

**A RE-ASSESSMENT OF WOMEN MARGINALIZATION IN
GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA 1999-2011**

BY

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fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy (Ph.D) of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria**

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CERTIFICATION

I the undersigned, hereby certify that this study is an original research carried out by **Amaka Theresa Oriaku Emordi (67359)** in the Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, under our supervision.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God, the all Sufficient and Almighty, for providing me with the strength, preservation, provisions and tender mercies for this study.

And to

My mother late Mrs Beatrice Nwagu, who died on the 5th of October 2009.

Mama you paid the price for wherever I am today in the ladder of life. Thank you Mama.

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ABSTRACT

The relatively low level of women political representation between 1999 (7.5%) and 2011 (14.0%), at the federal level, is an indication that women are marginalised in governance in Nigeria. Previous studies on gender relations and governance in Nigeria largely focused on the marginalisation of women by men with negligible attention on the role of women in this gender-based political imbalance. This study, therefore, investigated the role of women in women's marginalisation in governance between 1999-2011 democratic dispensations.

The study adopted a survey design and used radical feminism framework as a guide. A state was randomly selected from the six geopolitical zones. The Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), (Kaduna, Makurdi, Yola, Ibadan) and two rural areas (Ubulu-Uku and Obiohia) were purposively selected. A total of 1196 participants comprising male 793 and female 403 were selected using accidental sampling technique, within the required class of Nigerian adults (20-70yrs). Semi structured questionnaire was used to collect data on existing frameworks, their effectiveness, the need for paradigm shift, the role of government, culture, economy and women in women marginalization. Also, six In-depth Interviews and six Focus Group Discussions (FGD) of 6-8 participants were conducted in the six states with selected leaders of non-governmental organisations in the area of gender advocacy. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics and Chi-square test at $p < 0.05$ while qualitative data were content analysed.

Majority of the respondents (78.9%) submitted that although Nigeria has domesticated various gender sensitive policies, there is still a disconnect between policies and actual attainment of gender equality. Reasons for this included lack of unity and commitment among women towards anti-marginalisation practices (60.2%); women preference for men in politics and governance (68.4%); women not showing enough interest and low level participation of women in politics (60.2%). While majority (60.0%) of the respondents agreed that there are existing frameworks for women empowerment, others (67.6%) did not consider these as effective. There were significant relationships between the existing frameworks for women empowerment ($p < .05$) and women political empowerment, the effectiveness of the frameworks ($p < .05$), paradigm shift in women's attitude and perception towards inequality ($p < .05$). The role of the government was also found significant in women marginalisation ($p < .05$). Significant relationships existed between unity and oneness among women, women not exploiting opportunities, and women marginalisation in Nigeria ($p < .05$). The relatively low increase of women in governance during the period under study was agreed by both gender to be caused by women not voting for themselves in party primaries, not supporting selves in party leadership positions, preference for men in power positions, and intra gender wrangling. The FGD participants also agreed that relatively low aspirations in politics among women is a major factor hindering gender parity and gender mainstreaming in governance in Nigeria.

Gender inequality in governance has been sustained by attitude and behaviour of women. Women and stakeholders should focus efforts on intra-gender solidarity with current emphasis on affirmative action to achieve accelerated gender parity in governance in Nigeria.

Keywords: Gender relations, Women empowerment, Political development.

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ABBREVIATIONS

FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
FMWAD	-	Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development
FMWA	-	Federal Ministry of Women Affairs
FOMWAN	-	Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria
FORWARD	-	Foundation for Women's Health Research and Development
GAA	-	Gender and Affirmation Action
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals
CEDAW	-	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEDPA	-	Centre for Population and Development Activities
CIRDOC	-	Civil Resource and Development Centre
COGWA	-	Collaboration Group for Women Advancement
CDP	-	Community Partners for Development
CDPN	-	Centre for Peace and Development Nigeria
DFID	-	Department of International Development
FCE	-	Federal College of Education
FIDA	-	Federation of International Women Lawyers
GADA	-	Gender and Development Action
GAT	-	Gender Action Team
UNICEF	-	United Nations International Children's Education Fund
UNIFEM	-	United Nation's Development Fund for Women
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
VAC	-	Volunteer Advocacy Corp
WARDC	-	Women Advocacy Research and Documentation Centre
WHO	-	World Health Organization
WIN	-	Women in Nigeria
WLDCN	-	Women in Law and Development Centre, Nigeria
WODEF	-	Women for Optimum Development Foundation
WOLF	-	Women Opinion Leaders Forum
WRAPA	-	Women Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

