Implementation of Agreement No 5 of the AU (SDGEA).

Item	Respondents												Sub-Total				G. Total	
	Women Parliamentarian (34)				Women in Business (102)				Men Parliamentarian (44)									
	Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		f.	%
	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%				
1. Gender machineries: FMWAYD, NCWD	29	85.29	05	14.71	74	72.55	28	27.45	32	72.73	12	27.27	135	75	45	25	180	100
2. Parliamentary Committee on WA	34	100	--	--	92	90.20	10	9.80	34	77.28	10	22.72	160	88.89	20	11.11	180	100
3. The Parliamentarians in general	19	55.88	15	44.12	65	63.73	37	36.27	19	43.18	25	56.82	103	57.23	77	42.77	180	100
4.. Civil Societies	21	61.76	13	38.24	75	73.53	27	26.47	33	75	11	25	129	71.67	51	28.33	180	100
5. Political Parties	32	94.12	02	5.88	81	79.42	21	20.56	35	79.55	09	20.45	148	82.22	32	17.78	180	100

Source: Survey conducted by the Researcher in April and May 2008)

On whether the Parliamentary Committee on Women Affairs has a role to play in the campaign and support for implementation, all the 34 (100%) women parliamentarians overwhelmingly agreed . 90.20% of the women in business supported the view, as well. 77.28% of the men parliamentarian also agreed. 88.89% of the whole respondents indicated 'yes'. This places a big responsibility on the shoulders of the committee to take the issue of gender inequality seriously. The result of the survey came out in this form perhaps because of the expectation that women parliamentarians should be involved in solving women's problems

On whether the parliament in general has a role to play in creating awareness, campaign and support for implementation only 55.88% of the Women Parliamentarians said 'yes', while 44.12% indicated 'no'. The data on Women in business showed that 63.73 of them said 'yes' and 43.18% of the men parliamentarian said 'yes'. The entire respondents indicated 57.23% yes while 42.77% disagreed. Here the percentage was not as high as that for the support of the women parliamentarians and that of the parliamentary committee. This may be seen as evidence that women have to take the responsibility of emancipating themselves from the inequalities.

The data on the view that civil societies have a role to play showed that 61.76% of the Women Parliamentarians indicted 'yes', 73.53 of the women in business said 'yes' and 75% of the men parliamentarians said 'yes'. 71.69% of the entire respondents indicated 'yes' and only 28.33% of them indicated 'no'. The civil societies' data is high in this survey and this can be explained from the fact that people see them as neutral and they help in the check and balance of human activities in all facets of society.

Data on the political parties' role in creating awareness, campaign and support for the AU declaration indicated that 94.12% of women parliamentarians said 'yes'. Women in business also supported the view with 79.42%. On the part of the men parliamentarians 79.55% of them supported the view. For the entire respondents, 82.22% of them said 'yes', while only 17.78% indicated 'no'. This result is in line with the AU recognition of

political parties as one of the local agents for collaboration for the implementation of the declaration.

4.2.6. Business Women’s Political Aspiration

The next table (4.2.6.) below contains data on the responses of the sampled business women on their political aspirations. When asked if they are presently engaged in political activities as business women, 77.45% of them said ‘no’. On whether they would like to be engaged in politics 60.78% of them said ‘no’. However, to the question whether they would like to be women parliamentarians, 53.92% of them said ‘yes’. This percentage of women that said ‘yes’ to the wish to be parliamentarians even though on the average, gave hope to the movements for gender equality in politics in Nigeria. The difference in the data on if they would like to be engaged in politics and if they would like to be women parliamentarians, could be interpreted as the result of the factors that hinder women aspirations for political activities. Even when they have the wish and aspiration certain factors discourage them.

Table 4.2.6.: Distribution of Business Women Response on Political Aspiration

Items	Response					
	Yes		No		Total	
	f.	%	f.	%	f.	%
1. Presently engaged in political activity.	23	22.55	79	77.45	102	100
2. Would you like to be engaged in political activity?	40	39.22	62	60.78	102	100
3. Like to be a woman parliamentarian?	55	53.92	47	46.08	102	100

(Source: Survey conducted in April and May 2008)

4.2.7. Factors That Discourage Political Aspiration In Women

In table (4.2.7.) below, factors that discourage political aspiration in women are distributed. These factors as on the table are popularly speculated ones. They are the ones contained in the National Gender Policy Situation Analysis and Framework (FMWAYD2007). However, the aim of the survey on this is to determine the ranking of the problems, that is, which is of more concern to the women.

Table 4.2.7.: Distribution Survey by women in business on factors that discourage political aspiration

Type of Business or Entrepreneurship	Business Women Respondents	
	Frequency	Percentage
Violence and intimidation in politics	62	60.78
Lack of finance	10	09.81
Tradition, Culture and Religious beliefs	04	03.93
Family / household commitments	07	06.86
Godfatherism	19	18.62
Total	102	100

(Source: Survey conducted in April and May 2008)

When asked which of the factors discourages women most from their political aspiration, 60.78% of them said it was violence and intimidation in politics. This data as presented has shown that women are really concerned about the issue of political violence. As mothers and care givers to their family, they would not want to risk their lives while trying to be in parliament or any other political post.

