

**Report of Baseline Survey on Knowledge, Attitude, Belief and Practice of Women's
Participation in Politics and Local Governance in Ekiti and Osun States, 2013.**

Final report

1.0.Introduction and Background: Overview of Women Political Participation in Nigeria

The participation of women in the political sphere in Nigeria is an issue that has been given consideration by various scholars such as Lewu (2005), Duke (2010), and Luka (2011) to mention a few. This was to correct an erroneous impression that the debate on women participation in politics was a recent affair. From contemporary perspective in Nigeria, it would appear that women had never been powerful in the realm of Nigerian politics. In the past however, there were some women's participation in politics. The place of women in politics during the pre-colonial period is sufficiently familiar. The exploits of legendary women like Queen Amina of Zazzau, Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura of Ibadan, Princess Moremi of Ife, Princess Inikpi of Igala and Emotan of Benin, readily come to mind. During the colonial period, women asserted and expressed themselves politically. Some women who made their mark on the political scene at the period included Mrs. Margaret Ekpo of the famous Aba women riots of 1929, Madam Tinubu of Lagos and Egbaland; Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of the Abeokuta Women Union of 1948 and Hajia Sawaba Gambo of Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) to mention a few (Awe, 1992).

Perhaps, a little step back to history could be of immense help in tracing the trajectory of women political participation in Nigeria. Before the advent of British colonization, women in pre-colonial Nigeria had access to political participation and played prominent roles in decision making in the Nigerian society. This was witnessed during the invasion of Ife and Igala land; many women activist such as Princess Inikpi of Igala land and Moremi of Ife sacrificed their lives to save the people from further carnage (Uhwo, 2011). In Hausa land, women's access to political participation is exemplified by the emergence of Queen Amina of Zazzau, a renowned military and political leader who was reputed to be a formidable woman who personally led her army to the battle field and succeeded in saving her people from extermination (Olojede, 2009; Mohammed, 1985). Queen Kambasa of the Ijo and Queen Owari of Ilesa were said to possess the same attributes. Elsewhere in Yoruba land, Madam Tinubu, who later became the Iyalode of Egba and Iyalode Efunsetan of Ibadan, made history because they were able to assert themselves and create immense impact on the way their societies were governed.

After the Second World War, Lady Oyinkan Abayomi founded the women's party and campaigned for the expansion of opportunities for women. In 1946, Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome Kuti's led Abeokuta Women Union projected and promoted special interest of women. Yet, in 1929, in the present south east Nigeria, there was the famous "Aba women riot" during which over 50 women lost their lives fighting colonial authorities for injustices against women (Uhwo, 2011; Irabor, 2011; Olojede, 2009; Mba, 1989). The riots were a testimony to the political vigour of women, the capacity of women to mobilize for a cause, as well as the level of women's political participation. Though these events occurred long ago, the incident still remains fresh in our memory. These are some examples of bold steps taken by women to have their views reflected in the way and manner the society is governed. Though women enjoyed high political authority in Southern Nigerian, this was not a general phenomenon; men had always been dominant in the political structure with women complementing them. Women's activities were always subordinate and complementary to the existing male dominated structures. Thus, the question of equality of representation in the decision-making and judicial processes did not arise. Even where women were deeply involved at the highest levels of decision making in a society, their involvement was never on an equal basis but rather complementary (Awodi, 1999).

The colonial era saw a reversal of the high level of participation of women in the political happenings and events of their various societies as the colonialists limited political participation to the males, and it was those who possessed some form of wealth. This was following the practice in Europe at the time when political power and participation in political activities were concentrated in the hands of the aristocracy, who were a privileged few. This move along with other detrimental policies in the economic, health, social, religious and other spheres served to effectively cripple women and prevent them from actively involving themselves in political activities. Thus began the journey to the present era of low women participation in politics in Nigeria as women have always operated in a structured milieu of discrimination and being on the receiving end of the patriarchal politics played in the country. Other scholars such as Izugbara and Onuoha (2003) and Gadant (2004) have also traced the systematic exclusion of women from political participation and governance in Nigeria to the colonial experience. Izugbara and Onuoha (2003) argue that it was during the period of colonization that the European's infected Nigeria with her overtly male privileging political ideologies and values.

In the post-independence era women found themselves at the base of the political superstructure of the country though they were a dominant presence at the background and at the grassroots level where they helped to drum up support and facilitate the entry of various electoral aspirants, who were men of course, in the various elective positions that were open for contestation at the time that independence was granted to the country. In recent times the participation of women in politics from the statistics of the general elections held in April 2007, showed that there were a total of 1200 women who aspired to 1,532 offices. Out of this number, 660 won their primaries and contested elections for various electoral positions. In the end 93 emerged as winners: 6 deputy governors, 9 senators, 27 federal legislators (House of Representatives and the Senate), and 52 in the various state Houses of Assembly (Eyinade, 2010). In the 2011 general elections, there was an improvement in the number of women who participated in seeking political office and getting it and even though this represents a significant increase in female participation in the political process, it is still a far cry from the clamour of women all over the world for full political participation (George, 2011).

2.0. Literature Review

2.1. Factors militating against women participation in politics

The participation of women in politics is best understood when a broad based approach is adopted. This means that beyond the number of women organizations, women must be involved in influencing the distribution and use of power in all spheres chief of which is the formal political sphere of being in governance mainly through elective and appointive positions where they are in position to influence policy such that it positively affects the lives of other women and the society. This has been the driving force behind the various moves to ensure that women actively participate in the allocation and distribution of power in society. Unfortunately, this has not been the case in Africa and particularly in Nigeria where a myriad of reasons work to keep out women from operating in the political space. A number of reasons have been adduced for the lack of women participation in politics and there are arguments and counter arguments that run in trying to explain the reasons behind the low participation of women (Adebayo and Akanle, 2014, Akanle and Ejiade, 2012, George, 2011, Eyinade, 2010). The reasons given for the lack of women participation in politics, beyond the now accepted rhetoric of operating at the grassroots level, mobilizing support and attending campaigns, range from the disadvantaged

socio economic position of women, cultural barriers, religious restrictions, institutional barriers among others. Interestingly, these are also the factors that initiate, drive, propel, substantiate and propagate poor election outcomes of women. They thus limit level of political involvements of women and militate against positive election outcomes for those that also venture into participation both at political appointments and elections levels.

It is against this background that the survey being reported here investigated the Knowledge, Attitude, Belief and practices of people relative to women political and governance participation in Osun and Ekiti States of South Western Nigeria. The choice of the Southwest Nigeria for the study is both for advocacy and scientific reasons. First and scientifically, southwest has the highest number of women contestants at the state level in the last general elections. The region was only surpassed by the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja which is the seat of political power in Nigeria. By proportion of female candidates FCT had 24% Ekiti state (20.9%), Osun state (20.5%), Lagos state (17.8%), Kogi (17.0%), Ebonyi (16.0%), Bauchi (1.1%), Yobe (0.8%) and Jigawa (0%). It is then important to understand what made Ekiti and Osun had these participations and what are subsisting challenges. This will enable more comprehensive and reliable understanding of the trajectories and dynamics for useful national outlook and effective programming and advocacy. On advocacy reason, it was projected there will be follow up programmes on women political and governance participation in these states.

2.2. Economic/financial factors

Several scholars have written on factors affecting women active participation in politics and one of the reasons given for this phenomenon is the low economic position of women in the country. Women's economic condition is a factor identified by Fisher (1997). Women according to Fisher constitute the majority of the poor and the illiterate in both urban and rural areas in Africa and many young women between the ages of 15 and 25 have been pushed into sex work and face the risk of HIV/AIDS infection. The problem is exacerbated by the current trend towards institutionalizing money-politics as well as high registration and nomination fees. Although waivers are granted to women with regards to nomination fees, the absence of a ceiling on campaign expenditure, however, undermine the efficacy of such gesture (Uhunmwuango, 2011). Similarly, Fadeyiye (2005) sees lack of constituents and financial resources as the major obstacles for women in taking active part in politics. Women, according to him move from their fathers' homes to their father-in-laws' homes. They are like refugees. They have no base from which to develop political contacts with the people or build knowledge and experience about the issue involve. Furthermore, according to Fadeyiye, women have no money of their, the money they have belongs to their father, their husbands or their in-laws and given the rising cost of running an effective campaign, this poses serious hurdle for women in the developing countries like Nigeria.

Women are significant, if not extremely important contributors, to the economy in different parts of the world and Nigeria is not exempted. Despite this they are economically disadvantaged due to societal structures which create inequality. In the heavily monetized politics of Nigeria of today, very few women have the financial base and political clout to generate funds for effective participation in politics. Women generally lack access to what constitutes wealth. They usually do not have political godfathers to bankroll their campaign expenses, thus necessitating falling back on their limited resources which invariably are unable to achieve any meaningful results. Ekong (2008) locates the poor economic position of women which acts as a barrier to political

participation in the colonial system and further subjugation of the female gender. She notes that as the system (colonial) stabilised, the men who went to work first now brought in their wives and children into the urban centres. When it became difficult for the men alone to sustain the family it became imperative for the woman to earn some income. The port of call due to her lack of skills and education was the market- for trading while their husbands engaged in 'government work'.

The delayed incursion of women into other male dominated jobs such as management positions in the public and private sectors and lectureship position in University was as a result of socio-economic prejudices associated with the university educated woman (Adebayo and Akanle, 2014). The most obstructive of these prejudices being the strong belief that the educated woman could not make good housewives (Ekong, 2008). After independence, there was a boom in the education of women, which was the catalyst needed for women to break into occupations that were hitherto monopolised by men. This era saw women into professional areas such as medicine, law, accountancy, engineering, power sharing and decision making, and their entrance into public service as men opted out into private sector between 1970 and 1980 during the civil war and the introduction of economic stabilisation measures by Murtala Mohammed in 1975 where many workers were retrenched. Fatile, Akhakpe, Igbokwe-Ibeto and Oteh (2012) also record that the devalued economic status of women in the country is one of the major barriers to their participation in political activities in the country. This is reinforced by the existing system of patriarchy and the nature of the country's political system which places undue emphasis on financial clout which many women who have the zeal and qualifications to contest elected positions do not possess.

Elaborating further on the late arrival of women to urban centres for the new patterns of work and gender division of labour, Anikpo (2000) listed two factors that may have facilitated the predominance of the men in the colonial work force- Firstly, the uncertainty of the new urban system which saw only the men (the accredited family bread winners) ventured out while women and children remained in the village to look after the homes and farms. This earlier contact with the colonial work system put the men in an advantageous position to acquire all the relevant skills before some women. Secondly, there was the existing cultural belief that the responsibilities of the women do not extend beyond the houses, the farm and market. Women who ventured to project themselves beyond these sectors were suspected to have easy virtue tendencies and were despised in the communities. This fact also delayed the education of women or girl children, therefore, seeing them as not having the necessary skill, to function in the colonial urban system. At that stage what became known as modern and mechanisms for property acquisition were completely dominated by men.

Corporate culture was yet another problem identified. It was discovered that employers prefer to recruit and promote men rather than women on the premise that women are less achievement oriented and are often distracted from their jobs by domestic duties. Thus, denying them of economic prosperity (Olojede, 1996). However, conclusions in literature on gender recognized that there are few, if any important differences between men and women that affect their job performance. Yet, societal prejudice tends to limit the scope of educational and professional training open to women. Many women tend to follow the traditional expected pattern of acquiring sufficient general education to be able to relate with their educated husbands, bring up their children and obtain employment compatible with their traditional roles. This has created

serious setbacks for women as very few of them find their way to the formal sphere of politics. It accounts for the low level of education given to women, and the diminished prospects for attaining high level positions in the workplace.

From the above literature reviewed it can be deduced that the economic situation of women in the country is in state of subjugation due to cultural practices, the negative influence of colonialism, low educational status of women in contemporary times among others. All these add up to ensure that the participation of women is negatively affected and that women participate on the fringes of the political sphere where they take in the left-over of the decisions made largely by men. This means that the outcome of decision making will continue to favour men to the detriment and continued disadvantage of women. It is therefore pertinent that these structural inequalities are checked and reversed in order to secure for women genuine political participation and representation.

2.3. Social/cultural factors

It is now a well-established fact that there are certain indices which are present in the social as well as the cultural environment of the country which serve as a springboard from which various issues arise which add up to ensure that women are hindered from effectively participating in the political sphere. These issues are multi-faceted and they range from, but are not limited to patriarchy, violence in politics, lack of cooperation amongst women, gender inequality, lack of access to education faced by females, and god-fatherism in the Nigerian political space to mention a few. For instance Irabor (2012) records that in the 1999 elections held in the country, only Lagos State had an elected female deputy governor in the person of Mrs Kofoworola Akerele-Bucknor although she was later removed and replaced by Femi Pedro, a man as a result of party intrigues probably informed/influenced by patriarchy. This is one out of the numerous cases in which women though eligible and qualified, and in most cases have the popular mandate from the citizenry are denied elective political office because of the phenomenon of patriarchy which is prevalent in the political culture of the country. In other cases women who are qualified to take leading elective positions are often made to play second fiddle to men.

Consequently, Anikpo (2000) contends that various rights which are accruable to women were denied them and their contributions to National Development, of which the political sphere is an important sphere because of its immediate and direct impact on development, were either stifled or ignored and this can be traced to the culture of patriarchy observable in the political culture of the country. Deliberating on this Eboh (1996) raised pertinent issues on the emancipation of both Nigerian woman and man in National Development without which womenfolk will slow down the pace of National Advancement. This assertion is true and possible because Nigerian society is bifurcated into male and female with women outnumbering the men in some areas. If almost half of Nigerian from our censuses are women, and as Julius Nyerere boldly affirmed that a person does not walk very far or very fast on one leg (Uhunmwangho, 2011); then the overall advancement of this country is dependent on the contribution of women on all levels. Otherwise we would be working in the assumptions that only half of the people (male) participated in the development of this country. This saying holds true for the country as it has not been able to benefit from the enrichment provided by equal participation of both sexes in the political sphere.

It is on the increase that women also seek to influence the dispensation of power in line with their articulated interest as a fundamental motive of political participation. According to Arowolo and Aluko (2010), women, in their gradual consciousness of state of mind also, in

recent times, increasingly seek power equation and distribution and redistribution of resources in their favour. cursory observations reveal that women in Nigeria politics are largely noticeable at the level of campaign mobilisation, voting and latent support while their presence fizzles out at the level of real political decision making. Opinions seem to be divided on whether the role of women is predominately in the home fronts or women can also engage in other socioeconomic and political activities like their male counterparts. According to McDonald (1998) intelligence is not sex linked i.e. women are equally as intelligent as men. It seems therefore that the absence or under-representation of women in the world of politics may not be due to inadequate intelligence to participate but to other cultural and environmentally imposed obstacles such as patriarchy, lack of access to education, among others.

Other scholars such as Izugbara and Onuoha (2003) and Gadant (2004), etc., also traced the systematic exclusion of women from political participation and governance in Nigeria to the colonial experience. Izugbara and Onuoha (2003) argue that it was during the period of colonization that the Europeans infected Nigeria with their overtly male privileging political ideologies and values. Despite the above constraints, the importance of women to the survival and political development of any nation cannot be over emphasized. This point asserts the relevance of women in political participation. In Nigeria, many women register as party members but do not regularly participate in party meetings and caucuses where important decisions are taken. They dreaded such party congregations because of fear of violence and the nocturnal character of the meetings, which they believe, only dirty and irresponsible women can attend. Consequently, most female politicians vying for political offices in Nigeria, do so in relatively unknown and unpopular political parties. For instance, in addition to the unpopularity of the parties, in 2003, only one of the three women Presidential contestants, Dr. (Mrs) Sarah Jubril, was relatively heard of before the election, others were politically unknown personalities (Fatile, Akhakpe, Igbokwe-Ibeto and Oteh, 2012).

Religions also play some roles in poor political participation there are verses in the Holy Books that people usually interpreted as supportive of women subjugation and subservience even in political matters. This however depends on whom and for what purposes the verses are interpreted. Religions are as a matter of fact among the most abused and deployed institutions against Nigeria's development to the extent that some countries now reject Nigerian exportation of religions to their domains. Religions are in themselves not anti-women but are veritable tools in the hands of anti-women political participation.

According to the African Leadership Forum, several traditional practices are injurious to women's self-esteem and self-image which are necessary ingredients for the confidence needed in political participation. These are identified below:

- Marriage institutions, particularly the polygamous set-up
- Widowhood, in which women are subjected to all sorts of degradation by their in-laws.
- Child marriage, where immature teenage girls are given away in marriage to much older adult men. They end up being physically destroyed during pregnancy and become seriously ill with V.V.F and abandoned by their husbands.
- Female circumcision which reduces female sexual response and may physically damage her.
- Exorbitant bride price by fathers instead of the traditional practice of using the money as seed money to start the new home.

- Rejection of wives by husbands because they could not have children at all or bear male children.

There is also subtle but firm and incapacitating resistance from male party colleagues who organize meetings in private homes at odd hours outside the normal times for meetings. Not many married women politicians are likely to attend such political meetings but that is where crucial decisions are taken and party posts shared. The Nigerian society frowns at women participating in nocturnal meetings of any kind (Lewu, 2005). This reveals the extent to which different cultural factors affect the chances of women in terms of participating in the political sphere be it directly or indirectly. These obstacles are mostly overlooked or at best trivialized as excuses given by women for the inability to participate in politics. However, the fact remains that these factors are real and impact on the reality of women participation in politics in Nigeria and lead to low level of women participation.

Women's determined efforts to penetrate the public space have historically been resisted not only on cultural grounds alone (largely patriarchy) but also on biological basis. On both grounds, however, young girls and women are routinely denied access to society's significant resources (Salihu, 1999). As a consequence, life chances of men and women differ significantly across societies and even within the same family. Of course, it is now known and acknowledged that physiologically, the previously assumed differences between men and women are exaggerated, and so insignificant as to justify the social gaps and general inequality between them. Differential treatment of men and women stifle women's economic, political and social inclusion. Citizenship rights of women thereby become threatened, fettered and abridged. The view of a rigid role compartmentalization between men and women on grounds of the theory of biological determinism is now difficult to sustain (Mc Donald, 1998).

Gender role differences are malleable and are open to manipulation and change overtime. Moreover, gender categories could play similar or even widely conflicting roles across society and time. Indeed, in a temporal and spatial sense, gender roles have undergone immense transformations which had weakened the foundation on which a purely biological determinism of gender roles was planked. That the biological school of gender roles has dominated the thoughts of many scholars and policy makers for long is little surprising. Religious sentiments were readily mobilized in defence of a rigid gender regime. Thoughts about gender categories and roles are culture driven. It is generally known that non-material components of culture, unlike cultural artefacts, change slowly since they relate to values, social practices and beliefs. It is often said that old habits die hard (Anikpo, 2000).

In many fundamental respects, and this is not an African or Asian phenomenon, the domestic sphere and that of human reproduction and whatever are connected with them continue to be seen as women's whereas the outer space, the world of work and "core" activities are perceived as men's. This should help to explain men's dominance in not only politics but in the economy as well. Gender typing of human activities is universal though men and women are not necessarily assigned similar roles across society. This has been the strong point of the cultural school of gender roles which maintains that culture rather than biology has a stronger explanatory power in gender role analysis. Men's and women's social roles are interchangeable and not predestined or biologically programmed (Itayavya, 2001).

However, it has now become fashionable for countries to articulate measures being taking to right centuries of social discrimination against women. International agencies and development partners continue to paint a picture of lopsided development if women are not motivated to be part of the development process. Countries where women and young girls are discriminated against in respect of access to social, economic and political resources display disturbing poverty profiles than others. The challenges of poverty and social exclusionary practices would be difficult to address unless women are mainstreamed into such development and citizenship agenda. This submission was based on the near equal numerical presence of men and women in global and national populations (Arowolo and Aluko, 2010).

Globally, of the about 7 billion human population, women constitute about 50%. In its last census of 2006, Nigeria recorded a national census of over 140 million out of which women constituted about 48%. It is clear from these statistics that poverty would become aggravated if women are shut out of development efforts and thus denied their rights as citizens. Or how can men with just about fifty per cent of the population shoulder the entire burden of economic activities? Without women's labour in farming and rural productive activities generally, more people in Africa would go without food. Women are a major force in rural production, distribution, food processing and in rural cottage industries as well. It is evident that women's exclusion from agriculture is capable of unleashing hunger on society (Olurode, 2013).

On grounds of social justice and equity, women's exclusion from politics is definitely indefensible. First, it will certainly deny society of women's perspectives on issues of governance on the floor of parliament and even at other levels of political administration. When such governance issues get translated into policy for action, they confront challenges of implementation because of low buy-in by women. This then leads to the second point; men as politicians can not claim expertise in legislating on matters that are purely women-specific. Women's perspectives should not be silenced and should be incorporated into policy formulation and implementation. This will aid sustainability and implementation. A third point relates to symbolic gesture and attracting respectability on a global level. Countries that treat their women with dignity and afford them visibility in politics and development which are beyond mere tokenism generally tends to attract development partners and thus more donor fund unlike those that regard them as political lepers (Olurode, 2013).

It is therefore important to continue to challenge the asymmetry that presently pervades political participation between men and women in Nigeria. There is no immutable law that says that men must be dominant in politics or that women are inferior politically. Thus a practice whereby women have restricted access to positions of power and thus its exercise through political participation and representation is unacceptable. Women should have access to the state arena where key resources are concentrated and where critical decisions affecting men and women are taken. The State regulates access to juicy appointments and other critical resources. Men are dominant in public sector employment at the Federal, State and Local government levels. In 2008 and 2009, women constituted just about a third of the work force at those levels (Olurode, 2013).

2.4. Institutional factors

It has been argued in various quarters, especially in the academia, civil society and at policy making levels that beyond the presence of social/cultural factors which serve as barriers to the participation of women in politics, there are certain institutional factors which play a major role

in keeping women from appropriating political resources in terms of getting elected and appointed at the highest level of governance thus providing them with the opportunity to make key decisions which would have a direct and lasting impact on society (Adebayo and Akanle, 2014). Institutional factors have been regarded as having a subtle yet high impact on the participation of women at the highest level in the political sphere. Institutional factors are so regarded because they are not directly observable but can be deduced from the network of roles and actions which crystallize into frameworks in the political sphere. An example of an institutional factor can be seen in the policies and actions of political parties in how they work through the processes of selection for leadership. Such processes guided by issues such as patriarchy serve to effectively keep women out of the contest for elective and appointive positions. The supplanting of female aspirants either directly by substituting them male aspirants even though they have won the primary election in their respective parties or indirectly by working against their candidacy so as to pave the way for the ascension of a male aspirant lends credence to the argument(s) that institutional factors are a reality to be considered in the analysis and understanding of the phenomenon of low level of political participation by women.

For instance, Olufemi (2006) traced one of the factors to the constitutional issues. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, according to him, continues to act as an impediment to women's active political ambitions as married women is often confronted with the problem of constituency, especially if she is married outside her locality or state of origin as she can not claim the state of origin of her husband. This is often compounded by the discriminatory treatment she's likely to receive upon returning to her place of nativity. Epelle and Oriakhi (2003) identified lip services which political parties normally paid to women's political ambition as another factor affecting women active participation in politics. Several political parties, according to these scholars, lack a clear policy for women both in their manifesto and party's constitution and by extension makes women in Africa to continue to face enormous obstacles. The problem is exacerbated by the current trend towards institutionalizing money-politics as well as high registration and nomination fees. Although waivers are granted to women with regards to nomination fees, the absence of a ceiling on campaign expenditure, however, undermine the efficacy of such gesture (Uhunmwuango, 2011).

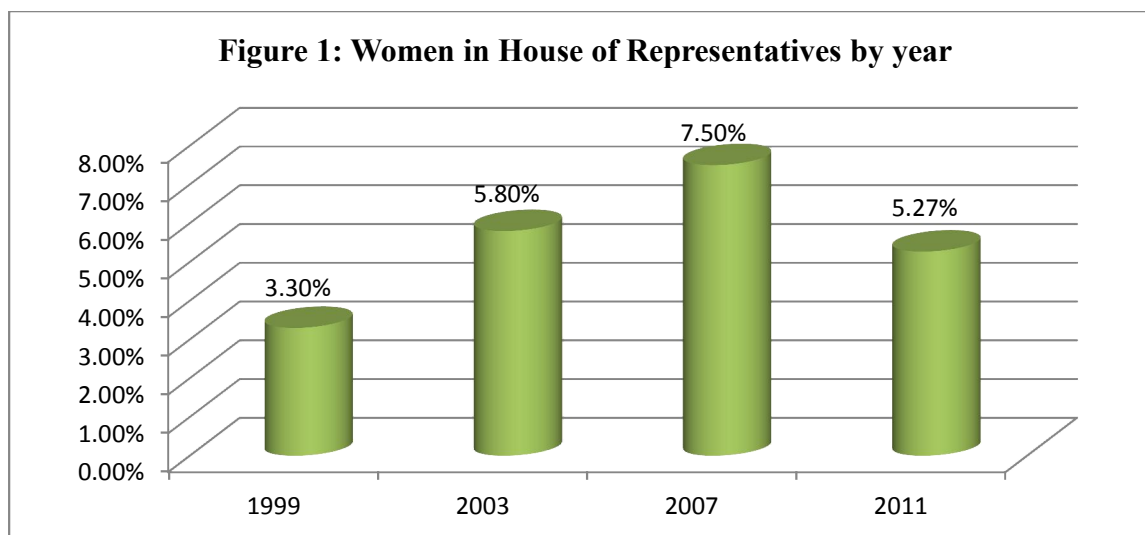
At both the national and international levels, there is a growing academic interest in the level of participation of women in politics. The "third wave" of globalization emphasizes the issues of democratization, women and human rights which dominate world interests in Africa. African women, especially in Nigeria are exploited and marginalized. Despite, the fact that women constitute about 56% of the total population (NPC, 2011), they are discriminated against in the political process. It would appear that the marginalization of Nigerian women is more pronounced in the democratization processes. Women in Nigeria constitute more than two-thirds of the country's 70% adult non literate population while they hold less than 5 percent of the important decision making positions (UNDP HDI, 2009). The present national assembly in Nigeria has an appallingly low average of 0.05 percent of women in both Senate and House of Representatives. This limited conception of the political relevance of women is responsible for their political marginalization. While it is important to increase the number of women in public offices, the more fundamental question raised is about the character of democracy in Nigeria. It calls for an examination on the nature and character of the Nigerian democracy on whether or not it is gender sensitive.

From the above arguments it can be seen that institutional factors though given little attention play an active and destructive part in hindering women from equitable participation in politics. It does not stand alone but is underpinned and given support by such things as cultural stereotypes on gender, lack of educational opportunities for females, low economic status of women despite their immense contributions to the economy as noted by scholars such as Ekong (2008), Duke (2010), and Lewu (2005). The figures from various population reports both globally and locally point to the numerical superiority or equity of women. However, this advantage have not been translated into equal political participation and representation as women have remained consigned to the rear guard in terms of access to the inner recesses of politics which is where real political power is distributed and far reaching decisions are made.

2.5. Trends and patterns of women political participation in Nigeria

The participation of women in the political sphere it has been argued should move beyond mere taking part in political campaigns, providing a support base, and other activities which though they make women visible on the political scene, do not in reality put power in the hands of women or puts them on the pathway to have access to political power. Absence of women in decision making has for long been a cause for concern. Thus in Beijing in 1995, it became imperative to propose an enduring solution to support the inclusion of women in all areas of life. The Platform for Action recommends both formal and substantive equality and calls on government to support at least 30% affirmative action for women in political space. Since 1995, women activists and groups in Nigeria have been advocating for increase in the number of women in the political space, but very little has been achieved.

Since return to democracy in 1999, the fad has been to have female Deputies/Deputy contestants to appear gender sensitive in political activities. Also, the then President Olusegun Obasanjo popularized gender sensitiveness in governance and appointed some women in high profile cabinet roles like Finance and Education (Drs. Okonjo Iweala and Obi Ezekwezi). Lagos state blazed the trail in appointing woman deputy governor 1999 and in 2003 the number of deputy female governors increased to 2 (5.5%), in 2007 (6 [16.6%]). The trend was however reversed in 2011 general elections with only Lagos state having a female deputy governor even though ACN (Action Congress of Nigeria now All Peoples Congress [APC]) in Lagos has one of the low record of women political participation as shown later in this report. There has also been significant drop in women performance at the legislature (Senate and House of representatives particularly). The figure below gives the case of House of Representative for instance.



Sources: INEC and NBS, 2011.