It is the opinion of feminists and women empowerment crusaders that women all over the world are generally marginalized. It means that women are excluded from meaningful participation in the society through socio-economic, biological and historical factors which stem from a society's cultural and political traditions and institutional design. According to the feminist, marginalization is the most dangerous form of oppression. The quest to liberate women from marginalization gave rise to feminism and feminist struggles in the 19th and 20th centuries (Mullaly B 2007).

The First-wave of feminism occurred during the later part of 19th the early twentieth century, and involved mainly the suffrage movement. The Second- wave (1960s – 1980s) attempted to correct legal and cultural inequalities. The Third wave, from the 1990s to the present, is seen as both a continuation and a response to the perceived failure of the second wave (Gillis, Stacy, Bowie eds 2007)

The First-wave of feminism refers to a period of feminist activities during the 19th century and early 20th century in the United Kingdom and United States. Originally, it focused on the promotion of equal contracts and property rights for women and opposed Chattel marriage and ownership of married women and their children by their husbands. However, by the 19th century, activism focused primarily on gaining political power, particularly the right of women suffrage Stacy Muunford 2007).

The 'Second-wave existed simultaneously with the Third-wave and saw the Second-wave feminism's cultural and political inequalities as inseparable with the second wave. The Third wave feminism encouraged women to understand aspects of their personal lives deeply politicized and reflective of sexist structure of power. Second-wave feminists believe that if first-wave feminism was focused on rights such as suffrage, second-wave feminism was largely concerned with other issues of inequality, such as the end to discrimination.

The Third-wave of feminism began in the 1990s as a response to backlash against initiatives and movements created by the Second-wave. The Third-wave feminism questioned what seemed to be the Second-wave's essentialism; it challenged the second

wave's definitions of femininity which, according to them, over-emphasized the experience of upper middle-class white women. Thus, a post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality is central to much of the third wave's ideology. This feminist's school often focuses on "micro-politics" and challenges the Second-wave paradigm as to what is or is not good for females (Sheila Ruth 1980).

Maxine Hong Kingston and many other black feminists who were rooted in the second wave sought to negotiate a space within feminist thought for consideration of race-related subjectivities. This wave of feminism also involves debates between different feminists. Psychologists Carol Gilligan is one of the feminists who believe that there are important differences between the sexes. On the other hand, there are other feminists who believe that there no inherent differences between them, thereby contending that gender roles are due to social conditioning. The struggle for gender equality is one of the hallmarks of the 20th century. Since the 1st wave of feminism, much has been achieved but the agenda remain unfinished in all the societies of the world, especially in Africa, Nigeria inclusive: Gender continues to be a powerful barrier shaping the rights, capabilities and opportunities of an individual – from birth and throughout life time. Fairness, equity and social justice cannot be attained if women continue to be marginalized at birth. This to say, women's rights and entitlements will continue to be violated if they do not have equal control over resources and decision-making.

However, this researcher believes that the empowerment of women – equitable access to resources, power and decision making – is essential to gender equality. Attainment of this process demands a paradigm shift which can bring about changes in the mind and method and approach to the struggle for gender equality which, in turn will lead to women's empowerment. It is the search for this paradigm shift that motivated this study.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Nigeria is a patriarchal society where men dominate all spheres of women's lives. Women in Nigeria are in subordinate positions, particularly at the community and the house-hold levels. Male children are preferred over the female ones he influences of the mother and the father is particularly significant in shaping and perpetuating patriarchy. The mother provides a role model for the daughters while the father demonstrates to the

sons what it means to be a man (World Bank 2005).