The ranking according to percentage indicates that, godfatherism comes next at 18.62% followed by lack of finance. The concern of the women on tradition, culture and religious beliefs and family / household commitments was very insignificant. This could be explained in terms of the fact that women naturally have ways to cope with the family

and household commitments as they are used to dual or multiple roles in the society. The problem of godfatherism coming as the second in the ranking could be explained in terms of the fact that the women are concerned that without having a godfather in the political scene it will be difficult, or impossible to succeed. They need to have a kind of spousal or blood relationship with a popular male politician. This view was analyzed earlier in this study.

In respect to lack of finance which was ranked third (09.81%), this is in relation to the type of business women are engaged in. As seen earlier in the analysis under the type of business women are engaged in, majority of them are engaged in businesses that earn little income, coupled with their low level of education, getting involved in political activities becomes difficult.

CHAPTER FIVE: QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1. Findings on Level of Awareness of the AU SDGEA

In the in-depth interviews conducted among 4 women and 1 male official at the Department of Women Affairs of the FMWAYD there was an acceptable level of awareness of the AU declaration. The Directors interviewed indicated knowledge of the AU declaration; they however dismissed it as one of those many declarations and were quick to point out the similarity of it with other international declarations Nigeria had signed and ratified such as CEDAW.

The Principal Women Development Officer at the Ministry in charge of the AU Affairs was eager to hand out the Ministry's documents on National Gender Policy and the copy of the Nigerian initial report on the implementation of the AU SDGEA. The interview revealed that there was no particular attention or program directed at the AU SDGEA agreement No. 5 in specifically. The Ministry's focus is rather versatile towards a national plan of action for gender equality.

The interview with 12 leaders of the three political parties revealed that there was an overall ignorance of the AU declaration. The Chairman and Deputies of the three political parties – PDP, ANPP and AD indicated total lack of awareness. The researcher had to present a copy of the AU declaration document to some of the participants at the political parties offices and they said it was the first time they had heard of, or seen the declaration. The researcher was quickly referred to the political advisers. The advisers were not aware as well. They however focused on their individual party's effort to encourage women to join the party.

On interviewing the women's wing leaders of the three parties, they were also not aware of the AU declaration, as a specific tool that can be used to achieve gender equality in their party. Rather like the officials at the Ministry of Women Affairs, they spoke in general terms making reference to the 30% women participation agreed in Beijing. They

too re-emphasized their party's general policy to encourage women to join the party and be active politicians.

At the two civil societies that were involved in the study, WRAPA and TMG, the 4 participants were fully aware of the AU declaration, but expressed concern about the lack of cooperation and effort among the political parties to realize the importance and benefit of gender equality in politics and democratic process. At TMG, it was expressed by one of the members that,

“there is a total lack of awareness as their previous discussions and interaction with the political parties revealed. Even the officials at the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) are not conversant with the AU declaration and therefore are unaware of the value it has towards gender equality in politics and democracy”.

The officials interviewed at the National Council of Women Societies indicated total lack of awareness of the declaration. Like the other sample of women for this research their emphasis was on 30% representation agreed at Beijing and the efforts the council is making to encourage women to get involved in partisan politics.

Judging from the results of these interviews, one can conclude that there is no popular awareness of the AU SDGEA, agreement No. 5, which is the concern of this study as an instrument that can help solve the inequality in gender representation and participation in the Nigerian parliament and in politics in general.

As embedded in the AU declaration, political parties and national parliaments are supposed to be the collaborators at the local level for the implementation of the declaration. The lack of awareness particularly by the political parties put the issue of implementation in jeopardy. As stated in the National Gender Policy Situation Analysis and Framework produced by the (FMWACD 2007), the challenge of the continuing marginalization of women in Nigerian politics is that of devising appropriate strategies and tactics for eliciting the enthusiasm and concerted efforts of both male and female

members of the society for the goal of enhancing the participation of women in politics. If the AU SDGEA agreement No. 5 is well popularized towards implementation, then it will fill the vacuum of appropriate strategies and tactics as noted by the FMWACD.

5.2. Findings on the Implementation of the AU SDGEA Agreement No.5

The interviews with the 5 officials of the Women Affairs Department of (FMWAYD), one of the government gender machinery to find out the extent of implementation of AU SDGEA agreement No. 5 was revealed that there was no specific program directed toward the AU declaration in particular. Rather there is a wholesome agenda on the part of the government towards women's empowerment and promotion of gender equality by signing and ratifying all international and regional treaties including the AU SDGEA. There is a national plan of action for gender equality which has resulted in the development of a National Gender Policy by the ministry.

The Principal Women Development Officer emphasized that despite the wholesome efforts mentioned by the Director of the department, the Ministry has paid close attention to the 13 agreements on the AU SDGEA, including agreement No. 5. All the participants at the department directed the researcher to the 2006 Initial Country Report to AU by Nigeria on the implementation of the AU SDGEA published by the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development.

As part of the wholesome program for women's empowerment and promotion of gender equality, the ministry works in collaboration with the National Centre for Women Development (NCWD) which is an organization separate but under the FMWAYD and other ministries including Justice, Health, Education and others. The interviews also revealed that there is a new committee called the National Action Committee for Women's Participation in Politics (NACWPP), with offices in the six geo-political zones of the nation. The committee is coordinated by the FMWAYD to develop policies and programs that will empower women to participate in politics.