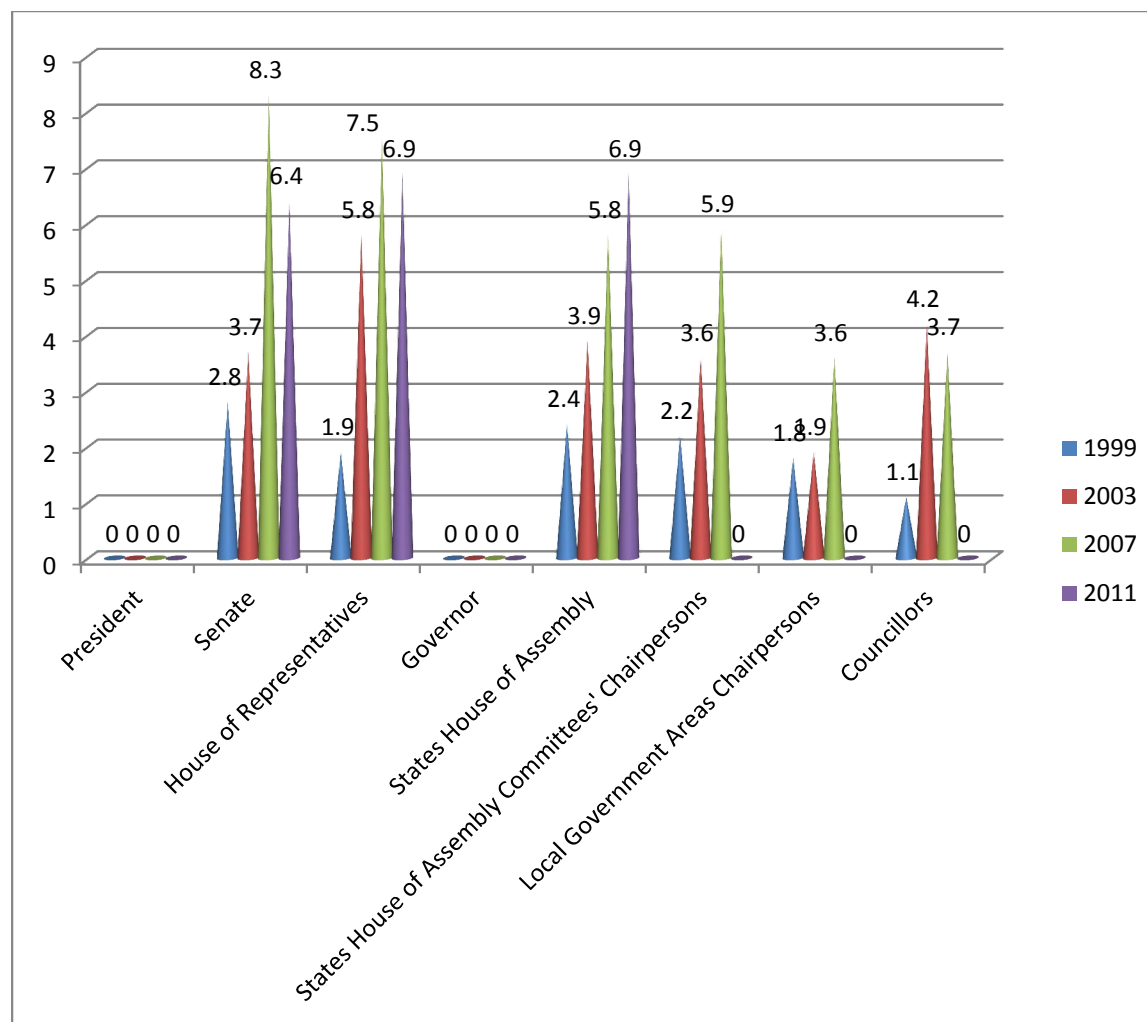
Of the 360 available seats in House of Representatives, women won only 19 (5.27%) in 2011 compared to 2007, 27(7.5%), 2003 21(5.8%) and 1999, 12(3.3%). There appears to be a problem sustaining women gain in political participation. According to Omoye (2012)¹ it is possible to observe episodes in women political participation and performance in Nigeria. In The first republic (1960-1966) men dominated the political space. The first republic produced just 1 female senator from the Western region in the person of Late Chief Wuraola Esan, the Iyalode of Ibadan. In 1961, Late Chief (Mrs.) Margaret Ekpo contested elections into Aba Urban North constituency under the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) platform and won, thus, becoming a member of the Eastern Nigeria House of Assembly until 1966. Mrs. Janet N. Mokelu and Miss. Ekpo A. Young also contested elections, won and became members of the Eastern House of Assembly. There was only male suffrage in the Northern part of the country during this republic. Male monopoly was broken in the second republic but only too little to be significant. It was however a landmark. According to Omoye (2012), one female Senator (Late Franca Afegbuwa), some Nigerian women also won elections into the House of Representatives at the national level. Some of these women were Mrs. J. C. Eze of the Nigerian People's Party (NPP) who represented UzoUwani constituency in former Anambra State; Mrs. V.U. Nnaji, also of the NPP who represented Isu Constituency in Imo State and Mrs. Abiola Babatope of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) who represented Mushin Central II of Lagos State.

During the third republic, during the 1990 elections into local governments heralding the third republic, very few women emerged as councilors and only one woman, Chief (Mrs.) Titilayo Ajanaku, emerged as Chairperson of Abeokuta Local Government Council in Ogun State. During the gubernatorial elections, no female Governor emerged in any of the states. Only two female Deputy Governors emerged, namely Alhaja Sinatu Ojikutu of Lagos State and Mrs. Cecilia Ekpenyong of Cross River State. In the Senatorial election held in 1992, Mrs. Kofo Bucknor-Akerele was the only woman who won a seat in the Senate. Third republic was thus a rehash of

¹Omoye, I.F. 2012. *Women's Participation and Performance in Nigeria Politics: Challenges and Solutions*. Paper Presented on Dec. 13, 2012. Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

first and second republic. Very few women won election into the House of Representatives. One of them was Chief (Mrs. Florence Ita-Giwa who won the senatorial election in the Calabar Constituency, Cross River State under the banner of the National Republican Convention (NRC) (Please see Omoye [2012]). Since the redemocratization of Nigeria in 1999, women political participation has not substantially improved and has drawn mixed feelings from stakeholders' necessitation effective advocacies and programmes. The chart below presents a summary of performances of women at levels and elective organs of government.

Figure 2: Percentage Distribution of Women elected into political offices (1999-2011)²

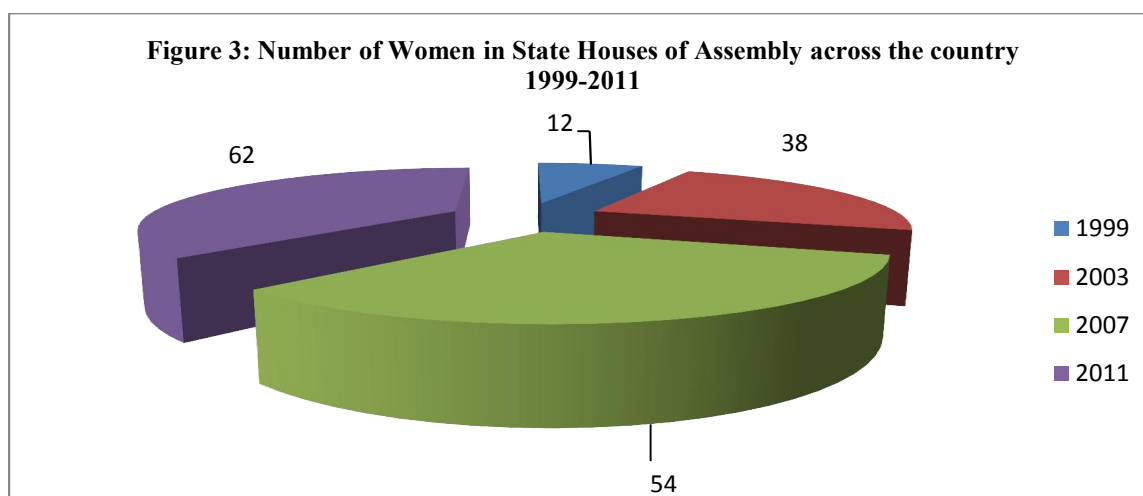


As at 2011, the total percentage of women in political offices in Nigeria was put at a mere 8% (Akiyode-Afolabi, 2011). The low representation of women has been ascribed to the array of barriers that the women in Nigeria face in their quest for full participation in various aspects of social life. Some of the challenges are associated with entrenched cultural attitudes, which hinder women participation in public life as well as politics. Nigeria as a country has ratified the

² Chart plotted by the author/CLP from data from National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and British Council/UKaid. 2012. Gender Nigeria Report 2012. *Improving Life of Girls and women in Nigeria: Issues, Policies and Action*. 2nd edition.

Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa. Recently in 2007, Nigeria signed the National Gender Policy to support gender mainstreaming in policies and governance but the gap in politics still remains. Democracy is about fair representation of all interest groups in the society and the low representation of women is a violation of the principle of democracy. Poor representation denies women mass participation in governance, which is another hallmark of democracy. The participation of women in the electoral process is important to any democracy. The inclusion of gender sensitive provisions in party constitutions and manifestoes can be an important tool for encouraging women to participate actively in political parties and holding the party accountable when it comes to affirmative action (Akiyode-Afolabi, 2011).

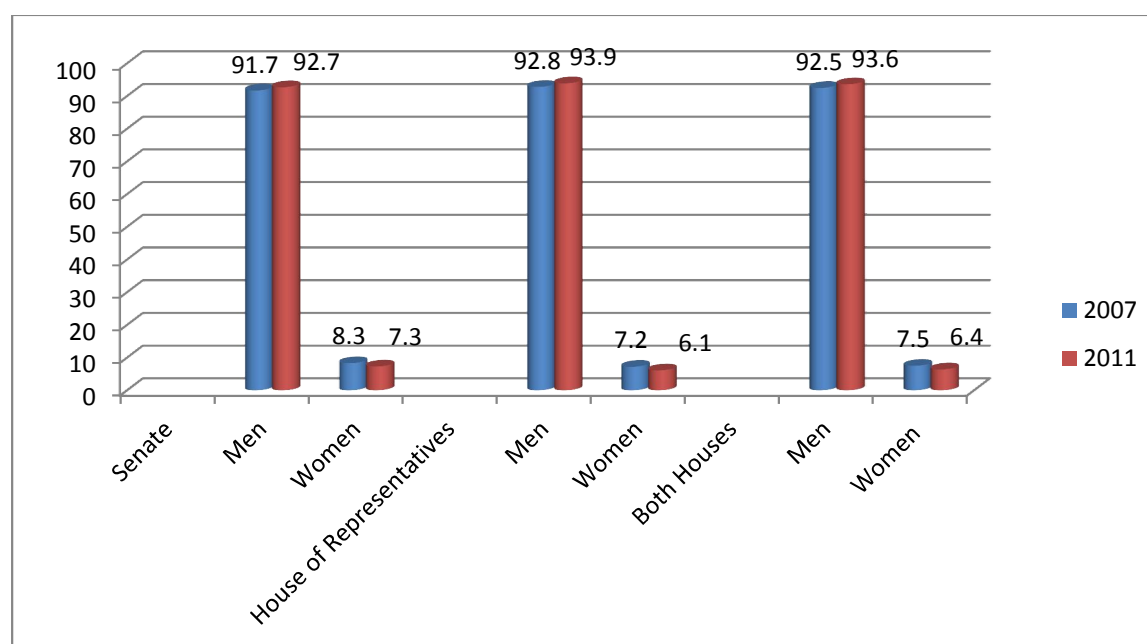
Furthermore, there is the need to keep track of the progress and challenges faced by women in aspiring for political office. This needs to be done quantitatively and qualitatively in order to identify the number of women in political positions and the level at which they operate in the political arena. The performance, growth and development in the political participation of women is something that must be continually monitored and evaluated so as to achieve the desired objective of women attaining equity in their participation in politics. Therefore, this review seeks to show the trends and patterns of women political participation. As shown in the figure below, women political participation has consistently increased in State Houses of Assembly from 12 in 1999 to 62 in 2011. This shows and appreciable increase that is, more importantly, consistent at that level though still very much abysmally low compared to men's.



Source: Lance-Onyeiwu, Maureen (2011), UN Women's Preliminary Analysis of the Results of the 2011 General Elections in Nigeria

It is however noteworthy that the consistent increase observed at the level of state Houses of Assembly is not replicated at the National Assembly as shown in the figure below. Between 2007 and 2011, women lost grounds by over 1 percent at the Senate and House of Representatives demonstrating challenge against women in sustaining growth at those levels.

Figure 4: Summary of Seats held in National Assembly by Type, Year and Gender (%)



Sources: INEC Database, NBS: Vol: 2 No. 4. Gender Statistics Newsletter

Table1: Gender distribution of contestants by geo-political zone (2011 general elections)

Zone	GENDER		Total
	Female	Male	
N/C	116 [8.5]	1255 [91.5]	1371 [100.0]
N/E	50 [4.2]	1137 [95.8]	1187 [100.0]
N/W	49 [2.3]	2039 [97.7]	2088 [100.0]
S/E	191 [11.9]	1420 [88.1]	1611 [100.0]
S/S	170 [10.5]	1454 [89.5]	1624 [100.0]
S/W	329 [15.5]	1787 [84.5]	2116 [100.0]
Total	905 [9.1]	9092 [90.9]	9997 [100.0]

SOURCE: Women Advocates Research and Documentation Center (WARDC)³

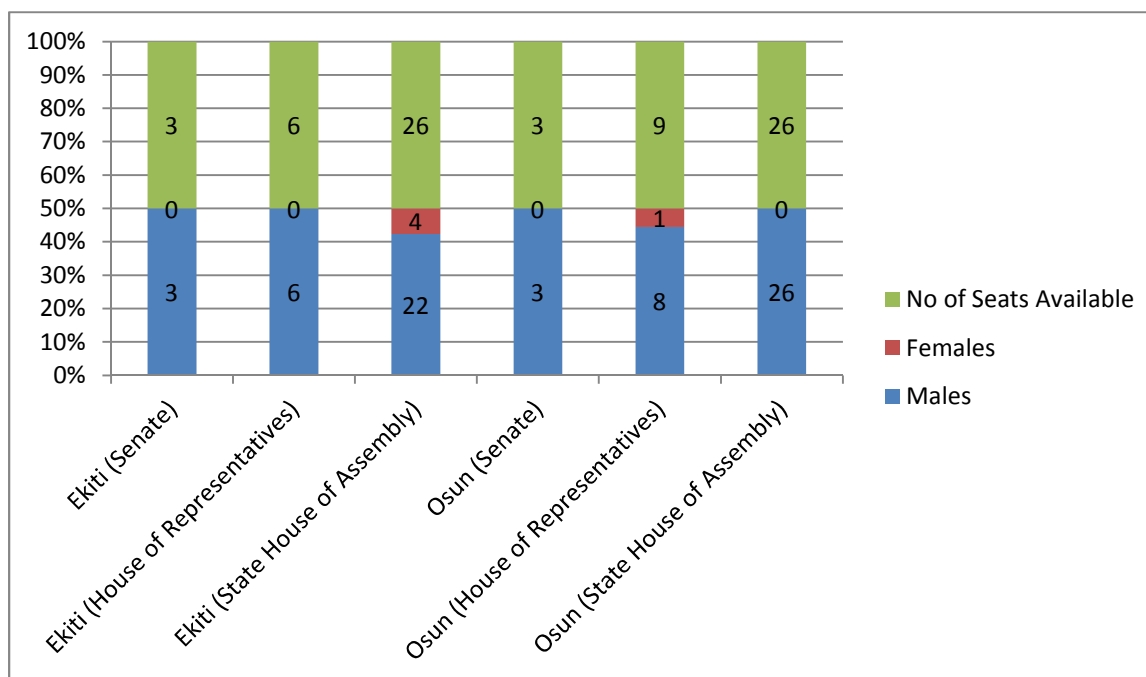
Table 1 above shows the distribution of contestants during the 2011 general elections by the geo-political zones from which they emerged. The data shows that the South-West geo-political zone has the highest female representation in the election as 15.5% of the 2116 persons contesting for

³ Percentage in parenthesis

the six offices are females. The figures for the South-East (11.9%) and South-South (10.5%) geo-political zones follow; however, the North-West and the North-East geo-political zones are the least gender representative as just 2.3% and 4.2% respectively of those vying for the different positions in these zones are actually females. The offices of president and vice president are logically considered as nationalistic, and as such cannot be analysed on zoning basis. This could be made clearer in terms of gender explanation when we get to the section on which party is fielding female candidates and for which post or office. Nevertheless, the representativeness of women according to zones is not generally exciting as evident in the North West and the North East. This could also be traced to the cultural and religious stereotypes that inhibit women from participating in public life of which political participation at various levels are an important component. Another factor could be the low level of education of women from these zones which could serve to deny them further opportunities for expressing themselves in the society.

Figure 5. 2011 General Elections by Gender, State and National Assembly Elections (Ekiti and Osun States [Actual No.])

As shown in the figure below, no woman won elections to the senate and House of Representatives in Ekiti in 2011. For the Ekiti State House of Assembly, only 4 women won seats while the remaining 22 seats were won by men. There is thus high level of male political domination in Ekiti state. The case in Osun was very identical. The 3 seats at the senate were won by men; only 1 out of the 9 seats at the House of Representatives was won by women while no woman won any seat at the State House of Assembly.

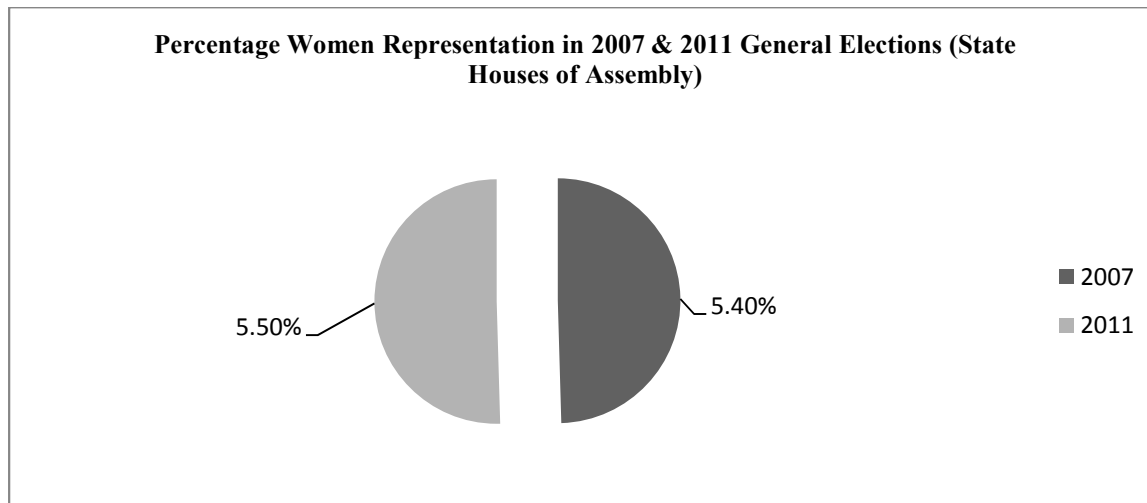


Source: Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Report on the 2011 General Elections. Figure updated by CLP based on more recent data as at the time of report writing⁴.

⁴Sourced from the INEC Headquarters, Abuja, Nigeria but updated by CLP, 2014.

Figure 6. 2007-2011 State Houses of Assembly Elections and Women's Performance

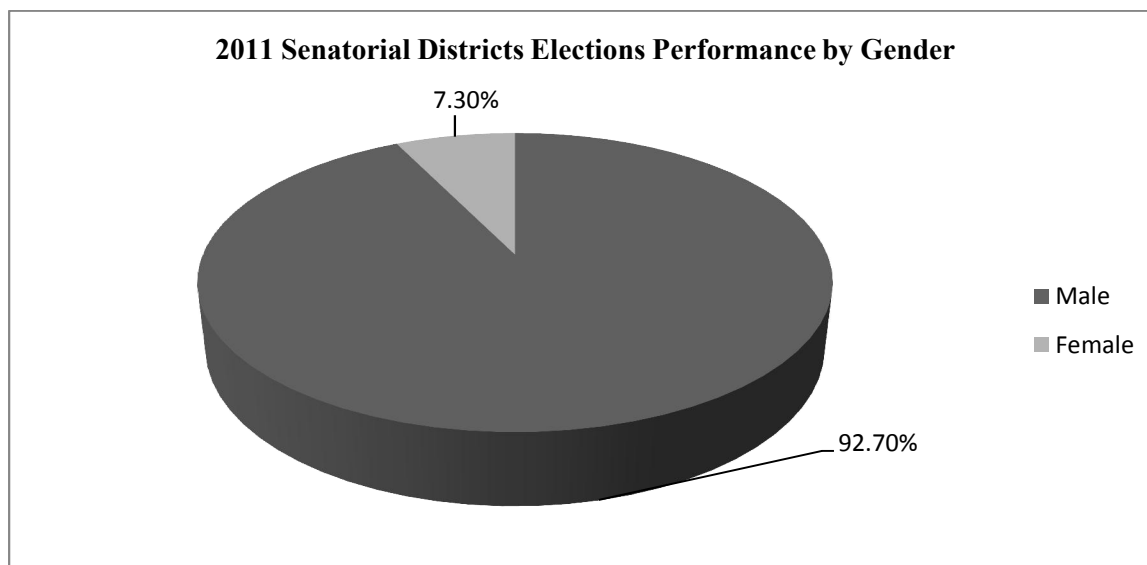
Generally, as shown in the figure below, the performance of women at the State Houses of Assembly in 2011 was poor and was a mere replica of the 2007 elections. While only 5.4 percent of the seats were won by women in 2007, 5.5 percent of the seats were won by women in 2011 General Elections- only- only 0.1 percent performance difference.



Source: Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Report on the 2011 General Elections

Figure 7: 2011 Senatorial Districts Elections: Summary of Performance by Gender

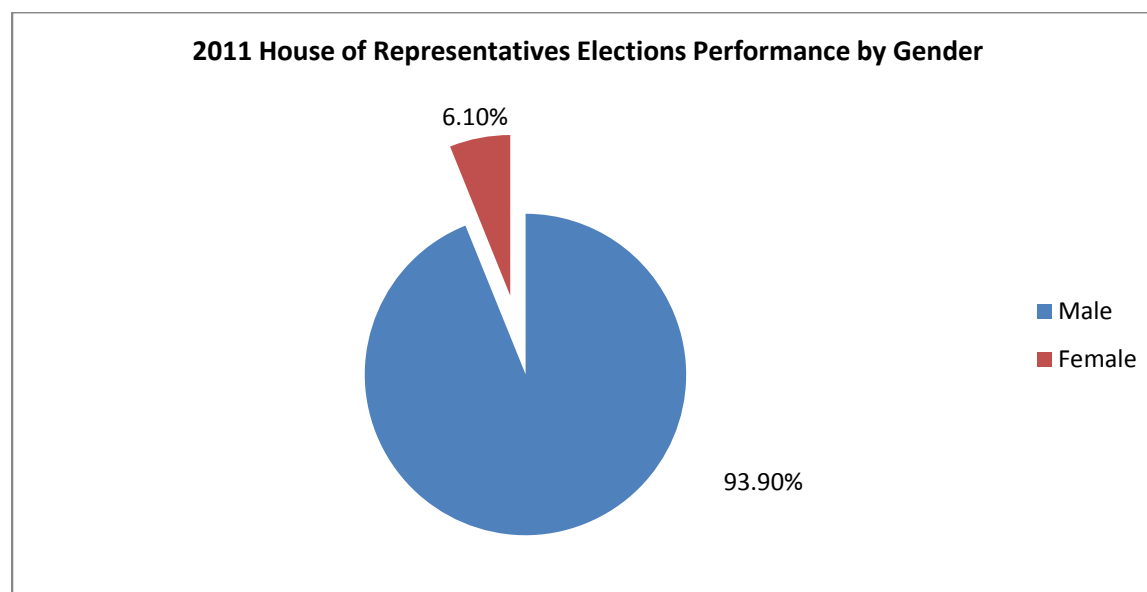
According to the figure below, just a little above 7.0 percent (7.3 percent) of women won elections at the level of Senatorial Districts in the 2011 General Elections in the country. This shows continued male dominance at this level of political participation and engagement.



Source: Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Report on the 2011 General Elections

Figure 8: 2011 House of Representatives Elections Performance by Gender

The degree of women's performance found at the senatorial level in 2011 was identical to that at the lower chamber (House of Representatives). Only 6.1 percent success level was recorded by female politicians as against 93.9 percent success level of their male counterparts. As can be observed through the comparison of the figure above and below, women actually marginally, performed better at the Senatorial Districts elections (by 1.2 percent margin) than in House of Representatives elections within the same period.



Source: Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Report on the 2011 General Elections

2.6. Women's Role and party structure in Osun and Ekiti States⁵

Data was also collected on women's involvement in party structures in the two states. The two major political parties in Ekiti and Osun States were targeted. Due to the political climates in the states⁶, it was challenging and somewhat difficult to access the data needed absolutely. Political parties' officials and INEC officials considered the data too sensitive especially because of the sensitive political tempos/climates in the state. However, useful, relevant and indicative data was gathered on the parties and this gave good insight into the nature and degree of women political participation in the states and even across the country. The secondary data gathered on women and party structure was largely consistent with earlier findings in primary data presented in the report.

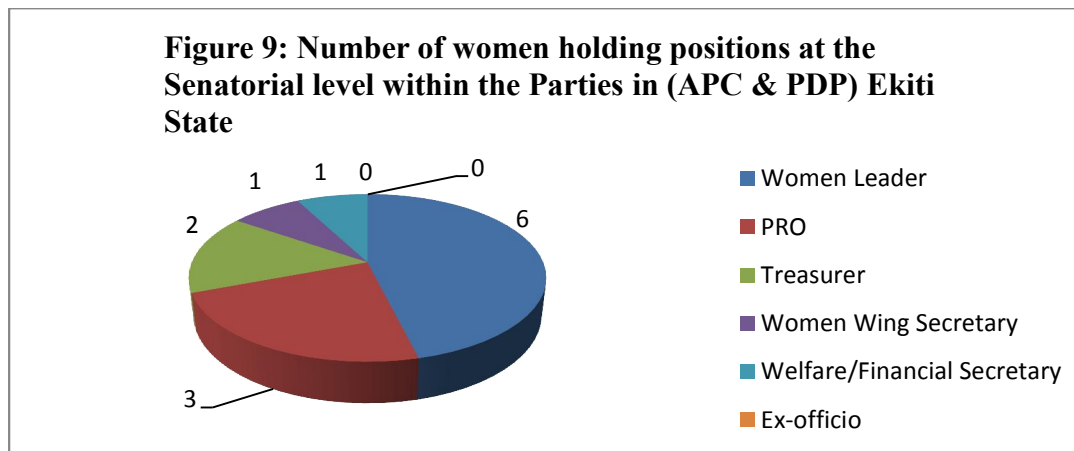
The common roles given to women in the parties and states are consistent with the traditionally feminized and stereotyped positions found in the primary data. Unfortunately, these roles and positions are not *power posts*. They are only ceded and mainstreamed to women, as consolatory ones, due to weak perceptions of women's political capabilities. The women political roles/positions in senatorial and states levels include:

⁵ Data for this section was gathered by Community Life Project (CLP) from politicians in Ekiti and Osun states and the data was considered correct as at 16th April, 2014.

⁶The two states were preparing for gubernatorial elections. Thus, all politically related issues were viewed in partisan manners and, perhaps, perceived as opposition parties' tactics.

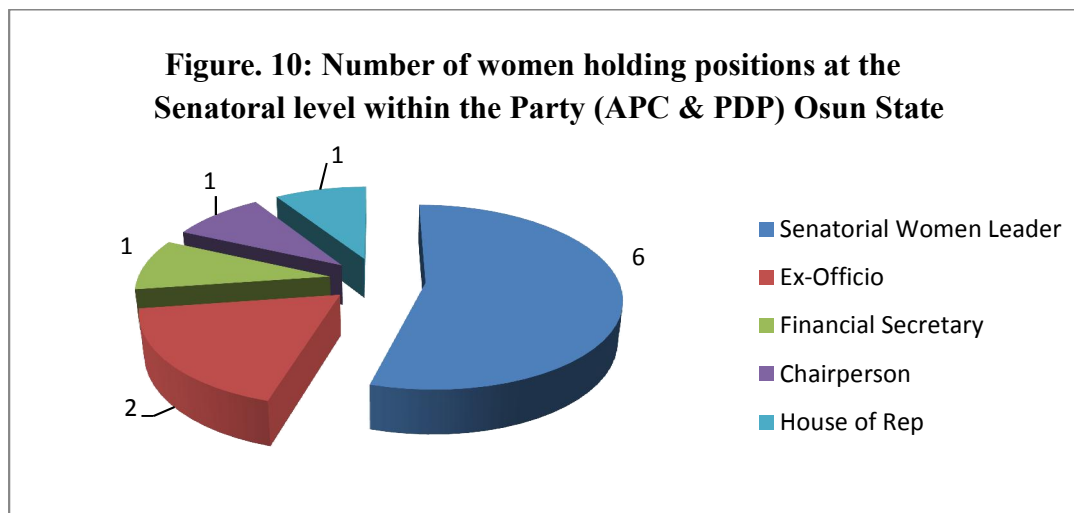
1. Women leader(s)/Women co-ordinator(s)/Women's wing secretaries
2. Welfare officers
3. Ex-officio
4. Women affairs
5. Deputies/assistants
6. Treasurers
7. PROs

As presented in the figure below, the mostly held position at the senatorial level in Ekiti state is Women Leader with 6 women in the 2 parties. This was followed by PRO position with 3 women in the 2 parties and 2 women treasurers.