The Principal Women Development Officer also disclosed that there is a new T.V. program developed with the support of the ministry to be aired on National Television called *will the eagle soar?* At the time of the interview, the production of the program was at the finishing stage. The researcher was informed that the program is about the eagle bird on the official code of conduct of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and the main team of the program is on the question, can the eagle bird fly with one wing, can the nation develop without the contribution of the women? It will be an awareness creating program to emphasize the need for gender equality for the nation's development.

It was revealed that the development of Gender policy is a tool for mainstreaming gender and is one of the concrete agenda for the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and not only targeting AU SDGEA.

Other findings towards gender equality by the ministry are those found from secondary sources, that is, the official documents (the Nigeria Initial Report on the Implementation SDGEA (2004-2006) and the Nigerian National Gender Policy, Situation Analysis and Framework 2007) handed to the researcher. They are the proposed amendment bill on the Federal Character Commission which is before the National Assembly for inclusion of gender equality clause in all federal appointments and nominations, the convening of a National Political Reform Conference with the aim of carrying out a Constitution review particularly engendering its provisions. A Gender Support Unit (GSU) was created for the conference and the aim was to make the issue of gender equality in politics a priority.

Also part of the findings is the bill to domesticate CEDAW which is presently before the parliament; it has had a first hearing. The language of the 1999 Constitution is also recommended for amendment to be gender neutral. It was also suggested that the constitution be amended to include affirmative action by providing in Section 15(2) that women represent at least 40 percent of all levels of programming, and that an Equal Opportunities Commission should be created to replace the Federal Character Commission so that besides geography and ethnicity, gender and disability are reflected

in the criteria for operating the federal character policy. The Ministry of Women Affairs is to be strengthened to coordinate multi sector reforms to integrate social, economic and political reforms to increase women's access, participation and representation. Also there should be enlightenment of the public on gender inequality issues in democratic and developmental process, and building strategic alliances among C.S. and government on gender, which has metamorphosed to a network of agencies providing secretariat support to women politicians in preparation for election.

Efforts are also ongoing with the gender machineries at all levels to engage the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and registered political parties on modalities for increasing women's political participation in elections. From these findings, it can be concluded that the ministry as the government gender machinery has various programs and plans towards gender equality, but not specifically for any one declaration.

The concern is as stated in the Nigerian initial report on the implementation of the AU declaration that the above notwithstanding, these measures are yet to translate into concrete gains for women in both political and public arena. The low level of women's participation in politics and public life has been attributed to a number of factors including, cultural resistance, godfatherism, indigeneship, corruption, money politics, traditional and religious beliefs.

The interview with the 4 members of the Parliamentary Committee on Women Affairs revealed that they newly constituted members of the Gender Constitution and Electoral Memoranda Committee. They are to come up with recommendations to include gender on the program of Constitution and Electoral Memoranda Committee. This committee was inaugurated to look into the Nigerian constitution and make recommendation in regards to the electoral process. Perhaps if gender issues on politics are brought to the forefront, it will be included in the recommendations. Again this is a move in the direction of achieving engendering the constitution and electoral issues in Nigeria.

During the interview at WRAPA, it was revealed that from June 1 to 3 2008, just two days before the interview, WRAPA in collaboration with the Club of Madrid an international independent organization dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world by drawing on the unique experience and resources of its 70 members who were democratic former heads of state and government, had a promotion on the adoption of proportional representation and quotas for women in electoral reform. This is in the bid towards increased women's political participation in Nigeria.

The participant at WRAPA indicated that there was a very healthy exchange and shared ideas by leadership experiences with female and male leaders and all supported the women's proposal to the Electoral Reform Committee (ERC) for proportional representation and electoral quotas for the enhancement of women's political participation in leadership in Nigeria. It was revealed that the collaboration includes programs not only to support and strengthen women's participation and performance in politics, but also in other high level of decision making positions.

It was also revealed that Political party leaders pledged to work with WRAPA and other civil society organisations to draft a private members bill to support and promote proportional representation and quotas for women. Women leaders of political parties agreed to form a group to bring them together as leaders within political parties to share and develop an agenda to enhance the participation of women in political leadership.

During the training session of women parliamentarians, the women leaders acknowledged the need for mutual support for each other and the benefits of working with men to achieve increased participation and good governance. The participant from WRAPA concluded by saying that their goal is to achieve women's rights in all spheres of life, political, health, judicial and others.

5.3. Findings on the Incorporation of the AU SDGEA, Agreement No. 5. by Political Parties

At the political parties, PDP, ANPP and AD, it was revealed by the 12 participants that they do not have any focused program targeting the AU SDGEA. At the PDP national office, the National Chairman of the party quickly dismissed the researcher after getting acquainted with the purpose of the interview. The researcher was directed to the deputy chairman, the national political adviser and leader of the women's wing of the party. The Women's Wing leader at PDP, which is the party with two third majorities in the parliament, revealed that their party was currently at the time of this research working on a modality to help them achieve 30% representation by women. As said by the National Political Adviser of PDP during the interview for this research,

“Our party is in support of gender sensitivity, but the 50/50 representation as demanded by the AU declaration is not realistic”.