Source: Community Life Project (CLP, 2014)

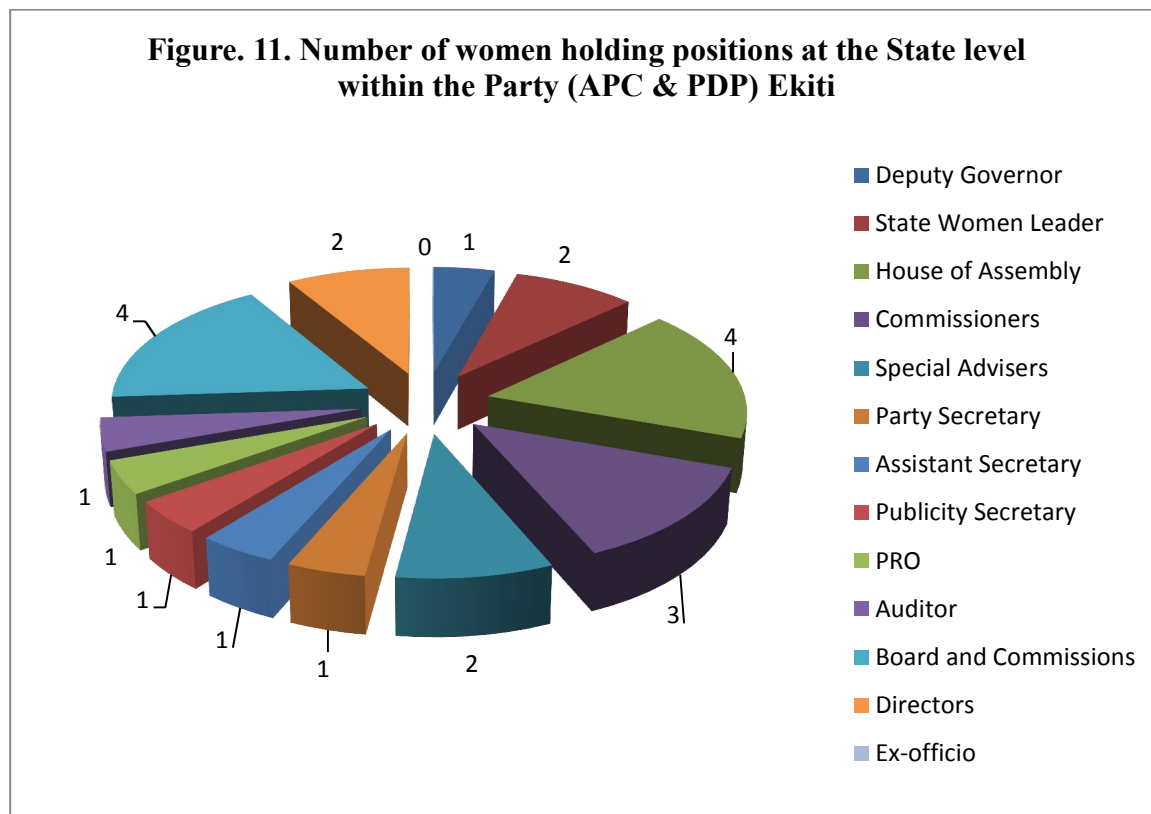
The case is not different in Osun state where the most commonly held position is also women leader in the 2 parties (6 women) followed by 2 Ex-Officio members.



Source: Community Life Project (CLP, 2014)

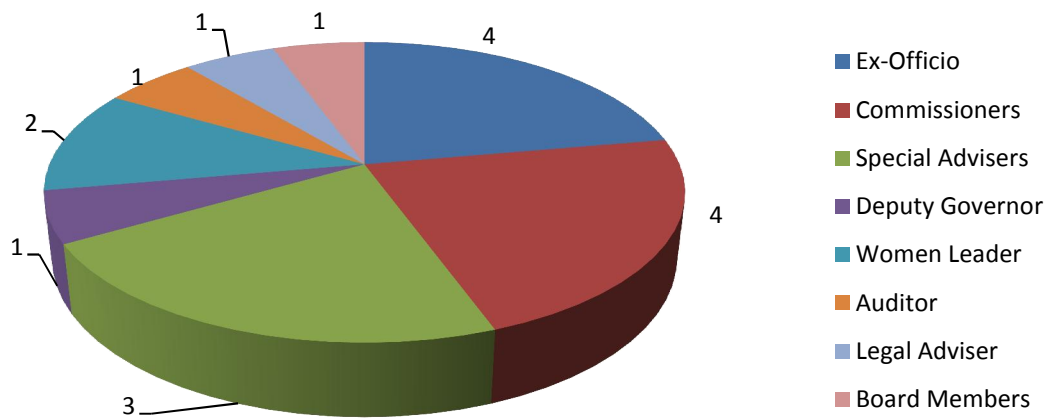
Figures 11 and 12. Number of women holding positions at the State level within the Party (APC & PDP) Ekiti and Osun

The situation at the state level was also examined to explore replication, consistency or divergence. The case is not radically different in the two states. The highest post attained by any woman, in the two states, as at the period of this research (2013/2014) is Deputy Governor. The Deputy Governors of the two states are women. This was followed by Board and Commissions, House of Assembly, Commissioners and Women Leaders in Ekiti. In Osun, the most commonly held position at the state level is Ex-Officio and commissioners with 4 women for each post. These were followed by Special Advisers (3) and women leader as shown in the figures below.



Source: Community Life Project (CLP, 2014)

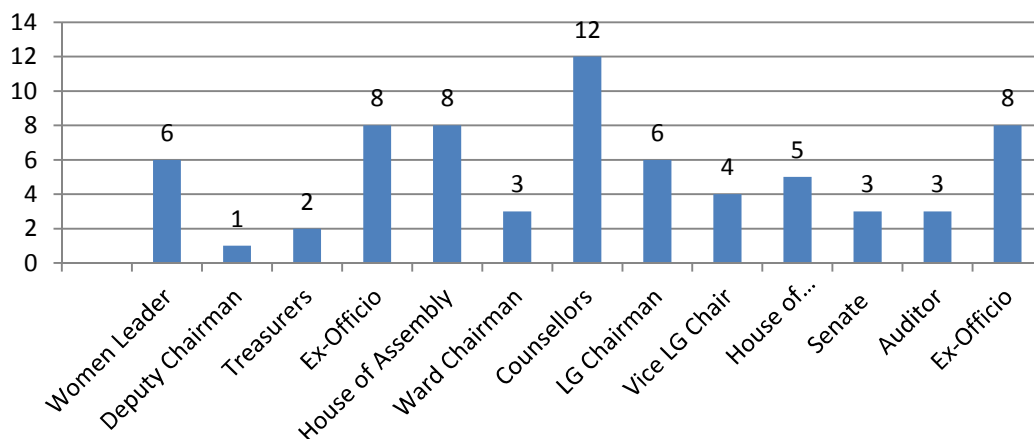
Figure 12: Number of women holding positions at the state level within the parties (APC & PDP) Osun



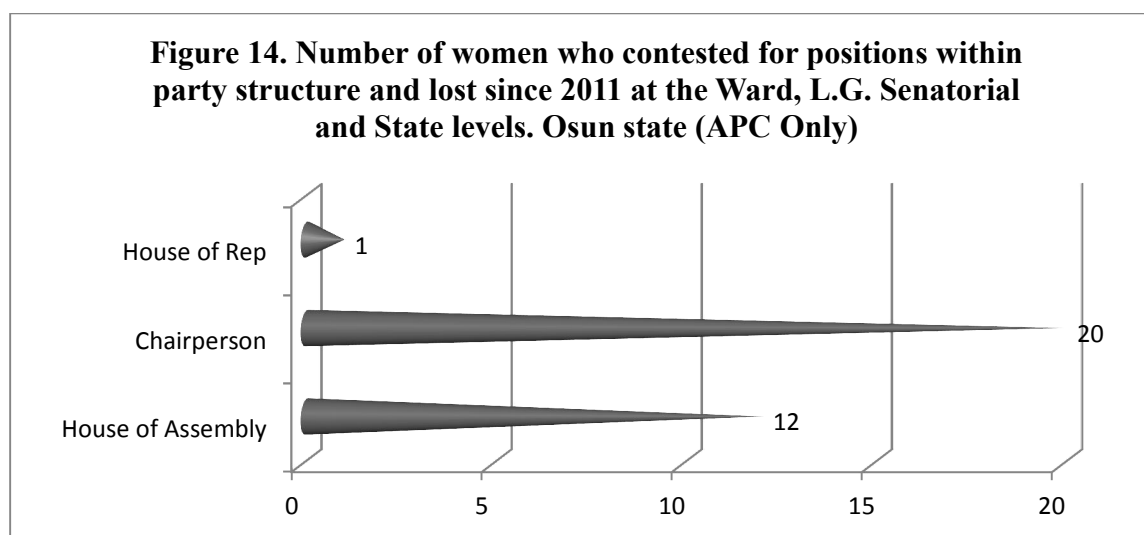
Source: Community Life Project (CLP, 2014)

Data was also gathered on number of women who contested positions within party structure and lost since 2011 at the ward, local government, senatorial districts and state levels. As can be seen in the figure below, in Osun, as many as 20 women lost in their contest for chairmanship while as many as 12 women lost House of Assembly elections. The case in Ekiti is identical. Most women (12) lost the most basic competitive elections at the grassroots and most basic level (councillorship). This was followed, on frequency, by Ex-officio (8 women) and House of Assembly (8 women). Another position where women were commonly defeated was local government chairman (6). 6 women were also defeated in their contest for women leader as shown in the figures 13 and 14 below.

Figure 13: Number of women who contested for positions within party structure and lost since 2011 at the Ward, Local Government, Senatorial and State levels . (Ekiti APC & PDP)



Source: Community Life Project (CLP, 2014)



Source: Community Life Project (CLP, 2014)

Table 2: Leadership Positions held by women in Ekiti and Osun States

The table below presents data on women political participation and their key positions in selected Local Government Areas (L.G.As) and wards in the party structures. Although women are represented across levels, the degree of representation is very low, mainstreamed and ceiling (in the order of glass ceiling in popular gender discourse) in the two states. As it is in Senate (legislative) and state levels, the most commonly allocated positions to women at the L.G.As and ward levels are *non-power posts* and largely consolatory and feminized. The most frequent women's political positions in the L.G.As and wards are:

1. Women leader(s)
2. Women co-ordinator(s)
3. Secretaries
4. Welfare officers
5. Ex-officio
6. Women affairs
7. Deputies/assistants
8. Treasurers/Financial secretaries
9. PROs

The table below presents the detailed breakdown of women's political positions in the L.G.As and wards in Ekiti and Osun states.

S/N	L.G.As	Number of women holding positions at the ward level within APC & PDP (Ekiti State)		Number of women holding positions at the L.G.A. Level within APC & PDP (Ekiti State)		S/N	L.G.As	Number of women holding positions at the ward level within APC & PDP (Osun State)		Number of women holding positions at the L.G. A. Level within APC & PDP (Osun State)	
		Position	No	Position	No			Position	No	Position	No
1.	Efon	Women Leader	4	Women Leader	2	1.	Ori Ade	Women	25	Women Leader	3

								Leader			
		PRO	2	Assistant PRO	1			Secretary	12	Treasurer	1
		Treasurer	2	Ex-Officio	9			Organizing Secretary	12	Legal Adviser	1
		Ex-Officio	9	Chairperson	1			Assistant Secretary	13	Ex-Officio	2
		Party Secretary	1					Financial Secretary	10		
		Chairperson	1					Vice Chairperson	1		
		TOTAL	19		13			P.R.O	2		
2.	Ekiti West	Women Leader	8	Women Leader	2			Treasurer	15		
		Treasurers	10	Chairperson	1			Ex-Officio	10		
		Organizing Secretary	5	Ex-Officio	30	2.	Ife Central	Women Leader	2	Chairperson	1
		PRO	5	Party Secretary	1			Vice Chairperson	1	Women Leader	2
		Councilors	4	PRO	1			Financial Secretary	1	Ex-Officio	2
		Chairperson	1	Treasurer	1					Councilors	4
		Party Secretary	1							Supervisory council	2
		Total	34		36					Treasurer	1
3.	Emure	Women Leader	2	Women Leader	2					Organizing Secretary	1
		Party Secretary	1	Financial Secretary	1	3.	Ede North	Women Leader	12	Women Leader	1
		Ward Secretary	1	Treasurer	1			Party Secretary	1	Assistant Treasurer	1
		Ward Treasurer	3	PRO	1			Chairperson	1	Assistant Organising Secretary	1
		Ex-Officio	22	Secretary	2			Assistant	2	Assistant	1

								Treasurer		Welfare	
		Financial Secretary	2	Ex-Officio	3			Organizing Secretary	3	Ex-Officio	1
		Pro	1	Women Mobiliser	1			Ex-Officio	2		
				Adviser To L.G.	1	4.	Egbedore	Women Leader	11	Women Leader	2
				Supervisory Councilors	1			Organizing Secretary	1	Asst Treasurer	1
		Total	32		13			Treasurer	1	Auditor	1
4.	Ado Ekiti	Women Leader	1	Women Leader	2			Ass Treasurer	3	Ex-Officio	1
		Chairperson	1	Financial Secretary	1			P.R.O	2	Legal Adviser	1
		Financial Secretary	1	Treasurer	1			Ex-Officio	4		
		PRO	2	Ex-Officio	2			Exco member	2		
		Organising Secretary	1	Secretary To L.G	3	5.	Odo Otin	Women Leader	2	Vice Chairman	1
		Treasurer	1	Chairperson	1			Assistant Secretary	1	Women Leader	2
		Ex-Officio	2	House Of Assembly	1			Assistant Organizing Secretary	1	Treasurer	1
				Assistant Secretary	1			P.R.O	1	Ex-Officio	2
		Total	9		12			Financial Secretary	1		
5.	Ikere	Women Leader	12	Women Leader	12			Assistant Financial Secretary	1		
		Ex-Officio	24	Secretary (Ward)	1			Treasurer	1		
		Publicity Secretary	2	Lg Secretary	1			Ex-Officio	2		
		Deputy Chairman	1	Adviser To L.G.	1	6.	Irewole	Women Leader	1	Women Leader	12

		Organising Secretary	1	C.A.G.	2			Treasurer	1	Ex-Officio	2
		Assistant Treasurer	1	Women Mobiliser	1			Ex-Officio	1		
				Ex-Officio	1	7.	Ayedaade	Women Leader	2	Women Leader	1
		Total	41		19			Secretary	1	Assistant Secretary	1
6.	Ido/Osi	Treasurer	1	Chairperson	1			Treasurer	1	Ex-Officio	1
		Secretary	1	Party Secretary	2			Youth Leader	1	Vice Chairman	1
		PRO	1	Treasurer	1	8.	Atakunmosa West	Women Leader	1	Women Leader	1
		Assistant Secretary	1	PRO 1	1					Treasurer	1
		Women Leader	2	PRO 2	2					Financial Secretary	1
		Ex-Officio	1	Financial Secretary	1	9.	Atakunmosa East	Women Leader	10	Women Leader	1
		Financial Secretary	1	Secretary To L.G	1			Treasurer	6		
		Auditor	1	Executive Assistant	1			P.R.O	7		
				Women Coordinator	1			Asst Secretary	5		
		Total	9		11			Ex-Officio	4		
7.	Moba	Treasurer	12	Ex-Officio	6	10.	Ilesha East	Chairperson	4	Chairperson	5
		Secretary	1	Women Leader	2			Vice chairperson	5	Vice chairperson	1
		PRO	4	Treasurer	4			Women Leader	12	Women Leader	1
		Assistant Secretary	4					Secretary	7	P.R.O	1
		Women Leader	12					Organizing Secretary	5	Financial Secretary	1

		Ex-Officio	26					Youth Leader	1	Auditor	1
		Financial Secretary	3					Treasurer	7	Legal Adviser	2
		Total	62		12			Ex-Officio	26	Ex-Officio	2
8.	Ijero	Women Leader	13	Women Leader	1	11.	Obokun	Women Leader	10	Women Leader	1
		Organising Secretary	1	Assistant PRO	1			Secretary	5	Auditor	1
		Assistant Secretary	1	Ex-Officio	2			Organising Secretary	1	P.R.O	1
		Welfare Officer	6	Welfare Officer	1			Treasurer	5	Ex-Officio	1
		PRO	1					Auditor	2		
		Ex-Officio	12					Ex-Officio	25		
		Total	34		5	12.	Boluwaduro	Women Leader	1	Women Leader	1
9.	Oye	Assistant Secretary	1	Women Leader	1			Organizer	1	Ex-Officio	1
		Secretary	1	Ex-Officio	2			Asst Secretary	1		
		Women Leader	1					Auditor	1		
1.	Ekiti South West	Women Leader	1	Women Leader	1			Treasurer	1		
		PRO	1	Treasurer	1			P.R.O	1		
		Ex-Officio	2	Ex-Officio	2	13.	Osogbo	Women Leader	1	Women Leader	1
								Organizer	1	Ex-Officio	1
								Asst Secretary	1	Legal Adviser	1
								Treasurer	1	Financial Secretary	1
								Auditor	1		
						14.	Ife South	Women Leader	13	Women Leader	22

								Treasurer	1	Asst Treasurer	1
								Asst Treasurer	1	Ex-Officio	2
						15.	Ejigbo	Women Leader	11	Women Leader	2
								Asst. Secretary	1	Ex-Officio	4
								Financial Secretary	1	Special Adviser	2
								Treasurer	2	Vice Chairman	1
								P.R.O	1		
								Ex-Officio	2		
						16.	Ife East	Ward Chairman	1	Women Leader	1
								Women Leader	1	Treasurer	1
								Treasurer	1	Organizing Secretary	1
								Ex-Officio	2	Councilors	2
										Supervisory Council	2
						17.	Ede South	Women Leader	1	Women Leader	1
								Ex-Officio	3		
						18.	Ila-Orangun	Women Leader	11	Women Leader	1
								Secretary	2	Secretary	1
								Treasurer	1	Organizing Secretary	2

3.0. The Research Methodology

This section explains the research focus and research process. Generally, this baseline study was carried out to capture the knowledge, attitude, beliefs and practices of women's participation in governance; party politics, political process and budgetary process in Ekiti and Osun states.

3.1. Research Settings

3.1.1. Ekiti State

Ekiti state is located in southwestern Nigeria and was created on October 1st 1996 out of the old Ondo state with the capital in Ado-Ekiti. Ekiti state shares common borders with Kwara state, Kogi State, Osun State and Ondo State. It has a land Area of 5887.890sq km. The population of Ekiti state has grown rapidly to 2,384,212 in 2006 according to the 2006 population and housing census. The state has 16 local government areas out of which 8 were selected for this survey. The local governments selected were; Moba, Ido/Osi, Ado-Ekiti, Ekiti West, Ijero, Efon-Alaye, Emure and Ikere Ekiti State is commonly regarded as one of those states with the most educated population in the country especially given the number of intellectuals from the state. This is why the state used to be known as the *Fountain of Knowledge* until recently that it was changed to *Land of Honour* to reflect the overall virtues of the state.

Although the state has been experiencing a measure of modernization and westernization, it remains one of those with sustained traditionalism and original socio-cultural pattern maintenance. While Ekiti is changing, it has been able to find appreciable balance between change and original identity protecting inherent values that define Ekiti. The state has a history of deep political participation, political maneuverings, electoral crisis and activism part of which led to the imposition of a military administrator in October, 2006. There has also been election upturning particularly the court judgement that restored the mandate of Governor Kayode Fayemi. The state also has one the highest proportions of female contestants in recent elections in the country.

3.1.2. Osun State

Osun State was formally part of Old Oyo state before it was created as a state in 1991. It has an area of 9,251 km² (3,572 sq mi). According to the last Population and Housing Census of 2006, Osun state has a population of 4,137,627. The capital of Osun state is Osogbo and the state is commonly known as the *State of the Virtuous (Ipinle Omoluabi)* to resonate the value and traditionality of the state even in the age of modernization, westernization and globalization. Osun shares with Ekiti a heritage of active political engagements and activism. In both states, the previously declared gubernatorial elections results were upturned in landmark court judgements to usher into office the current governors. The state also has one of the highest levels of women contestants in the last election in the country even though still abysmally low compared to global standards. The state has rich religious blend of Christianity, Islam and traditional religion. Osun state has 30 local government areas out of which 15 (50 percent) was selected for the survey. The selected and surveyed local government areas were: Boluwaduro, Osogbo, Ilesa East, Egbedore, Odo-Otin, Ife Central, Ayedade, Ede North, Ejigbo, Irewole, Ila, Ifelodun, Atakumosa East, Obokun, Oriade.

3.2. Research Design

The research was non-experimental. It adopted a blend of qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis for complementarity and comprehensiveness so as to prevent data lacunae. Hence, the research was analytical and descriptive with the adoption of triangulation. To achieve valid data collection, enhance research quality and final the research instruments, a pre-test was conducted in Ibadan, Oyo state within the period 12th – 16th November, 2013. Ibadan was selected for pragmatic and scientific reasons. First, the survey would not be conducted in Ibadan since a pre-test is best conducted in identical settings different from the main survey locations. Also, Ibadan has a rich history of general political engagements and particularly gendered political engagements crystalizing in the activities of Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura. After the pre-test, a 2 day comprehensive residential training was organized for the research personnel at Ado Ekiti, Nigeria (November 27, 2013- November, 28, 2013). The training was to familiarize the research personnel with the objectives, the study instruments and process of the survey. Data Collection started concurrently in Osun and Ekiti states. Data collection was from 30th November, 2013 to 12th December, 2013).

3.3. Study population

Respondents for the study were residents of the states of 18 years old and above. Anyone less than 18 years was not included in the survey. There was however no upper age limits. Although the main focus of the survey was women, opinions of men were captured in recognition of the power dynamics between men and women. It was considered a gap to capture the nuances of the problematic from the female perspectives alone. This is particularly so in traditional and patriarchal societies like Osun and Ekiti States. Even for data from the females to be well understood, male components must be captured.

3.4. Sampling

The sampling design for the survey was both probabilistic and non-probabilistic. Multi-stage and simple random sampling was used to select samples for the questionnaire administration. The list of senatorial districts in the states was collected and equal proportions of local governments were selected from every senatorial district. Communities were then randomly chosen from the local governments after which households were selected through systematic random sampling in the 2 states. The first most qualified persons in households were chosen for facilitation. For the qualitative, sampling was purposive. Discussants and interviewees were chosen based on their relevant knowledge, status and community relations relevant to the research questions. These categories of people were chosen also based on their availability and consent. They include party officials, women leaders, government functionaries, opinion leaders and community leaders. 50 percent of the local governments in each state were selected based on rural-urban considerations and political engagements. Thus, 15 Local Government areas were selected in Osun and 8 Local government areas were selected in Ekiti. In the 2 states, the headquarters of local government areas were purposively selected based on their critical roles in political activities of the state. For instance, the capital local governments are the seats of government and the epicenter of political activities which may have special implications for data and findings.

3.5. Methods of Data Collection

Secondary and primary data were collected for this survey. Secondary data were gathered from peer reviewed journals, technical reports, books, unclassified government documents, CD ROMS and reliable internet sources. Primary data were gathered through questionnaires (quantitative)

and In-depth Interview (IDI), Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and Key Informant Interview (KII) Guides (qualitative). This data triangulation was meant to guarantee complete data gathering as the weaknesses of one method of data collection was sufficiently complemented by the other. While the quantitative method has the advantage of collecting massive quantitative data more rapidly and objectively but may not significantly allow important details, depth and text, the qualitative method is able to collect more detailed and textual data with useful contextual elements, even though with smaller number of people, that can better illuminate the findings in manners that will enable deep exploration of the issues.

A total of 2300 copies of questionnaires were administered in the two states with an average of 100 copies of questionnaires per local government area. This means, by implication, 1500 copies of questionnaires in Osun and 800 copies in Ekiti. 2295 copies were however used for the analysis as 5 copies were screened out. The overall return rate was however very appreciable. Sampling for the quantitative instrument was probabilistic. A total of 102 Key Informant Interviews (65 in Osun and 37 in Ekiti) were conducted with an average of 4 KIIs per Local Government Area. 46 FGD sessions were organized in the 2 states with an average of 2 sessions per local government factoring in gender, locality and age. This means 16 FGDs in Ekiti and 30 in Osun states. Hence, 46 IDIs were conducted in the 2 states (2 sessions per local government areas); 16 IDIs in Ekiti and 30 in Osun states.

3.6. Data Analysis

The nature of data gathered determined the nature of data analysis. For the quantitative data, dedicated software for data analysis was used to analyse the data. No code manual was used because the questionnaires were pre-coded. Qualitative data were recorded on tapes, even though notes were taken, to prevent data loss. Two tape recorders (1 digital and 1 analogue) were used per session to prevent loss and ensure sufficient data capturing. After every session, transcriptions were done verbatim by the moderators and note takers. Qualitative data were later analysed and presented as narratives and ethnographic summaries.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

The study paid attention to ethical considerations such as prevention from harm, confidentiality, right of discontinuation, and absence of compulsion. To ensure this, informed consent forms were issued before any session. Every instrument had the informed consent forms as the cover page so as to prevent omission. It was only after a respondent gave voluntary consent that sessions were held.

4.0.Data Analysis and Discussion

This section presents the analysis and discussion of primary data collected in both Osun and Ekiti.

4.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

Age	
Mean Age	34 years
Standard Deviation	13.530

Range		79
Minimum Age		18
Maximum Age		97
Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	1190	51.9
Female	1097	47.8
Unindicated	8	0.3
Total	2295	100.0
Marital Status		
Married/Cohabiting	1450	63.2
Separated/Divorced	18	0.8
Single	788	34.3
Widow/Widower	36	1.6
Indifferent	3	0.1
Total	2295	100.0
Ethnic Background		
Hausa	13	0.6
Igbo	63	2.7
Yoruba	2209	96.3
Indifferent	10	0.4
Total	2295	100.0
Highest Level of Education		
No Formal Education	140	6.1

Primary not completed	84	3.7
Completed primary	218	9.5
Secondary not completed	150	6.5
Completed Secondary	831	36.2
Tertiary not completed	400	17.4
Tertiary completed	465	20.3
Indifferent	7	0.3
Total	2295	100.0
Employment/Occupation		
Civil Servant (Federal)	120	5.2
Civil Servant (State)	82	3.6
Civil servant (LGA)	92	4.0
Accountant	13	0.6
Security personnel	18	0.8
Lawyer	1	0.0
Lecturer	4	0.2
Teacher	46	2.0
Unemployed	100	4.4
Student	432	18.8
Business owners/entrepreneurs	1087	47.4
NGO/CSO/FBO	5	0.2
Media Person	3	0.1
Clergy	13	0.6

Politician	10	0.4
Retiree	19	0.8
Housewife	11	0.5
Trading	102	4.4
Farming	20	0.9
Artisan	75	3.3
Driver	13	0.6
Engineer	7	0.3
Footballer	4	0.2
Medical Personnel	2	0.1
Indifferent	16	0.7
Total	2295	100.0
Religion		
Catholic	124	5.4
Islam	822	35.9
Orthodox Christian	729	31.8
Pentecostal	586	25.5
Traditional	18	0.8
No Religion/Atheist	1	0.0
Indifferent	15	0.7
Total	2295	100.0
Religiosity (Level of commitment to tenets/doctrines of your religion)		
Very Religious	1296	56.5
Averagely Religious	930	40.5

Not Religious/Nominal	27	1.2
Indifferent	42	1.8
Total	2295	100.0
Main and Trusted sources of information		
Television	1355	59.0
Radio	1630	71.0
Newspaper	482	21.0
Internet	424	18.5
Neighbours	153	6.7
Friends	395	17.2
Family members	213	9.3

Average age of the respondents is 34. This shows relatively matured respondents with the capacity to relate with the issues. The youngest respondent is 18 years while the oldest is 97 years old giving an age range of 79 and standard deviation of 13.530. Sex of the respondents was captured. 51.9 percent were males while 47.8 percent were females. Only 0.3 percent did not indicate their sex. Married/cohabiting is the most prevalent marital category with 63.2 percent followed by single with 34.3 percent. The Yoruba is the most frequent ethnic group with 96.3 percent. This is because the survey was conducted in predominantly Yoruba setting since Osun and Ekiti are located in the south-western part of the country mostly inhabited by the Yoruba people. There is thus the preponderance of the Yoruba people in the two states.

The educational distribution shows a relatively well educated population with only 6.1 percent not having formal education. 36.2 percent completed secondary education while 20.3 percent completed tertiary education. The most frequent occupational categories are the self-employed (47.4 percent), student (18.8 percent) and civil servants 12.8 percent. Religions of respondents were captured. The most frequent categories are Islam (35.9 percent), orthodox Christians (31.8 percent) and the Pentecostals (25.5 percent). Religious affiliations and identifications are not sufficient indicators of religious orientation. Thus, religiosity was captured in the survey. Over half of the respondents self-described as religious (56.5 percent) while 40.5 percent described themselves as averagely religious. 1.2 percent of the respondents are not religious at all. Sources of information of respondents are very important.

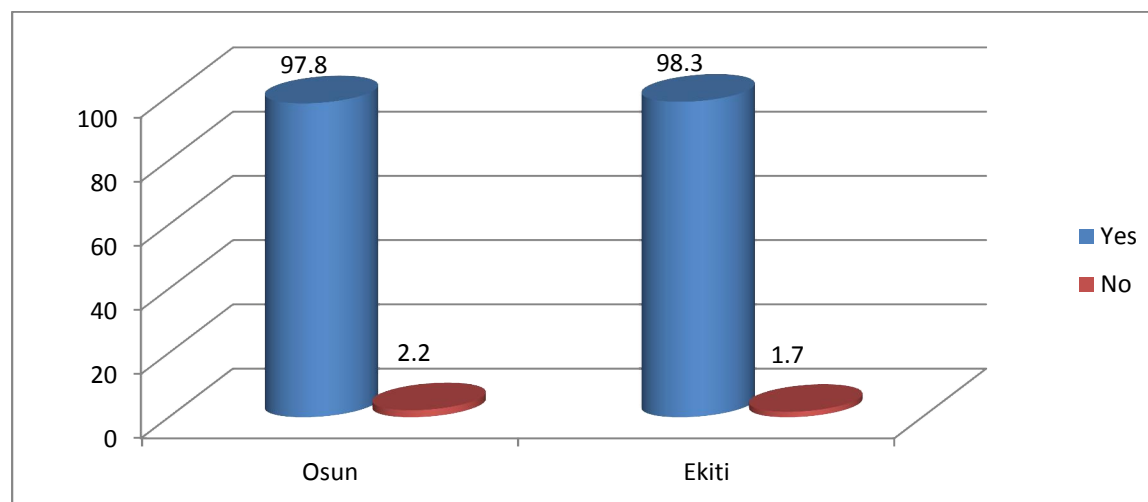
This is mainly because of advocacy and general programme information dissemination. Thus, the survey captured respondents' main and trusted sources of information. The most trusted and the most frequently listened to source of respondents' information is the radio with 71.0 percent.

This is followed distantly by television (59.0 percent) and newspaper with 21.0 percent. The low utilization of newspaper as a source of information may not be unconnected with high level of poverty in the societies as newspapers are not cheap and not readily affordable at N150 (one hundred and fifty naira only) per copy for dailies. It is also not surprising that only 18.5 percent of the respondents rely on internet even when they are mostly youths as level of internet penetration, westernization and modernization in the states are still moderate and only emerging.

4.2. Knowledge, Belief, Attitude and Practice

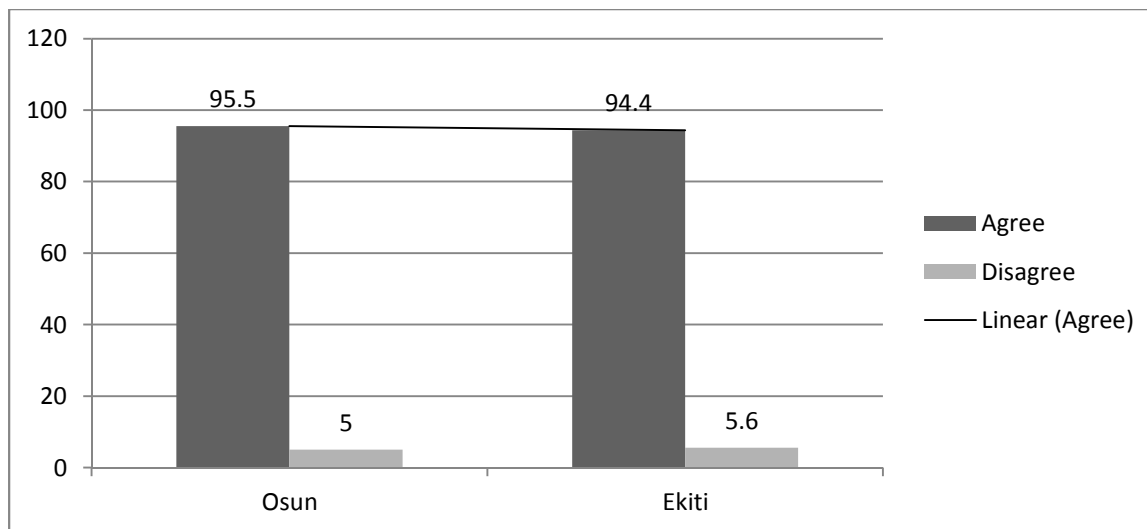
4.2.1. Awareness of women's right to vote and be voted for at age 18

As can be seen in the figure below, awareness of women's franchise is well aware of in the two states. In Osun and Ekiti, overwhelming majority (almost 100.0 percent) of respondents is aware of the right of women to vote and be voted for once they are of participation age (18 years). It can then be maintained that lack of awareness of franchise is not the challenge facing women participation in the states.



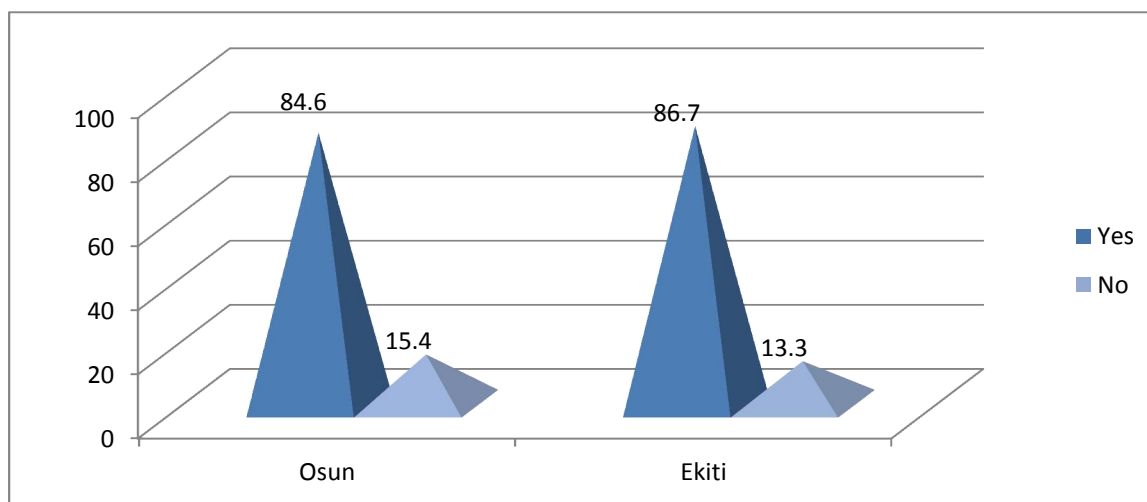
4.2.2. If respondents agree women have the right to vote and be voted for at age 18 (%)

Overwhelming majority of the respondents (almost 100.0 percent) agrees women have the right to vote and be voted for at age 18 as can be seen in the table below.



4.2.3. If women have equal opportunities as men to participate in politics (%)

Most of the respondents in the two states believe women have equal opportunity to participate in politics as shown in the figure below (84.6 percent in Osun and 86.7 percent in Ekiti). Around 15 percent in the two states claimed women do not have equal opportunities as men.



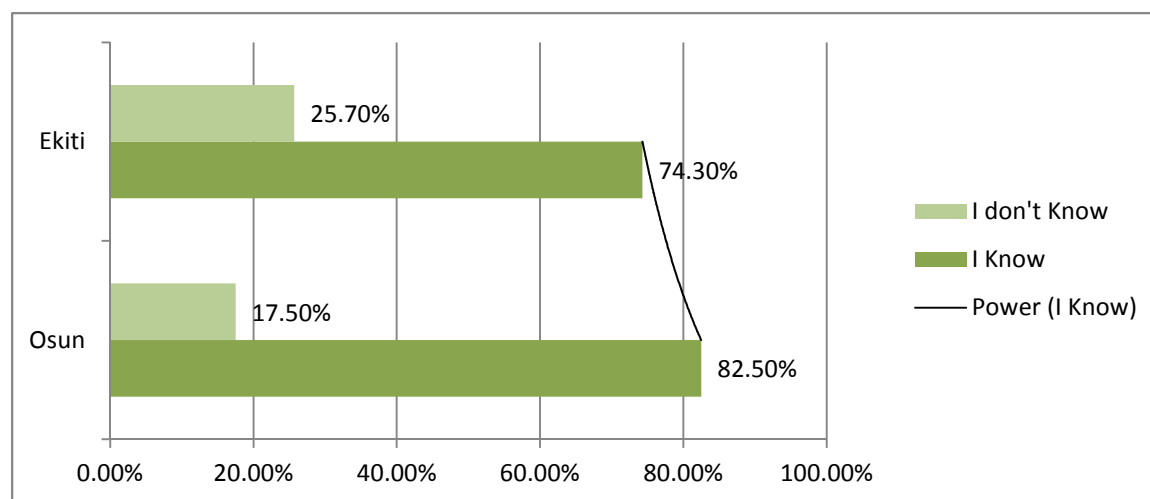
4.2.4. State, Gender and if women have equal opportunities as men to participate in politics (%)

It is very important to explore gender components of this finding and distribution because this is a critical issue based on objective realities of women's participation in politics in Nigeria. As can be seen in the table below, most of the respondents across the two genders submitted women have equal opportunities to participate in politics.

Gender	Women have equal opportunities		Women do not have equal opportunities	
Males	Osun	611 (81.7%)	137 (18.3%)	748 (100.0)
	Ekiti	377 (85.7%)	53 (14.3%)	440 (100.0)
Females	Osun	647 (87.4%)	93 (12.6%)	740 (100.0)
	Ekiti	312 (87.9%)	43 (12.1%)	355 (100.0)

4.2.5. If respondents know any problem women face in participating in politics

Majority of the respondents know problems women face in participating in politics in their localities. As shown in the figure below, there is more knowledge in Osun than Ekiti with almost 10 percent point (8.2 percent). This perhaps, suggests more need for capacity building (knowledge) building in Ekiti state. To sufficiently capture the knowledge of respondents, they were asked to identify specific problems women face in political participation.



4.2.6. Gender, State and Challenges women face in political participation

The greatest problem indicated by both males and females in Ekiti state is the problem of finance and *family commitment* as presented in the table below and the least are *poor knowledge and experience* as well as *seeing politics as male activity*. In Osun, the greatest problem indicated by both male and female is *family commitment*. And the least are *societal perception of female politicians* and *poor knowledge and experience of women relative to politics*. In the two states, opinions of the two genders largely converge. It can then be seen that the greatest problems women in the two states confront are problems of finance and family commitment.

On returning to democracy in 1999, inexperience and poor perception of female politicians were huge disincentives to women involvement in politics (Uhunmwuango, 2011, Fadeiye, 2005) but this is no longer mainly the case as seen in the data. Poor finance and family commitment however hold sway. This is not surprising in the relatively traditional and religious societies of Osun and Ekiti. The economic and business environments of these states are also just emerging providing relatively weak financial base for women. The instituted normative familial roles, values and expectations cum religious dictates that are strong (please cross-compare with

religious background and religiosity of respondents above) in these societies explain findings on familial commitment in Osun and even in Ekiti and *family commitment* is among the greatest problems. Hence, more females than males indicate these as problems. Other problems indicated are; sexual harassment, godfatherism, fear of thuggery, religious sentiments and perception of politics as male activities. As tabulated above are also strongly implicated in accounting for women's poor outcomes at elections. These factors are thus very strong in manifestations across women political participation lifecycle. Even for those who are appointed, these problems, factors and challenges militate against them in performing their political roles. It then depends on individual woman's socio-political, cultural and psychological capabilities to navigate the terrain.

	States and Problems	
Gender	Osun	Ekiti
	Problem of Finance	
Males	143 (28.1%)	183 (41.6%)
Females	168 (33.2%)	157 (44.2%)
	Problem of godfatherism	
Males	124 (25.6%)	72 (16.4%)
Females	130 (26.5%)	54 (15.2%)
	Fear of Thuggery	
Males	183 (39.0%)	80 (18.2%)
Females	171(36.2%)	78 (22.0)
	Society does not respect women	
Males	135 (30.1%)	20 (4.5%)
Females	152 (33.6%)	25 (7.0%)
	Politics a male activity	
Males	97 (23.8%)	13 (3.0%)
Females	70 (17.2%)	14 (3.9%)
	Family Commitment	
Males	277 (59.8%)	125 (28.4%)
Females	299 (62.9%)	188 (33.2%)
	Religious sentiment against women	
Males	98 (22.6%)	41 (9.3%)
Females	89 (20.5%)	36 (10.1%)
	Sexual Harassment	
Males	162 (36.7%)	78 (17.7%)
Females	161 (35.6%)	76 (21.4%)
	Societies see women politicians as irresponsible	
Males	65 (14.4%)	40 (9.1%)
Females	43 (9.5%)	31 (8.7%)
	Poor knowledge/experience of women	
Males	30 (6.6%)	13 (3.0%)
Females	18 (3.9%)	11 (3.1%)

This issue was also explored qualitatively for detailed understanding. There is very high consistency in qualitative and quantitative data in the states. People interviewed and discussed with across qualitative data maintained there is appreciable knowledge about women political participation. This was found in both Ekiti and Osun states. According to a party official during KII in Osogbo for example:

People are very knowledgeable about women participation in politics, their belief for women are strong and they even encourage others to join politics.

This view was also shared during KII with a woman in politics in Osogbo:

People's knowledge about women's participation in politics is becoming good because women are getting encouraged the more and we are sensitizing them on the need to participate in politics.

A party official also observed in consistency:

Women are really trying, men and women do vote so I believe they are really participating especially when it comes to being punctual. There is no place women cannot go to for meetings. Men do not really like women to participate in politics because of the problem of insecurity. Religion doesn't affect women's participation in politics, likewise culture and economic. Even in this local government, we have two women that are the councilors. There is only one post that we believe women cannot contest for is party chairman⁷ Apart from that women can take part in any other political thing. The people of this local government do not have anything bad towards women's participation in politics.

In Odo-Otin, discussants during FGD unanimously agree that there is high level of knowledge in the local government and this strongly connects with political participation at the local government:

People in this local government are well knowledgeable about women participation in politics...-Women's participating in politics is a normal thing for us here, almost 70 -80% of women in this local government area involve in politics one way or the other. People here do not see anything wrong in women participating in politics but few of them see female politicians as prostitute. ...-If not, every woman in politics is preparing and aspiring for one post or the other in this local government area

⁷It is important to examine why this view was expressed. This is not far-fetched and it was due to the general perception of many people, especially men, that women are not to lead men as expressed by some people (other discussants). Many people are also of the opinion that politics is a risky activity and needs men who are bold and strong to withstand the pressures especially at chairperson level. Qualities needed to be a chairman of a party are thus considered lacking in women who are usually considered feminine and weak. It is however important to note that this view of women's qualities and women's political positioning is not necessarily true and largely incorrect. Unfortunately, such erroneous views are potent in determining women political placements in party structures.

The case is not different in Ayedade Local Government Area. According to a woman in the community during IDI:

People in this community have enough knowledge on women's participation in politics. People here encourage women to continue participating in politics. There are women that aspire in this community e.g planning to contest for one thing or the other.

The findings in Osun of women participation found in Osun are strongly consistent with those found in Ekiti as observed in quantitative data. Across qualitative data, discussants and interviewees maintained there is appreciable knowledge about women participation in the state. Particular challenges women face were also identified in corroboration of those tabulated above. For example, a woman, self-employed/women leader facilitated in Aramoko (Ekiti West) observed that:

Women participate actively in politics in this our local government than men because of the progress of the community and their children. The major problems come from home. If our husbands can allow us to participate in politics it will be better but most of them (men) disapprove it. Economically, women are not buoyant enough and culture does not permit women in politics because most of party meetings are held majorly at night and in places like hotels. So when people see women in these places they call them prostitutes. Religion does not affect women in politics. People's knowledge of women participation in politics is better compare to that of the past because they believe women are not corrupt.

What the woman above meant by *women participate actively in politics in this local government than men* is the background, supportive, behind the scene and passionate involvement that are more effective than the men's yet women are most times unappreciated and unaccounted for. Hence, the allusion to *love of children and community* by the interviewee resonates why many people are of the view that women are more humane and accountable as leaders. Thus, the clamour by many for increased number of women in leadership roles. Whereas the man in party observed women can go everywhere, the woman above held a contrary view. The woman listed the barriers as she knows but the man held alternative view meaning he does not know or has a lopsided view of women participation showing ignorance. The man gave a more parochial view within party whereas the woman gave a more grassroots, real and general view.

The view of an electoral official (of the Independent National Electoral Commission [INEC]) was also captured to examine the official electoral body's position:

The level of women's participation is to a large extent higher in Nigeria than in most other African countries. The organizing of people should fall on the two genders i.e. male and female. The level of women in politics is active and dominant role in Nigeria e.g. Efunsetan Aniwura in Ibadan, Efunronke in Egba etc. Culture

disposition is implicated. People believe that the role of women is in the kitchen and they are not meant to be heard. Women against women also. Most women are against each other⁸The requirements in politics is that male and female are equal in politics Therefore, a woman can also go for a public office in politics depending on her capability. People also believe that women in politics are not responsible i.e. they are irresponsible, in which it is not compare to each other whereas most women are responsible, they are loving, tender, kind and gentle.

Key Informant Interview was also conducted for a woman who has previously contested elections in Osun and lost in 1999, 2003 and 2007 though shewon the primary elections. She was later appointed the Supervisory Councilor. Her views are not very different from the ones presented above but more detailed. In her experiences however, culture, religion and the people are not the problems (and this was supported by most qualitative sessions) but family commitments, finance, husbands and godfathers:

The level of women's participation is not encouraging because men do not give them the chance. Though, Osun state governor has tried to reach the 30% women's participation mark but he has not reached it. The percentage is very low at the level of local government and state. So out of the 11 wards in local government, only two are captured. Some of the women do not have the time and energy to participate in politics. There is no support of husband, there is family commitment, there is financial set back, there is wrong knowledge about politics. Culture gives room for women's participation in politics. Religion given room for women's participation according to the Christians, the Holy book of Islam (Qur'an) gives room for women to be leaders and not slaves in the society. Women have human feelings than men are. Godfatherism has an impact too in women's participation in politics. People are aware that women can participate in politics but men believe those in politics are not responsible like committing adultery, fornication. They (people) in the community responded well to me in my ward. After the election, I was given the supervisory councilor of my ward. From 1999 until date, only I contested in 1999, another woman contested in this ward in 2003. A local government chairperson presently is a woman.

⁸Self-perception and male negative portrayal and conception of women. Why should the so-called *women against women* be unnecessarily romanticized whereas *men against men*, beginning from the biblical murder case of Cain and Abel, has never been an issue. Women do not necessarily vote against women because they do not want fellow women to hold political positions but because other factors also come to play when voting. For instance, women may not necessarily vote for/against women because they are woman but based on other socio-political considerations just as is the case among men.

A man who has been a key observer of trends and patterns of women political participation gave incisive opinions not radically different from those above though (Ekiti):

Women are actually participating in politics but not as expected compare with their population. Women are much in the society but few of them are participating in politics. The major challenges women face in participating in politics include family commitment as women need time to take care of their families and husbands. Politics need time and women do not have the time to participate in politics. They also lack financial stability. People have knowledge of women participation in politics. Majority of our people are aware but people sometimes see women in politics as those who have no respect for value and family and they also say that those women are been promiscuous. Majority however believe women can deliver the people and are good administrators because they are God fearing and they do not practice corruption.

An elderly man, a chief, opinion leader and leader of political party (party chieftain) in Ijero Ekiti gave related opinions that are consistent across qualitative data and methods:

Women are not participating much in politics due to fear of thuggery and some other political wars though there is improvement compared to before. The challenges women face are from home. Their husbands see them as prostitutes and they (husbands) will say women want to use the avenue to start prostitution. Culture and religions are not stopping women from going into politics. The attitude of women at grassroots too is a problem as they have insufficient numbers of representatives. People believe that all the women that engage in politics are the wayward type and that most of them did not come from good homes.

Attitude of women as mention in the above ethnographic summary is worth exploring. If barriers prevent women from even indicating interests, it may be difficult for sustained political women political participation that will be effective. Grassroots women political conscientization is important.

Although most of the qualitative sessions demonstrate high knowledge level, a few express concern about the level of knowledge. A case for example was found in Ayedade:

The knowledge of people is still a bit low and we will like the government to help women in these area. ...-People see women's participation as a waste of time and a means to be irresponsible. ...-People do not believe that women can actually make a different.

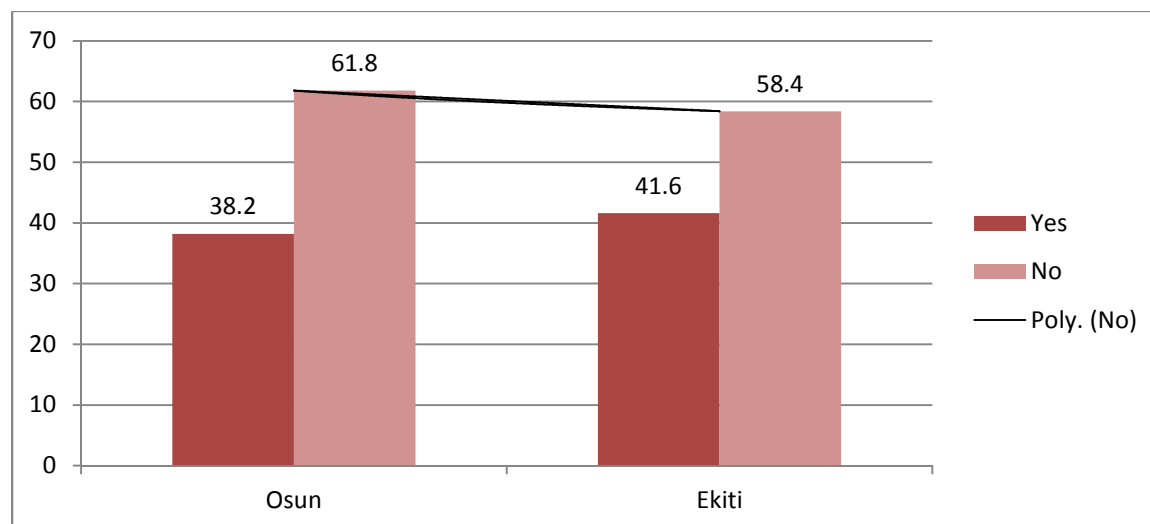
A woman in governance and public office also observed during key informant interview:

In my own view, women's participation in governance is very low which not support to be in terms of challenges, women are facing many problems like men not allowing their wives to take active part in politics. Money is very essential in women participation, for lack of fund can debar women in participating. People's knowledge of women participating in local governance is not good enough. The attitude of some men towards women's participation is bad as they regard women in politics as prostitutes. People's belief in women participation affects their level of participation as some religion belief women should not lead.

To sufficiently capture the nuances of the problematic from the foregoing, a follow up question of previous intra-spousal and extra-spousal women political participation discussions were explored.

4.2.7. If respondents have ever discussed the issue of women participation with anyone in their community before.

It is interesting to note that there is an atmosphere of silence around women participation in politics and governance. At least, information about the issue has not sufficiently percolated the grassroots where the information is mostly needed. As can be seen in the figure below, over half of the respondents claimed they have never discussed the issue with anyone be it friends, family members, neighbors or colleagues. Injustice reigns in an atmosphere of silence. It is therefore important to put the issue of women participation at the front burner in the grassroots. The degree of silence is actually higher in Osun state with 61.8 percent as against 58.4 percent in Ekiti.



4.2.8. Gender, state and previous discussions of female political participation

Insightful findings were made on this very important indicator. Discussions (whether verbal or non-verbal) often precede actions. Trends and patterns of discussion as informed by subject are equally important in engineering change. Most of those who have ever discussed the issue of women political participation have never discussed the issue with their spouse. This is very indicative as the family and spousal discussions have huge impact on actions especially in Ekiti and Osun where family commitments and traditionalism are high. Spousal discussions within the context of families are thus very important unfortunately this is very weak. In fact, fewer men have ever discussed the subject with their wife *indicating a no go area of discussion*. This strongly resonates the patriarchal system of discussion initialization particularly within homes in traditional Africa. As can be seen in the table above, of the few that has ever discussed the subject, more only discussed it with brothers, friends and neighbours.

For interstate comparison, significantly more people in Osun have actually discussed the issue with friends, brothers and neighbours. Although the variation between the states is not significant, more attention may be needed in breaking the circle of silence in Osun. If this distribution is taken in line with the qualitative findings as shared above, the culture of silence around spousal discussion of female participation is understandable. Perhaps, verbal and body languages of spouses, especially husbands, have been disapproving in the past and spouses would not want to raise the discussions again especially when Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is also rife in these societies (Adebayo and Kolawole, 2013). Leaving the subject out of discussions at home and out of home may thus also be a strategy for family and marriage and societal sustenance and protection. This finding is consistent against the background of qualitative data already presented above where a lot of the discussants and interviewees submitted that a lot of men would not allow their wives in politics as politics is seen as avenue for extra-marital affairs and infidelity. If the society has imbibed this, raising the discussion among spouses become a taboo and unnecessary as well as a danger to spouses raising the issue. This issue was further explored below given its importance.

	States and discussion categories	
Gender	Osun	Ekiti
	Friends	
Males	224 (66.5%)	131 (29.8%)
Females	241 (70.3%)	120 (33.8%)
	Brother	
Males	56 (22.3%)	37 (8.4%)
Females	62 (24.0%)	18 (5.1%)
	Sister	
Males	24 (10.3%)	24 (5.5%)
Females	38(16.5%)	11 (3.1)
	Spouse	
Males	14 (6.2%)	12 (2.7%)
Females	17 (7.8%)	19 (5.4%)
	Partner	

Males	14 (6.2%)	10 (2.3%)
Females	18 (8.2%)	12 (3.4%)
	Neighbours	
Males	98 (42.1%)	35 (8.0%)
Females	91 (39.7%)	20 (5.6%)
	Co-workers	
Males	30 (12.0%)	26 (5.9%)
Females	21 (9.5%)	23 (6.5%)
	Other family members	
Males	24 (10.3%)	32 (7.3%)
Females	16 (7.2%)	24 (6.8%)

4.2.9. Gender, state, previous discussions and resistance to female political participation.

Respondents were asked to identify those against female political participation among the people they have ever discussed the issue with. Friends, family members, spouses/partners, neighbours, co-workers and other family members were identified in the two states. Friends are the most identified in the two states as those against women political participation. Interestingly, spouses and partners are among the least identified. This is very instructive as the *perceived* spousal disapproval of female participation may be largely *imaginary to a large extent* as many did not identify spouses as major antagonists. A programme may be needed to engage spousal approval for demystification and objective engagements.

	States and Female political participation antagonism	
Gender	Osun	Ekiti
	Friends	
Males	179 (58.3%)	114 (25.9%)
Females	174 (60.0%)	73 (20.6%)
	Family Member	
Males	39 (18.5%)	20 (4.6%)
Females	40 (20.3%)	25 (7.0%)
	Spouse/partner	
Males	5 (2.7%)	18 (4.1%)
Females	10 (5.6%)	14 (3.9)
	Neighbours	
Males	28 (14.6%)	12 (2.7%)
Females	29 (15.6%)	9 (2.5%)
	Co-workers	
Males	30 (12.0%)	26 (5.9%)
Females	21 (9.5%)	23 (6.5%)
	Other family members	
Males	10 (5.3%)	15 (3.4%)
Females	6 (3.4%)	21 (5.9%)

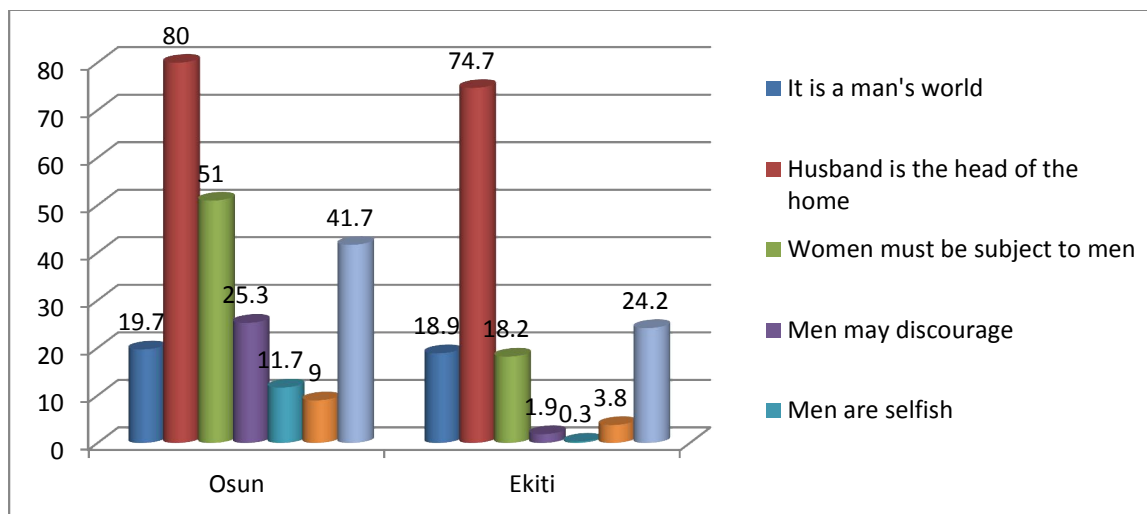
4.2.10. Gender, states, and if opinion of husbands/men is important in women's political participation (%)

In deeply patriarchal societies of Osun and Ekiti studied, it is important to explore the effect of spousal (husbands') opinions/attitudes to women political participation. As presented in the table below, overwhelming majority of the two genders submitted opinions that husbands are important. In Osun, nearly all respondents, irrespective of gender, submitted opinions that husbands are key to women's political participation. The situation is very identical in Ekiti.