According to the political adviser of PDP the party has made a policy to reduce the burden of registration fees by female members which has been in place since the last two elections 2003 and 2007. The registration fees for nominated candidates from local government chairman, state legislatures, state governors, the senate, House of representative, and Presidential attracts fees ranges from 10, 0000 Naira to 100,000 Naira (about 700 to 8,000 US\$). The PDP waved these fees for the female members of their party who get to register free if they are nominated for any of these positions. The women wing leader was quick to add that this has not helped as there is still no gender equality in the number of people in the parliament. It was revealed by the political adviser of the party that there is a National Coordinating Committee of the party which has 12 members. Out of this, only 1 is a woman. This only represents 8.34% which is closely related to the 7.25% women representation in the national parliament.

The women wing leader stressed that her office and all the women leaders in the states' branches of the women wing of the party are in corporation with the FMWAYD, Department of Women Affairs, NGO's in the development of gender policies that has to do with women's political participation.

At the ANPP and AD, the results of the interviews were virtually the same. At the ANPP, the Women's wing leader was not available for interview as she was attending the Constitution and Electoral Reform Committee Public forum meeting that was going on. However, the Deputy to the Chairman of the party was available and when asked the question on the use of affirmative action and a constitutional means to help in the implementation and achievement of the objective of the AU declaration for 50%/50% gender representation, the response was as follows,

“how can that be achieved, where are the women, we don't even have up to 10% women membership in the party in general, at the National Working Committee there is no female at the moment, as an individual I don't have any thing against affirmative action, if the party members supports it will be done”. The Deputy Chairman continued by saying “let them achieve 30% first is that not what you people want, pointing at the researcher”.

At the AD party office, the Chairman of the party started by accusing the party in majority in government of not doing enough to address gender inequality. He admitted that part of the problem is the violence that is prevalent in partisan politics. When asked what his party is doing in particular to address violence, if it is the root cause for women not being represented enough, the response was that the problem is not party problem but that of the security services and agents.

Concerning the participation of the women in parliament, the question was directed to the Political Advisers of the three parties. They were asked to rate the participation of the 34 women parliamentarians on a scale of 1 to 10. The political adviser for PDP in addition to rating the overall performance of the women parliamentarians 9 out of 10, also added that part of the modality being worked out by the Women's wing of their party is the empowerment of women party members on self confidence to participate effectively. The ANPP party participant rated the women parliamentarian 8 out 10, while they were rated

9 out of 10 by the AD participant, but he immediately added that the rating was for the women parliamentarians from his AD party and mentioned specific names.

To know the actual rating on the participation of the women parliamentarians it requires the researcher to carry out an observatory study which is outside the scope of this study. However, the findings from the 3 political parties' officials gave the study a glimpse into the participation rating for the women parliamentarians. This high rating of the women parliamentarians' participation can be attributed to the high level of education, maturity in age as presented earlier in this study and therefore high knowledge on the issues. The rating can be seen as a model for encouragement and empowerment for other women who wish to become parliamentarians, if they can do it, others will do it.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Summary

In summary, this study is an assessment of women's place in politics with a focus on the AU SDGEA in terms of awareness, support for implementation, and the views of men parliamentarians on the declaration. Other aspects focused were factors responsible for poor women representation in the parliament, the role of political parties and business women's political aspirations in Nigeria.

In order to carryout a thorough evaluation, both methods, quantitative and qualitative were used for the study. For the quantitative approach, structured questionnaire was employed to collect the primary data from a sample of 180 respondents made up of 34 women parliamentarians, 102 women in business, and 44 men parliamentarians. For the qualitative approach, in-depth interview question guide was used to collect primary data from a sample of 28 participants made up of 15 females and 13 males. They were selected from the DWA of the FMWAYD, members of the parliamentarian Committee on Women Affairs, members of the NCWS, officials of two Civil Societies, TMG and WRAPA, and the three political parties in majority in parliament, the PDP, ANPP, and AD. 59.45% of the respondents for the quantitative survey were between 40 and 59 years old and 22.22% of them were between ages 60 to 80 years. 62.23% of them have school level education and while 37.77% of them have higher education. 80% of them were married.

Wide ranges of literature review that are related to the core of the study were analysed. Also being a feminist research that deals with gender and politics the social liberals, the third world feminist perspective on gender and politics and a third theory on political science were analysed.

The following are a triangulation of the findings from the quantitative and qualitative data. The findings from quantitative data showed that there was a high level of lack of awareness of the AU, SDGEA, agreement among the women and men parliamentarian and women in business sampled for the quantitative survey. 67.22% of them lack individual awareness of the declaration. Only 32.78% of them are aware. Similarly, for

the qualitative results, the participants from the National Council of Women Societies, and the political party leaders indicated total lack of awareness from the result of the interviews conducted.

However the two civil societies, the TMG and WRAPA sampled for the study indicated awareness of the declaration. Also the government gender machinery, that is, the DWA of the FMWACD had a satisfactory level of awareness of the declaration but it was found that the gender equality programs of the ministry was not to target any particular declaration Nigeria is a part of, but rather the approach is a wholesome one to achieve equality for women.

The views of the men parliamentarians as legislators and as Nigerian men on whether they supported the provisions of the AU SDGEA agreement No. 5 was on the average, 52.27% of them supported it out rightly. And for support for implementation of the declaration 61.36% of them agreed to the use of affirmative action and constitutional means, but when it came to the adoption of affirmative action by their political parties as a practical means to bring about change in gender inequality, the men parliamentarians were divided in opinion at 50% by 50%.