	States and attitude to opinions of men/husbands	
Gender	Osun	Ekiti
Males	736 (98.9%)	407 (92.5%)
Females	724 (98.1%)	323 (91.0%)

4.2.11. Why opinions of husbands are important (%)

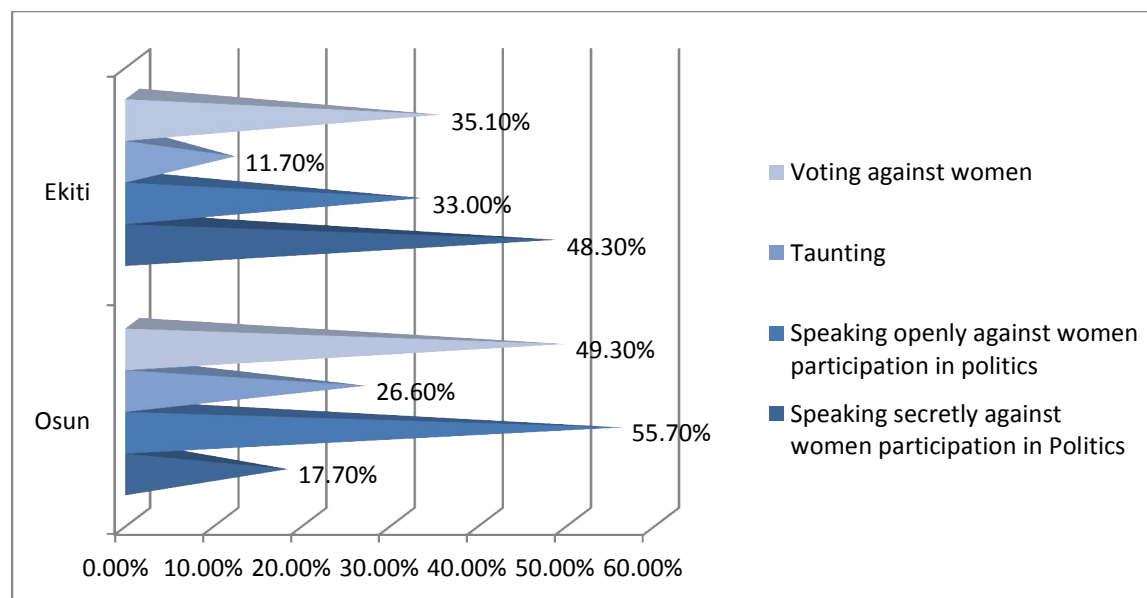
In order to sufficiently explore the trajectories of male roles in women political participation decision making process, it is important to engage why respondents think husbands' opinions are important. Most of the respondents concluded opinions of husbands are important because husbands are the head of the home in the contexts of study (80.0 percent in Osun and 74.7 percent in Ekiti). Husbands being the head of the home within an African context means the husbands are the highest authority in the family context and decide who joins politics and who does not. The case becomes more affirmative when wives are concerned as women are expected to obey their husbands without reservations regardless of personal ambitions whether political or any other.



4.2.12. How people show they are against women political participation

There is findings convergence in the two states. Respondents in the two states observed the most common ways people show disapproval are through speaking openly and secretly against women political participation as well as voting against women aspirants. Taunting is the least identified

of all the indicators perhaps because this is seen as rude and uncivil. Most people (55.7 percent) in Osun actually said people speak openly against women participation while more people in Ekiti (48.3 percent) claimed secret antagonism is most common. Voting against women aspirants is the more common in the two states.



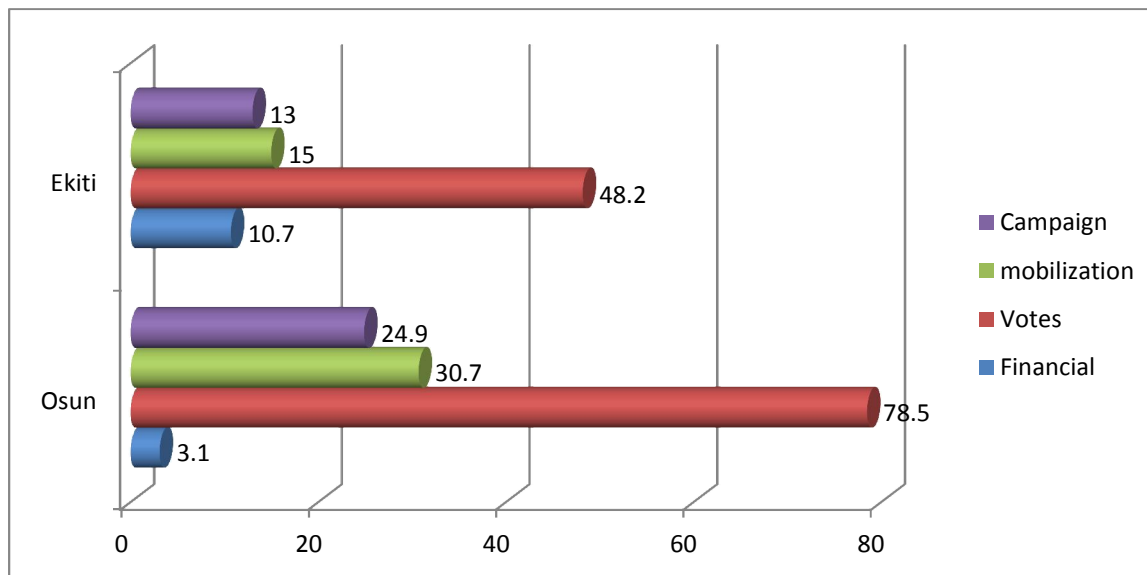
4.2.13. Gender, state, and previous support for female politicians

More respondents in Ekiti claimed they have previously supported female politicians compared to Osun. Disaggregated by gender, more women actually have previously supported women politicians than men. It must however be noted that the gender dimension of previous support is marginal (only 2.9 percent in Osun and 5.6 percent in Ekiti). There is, therefore, no male public opposition to women standing political positions, though, there may be covert resistance. Perhaps, the major challenge has to do with women's willingness and experience, especially as officials and community people maintain during the KII and IDI that many women do not indicate interests during elections even as party delegates. There is, thus, the need for more activities to nurture and motivate women politicians. Of those who claimed they have ever supported women in politics in the past, most claimed they did because they believe women can be better politicians and leaders (43.7 percent in Osun and 99.7 percent in Ekiti). This is an important punch line in advocacy and programming for women's political participation.

Gender	States and Previous support for female politicians	
	Osun	Ekiti
Males	345 (46.2%)	248 (56.4%)
Females	363 (49.1%)	220 (62.0%)

4.2.14. Nature of support respondents gave female politicians

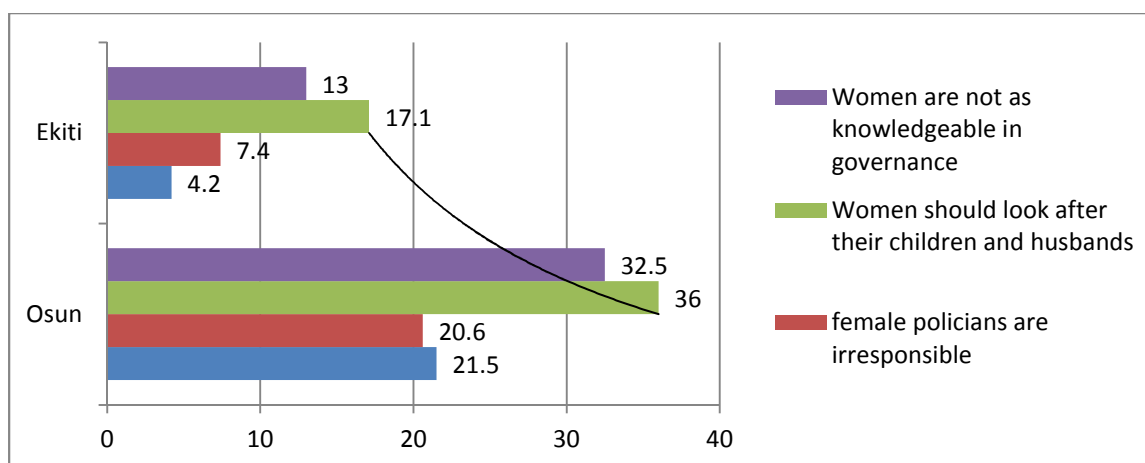
The most common support respondents gave in the two states was voting (78.5 in Osun and 48.2 in Ekiti) for the female politicians while the least was financial support. The very low performance of financial support is understandable against the backdrop of huge poverty in the country where 70 percent live in poverty. Also, community based financial support for politicians is extremely rare in Nigeria where political moneybags and godfathers bankroll election/political spending only for them to get payback through looking of the treasure through their political godsons they installed in power. Mobilization and campaigns are also low given the unpopularity of female political participation especially as already discovered above that there is still aura of secrecy around the issue in the two states.



4.2.15. Why respondents do not support female politicians (%)

It is important to discover why those, the very few, who claim they do not support female politicians maintain such position. As presented in the figure above, the main reason they do not support women politicians is because women should be at home taking care of their children and husbands (36 percent in Osun and 17.1 in Ekiti). That is, women should stay at home doing chores for the family (see Akanle and Ejiade, 2012 for more on related findings in identical context⁹). This was followed in the two states by the belief that women are not as knowledgeable in governance and politics. This finding on women, politics and family life is consistent with the traditional, familial and religious backgrounds found in the two states earlier.

⁹Akanle, O. And Ejiade, O.O. 2012. Traditionalism and Household Chores in Ibadan, Nigeria. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*. 38.2. Pp. 203-224.



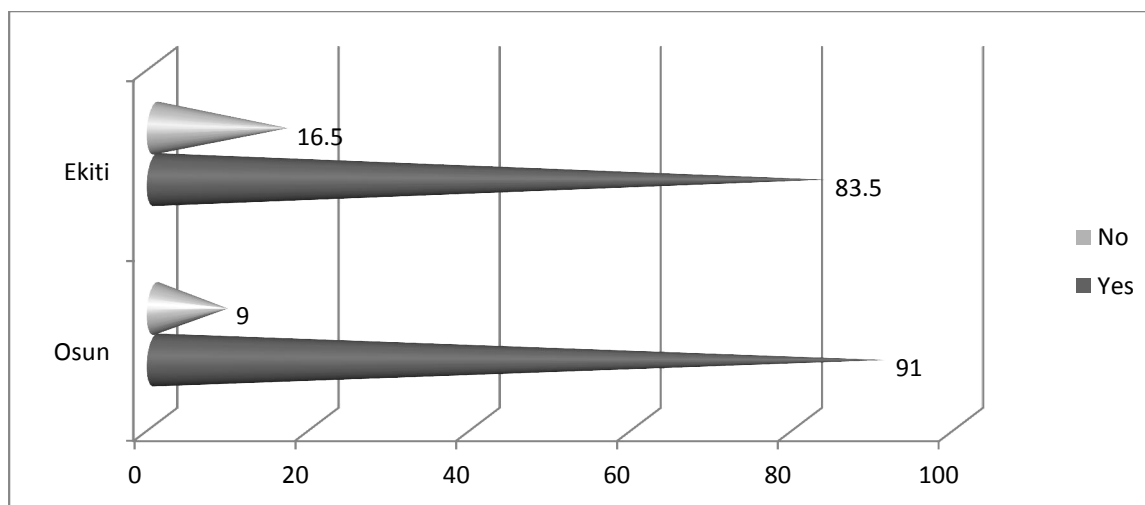
4.2.16. Gender, states, and attitude to increased women political participation

It is interesting to note that in both Osun and Ekiti states, majority of the respondents claim they are in favour of increased women participation in politics and governance. When gender was explored, more women than men in Osun are in favour of increased women participation by 9.1. Percent point as against Ekiti where more men are in favour of increased women participation than women by 1.5 percent point. Major points to note here is that majority of Ekiti and Osun people favour increased women political participation. However, more enlightenment and advocacy is needed in the two states but with more attention to Ekiti state. The relative low *degree of in favour* in Ekiti may only resonate stronger traditionalism and conservatism in Ekiti than Osun.

	States and attitude to increased women political participation	
Gender	Osun	Ekiti
Males	636 (85.4%)	336 (76.4%)
Females	699 (94.5%)	266 (74.9%)

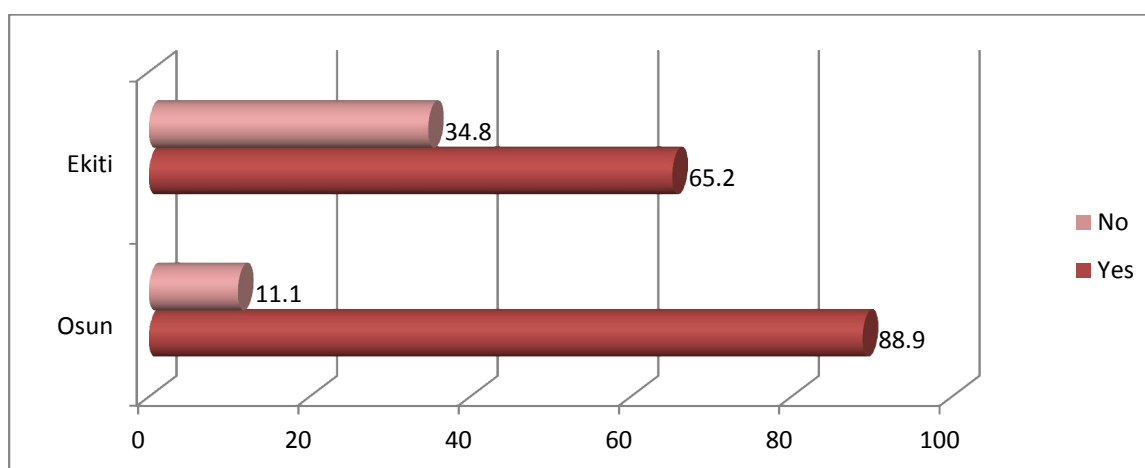
4.2.17. If respondents will vote for women in the future elections (%)

An overwhelming majority of the respondents in the two states of Osun and Ekiti submitted they will vote for women in future elections. Most common reason given for this as already shown above is that women have the tendency and capacity to be better leaders. This may not be unconnected with the general sentiments in the societies that women are more humane, more decisive and objective and these are good qualities for leadership. These views are becoming stronger in the country against the background of recent stallion/very good performances of some women in public offices as against abysmal performances of most male politicians.



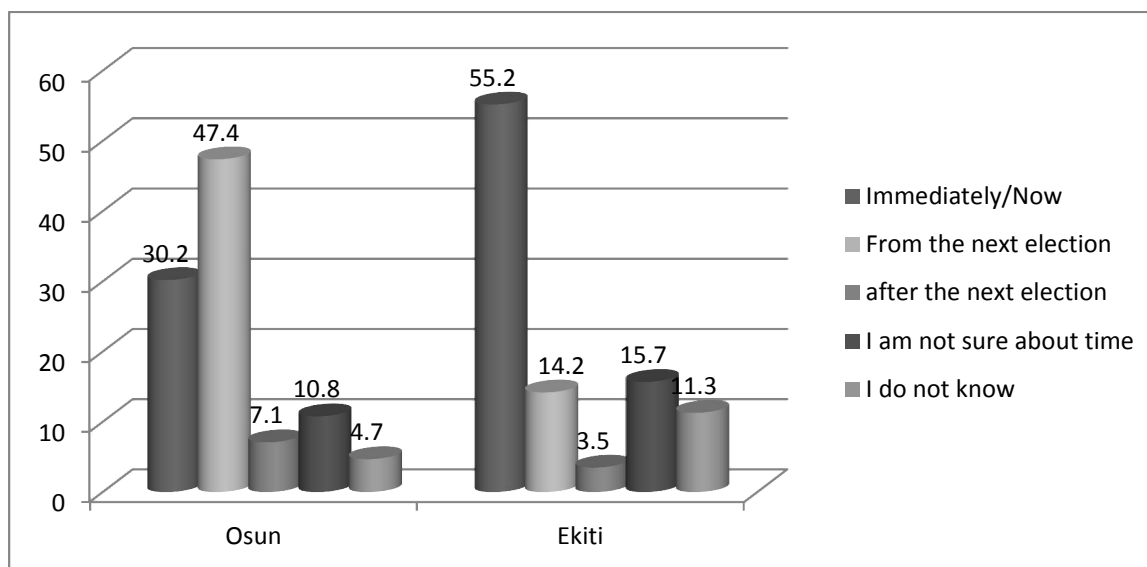
4.2.18. If respondents think there is a need for more women to participate in politics

Majority of the respondents (see the figure below) observe there is a need for more women to participate in politics and governance in the states. When the reason for this interest in increased women political participation was explored, three major reasons were consistently and most frequently given by the respondents. These are; better governance if women get to power, it will lead to better women empowerment and more sense of equality and equity in the society.



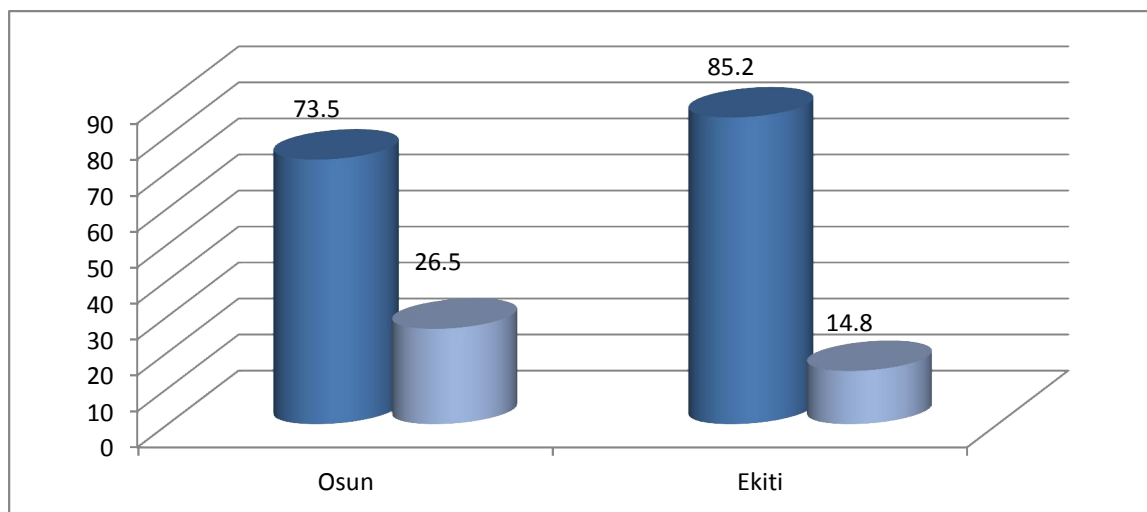
4.2.19. How soon respondents want to see increased women political participation (%)

To really gauge the attitude of respondents to increased women political participation, they were asked how soon they will like to see increased women participation. Over half of the respondents in Ekiti (55.2 percent) will like to see the positive change immediately while almost half of the respondents in Osun (47.4 percent) will like to see the change by next election. A collapsed/re-categorization of the distribution (immediately and next election) shows that most of the people want quick increase in women political participation in the states.



4.2.20. How easy it is for women to participate actively in politics (%)

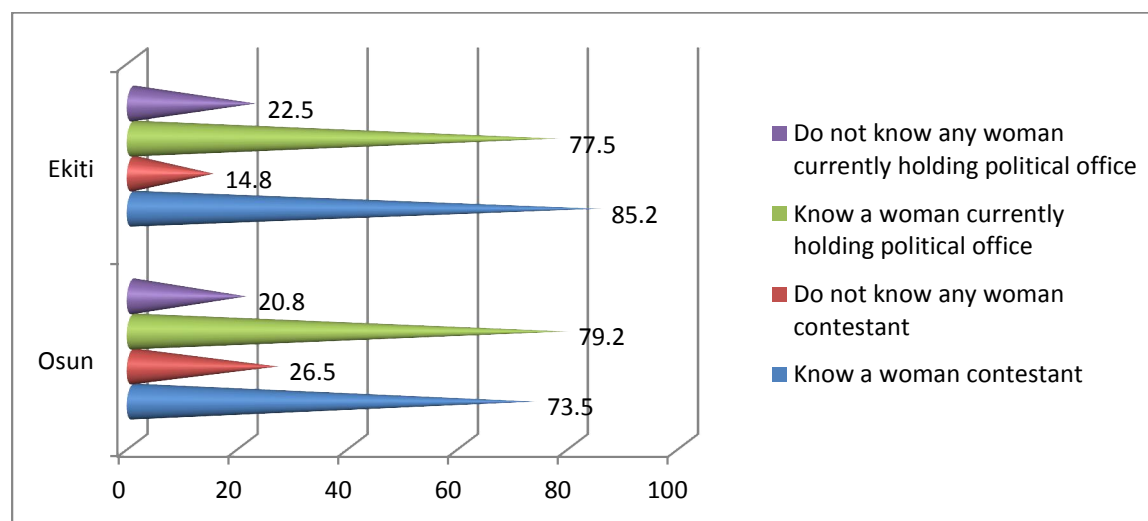
More people in Osun (26.5 percent) believe it is easy for women to also participate in politics than in Ekiti (14.8 percent). It can be observed from the distribution below that it appears easier for women to participate in politics in Osun than Ekiti perhaps because Ekiti is traditionally more rigid than Osun. Generally, from these findings, it appears women participation in politics is not as inherently difficult in the minds of the people and people may be more flexible relative to women political participation than expected if concerted actions are taken. A lot of the respondents however still maintain women political participation is difficult all considered.



4.2.21. Knowledge of previous women contestants and current political office holders (%)

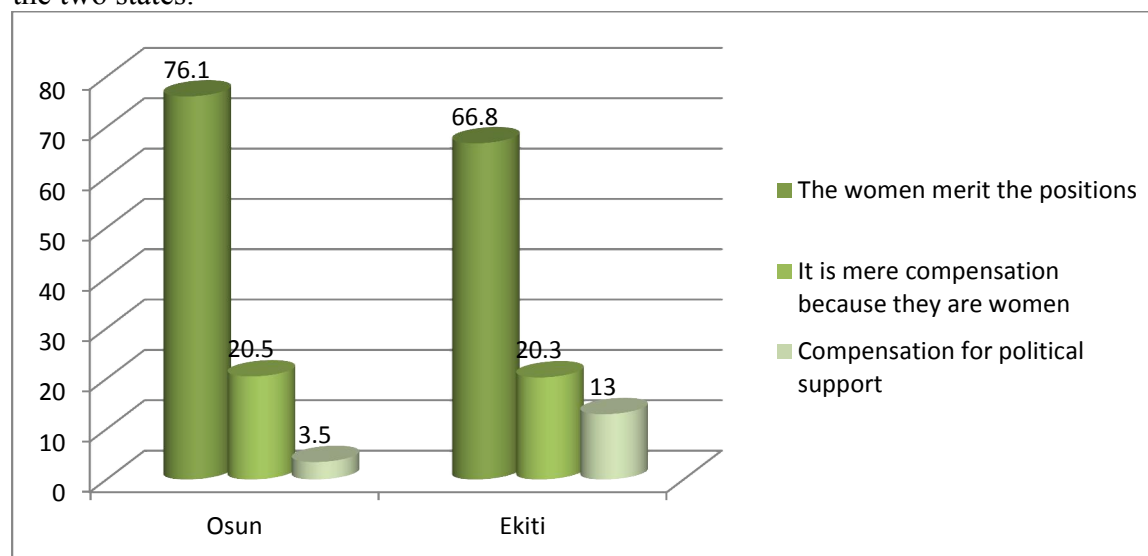
Majority of the respondents in the two states claim they know previous women contestants. In a related manner, majority of the respondents also maintained they know a woman currently

holding political office in the states. This measure is very important because it sets a useful background for the issues to be explored in the report.



4.2.22. If women merit political positions or mere feminine compensation (%)

It is interesting to find that majority of the respondents in the two states maintain women merit the political positions they occupy and not mere compensation for their sex as many commonly feel. This shows a positive perception of the female gender relative to political office holding in the two states.



4.2.23. Gender, states, and if it is sensible for a woman to hold political office (%)

It is important to find out if respondents feel it is sensible for women to hold political offices. This has practical implications for policy, practice and advocacy and subsequent issues. Majority of the respondents believe it is sensible for women to hold political offices in the two states. A higher proportion however believes it is sensible in Osun than Ekiti. To be able to sufficiently

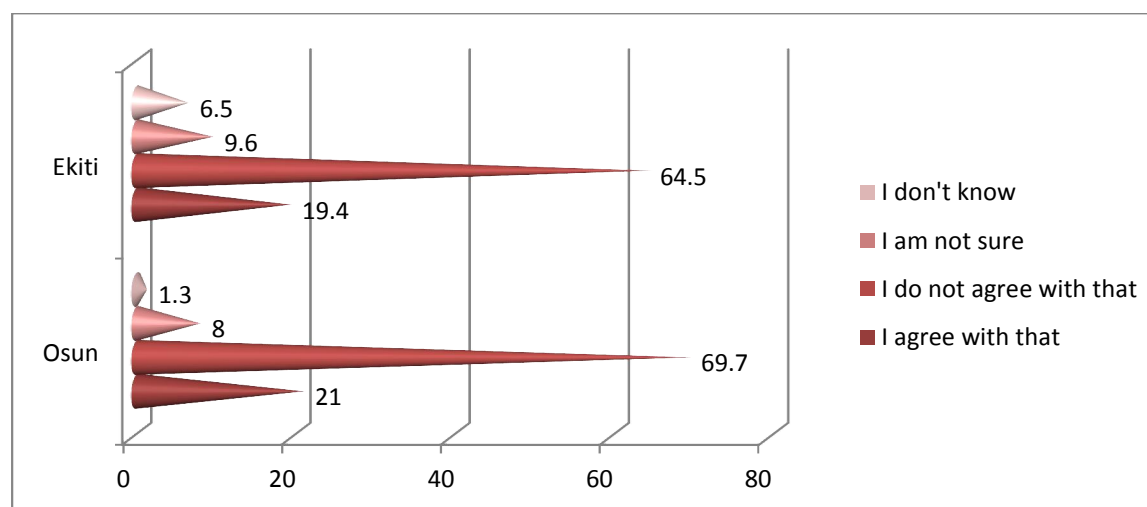
benchmark the research issues, KABPs, it is also particularly important to investigate some popular sayings and commonly held impressions about women political participation. This is the remit of the following.

	States and if it is sensible for a woman to hold political office	
Gender	Osun	Ekiti
Males	633 (85.0%)	348 (79.1%)
Females	686 (93.2%)	277 (78.0%)

Common socio-political sayings and attitudes to women political participation

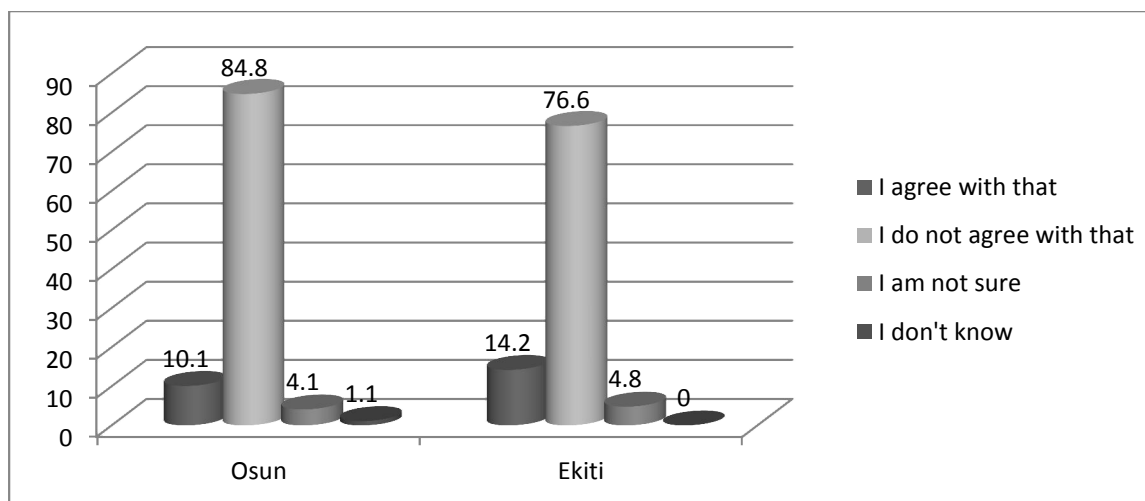
4.2.24. Parties with women candidates will lose elections (%)

A commonly held belief is that women are bad candidates and difficult sell at elections meaning any political party that fields female candidates will surely lose elections. However, findings on this measure falsify this commonly held political belief. Most of the respondents in the two states submitted that they do not agree parties that field female candidates will lose elections.