On the level of implementation, the qualitative finding indicated that the FMWAYD as the major government gender machinery has a number of programs in corporation with other bodies including civil societies, government agencies, other ministries, political parties and the use of special committees for gender mainstreaming with the effort to bring about gender equality. The parliamentarian Committee on Women Affairs is also taking a step towards solving the problem of gender inequality in politics by constituting a committee to work with the Constitution and Electoral Reform Committee.

From the qualitative data, it was found that the political parties which are supposed to be the local agencies for the implementation of the AU declaration as indicated in the declaration itself, apart from lacking awareness also has no concrete agenda for the incorporation for the AU declaration. Rather, the general view among the party officials interviewed is that the gender parity at 50/50% is unrealistic, as they do not have that strength of female party membership. They all have Women's wing of the party helping

to coordinate program for the very few women members and to organise women voters. The PDP in particular has a policy of no registration fee for the female members of their party running for a position. On the use of affirmative action to bring about gender equality, the participants were not ready to commit their parties. Also from the quantitative result concerning the men parliamentarians when asked if the use of affirmative action is supported to be used by their party for nomination of candidates in order to bring about gender balance, they were divided 'yes' and 'no' 50% by 50%.

Factors that are personal to women and those societal based alleged to be responsible for poor women representation in parliament and politics in Nigeria were examined with the quantitative survey sample. The result showed that on the view that household tasks and family commitments contribute to poor representation and participation by women in the Nigerian parliament, 67.22% of them agreed and 32.78% of them disagreed. On the point that women with grown up children and no responsibilities of rearing young children find it easier to be engaged in political activities, 76.12% said 'yes' and 23.88% of them disagreed. Another factor that was tested was the view that women politicians who succeed in party nomination and are voted into Parliament usually have a parental or spousal tie with a famous male politician, 70% of them said yes while the rest 30 % disagreed. On the opinion that women politicians are usually sexually promiscuous, and therefore lose the support of their family and the society, 72.22% of the respondents disagreed and only 27.78% said 'yes'. From these results, all the opinions on the personal factors that contribute to poor representation of women in parliament in Nigeria were verified and accepted by the survey except the last on women politicians being sexually promiscuous.

The findings on the social factors responsible for the poor representation of women in parliament showed that on the view that sexual harassment of women in politics contribute to poor representation and participation by women in the Nigerian parliament, 47.22% of them agreed and 52.78% of them disagreed. Concerning violence and intimidation in politics as a contributory factor, 81.66% indicated 'yes', while 18.34% disagreed. For the view that gender gaps in quality and level of education in Nigeria play

a significant role in the poor representation and participation of women in the Nigerian parliament, 75.56% said 'yes', while 24.44% disagreed.

Another factor verified was that gender gaps in economic and financial status in Nigeria contribute to poor representation and participation of women in the Nigerian parliament, to this, 70% of the quantitative sample said 'yes' while 30% of them indicated 'no'. For the opinion that traditional and cultural beliefs and practices contribute to poor representation and participation of women in the Nigerian parliament, 75% of them said 'yes', while, 25% of them disagreed.

When the three political parties' Advisers were asked to rate the participation of women parliamentarians in the parliament, the result showed that two of the parties PDP and AD rated them 9 out of 10, and ANPP rated them 8 out of 10.

The political aspirations of sampled business women surveyed showed that the women have aspirations for political activities. 53.92% of them wish to be women parliamentarian. The survey on factors that most discourage their political aspiration showed that on top of the list is violence and intimidation in politics at 60.78%, next is the godfatherism with 18.62% of them.

6.2. Conclusion

Conclusively, the study has revealed that all the coordinated efforts for gender balance in politics in Nigeria have yielded little or no significant result judging from the fact that the nation conducted last election in 2007. There is need for a more radical step such as the use of affirmative action or any other deliberate strategy for gender equity in politics to occur in Nigeria.

Gender equality in representation in the Nigerian Parliament has been making a very slow but progressive step forward (See Annex 1 on Progressive Increased Participation of Females in Appointive /Elective Positions since 1999 by FMWAYD 2006). There is need for the application of this AU gender party instrument effectively to bring about a more radical change.

The change is needed to enable the Nigerian Women participate in the development process of the country. The population of Nigeria is 140, million plus, with women making up 47.77%, about half of the population and men at 51.23%. It becomes paramount that women's contribution is needed for development. The continuous slow progress in gender parity is unacceptable. The human resources of the country female and male should be given opportunity to contribute to the growth and development of the Nation. The AU SDGEA agreement No.5 will help to bridge the gap in the gender and politics. As the findings of this study have indicated, the lack of focus on the AU Instrument specifically is not advantageous to the pursuit for gender parity.

However, it can be concluded that there is hope for the declaration with the development of a National Gender Policy despite the unsatisfactory level of awareness, lack of support for implementation by political parties, even as they are voted as one of the agents that should uphold the implementation of the declaration. The activities of the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development towards gender mainstreaming of the various agencies and departments in the country, with the assistance of the civil societies and hopefully the on going constitutional and electoral reform conference which already has gender on its agenda, there is hope for the women's place in politics in Nigeria.

6.3. Recommendations

As a result of the findings of this study, the researcher has come up with some recommendations that will benefit the implementation of the AU SDGEA, agreement No.5 to benefit women's place in politics in Nigeria.