4.2.25. It is an abomination for a woman to be political party chairperson (%)

As presented in the figure below, most of the respondents in the two states emphatically submitted that they do not agree it is an abomination for a woman to be a party chairperson. It is also important to ask directly if respondents can ever vote for a woman at elections. Findings are presented below after controlling for gender as a variable.



4.2.26. Gender, states, and if respondents can ever vote for women at elections (%)

According to the table below, most of the respondents in the two states and across genders insisted they can vote for women at elections. That is, significant majority of men (81.7 percent in Osun and 77.0 percent in Ekiti) said they can vote for women at election just as majority of women (94.2 percent in Osun and 80.3 percent in Ekiti) said they can vote for women at elections. This shows the possibility of women aspirants winning future elections is not at dead ends. This becomes scientifically clearer when cross compared with the earlier findings above where majority of the respondents claimed they would like increased number of women in politics and governance immediately and by the next elections. This is a rapid change and shift of paradigm in women political participation market place. This shows significant change of attitude and orientation that must be quickly and forcefully followed up with programmes and advocacy.

This positive sign may not be unconnected with huge political and governance failure and bankruptcy of men who have been in power since 1999 in Nigeria across organs and levels of government (Please see Akanle, 2009a, Akanle, 2009b¹⁰ and Omoye, 2012 for earlier findings and related discussions). This finding can thus be described as a democratic outrage against fruitless male dominance of the political space which women, critical male stakeholders and civil society must leverage upon to engineer change (see Akanle, 2009c for the critical roles of and pathways for the civil society in democratic Nigeria¹¹). A further analysis however suggest that closer attention should still be paid to gender dynamics of the support for women political participant because slightly fewer men still said they will vote for women. For instance, men are 12.7 percent point less than women in Osun and in Ekiti men are 3.3 percent point less

¹⁰Akanle, O. 2009a. An assessment of legislative inputs in governance in Nigeria (1999-2008), in Ogundiya, I.A., Olutayo, O.A., and Amzat, J. eds. *A Decade of Redemocratisation in Nigeria (1999-2009)*. Nigeria: Usmanu Dan Fodiyyo University, Sokoto. Pp. 81-94. And Akanle O. 2009b. Electoral Legitimacy in Nigeria: Controversies and Prospects in Ogundiya, I.A., Olutayo, O.A., and Amzat, J. eds. *A Decade of Redemocratisation in Nigeria (1999-2009)*. Nigeria: Usmanu Dan Fodiyyo University, Sokoto. Pp. 111-126.

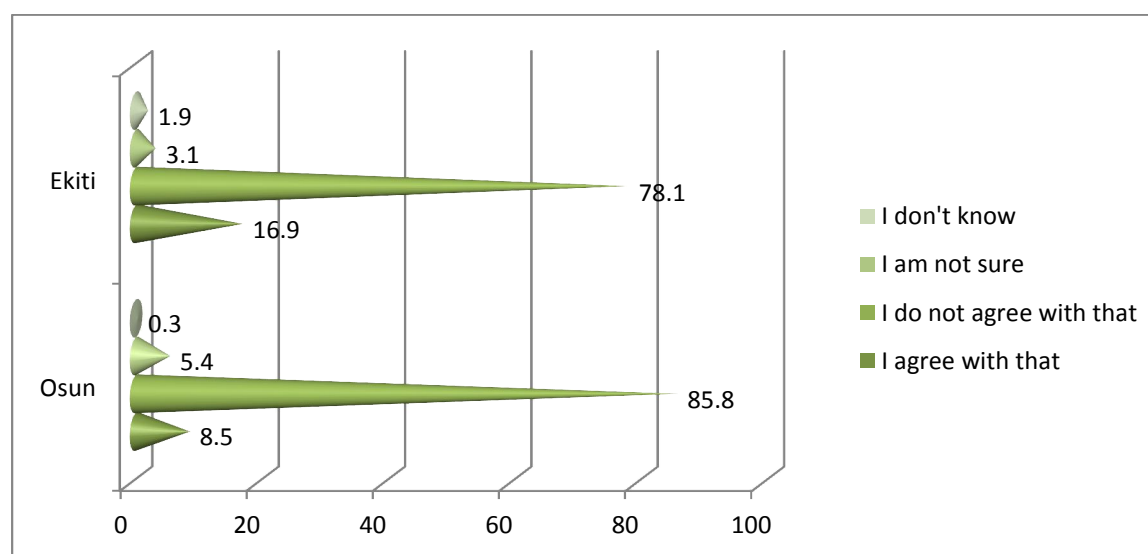
¹¹Akanle O. 2009c. Caught in the morass: Road map for Civil Society Organisations in "Democratic" Nigeria in Olutayo, O.A., Ogundiya, I.A., and Amzat, J. eds. *State and Civil Society Relations in Nigeria*. Nigeria: Hope Publications Limited. Pp. 221-239.

supportive than women on this indicator. Advocacy and programmes may have to pay attention to this in the two states.

	States and if respondents can ever vote for a woman at elections							
	Osun				Ekiti			
Gender	I agree	I Disagree	Not Sure	Don't Know	I agree	I Disagree	Not Sure	Don't Know
Males	101 (13.6%)	609 (81.7%)	32 (4.3%)	0.3 (0.4%)	64 (14.5%)	339 (77.0%)	20 (4.5%)	17 (3.9%)
Females	19 (2.6%)	696 (94.2%)	22 (3.0%)	2 (0.3%)	37 (10.4%)	285 (80.3%)	24 (6.8%)	9 (2.5%)

4.2.27. The place of women is in the kitchen; women should leave politics for men (%)

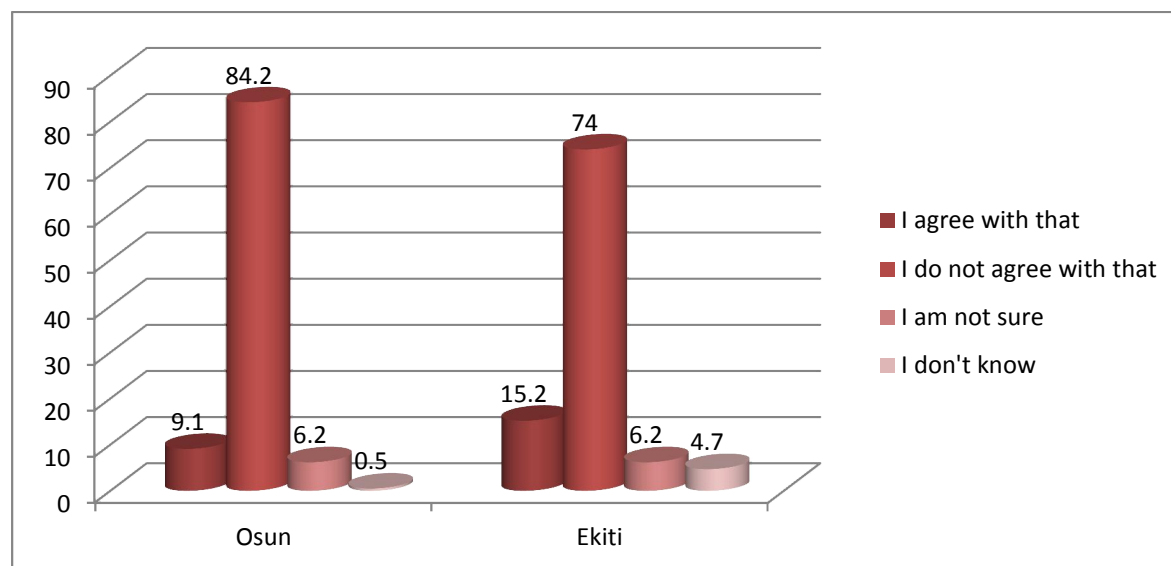
It is also commonly said that the traditional role of women is cooking for family. This somewhat connects with earlier finding above when respondents identified home and family roles and sentiments as main obstacles for increased women political participation. Most of the respondents, across genders, in Osun and Ekiti states however reject this stereotyped traditional mainstreaming of women and submitted women must not be sealed into the kitchen but should engage in politics just as men.



4.2.28. Any woman that actively participate in politics in the LGA/State will end up a prostitute (%)

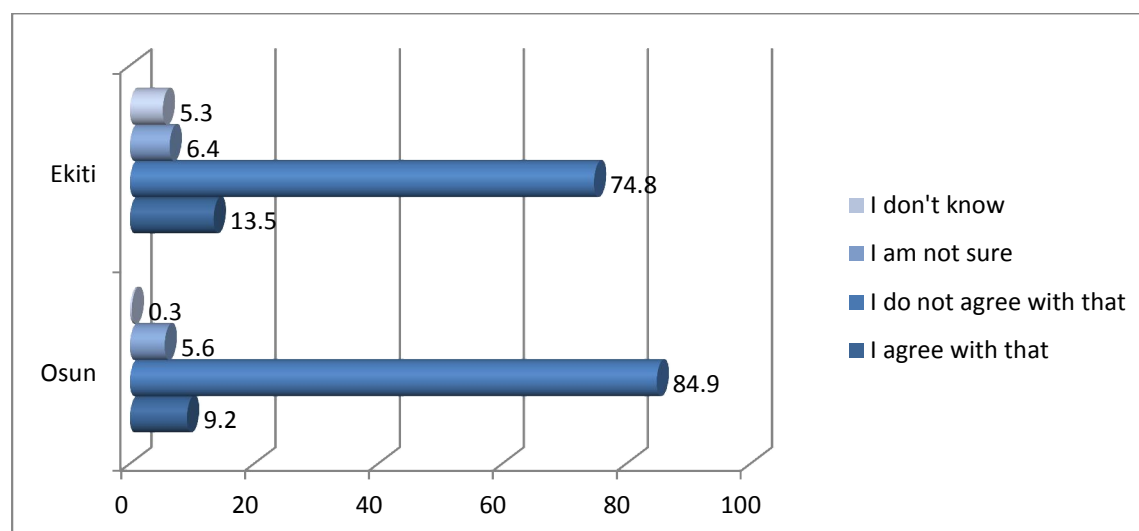
Because of the nature of politicking and process of political negotiations and accommodation, it is commonly held that politics is for prostitutes who can make sacrifice and negotiate *with anything and with all they have*. Findings from this survey show that people do not hold on to

this uncritically and considered it of no real political effect. Majority of the respondents in the two states opine that women who participate in politics are not prostitutes and will not end up prostitutes because of their involvement in politics. However qualitative data found that this perception is a significant disincentive for women in politics. Programmes must thus target this perception.



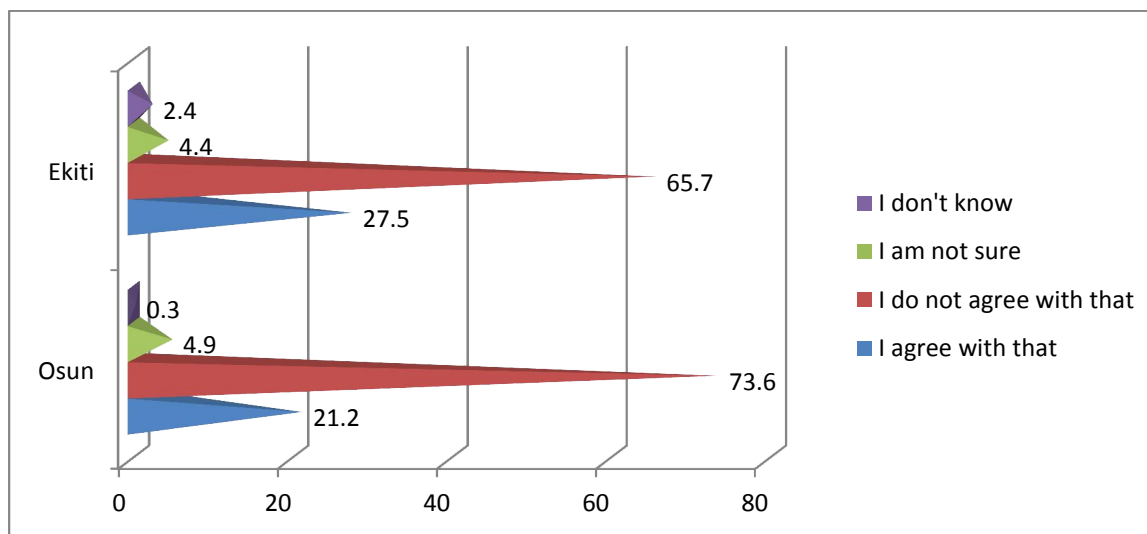
4.2.29.: If women politicians are nothing but prostitutes (%)

Because of the deep-seatedness and practical implications of this perception and attitude measure, it is important to establish consistency by recasting the question. A high level of consistency and fit was found with previous one. Most of the respondents insist female politicians are not prostitutes. They are as decent as every other woman. The perception of women politicians as prostitutes is thus based on unfounded sentiments, prejudice and stereotypes.



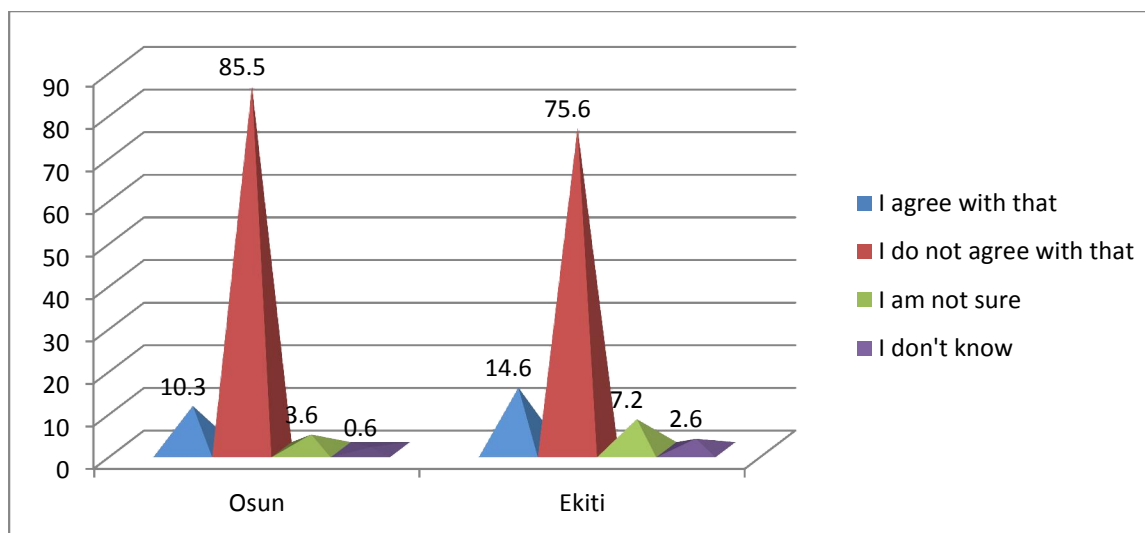
4.2.30. Nigerian politics is too risky for women, so I cannot advise women to actively participate in politics here [Sub-gendered] (%)

A very strong reason why many spouses, family members, kin and social networks do not support women participation in politics is the prevailing and prevalent thuggery, violence and politically motivated assassinations in the political sphere. Many consider this terrain too risky for women who are traditionally expected to be gently, weak, protected and in some instances guided. Contrary to this popularly held belief, most of the respondents in the two states submitted that they can still advise women to participate in Nigerian politics regardless of the risk. When gender was controlled for, most women support increased women's participation in politics, regardless of risk. Women's motivation to participate regardless of the risk was higher than men's by 12.5 percent point in Osun and 4.6 percent point in Ekiti. This perhaps suggests readiness of more women to explore the Nigerian political scapes if necessary supports are given.



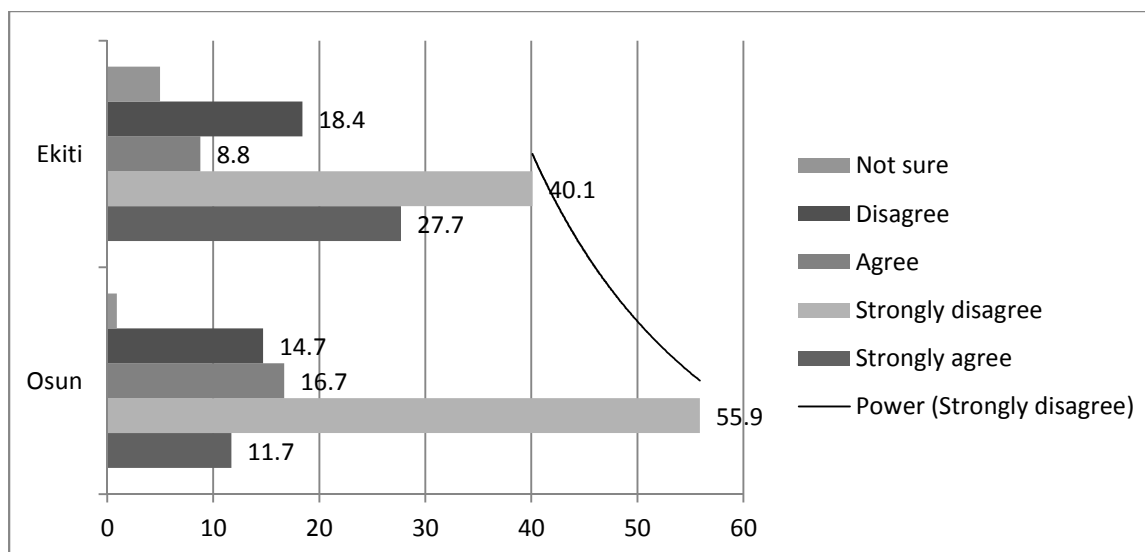
4.2.31. Women are too poor to participate in politics in Nigeria (%)

Election is a very expensive venture in Nigeria. In fact, electoral finance remains a major problem been debated in the country. Even though the Electoral Act addresses the issue, it is violated with impunity. Individual moneybags and godfathers bankroll elections and profit from looting the treasury subsequently. Against this background, many opine women may not be able to afford elections and should thus leave it to men. Interestingly, 85.5 percent in Osun and 75.6 percent in Ekiti states respondents believe women are not too poor to participate in politics and should therefore navigate the financial processes to participate as much as men. Even though respondents believed women are not too poor, literature has shown that women are disempowered politically (Awodi, 1999, British Council/UKaid. 2012). Women do need more than voting, they need financial support.



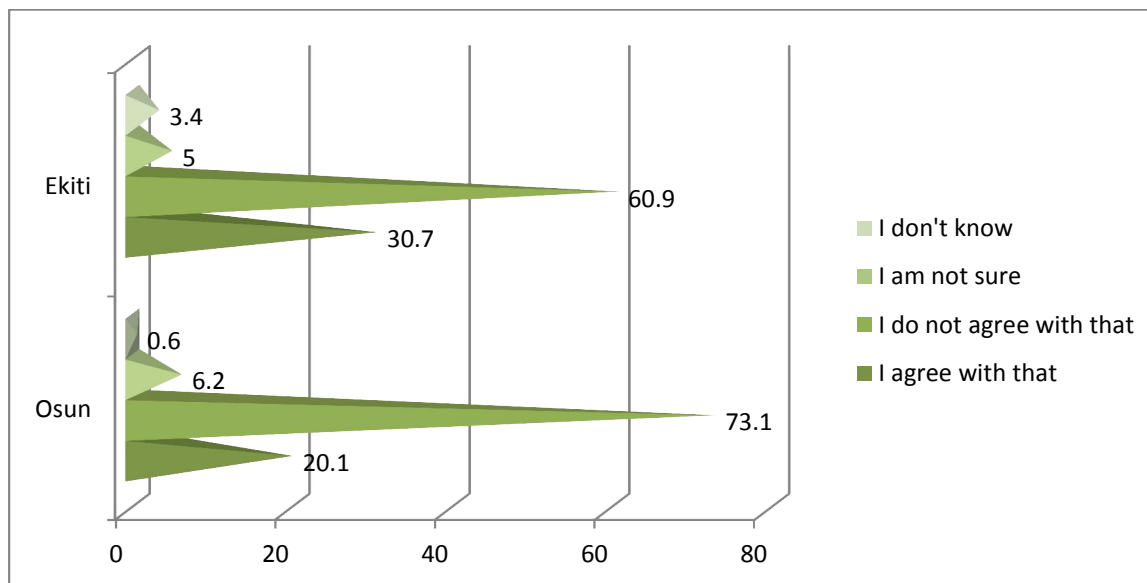
4.2.32. Women are too inexperienced to actively participate in politics in the states (%)

Most of the respondents said although experience is important and could be somewhat a challenge (as already found above), it is not a reason for the women not to actively participate in politics. Women regardless of experience should therefore actively participate in politics at various levels. It can also be noted that experience actually comes with participation. Hence, most of the contemporary politicians, and even older ones, actually also learnt the ropes of politics by participation. Even today, previously inexperienced ones are participating. Moreover, there are significantly experienced female politicians who can participate more actively just as inexperienced ones can be mentored as it is the case among men.



4.2.33. Women are their own enemies because they do not even vote one another [Sub-gendered] (%)

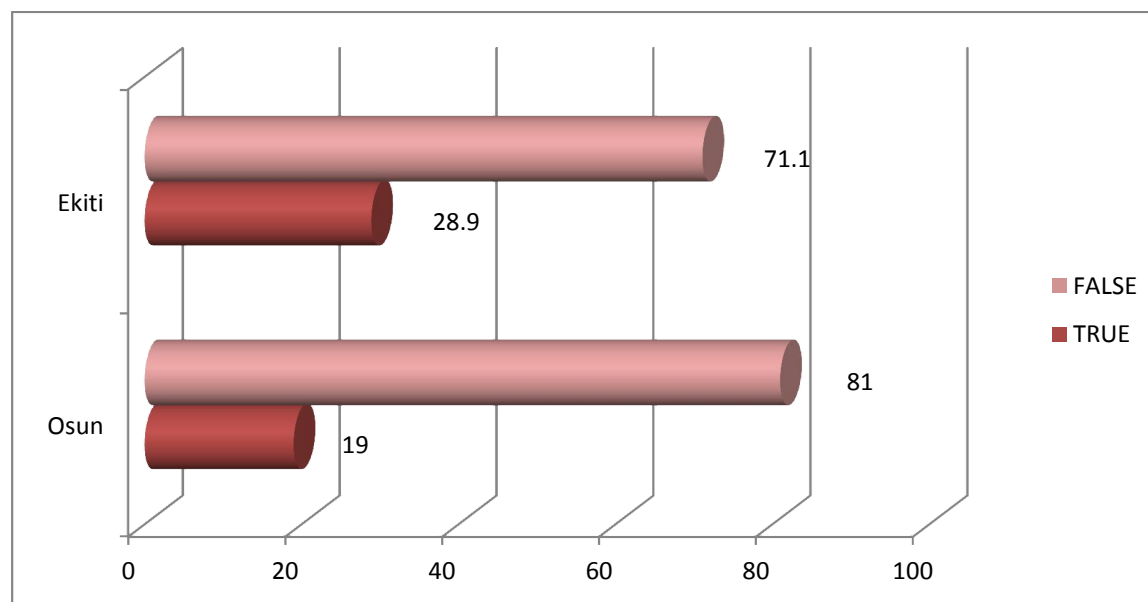
Another commonly held opinion is that women do not vote for female aspirants perhaps because they see the female politicians as doing what is customarily unacceptable. The reality of this attitude becomes appreciable when a male electoral officer indicated in the KII data presented earlier that women *are their own enemies*. Interestingly more men than women opine that *women are their own enemies*. Generally, from data, however, majority of the respondents believe this is not necessarily true at least not for everybody and not in all instances. Gender was later controlled for. A more revealing finding was made. Overall, compared to other indicators already explored, more people (30.7 percent in Ekiti and 20.1 percent in Osun) believe women are their own enemies at elections as they either do not vote at all or they vote against their gender. This is not surprising as many women are compelled by societal and familial dictates to vote along their husbands' and fathers' voting line. The situation becomes more critical when married with women's personal sentiments against women who defied traditional gender roles of women in which they have been trapped. Further analysis however also revealed that more women (79.1 percent in Osun and 65.1 percent in Ekiti) insist women are not their own enemies as against men (67.4 percent in Osun and 57.5 percent in Ekiti) who said women are not their own enemies. Women thus have more positive views of support for selves by 11.7 percent point in Osun and 7.6 percent point in Ekiti.



4.2.34. The best role for women in politics is to sing and dance at political rallies [Sub-gendered] (%)

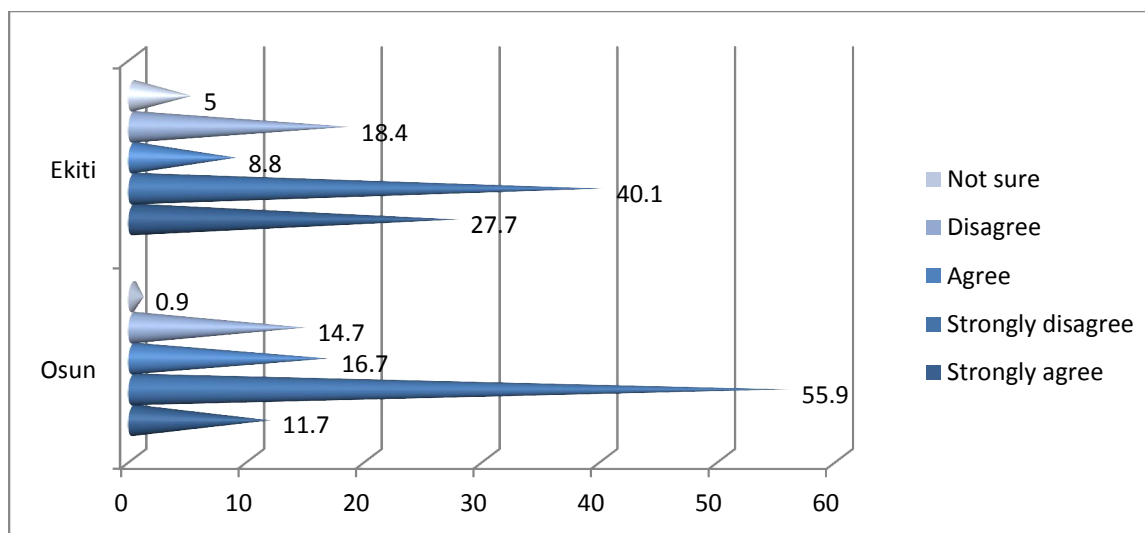
Most of the respondents in the two states maintain singing and dancing at rallies are not the best roles for women in politics. It is however important to note almost the 30 percent in Osun and 20 percent in Ekiti who opine that is the best role for women. This may not be unconnected with the sustained and prolonged negative portrayal of women in the media and political rallies as entertainers. To reliably explore the dynamics of this important measure, gender was controlled

for, more women actually object to the role than men; 84.6 percent female in Osun and 72.7 percent in Ekiti as against 77.4 percent males in Osun and 69.8 percent in Ekiti. It is thus possible to observe that women have more positive view of selves relative to political roles than men even though many men also reject entertainment commodification of women roles in politics.



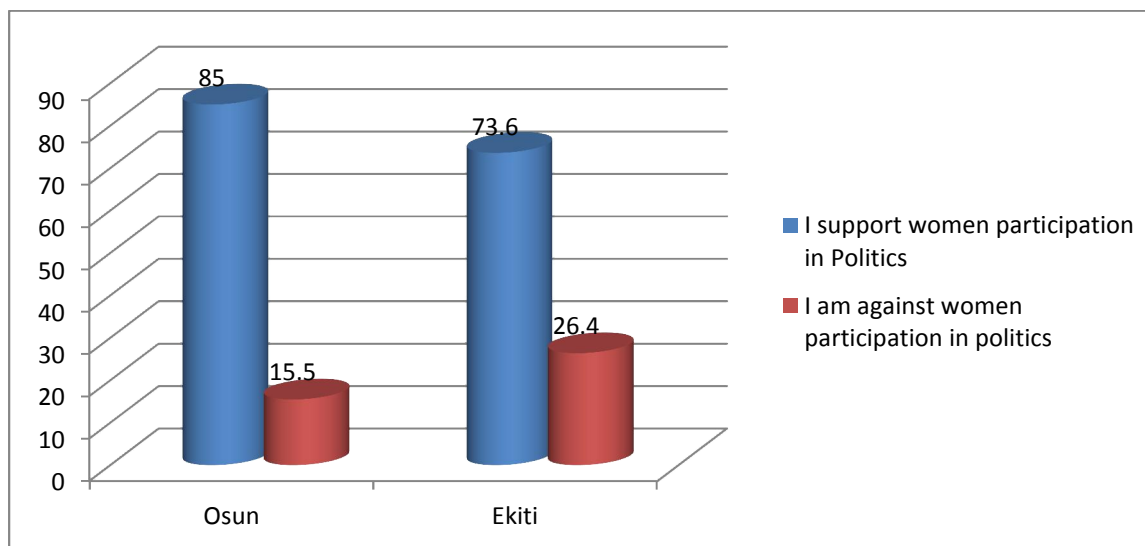
4.2.35. The highest political position suitable for women is deputy because they should always be second/assistant to men [Sub-gendered] (%)

As shown in the figure below, a collapsed re-categorization of responses reveals that most of the respondents disagree that the highest role suitable for women in politics is deputy. That is, women should also be leaders. When gender was controlled for, while majority of the two genders reject second fiddle roles of women, more women actually reject second fiddle roles for leadership ones. In Ekiti 57.8 percent of men as against 66.8 percent of women reject deputies for women while the proportion is higher in Osun with 63.1 percent men and 78.5 percent women. There is thus greater support for leadership for women in Osun than Ekiti perhaps Osun is more open and more dynamic in political values than Ekiti and this should be factored into programming and advocacy. Moderating factors are traditional values and deep-seated primordial family roles. Hence, generally, responses are widely chequered on this indicator and not extremely high for women leadership, close attention should then be paid in programming to grassroots mobilization and supports for top roles.



4.2.36. Attitude to active women participation in politics (%)

Majority of the respondents in the two states concluded that they support active women political participation in the states and their local governments. The very few that do not is due to their strong adherence to traditional roles allocation for women and perception of politics as a male dominated area. This is however amenable to change as already found above if appropriate measures and advocacy as well as programmes are directed towards such traditional orientations.

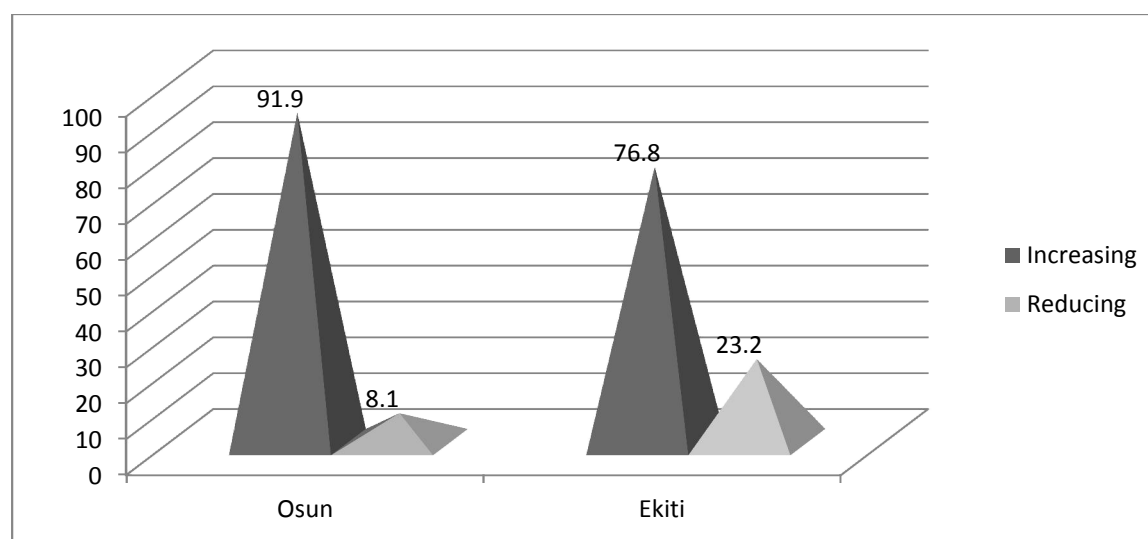


4.2.37. If numbers of women standing elections is increasing or reducing (%)

To test the observation of respondents about the dynamics of elections in their state and to have their direct observed inputs, they were asked to mention the nature of change they have observed in the number of women standing elections in their states. Most of the respondents observed in the two states there have been an increase in the number of women standing elections and

participating in politics generally. In Osun, nearly all the respondents observed increase in women political participation. Reasons given by respondents are myriads to show the dynamics. A lot of respondents are of the opinion that more women now participate and/or have the intention to participate because 1. Women believe they can do better (as already found above), 2. Some other women are holding political positions and that has given more women the *can do spirit* as they found models in the women holding political and governance positions 3. The women believe politics will empower the women gender and move many from the current disempowered state 4. Women also want their share of the national cake 5. There has been increased awareness and 6. Women also have the right to participate in politics and governance.

For the few respondents who claim they have not seen appreciable increase in the number of women in politics and governance, reasons they gave are; 1. Most women lack support (from men and women also) and politics is a game of widespread support 2. Many women lack interest in politics. This is real as already found through KII above that many women do not come forward for politics. 3. Politics is seen by women as too risky and dirty 4. Men make politics look/appear difficult to be attractive to women 5. Many other women have tried politics in the past and have failed



Qualitative data was further explored for the comprehensive capturing of this important issue. Most of the discussants and interviewees facilitated maintained there has been some increase in women political participation over the years. This is also correct nationally as already demonstrated through secondary data presented at the desk review section. A historiography of women political participation from the First Republic till date shows some increase in the numbers of women voting, participating, contesting and winning elections in Nigeria (see Omoye, 2012 and British Council/UKaid, 2012). Although it is possible to argue that the proportion of participation and success at polls are not appreciable and remains a far cry from the Beijing declaration and target, there has been a positive shift from zero participation and representation in the first republic.

According to a woman leader in Ido Osi (Ekiti state) during KII:

The attitude of people toward women participating in politics is not good at all. They said women cannot lead men. Some people however believe women will be helpful in politics for better tomorrow; with the little benefit they derive, they usually turn up (they still participate in politics). The boldness is not that much but they (women) are coming out for political offices.

A male government official and party leader observed during KIIEfonAlaye (Ekiti state) that:

Women are still backward in holding political offices in this state (Ekiti) because of the risk in going into politics. The major challenge is men see women as second class citizens in Nigeria so they do not give them more posts (even in political parties). They usually shove women away going into politics (marginalize). Pride of women is also part of their challenges and they do not have financial backup. The society will always support women of virtue, dignity and culture but most times women are not voting for themselves. People are being positive and hopeful that women can deliver this state and if they come out the community will support them. There is increase in women participating in politics but few of them are nominated in their parties to go for any post.

A male party leader also observed in Osun state:

Mrs. Owoponile Ogunkimi (not real name for ethical reason) is a female politician that is very strong; she supports both the state and LGA financially when it comes to mobilization and support. So in return she is a board member in the state. Other women are emulating her as well so I believe more women are coming into politics. Contesting for a political post is not something that is easy. Even before one can win a primary election, you have to be steadfast and vibrant. More women are participating in politics but my advice to women is that they should come out more in hundreds and thousands, so they can join hands with the men and lead us to greater heights.

A female politician who has contested election previously observed and gave positive and useful insight:

From 1999 until date, only I contested in 1999, another woman contested in this ward (Abogunde ward) in 2003. Ede south local government chairperson presently is a woman. Number of women participating is increasing. In 1999, I was the only one, three in 2003 and three in 2007 and other women contested at the level of house of assembly e.g. Honorable Babalola was in House of

Assembly in 2007 and presently she lost but now a special adviser to the governor.

It can be seen that there is a marginal increase in women contestants but this is still abysmally low. Women appear to be celebrating this marginal increase. This is tokenism, low expectations and weak confidence of the women themselves in holding elective positions.

A women leader observed in Osun:

There is more number of women participating in politics in this LG/state and majority of them are contesting for key positions.

Findings from FGDs are also consistent on increasing level of women participation in politics. According to a session that resonates modal discussion and patterns:

Women are increasing in politics because we have been enlightened about the good reasons of participating in politics...; women have come to realize that they also have the right to contest for post and others in political post have laid a very good foundation for others to follow. ...they also realize that they have their own life to live and men cannot do it without women...women participation is going of the chart because we women know that we can do better just like the saying “what a man can do a woman can do better”.

A party chieftain also observed during KII in Moba (Ekiti state):

People believe that women in politics are not responsible but what matters most is the popularity, financial strength and goodwill. People usually support able female contestants. There is an increase in the percentage of women participating due to their enlightenment.

A woman in government at Moba also gave a perspective that is very instructive during KII:

People’s attitude is that any woman in politics is wayward and is a single parent. People do not believe in women participating in politics these but there is an increase in women political participation these days. Fear of being relegated or screened out usually prevents women from contesting.

A female academic also observed during In-depth interview in Ado Ekiti. Although her views are not entirely different from those found earlier and in Osun state, she gave another practical perspective to the problematic:

The awareness is better compared to that of the past because people believe women are not corrupt. People are expecting more women in politics and people believe that if a woman can head a particular position to rule this nation, the country will be better. Men introduce so many violent acts and women are being denied (access to the political space) and scared from participating. They (women) are increasing but there is need to increase.

A community leader also observed consistently during KII in Ado Ekiti:

People are well informed that women should participate in politics and hold political offices. Women are better administrators than men. They are lenient and merciful. Any educated woman will always gain the conscience of the community. They will be well behaved. Women will always get the support of the community. A well behaved woman will be voted for, campaigned for and get grassroots mobilization. There is tremendous increase in woman political participation compared to the time past.

KII with a male politician in Ife also led to consistent finding:

Women usually try their best when in power so that people will see their impact. To get to position is the problem. People do not usually vote for them even people from their party. The educated women should go into politics. It is like most women in politics are not educated.. When contesting for any post we should have it in mind that it is not everybody that will win. Most of the women that attain political offices usually perform better than men. They have the fear of God and can easily take corrections. Women are already participating in politics nowadays especially during election process. Women in politics should behave well and avoid some men that may spoil their personality.

A politician/serving legislator observed in consistency in Egbedore (Osun state):

People in this our locality think that women in politics are bad and wayward. People's attitude is that politics is a game that may end up in losing lives. People believe that women in politics usually behave anyhow i.e. lack respect. Women are really increasing in politics so as to gain ground for their children.

Although political parties do not have rules and provisions in their constitutions against women, there are informal and psychological unwritten rules that guide their practices and they resonate societal and institutional sentiments against women candidates. And as already known in Sociological studies, unwritten rules are usually more efficacious in driving actions even within formal/bureaucratic organizations, especially in Africa which is still mostly dependent

onprimordial dictates. Political parties prefer to give men their nominations than women as most men see women as second class. Hence, party hierarchies are dominated by men. There is, for example, no political party in Nigeria with a female chairperson. This is why a political party official did not see anything wrong in male political dominance and subsisting pattern maintenance even within party hierarchy when he said during KII in Osun:

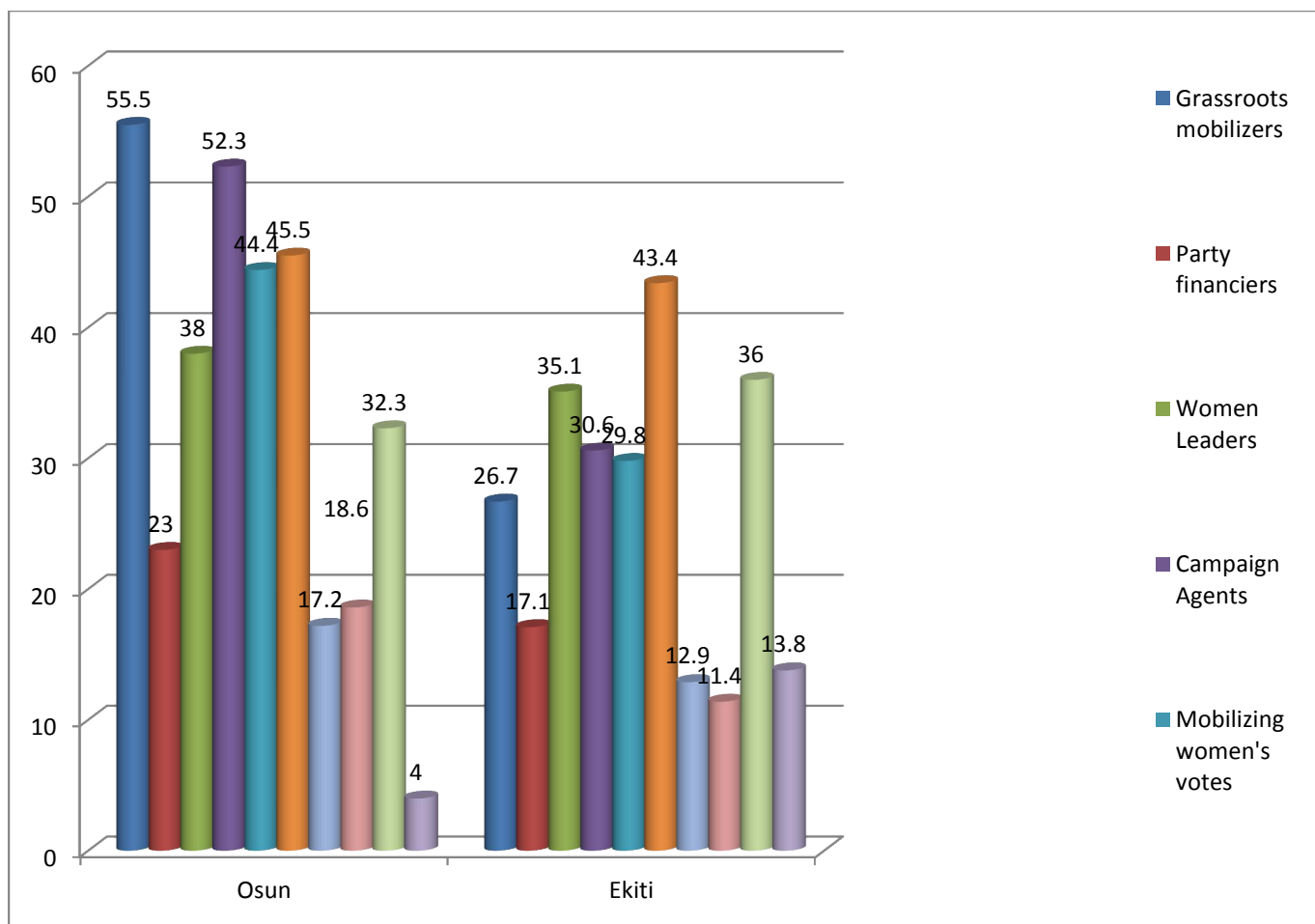
People are very knowledgeable about women participation in politics, their beliefs for women are strong and they even encourage others to join politics. There is only one post that we believe women cannot contest for is party chairman. Apart from that women can take part in any other political activity.

An identical sentiment was observed during KII with another party leader in Ekiti state:

The attitude of people towards women participation in politics is not encouraging at all. People believe that most of the women going into politics are the wayward type and lack wisdom. Women are contesting in politics here but out of 100 only 1 will win even that one is by the grace of God.

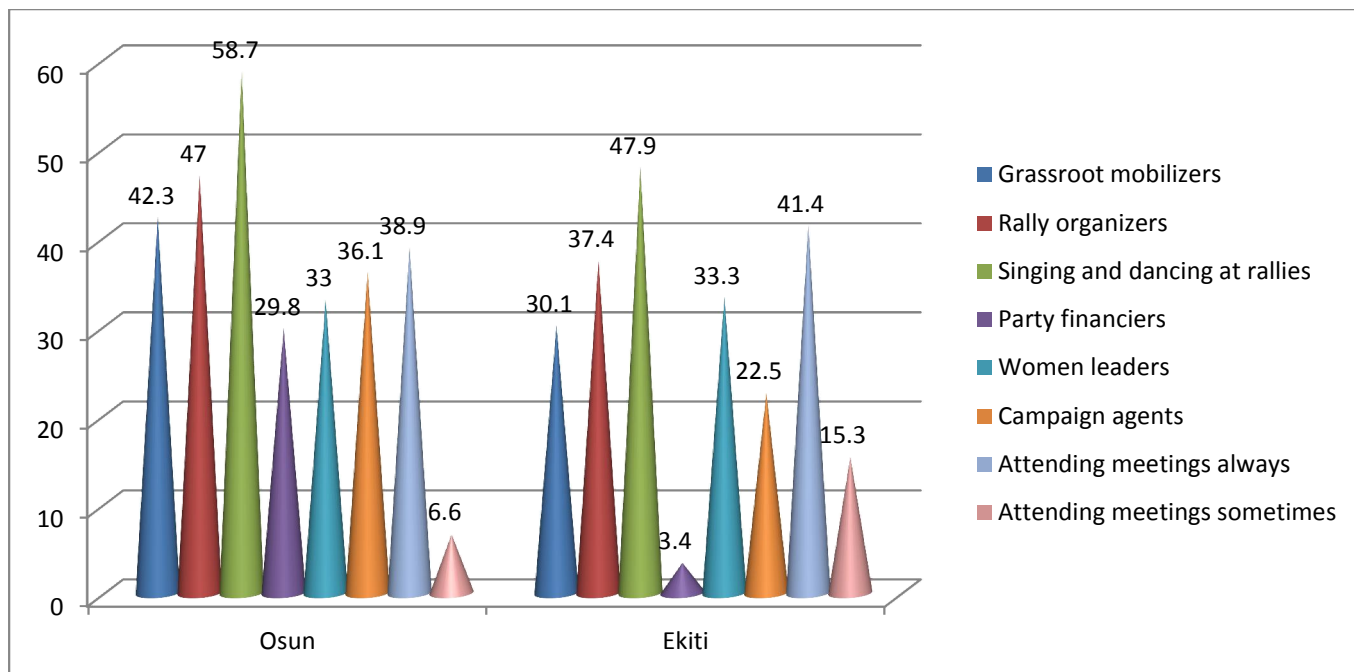
4.2.38. Roles women play during elections in the states/LGAs (%)

Women play identical roles in the states and local government areas but different areas of emphasis. In Ekiti, women play more of grassroots mobilizers, campaign agents, canvassing for votes and singing, dancing at rallies and attending meetings always. They play least of financial roles even when party funding is a major prerequisite in Nigerian politics. The case is not totally different in Osun as financial roles are among the least played by the women. They play mostly the role of singing and dancing at rallies, attending meetings always, been women leaders and grassroots mobilisers.



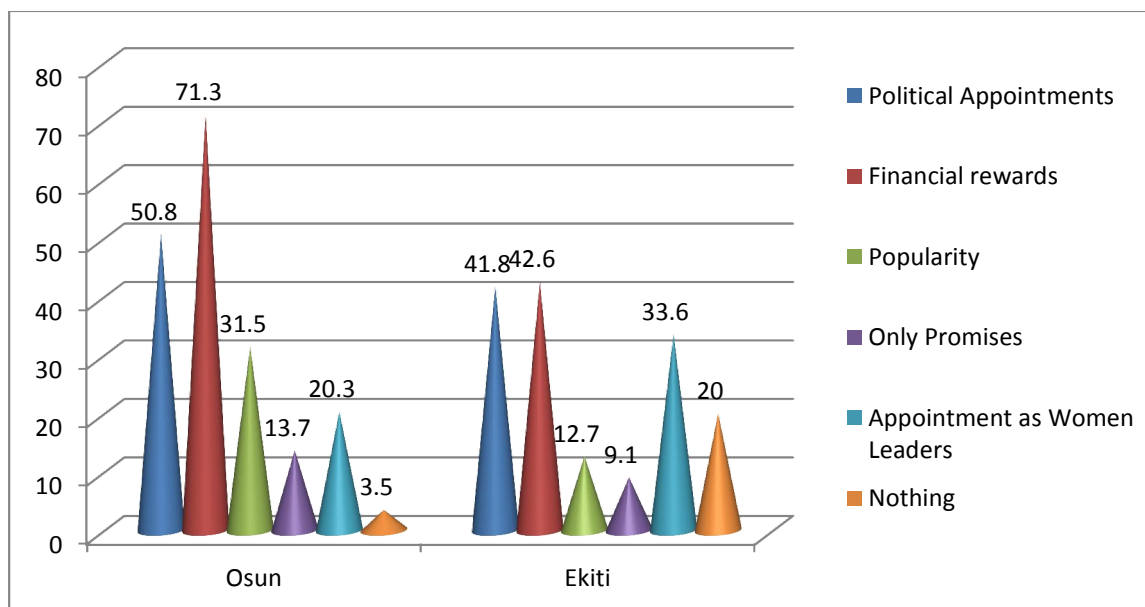
4.2.39. Roles women play in-between elections in the states/LGAs (%)

Findings are identical to those during elections and there is consistency between findings in the two states. The most predominant roles played by women in-between elections in the two states is singing and dancing at rallies. They are also playing the roles of grassroots mobilizers, women leaders, campaign agents and they attend meetings always. They do not primarily play financial roles. This may be due to the fact that women are seen as usually poorer or have better fit at social roles. It is also, perhaps, the caliber of women attracted by men politicians are those at the lower class that will best serve their social roles of mobilizing and dancing.



2.4.40. Benefits women get for the support they give parties (%)

Most of the respondents in Ekiti and Osun claim women get financial rewards and political appointments for the support they give political parties. Another common reward is appointment as women leader.



These roles and rewards indicators were also explored through qualitative data. As found during quantitative data analysis, women play important roles during elections and in-between elections and interviewees and discussants expressly acknowledge this. In the two states, respondents allude to the roles and reward trajectories of the women political participation. There is

consistency in the two states and across local government on roles women play in politics within times:

Women play key roles during election process. Most of the women are the politicians' backbones during election. They use women to mobilize people.

(IDI/Male/Irewole/Osun state/2013)

Benefits women get for their roles are satisfactory but need to be increased for better nation. Women help to mobilize people to vote and also encourage people to attend party meeting and come out to vote during elections.

(IDI/Male/Irewole/Osun state/2013)

A woman involved in party activities/politics observed and shared her views during KII in Irewole on the roles of women, rewards and general women activities in party:

Women are active during rallies and elections. They talk to people about their party and persuade people to vote for them. The reward/benefit they get are financial reward, gifts and empowerment etc. we have written policy for women in our party and also they are taking care of women even though it is not much. The party is trying their best to satisfy women. There is improvement in women participation in politics compare to the past because politics is no longer men's activities.

A ward leader in Ijero Ekiti also observed during KII that:

There are women that male politicians rely on. During elections women render assistance to their party. They mobilize people to vote for them and persuade them, electorates, by singing and dancing during rallies. Their parties determine the benefit given to them. At times they usually reward them financially. There are women that male politicians rely on because the women are supernatural and their support is important.

FGD among men shed more light on community views of women roles in and out of election in politics. Many interviewees opined that women play the role of grassroots mobilization and support base maintenance; the community people share this sentiment and pointed out the usefulness of the roles and rewards they receive for it. Discussants in a session in Ijero Ekiti for instance observed:

Women help during election process especially during rallies. Women sing and dance during rallies to make the environment joyous. Women devote their time during rallies they go from house to house to persuade people to vote for them. Some women do benefit political appointments either for themselves or children.

A woman leader in Osogbo observed identical roles as identified in Ijero and other areas:

Women have been mobilizing their fellow women both old and young. They instruct them on how to vote and enlighten them on the need to participate in the voting exercise in our community. They are the salt of the nation because they make everywhere lively. Madam Olufunke in Osun state (may her soul rest in peace) was very vibrant, kind, loving etc. She could be relied upon, she is very intelligent and focused on good things. Men in our political community here normally relied on her support due to her good values. Most of her children have been successful due to her hard work when she was alive.

Another women leader shares this view:

The roles women do play as regards helping the party to win a particular election including attending meetings regularly and taking part in the party's decision processes

A male politician and a contestant in Aramoko Ekiti give an identical view but also emphasized the need for more women knowledge building and capacity enhancement on what it takes to be successful in politics:

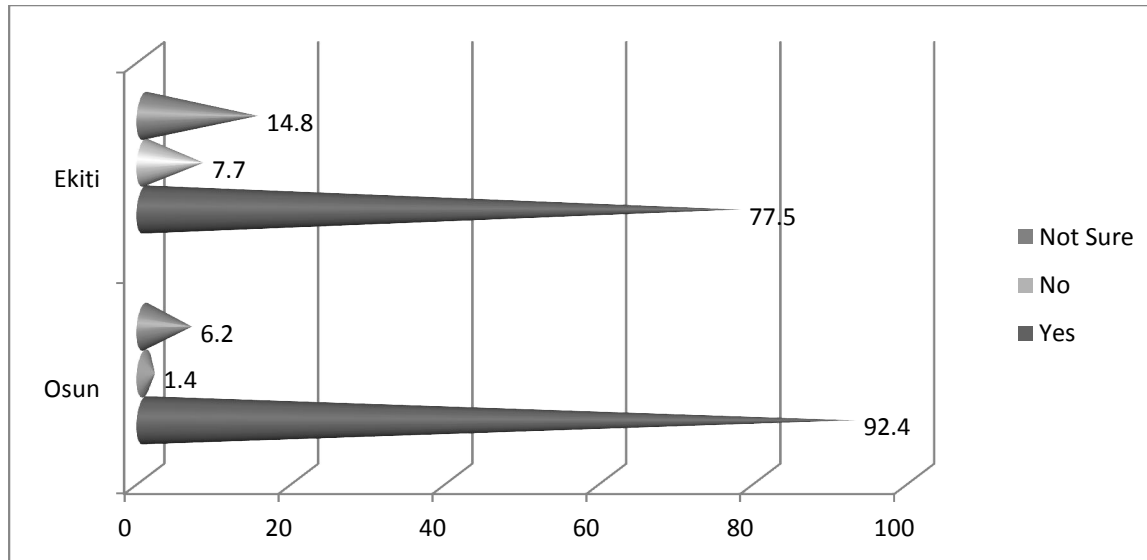
There is written policy backing up women participating in politics. For instance their participation should be 100 percent. This is done to ensure that women have their right; what belong to them. Women should create more awareness, mobilize women and enlighten them on what it takes to be in politics. We have women that male politicians rely on. They usually serve as their tutor, mentor and role model by giving them advice. Their support is not necessarily financial.

KII with a political party chairman in Ikere Ekiti is equally found useful:

Women usually hold regular meetings to keep the party progressing by persuading people to join and vote for their candidates. Their major benefit is power advancement in politics. They usually give them slot.

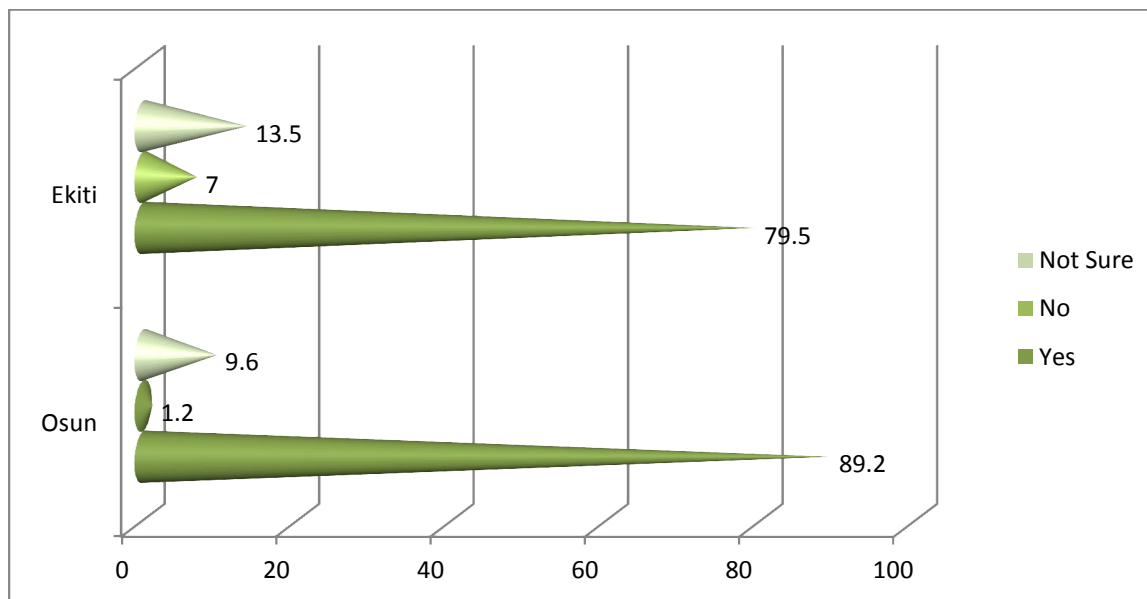
4.2.41. If more women in the communities will like to participate in party politics (%)

Majority of respondents claim more women in their communities will like to participate in party politics. This is a positive finding for increased women political participation particularly at the grassroots.



4.2.42. If more women in the communities will like to hold political offices (%)

Most of the respondents emphatically observed that more women in their communities will like to hold political offices.



4.2.43. Regression Analysis of relationship between respondents' personal characteristics and choice to vote for women at elections.