There is need for an urgent, serious and well coordinated campaign for awareness. This should be generated from the AU system and incorporated into the body of the declaration to form the 14th article or agreement of the SDGEA specifically for the creation of awareness of agreement No 5 in particular. The Civil Societies, Political Parties, Women Organisations, Non-governmental agencies, private sectors all concerned bodies should involve in the awareness campaign on annual bases. The AU member

States who are signatories to the declaration should make a commitment for the sponsorship for the awareness campaign in their various countries.

The country report that is done annually by each country and the best practice report is a commendable one. However, there is need for each country to get a critical feed back on the report sent. It is not enough for the reports to get to AU. Each country should be evaluated thoroughly and encouraged to improve on the areas where they are still lacking progress.

It is also recommended that the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs, National Centre for Women Development as the government gender machineries should lay emphasis on creating awareness of the AU declaration. Due to the fact that it is the first gender instrument indigenous to Africa taking care of all spheres of life, it should be campaigned for and utilized effectively.

The women already into politics, especially those in the parliament, while focusing on the fact that they are the people's representative, should see themselves as the forerunners for the women. As the research findings revealed, the women parliamentarians were highly accepted as having a major role to play in creating awareness and support for the implementations of the AU declaration. The issues of gender inequality in politics should be a priority on their agenda.

The Political Parties are urged to get fully involved in true democracy which is the principle by which they operate in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. They should see the support for gender parity as part of true democracy. The use of affirmative action is recommended to help bring about gender parity.

Finally, women's organizations in Nigeria should take the bull by the horn and take radical steps to educate the society in general and women in particular on their right to equal representation and participation in politics. The gain that will accrue is not for the benefit of the women alone, but the entire Nation which includes their children and the men.

Annexes

Annex 1	Interview Questions for: Federal Ministry Women Affairs, Parliamentarian Committee on Women Affairs, National Council for Women Societies, Civil Societies (WRAPA, TMG)
Annex 2	Interview Questions for Political Parties
Annex 3	Questionnaire for Women, Men Parliamentarians, and Business Women
Annex 4	Research Organizations
Annex 5	Progressive increased participation of females in appointive/elective positions since 1999
Annex 6	Solemn declaration on gender equality in Africa

Annex 1.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR:

**Federal Ministry Women Affairs,
Parliamentarian Committee on Women Affairs,
National Council for Women Societies,
Civil Societies (WRAPA, TMG)**

1. Are you aware of the African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) of 2004, and specifically agreement no 5 of the declaration?
2. For how long have you been aware of the declaration?
3. What steps are being taking by your committee/organization to create awareness about the AU SDGEA and to implement the declaration?
4. What in your view are the impediments to the implementation of the AU SDGEA to bring about gender equality in the Nigerian parliament?
5. What ways do you think the implementation of the AU SDGEA can be made possible?
6. What roles specifically have your committee/ organization played to support political empowerment of women in the area of representation and participation?
7. What are your views about the use of affirmative action, as a step to help bring about gender equality in parliamentary representation and participation in Nigeria?
8. What are your views about, and suggestions for solution to the problem of gender violence and intimidation in politics in Nigeria?

Thank you for your participation.

Annex 2.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Are you aware of the African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) of 2004, and specifically agreement no 5 of the declaration?
2. How many female members do you have at the leadership level of your party?
3. What do you see as the major obstacles to women's full representation and participation in the parliament?
4. What steps are being taking by your party to create awareness about the AU SDGEA and support for its implementation?
5. What in your view are the impediments to the implementation of the AU SDGEA to bring about gender equality in the Nigerian parliament?
6. What are your party's views about the use of affirmative action, as a step to bring about gender equality in nomination of candidates and for leadership positions in your party?
7. What are your party's views about, and suggestions for solution to the problem of violence and intimidation in politics in Nigeria?
8. How would you rate the participation of the 25 women parliamentarians on a scale of 1-10?

Thank you for your participation.

Annex 3.

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN, MEN PARLIAMENTARIANS, AND
BUSINESS WOMEN**

Kindly check the category you belong.

- (a) Women Parliamentarian**
- (b) Men Parliamentarian**
- (c) Business Women**

PART ONE: PERSONAL PROFILE

- 1. Age: (Kindly Check One)**
 - Below 40
 - 40 and above
 - 60 and above
- 2. Level of Education: (Kindly Check One)**
 - School Level
 - Higher Education
- 3. Marital Status: (Kindly Check One)**
 - Single
 - Married

- Others (Widowed, Divorced)
- 4. Religion: (Kindly Check One)**
 - Christian
 - Muslim
 - Others
- 5. Number of years as a parliamentarian: (Kindly Check One)**
 - Less than 4 years
 - 4 years and above
 - 8 years and above
- 6. What line of business are you engaged in? (For Business Women, Check One)**
 - Trading
 - Manufacturing
 - Service (Hair dressing, Secretarial work Fashion etc)
 - Export
 - Import

**PART TWO: AU SOLEMN DECLARATION ON GENDER EQUALITY IN
AFRICA (SDGEA), AGREEMENT NO 5**

(Kindly Check One)

- 1.** Do you lack awareness of the African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) of 2004, specifically on agreement No 5?
 - Yes No
- 2.** Do you agree that, there is a lack of general awareness of this AU agreement among the parliamentarians, politicians, and the society in general in Nigeria?
 - Yes No
- 3.** Popular awareness of this AU agreement will lead to gaining full support for its implementation. Yes No
- 4.** Do you agree that, the use of affirmative action or quota system with constitutional support at party level in term of nomination will help the implementation of the AU agreement? Yes No

7. The Nigerian national gender focal machineries namely, the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and the National Centre for Women's Development has a significant role to play in creating awareness, campaign and support for the implementation of the AU agreement. Yes No
8. Do you agree that, the Committee on Women Affairs of the parliament has a role to play in creating awareness, campaign and support for the implementation of the AU agreement? Yes No
9. Do you agree that, the parliament in general has a role to play in creating awareness, campaign and support for the implementation of the AU agreement? Yes No
10. Do you agree that, civil societies have a role to play in creating awareness, campaign and support for the implementation of the AU agreement?
 Yes No
11. Do you agree that political parties have a major role to play in creating awareness, campaign and support for the implementation of the AU agreement? Yes No
12. As a Nigerian man, would you support all efforts for the implementation of the AU agreement for gender parity in the parliament in Nigeria?
 Yes No
13. As a parliamentarian, would you support any constitutional effort for the implementation of the AU agreement for gender parity in the parliament in Nigeria? Yes No
14. As a business woman, are you engaged in any form of political activity?
 Yes No
15. As a business woman, would you like to be involved in political activities?
 Yes No
16. As a business woman, would you like to be a woman parliamentarian?
 Yes No

**PART THREE: GENDER INEQUALITY IN PARLIAMENTARY
REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION**

(Kindly Check One)

1. Do you agree that, household tasks and family commitments contribute to poor representation and participation by women in the Nigerian parliament?
 Yes No
2. Do you agree that women with grown up children and no responsibilities of rearing young children find it easier to be engaged in political activities?
 Yes No
3. The gender gaps in quality and level of education in Nigeria play a significant role in the poor representation and participation of women in the Nigerian parliament?
 Yes No
4. The gender gaps in economic and financial status in Nigeria contribute to poor representation and participation of women in the Nigerian parliament?
 Yes No
5. Do you agree that, traditional and cultural beliefs and practices contribute to poor representation and participation of women in the Nigerian parliament?
 Yes No
6. Do you agree that, Political parties have a major role by way of policy to bring about gender equality in representation and participation in the Nigerian parliament? Yes No
7. Women who succeed in party nomination and are voted in to represent and participate in the Parliament usually have a parental or spousal tie with a famous male politician. Yes No
8. Do you agree that, gender violence and intimidation in politics contribute to poor representation by women in the Nigerian parliament? Yes No
9. Do you agree that, sexual harassment of women in politics contributes to poor representation and participation by women in the Nigerian parliament?
 Yes No

10. Do you support the view that, women politicians are sexually promiscuous and therefore lose the support of their family and the society for representation and participation in the parliament and in politics in general? Yes No

Thank you for your participation.

Annex 4. Research Organizations

1. The Transition Monitoring Group (TMG)

The Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) is a coalition of [Nigerian] human rights organizations working to monitor the progress of democracy and elections in Nigeria.

Abuja address: Suite 36, Area 7, Corner shop, Abuja. Tel: 09-2346110

2. National Council of Women Societies (NCWS)

Address: Open University Complex, Area 3, Abuja

Phone: +234 9 2342803, 5232889

3. Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA)

WRAPA is a registered membership NGO of women, men and youth with over 17,000 registered members. It was founded in 1999 by the former First lady, Hon Justice, Fati L. Abubakar. WRAPA is a leading voice in the advocacy and campaign on violence against women and has been engaged in parliamentary advocacy for enactment of various bills on protection of women's rights. In 2007, the organization was selected to implement the MDG program to enhance political participation of women in seven states in Nigeria including the North West.

Address: Plot 792, Adetokunbo Ademola Crescent, Wuse 2, Abuja

Phone: +234 9 4131438

4. Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development

PBM 229 Garki

Abuja, Nigeria

Tel:09-2340310-1

Objectives: Development of women with equal rights and corresponding responsibilities; Stimulate action to promote civic, political, social and economic participation of women; Co-ordinate and monitor women's programs; Provide technical and financial support to women NGOs especially National Council of Women Societies.

Annex 5. Progressive increased participation of females in appointive/elective positions since 1999

Office Type	No. Available	1999		No. Available	2003		No. Available	2006		No. Available	2007	
		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
President	1	1	0	1			1			1		
Vice President	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Senate	109	106	3	109	106	3	109	102	4	109	100	9
Senate President	1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1	0
Deputy Senate President	1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1	
House of Representative	360	348	12	360	338	22	360	339	21	360	335	25
Speaker	1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1	
Deputy Speaker	1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1	
Governors	36	36	0	36	36	0	36	36	1	36	36	0
Deputy Governors	36	35	1	36	34	2	36	32	4	36	30	6
State House of Assembly	1002	990	12	1002	964	38	1002	981	21	1002	948	54
State House of Assembly Speaker	36	35	1	36	34	2	36	35	1	36	35	1

State House of Assembly Deputy Speaker	36	35	0	36	35	1	36	35	1	36	35	1
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Source: Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development 2007

ANNEX 6.