The highest level of political participation in popular democracy is freewill to vote and vote for particular candidates. Whether a candidate will win elections depends on the democratic/voting decision making of the electorates. The highest measure of political participation chances of women even within KABP is respondents' eventual decision to vote women at general elections. Hence, even though as already found above, most people maintain they will vote women, it is important to capture the maximum impact of critical socio-demographic variables on the decision to vote women. Regression Analysis was therefore ran as shown in the table below.

s/n	Variable	Std. RegWt (β)	SEB	t-value	p-value	Decision
1	Gender	0.126	8.04E-02	5.982	0.000	S
2	Level of Education	0.019	3.593E-03	0.815	0.415	NS
3	Age	0.019	6.59E-03	0.775	0.439	NS
4	Marital Status	0.105	3.418E-2	4.780	0.000	S
5	Nature of Locality (rural/urban)	0.024	1.588E-02	1.125	0.269	NS

S= significant

NS = Not significant

The hypothesis was tested at the probability level of $\alpha = 0.05$. The statistical techniques employed and the computational details are contained in the table above. The result of the study reveals that the five independent variables under personal characteristics (i.e. gender, level of education age, marital status and nature of locality) when taken together are effective in predicting respondents' choice to vote for women in politics. The observed F-ratio is significant at the p-value of 0.00, an indicator of the independent variables is reflected in the values of coefficient of multiple regressions (0.179) and multiple R-square (0.032) as shown in the table. It can then be observed that about 17.9% of the total variability in the respondents' choice of vote for women is accounted for by a linear combination of the selected personal characteristics tested. However, when considered independently, only 'Gender and Marital Status' were significant at a p-value of 0.00, and 12.6% and 10.5% predictor contribution respectively while level of education, age and nature of locality were not significant at 1.9% and 2.4% predictor contribution to the criterion. This means any policy, advocacy and programmes on women political participation must pay cognizant attention to gender and marital status for the programme to be effective.

Budgeting Process and Outcomes

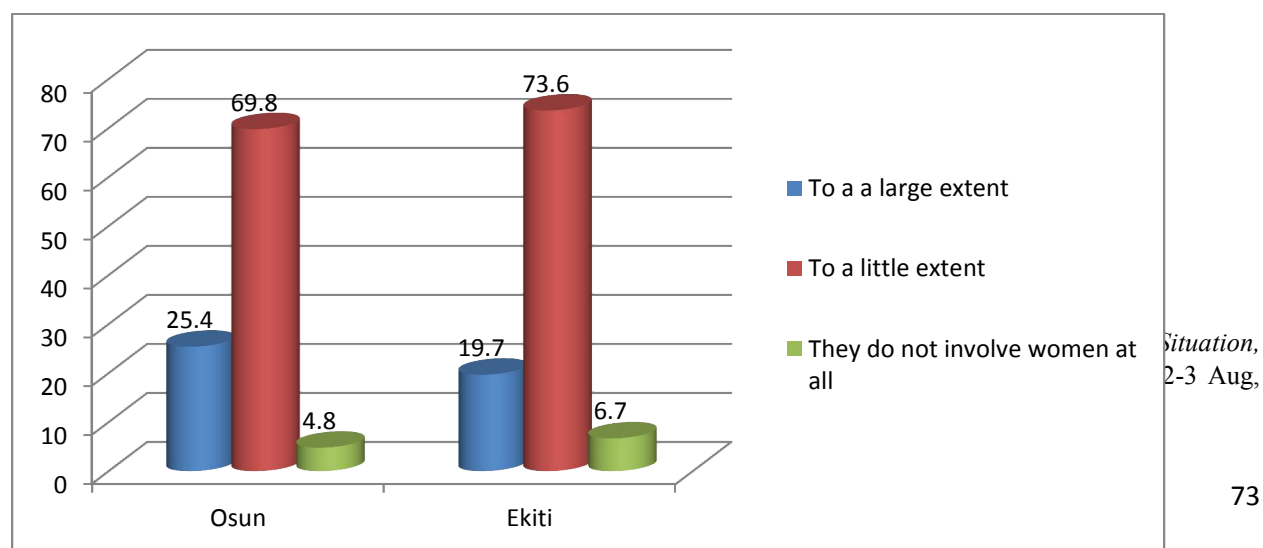
Budget is the essential prioritization of resource utilization relative to revenue and expenditure. Local government areas and states must budget because needs are diverse and

insatiable at every point in time while resources are limited. All wards and needs must be attended to regardless of political leanings, gender and cleavages yet resources are limited. Priorities must thus be set. For priorities to be sustainably set however people must be involved in setting maintenance and achievement and women must be factored into the process appropriately. Transparency and accountability is thus crucial and people regardless of gender must interface with the LGAs to achieve this for development. The budget process is; Formulation/drafting stage, Review and approval stage, Execution stage and Oversight and audit phase. Every member of the community must be involved at every stage of the process. People participation in budgeting means: the public (citizens of both genders) deliberate and decisive involvement in budgeting for development is guaranteed. For citizens to feed into to the budgeting system, to increase transparency and accountability, corruption thrives in the face of secrecy, so as to increase monitoring and public oversight because when people of both genders ask questions, governments perform. Lukewarmness, apathy, disconnection breeds political high-handedness and irresponsibility¹².

Against this backdrop, budget is among the most important governance instruments of government. It guides government income and expenditure and it is at the level of budget that interests are planned for and against. Citizens must of necessity be included in the budgeting process and they must be factored into contents. Unfortunately, budgeting process and outcomes are often surrounded with secrecy generally in Nigeria as there is huge environment of secrecy in around governance in Nigeria compromising the cardinal principles of transparency and accountability. The budgeting processes and budget contents of the states of survey were engaged from the direct perspective of the respondents who live and relate within the contexts of study. Since the local government is the closest to the people, the problematic was explored at that level.

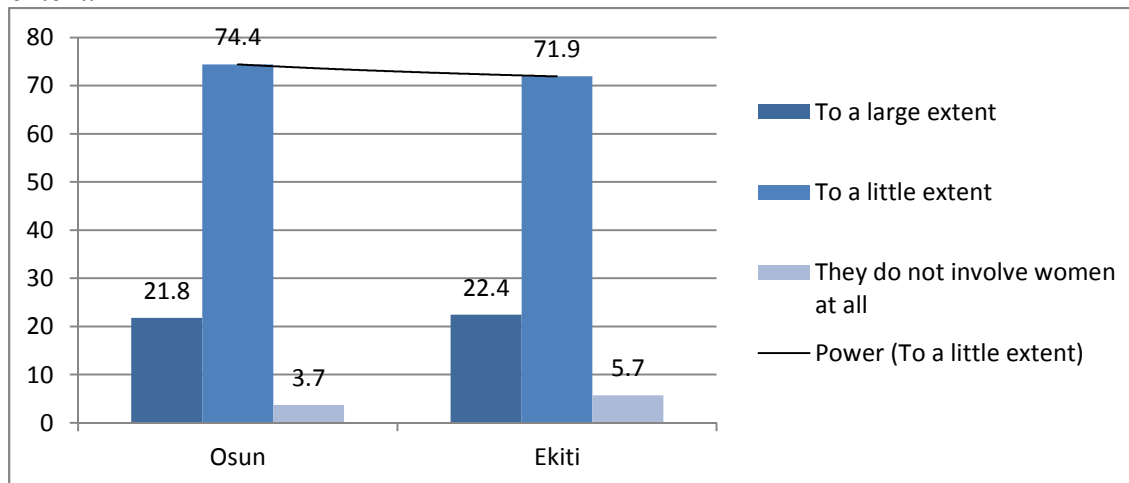
4.2.44. The extent to which the local governments involve women in the budgeting process (%)

Majority of the respondents in the two states submitted that local governments only include women in the budgeting process *to a little extent*. This is not to be a surprise in any state and local government in Nigeria as governance is heavily covered in secrecy, especially relative to financial matters and this is why corruption is on the increase since corruption and impunity thrives in the atmosphere of secrecy.



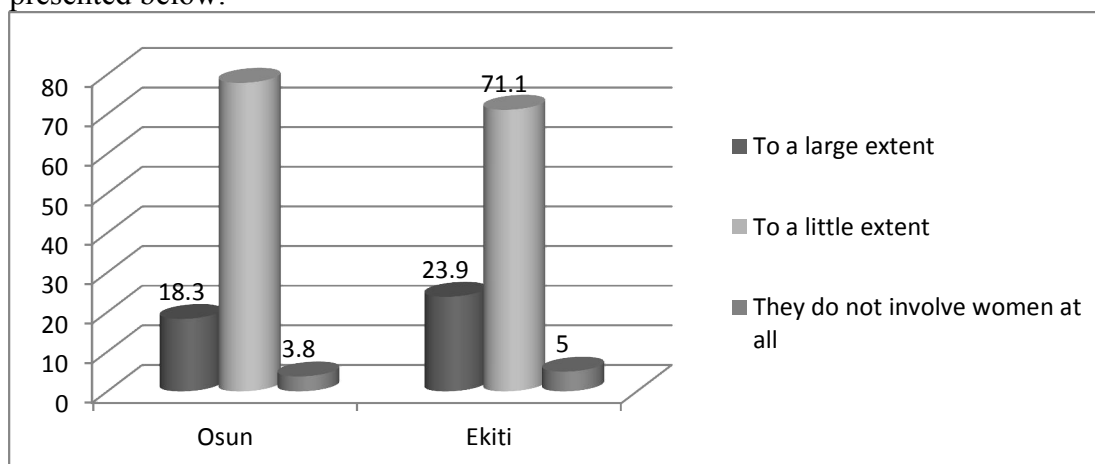
4.2.45. The extent to which the state governments involve women in the budgeting process (%)

In consistency with the findings at the level of local government, most of the respondents in Osun and Ekiti states opine state government include women in budgeting process to a little extent.



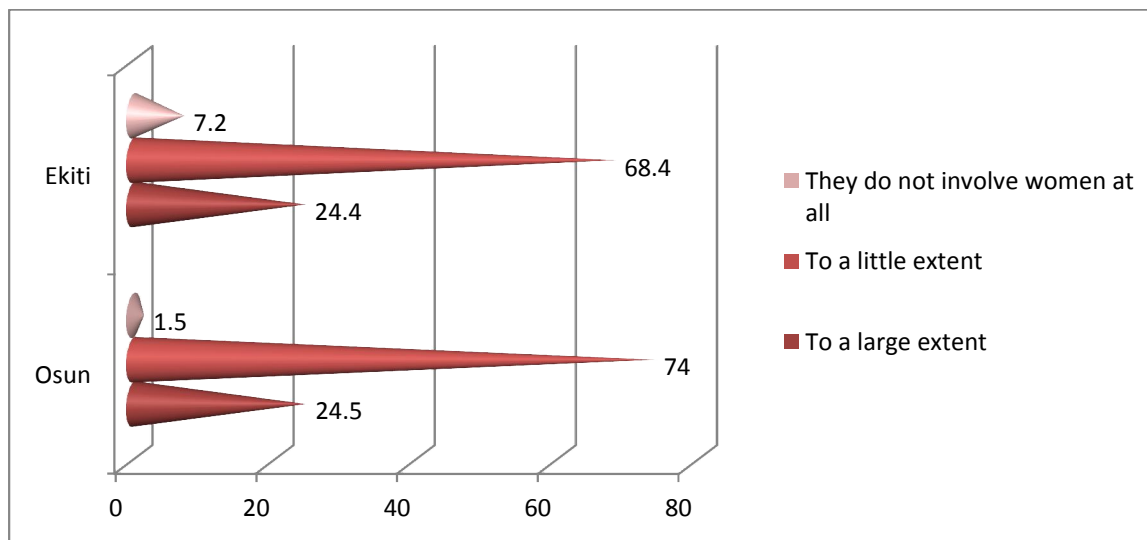
4.2.46. The extent to which the local governments cater for women in the budget provisions (%)

There is a difference between budgeting processes and budget provisions. Although once the process is abused, the provisions become corrupt and fall short of best practice, the survey still examined to what extent citizens of the states feel the local governments cater for women in the budget provisions. It is not surprising that majority of the people concluded the local governments only cater for women *to a little extent* (77.9 percent in Osun and 77.1 percent in Ekiti). Based on the findings at the local government level, the survey also examined the budget provision of the state governments and the extent to which they cater for women. Findings are presented below.



4.2.47. The extent to which the state governments cater for women in the budget provisions (%)

The states are not significantly better than the local governments. This is not surprising as the local governments are mere stooges and appendages of state governments who installed them as either caretakers or godchildren only to siphon state funds against popular interests. States and local governments are thus the same. What would have been surprising actually is to find different patterns in the levels of governments' gender, public and budgeting processes and provisions. Thus, most of the respondents insisted state governments only cater for women in their budgets *to a little extent*.



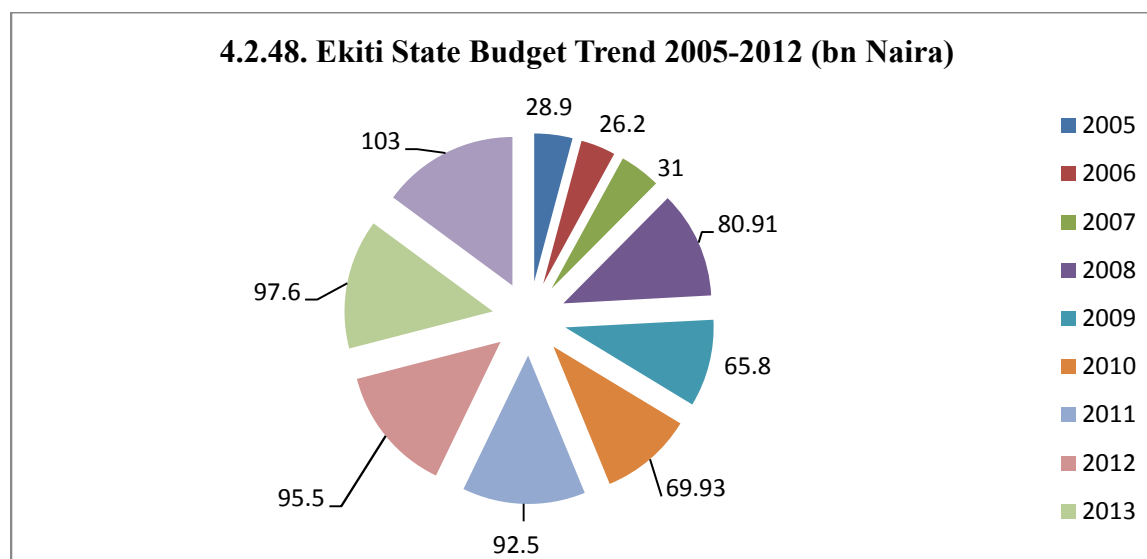
The findings on gender and general inclusiveness and allocation in budgeting processes and provisions in Osun and Ekiti states are consistent with the national outlooks as found in earlier studies. For instance, in a nationwide study on *Making Local Governance work for the poor: A Review of the Landscapes and Challenges*¹³ in which budgeting practices at the grassroots were part of the issues engaged, most Nigerians claimed budgeting is totally exclusive to those in government and their cronies. According to data from the nationwide survey over 70 percent of Nigerians saw local governments as corrupt, not accountable and not transparent. Over 80 percent perceived local governments to have failed in performing their roles, over 70 percent said their needs and inputs are not factored into budgets and projects, nearly all the respondents have never participated in budget process, most do not know anything about budgeting processes and provisions, most do not know any community member that has ever been invited to participate in budgeting, most of the people consider participating in budgeting by community members very strange as it is seen as government officials' responsibility just as most of the respondents do not even know how and where to participate in, complain and monitor budget.

¹³See The Orderly Society Trust (OST), 2010. *Making Local Governance work for the poor: A Review of the Landscapes and Challenges*. Lagos: OST. See also Akanle, O. 2012. *Citizens Participation in Local Government Budgeting Processes: Current Situation, Opportunities and Challenges*. A Paper presented at the EFCC/UNDP/ActionAid Town Hall Meeting. 2-3 Aug, 2012. Lagos

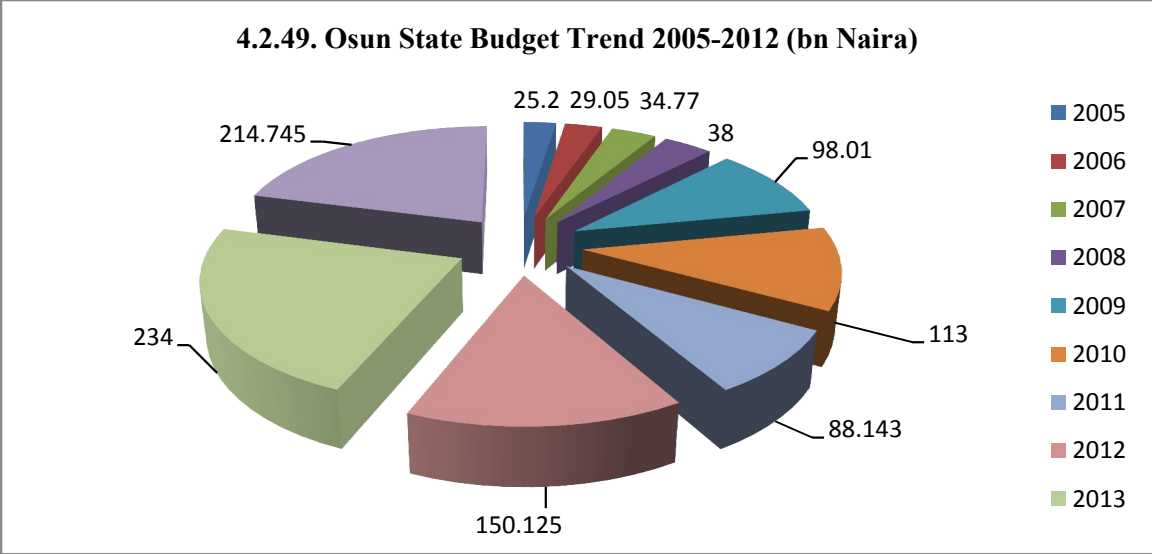
Unfortunately, it is when these are positive that citizens can participate actively and be catered for significantly in budgets for development.

Budget Trend

It can be observed from the figures below that there has been consistent increase in the budgets of Osun and Ekiti from 2005-2014 even though there are slight fluctuations in the amounts budgeted in the years. Generally, it can be considered that the budgets should ordinarily have sufficient capacity to cater for women if their participation is encouraged at drafting, provisions and implementation stages. More important consideration was however given to sectoral examination of the budgets. Critical sectors of the budgets that more directly impact women and the girl child are; education, health, women, youth and social development. A consideration of these sectors in the 2013 budgets (the most recently implemented) of the two states shows marginal allocation. In fact, women empowerment and gender are mere consolatory and appendages. In Ekiti, only 2.3 percent of the 2013 budget was allocated to women empowerment and gender. In the same state, 10.7 percent and 17.2 percent were allocated to health and education respectively. These were far below global standards especially when special allocations are needed and these can only be made possible when generally higher allocations have been given to the critical sectors. The case is not very different in Osun state. Even though Social Development, Youth and sports has a practically large scope, only 4.67 percent of the budget was allocated to the sector. The case was even more pathetic when it comes to health in Osun state with only 3.12 percent resource allocation. Budgetary allocation for education also was far below global standards with only 13.69 resource allocation as shown in the figure below. It is thus possible to conclude that the budgets of the two states are not largely pro-women.

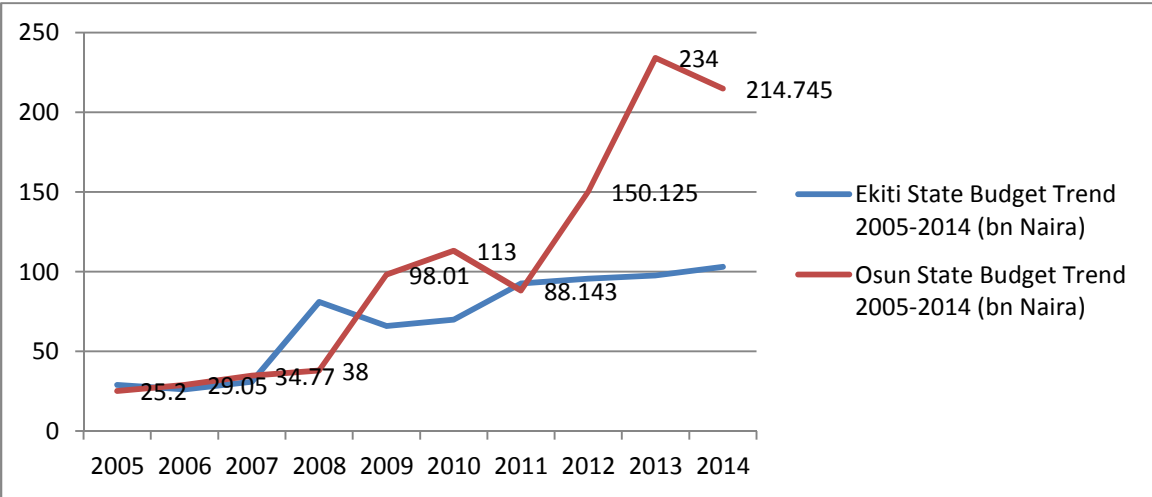


Community Life Project (CLP), 2014

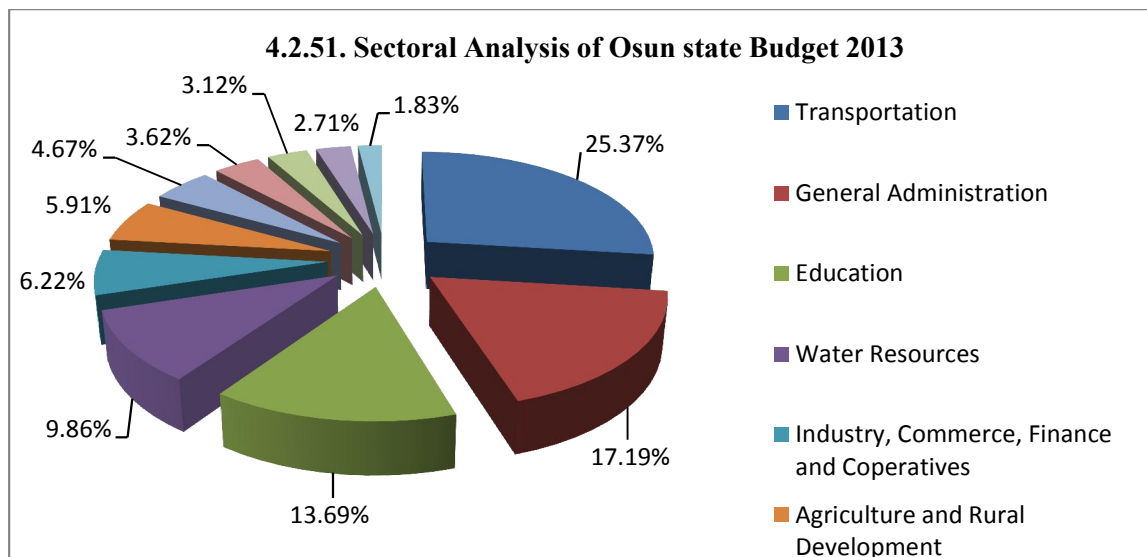


Community Life Project (CLP), 2014

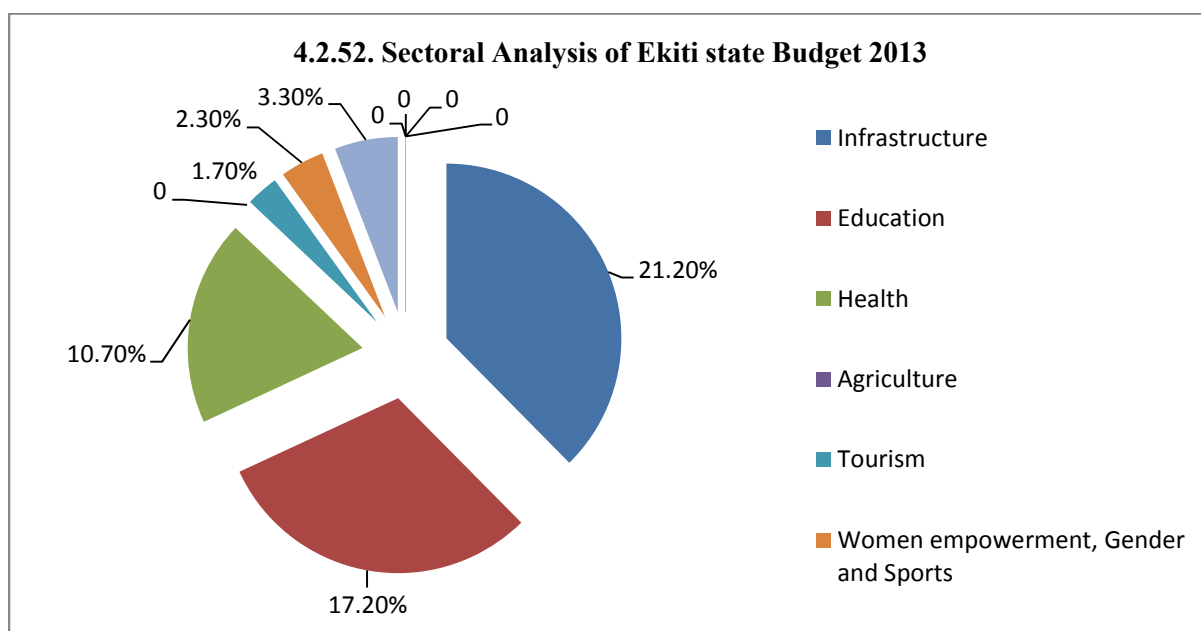
4.2.50. Budget trend of Ekiti and Osun state 2005-2014



Community Life Project (CLP), 2014



Community Life Project (CLP), 2014



Community Life Project (CLP), 2014

5.0. Findings, Recommendations and Conclusion

There is generally perceived increase in women political participation in the states. This is largely due to the increasing visibility of the women at political events even when few of them actually occupy critical posts in the party structures and political offices. Also, there is over sensationalization and over celebration of the marginal increase of the women in political offices in manners that suggest tokenism in women's increased political participation. Hence, the reward system is weak even when politicians, including men, rely on women at the grassroots whether as spiritualists, women leaders or chieftaincy title holders to win elections. Most common rewards they give women who help politicians win elections are largely; women leaders and consolatory comparatively low level and not strategic positions. Positions like chairpersons of political parties are considered too much for women. These posts are seen as too strategic to be occupied by women.

There are thus gender mainstreaming and glass ceiling against the women in political participation. As already presented in this report, there is public positive attitude towards women political participation even when this often does not translate to massive positive actions. There may thus be compromised orientation among the people in manners that they are already socialized against speaking against the norm and established institutions for fear of sanctions for anti-party activities. Marginalized women in party politics may also refuse to speak against party structures and rules, including unwritten ones, for fear of losing even the few privileges and promises already being enjoyed. *Most of the people may therefore not be given to rocking the boats* regardless of pattern of sailing. Party structures are important determinants of political careers. Unfortunately, Party official(s) insisted women can never be chairmen/chairpersons of political parties. This is because women are seen as unfit for such roles due to feminine make up but more importantly because of socio-cultural impediments and erroneous primordial perception of the female gender. The implication of this is that women political careers are threatened and endangered. Limits are already placed on the highest positions women can ever attain and this is dangerous for democracy and national development but particularly more dangerous for women generally and particularly those in politics.

All hands must thus be on deck to address this challenge. For advocacy and programming, it is important to note that radio and television are the most used and most trusted sources of information of the people in the states. Therefore, more of radio and television should be used for information dissemination. A popular radio station in the two states is *Adaba FM* even though the station has been linked to political favoritism in the past. Internet is however also forcefully emerging and this emergence must be leveraged upon for positive outcomes. Websites may be developed and regularly updated. Social media; *facebook, twitter, yahoo group* and so on are available in reaching the youth especially. Most of the people of Osun and Ekiti states are aware of women's franchise and there is high knowledge level in the states. Most people know the problems women face in politics. However, programmes and advocacy must build on this level of awareness and knowledge for maximum impact especially as the level of awareness is not yet total. Ekiti particularly need more and aggressive knowledge building at the grassroots.

5.2. Conclusion

This survey is a baseline survey to map the trajectories and dynamics of Knowledge Attitude, Belief and Practice of Women's Participation in Politics and Local Governance in Ekiti and Osun States. It is noteworthy that women political participation in the states studied is a major

issue that has practical and real contours driven by deep-seated primordial and contemporary beliefs and attitudes that have manifested in negative political gains for women. More women today only occupy political positions that are based on appointments as ceded by political god fathers for window dressing and to superficially respond to global *cry* for increased women's participation in politics. Few women actually play active role in party leadership just as very few win elections. The general positive attitude to and increase in women's political participation expressed by respondents may somewhat not be more than over celebration and tokenism. The whole notion of gender equality and equity is still very bankrupt in the political space of Ekiti and Osun and even Nigeria in general. There is still over domination of the political space by the men and their godfathers. There is either no godmothers today or they are refused recognition as important opposing factors against the norm. There is no political justice for the women yet in the states and the country. Unfortunately, people, Nigerians, as well as Osun and Ekiti people, including the women themselves, do not feel comfortable speaking about (much less against) their political parties most especially in public and in the presence of the uninitiated. Any positive attitude expressed by the people must thus be taken largely as the beginning of long and tiresome journey to justice, political equality and equity.

Generally however, based on the data gathered for this survey, it is good to note that the people are showing signs of necessity of change and the atmosphere is more, ordinarily, prepared for change by decided and accidental socio-cultural and political occurrences over time. It is thus time for all stakeholders; NGOs, CSOs, FBOs, community people and the international development partners, amongst others, in the women empowerment marketplace to institute actions and programmes to drive and sustain the needed change that is in the horizon for women in the political space of Osun and Ekiti states and beyond.

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