Solemn declaration on gender equality in Africa

African Union (AU)

July, 2004

We, the Heads of State and Government of Member States of the African Union, meeting in the Third Ordinary Session of our Assembly in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6-8 July 2004:

Reaffirming our commitment to the principal of Gender equality as enshrined in Article 4 (1) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, as well as other existing commitments, principles, goals and actions set out in the various regional, continental and International instruments on human and women’s rights, including the Dakar Platform for Action (1994), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW -1979), the African Plan of Action to Accelerate the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action for the Advancement of women (1999); the Outcome Document of the Twenty –third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (2000); UN Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security; and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003);

Standing by our Decision on gender parity taken at the Inaugural Session of AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa Implemented during the Second Ordinary Session of the Assembly in Maputo, Mozambique, 2003 through the election of five female and five male Commissioners;

Noting with Satisfaction that our Decision on gender parity is a historic achievement that does not yet exist in any other Continent or regional organizations;

Re-affirming our commitment to continue, expand and accelerate efforts to promote gender equality at all levels;

Determined to build on the progress that we have achieved in addressing issues of major concern to the women of Africa;

Taking cognizance of the landmark decision to adopt the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Right on the Rights of Women in Africa during the Second Ordinary Session of the Assembly in Maputo, Mozambique, 2003;

Noting the decision of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission to transform the African Women's Committee on Peace and Development (AWCPD) into the African Union Women's Committee (AUWC), which will be located in the Gender Directorate and serve as an Advisory Body to the Chairperson on Gender and Development;

Recognizing the major challenges and obstacles to gender equality still remain and require concerted and collective leadership and efforts from all of us including networks working on gender and development;

Deeply concerned about the status of women and the negative impacts on women of issues such as the high incidence of HIV/AIDS among girls and women, conflict, poverty, harmful traditional practices, high population of refugee women and internally displaced women, violence against women, women's exclusion from politics and decision making and illiteracy, limited access of girls to education;

Aware of the policies and programmes we have put in place to curb the spread of HIV/AIDS pandemic as well as the current challenges in this campaign;

Concerned that, while women and children bear the brunt of conflicts and internal displacement, including rapes and killings, they are largely excluded from conflict prevention, peace – negotiations and peace – building processes in spite of African women’s experience in peace – building;

Aware of the fact that low levels of women’s representation in social, economic and political decision making structures and feminization of poverty impact negatively on women’s ability to derive full benefit from the economics of their countries and the democratization process;

Aware of the digital divide between the North and South, men and women and the role of information telecommunication technologies (ICTS) in the advancement of the gender issue as stated in the e-gender Forum Declaration of Tunis, May 2004 in preparation for the World Summit on Information Society (WSIS) 2005;

HEREBY AGREE TO:

1. **Accelerate the implementation** of gender specific economic, social and legal measures aimed at combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic and effectively implement both Abuja and Maputo Declarations on Malaria, HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Other Related Infectious Diseases. More specifically we will ensure that treatment and social services are available to women at the local level making it more responsive to the needs of the families that are providing care; enact legislation to end discrimination against women living with HIV/AIDS and for the protection and care for people living with HIV/AIDS, particularly women; increase budgetary allocations in these sectors so as to alleviate women’s burden of care;
2. **Ensure** the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace process including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in UN Resolution 1325 (2000) and

- to also appoint women as Special Envoys and Special Representatives of the African Union;
3. **Launch**, within the next one year, a campaign for systematic prohibition of the recruitment of child soldiers and abuse of girl children as wives and sex slaves in the violation of their Rights as enriched in the African Charter on Rights of the Child;
 4. **Initiate, launch and engage** within two years sustained public campaigns against gender based violence as well as the problem of trafficking in women and girls; Reinforce legal mechanism that will protect women at the national level and end impunity of crimes committed against women in a manner that will change and positively alter the attitude and behavior of the African Society;
 5. **Expand and Promote** the gender parity principle that we have adopted regarding the Commission of the African Union to all the other organs of the African Union, including its NEPAD programme, to the Regional Economic Communities, and to the national and local levels in collaboration with political parties and the National Parliament in our countries;
 6. **Ensure** the active promotion and protection of all human rights for women and girls including the right to development by raising awareness or by legislation where necessary;
 7. **Actively promote** the implementation of legislation to guarantee women's land, property and inheritance rights including their rights to housing;
 8. **Take** specific measures to ensure the education of girls and literacy of women, especially in the rural areas, to achieve the goal of "Education for all" (EFA)
 9. **Undertake to Sign and ratify** Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights to the Rights of Women in Africa by the end of 2004 and to support the launching of the public campaigns aimed at ensuring it entry into force by 2005 and usher in an era of domesticating and implementing the Protocol as well as other national, regional and international instruments on gender equality by all State Parties;

10. **Establish** AIDS Watch Africa as a unit within the Office of the Chairperson of the Commission who should render annual report on HIV/AIDS situation in the continent during annual Summits; and promote the local production of anti-retroviral drugs in our countries;
11. **Accept to** establish an African Trust Fund for Women for the purpose of building the capacity of African Women and further request the African Union Commission to work out the modalities of the operationalisation of the fund with special focus on women in both urban and rural areas;
12. **Commit ourselves** to report annually on progress made in terms of gender mainstreaming and to support and champion all issues raised in this Declaration, both at the national and regional levels, and regularly provide each other with updates on progress made during our Ordinary Sessions;
13. **We request** the Chairperson of the African Union Commission to submit, for our consideration, an annual report during our ordinary sessions, on measures taken to implement the principle of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, and all issues raised in this Declaration both at the national and regional levels.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all the references used for the thesis have been fully acknowledged.

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