As in other male-dominated societies, the social relations and activities of Nigeria: women and men are governed by patriarchal systems of socialization and cultural practices which favour the interests of men above those of women. Consequently, a high percentage of women's employment is restricted to low income generating activities. These are concentrated within lower levels of the unregulated informal sector, which are not adequately represented in the National Accounting Systems (NSA). By comparison, men employed within the informal sector are located in the upper level and are predominantly engaged in high income-generating activities. The status of women and gender inequalities within the overall societies of the world and across all sector reflect the wide disparities between women and men which in turn contribute to uneven development of the sexes and the feminization of poverty. It is believed that among the seventy percent (70%), of Nigerian population estimated to be living below poverty line, over 65% are projected to be women. Men have greater access to high paying secured employment. For example, 76% of Federal Civil Service workers are men whereas women make up 24% of the workforce and occupy less than 14% of the overall management positions. This situation exists despite the appointment of female permanent secretaries beginning from the year 2000 and in line with the affirmative action initiatives. Additionally, 17.5% of medical doctors are women whereas 82% of those employed within the medical field, which generally involves highly skilled and relatively well remunerated work are men (CIDA NIG. GSAA 2006).

These disparities, women empowerment campaigners argue, have a significant impact on the capacity of both women and men to contribute to the economic growth of the country and its reform agenda. This also affects efforts to reduce dependency ratio within the family units and achieve the desired goals of government. Other indications of gender inequalities include disparities in participation within the female sector which stands at 87% for men with 11% women compared to 30% engaged in the industrial sector and almost zero level participation for women. This school of thought maintains that gender-based norms also ascribed to women the responsibilities of carrying out tasks related to household management (i.e. domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and caring for children and the elderly, etc.) which does not diminish when women are engaged in paid employment. This dual burden, they argue, prevent women from pursuing their careers as well as attaining management and decision- making positions at

the same pace and rate as their male counterparts in all spheres of life (CIDA Nig. GSAA 2006).

To this researcher, women marginalization claim can be likened to the claim of marginalization by the Igbo ethnic group in Nigeria. To the Igbo, they are marginalized out of juicy political positions by the rest of the Nigerian ethnic groups due to their involvement in the Nigerian civil war thirty years ago (Tell Jan 2003). However, they are not politically united. The point here is that the average Igbo family has survived the war politically, economically and even educationally, but not as a united group. The fact that families that lost their sons in the war have recovered and survived in all ramifications after thirty years is a pointer to the fact that there is a problem with their collective approach to their political participation in Nigeria. Like the Igbo who use the civil war as their basis for marginalization claim, claim women attributed their subjugated social status and political position in Nigeria to many factors. They have stated reasons like their biology, cultural practices and impediments as well as lack of institutional support, but failed to mention the way women themselves have not helped the situation. Freedom is taken and not given. Women are not strongly united, so instead of fighting marginalization they perpetuate it and make social appeals to men, society and government to empower them and carry them along in politics. There are many women who dared to succeed and did succeed despite the challenges they encountered on their way to success. They did not give in to intimidations or accept the status quo but persevered and succeeded just like their male counterparts. The fact is that there is stiff competition among the men that a women will need to fight her way through.

Despite all odds, many women have distinguished themselves and were able to ascend to the zenith of their chosen professions and careers. Some of these women include Deborah in the Bible who judged Israel at the crudest time of women subjugation in the ancient Israel i.e. before the coming of Jesus Christ (Maxwell 2007).

Another example, in the contemporary period is the immediate past Director General of National Agency for Food and Drug Administration Control, (NAFDAC), Dora Akunyili. Before she became the Agency's Director, little or nothing was known of the activities of NAFDAC on food and drug control. Her predecessors were men but then fake foods and drugs saturated the Nigeria market and thousands of citizens died as a result of fake drug administration. She contributed largely in utilizing constituted mechanisms to rid Nigeria of killer drugs by controlling the influx of adulterated foods

and drugs in the country while importers of fake and adulterated commodities dreaded her to the extent of attempting to assassinate her twice. She won numerous awards both locally and internationally for her gallantry (Osita Nwajah etel 2003). Other legendary women like Margret Thatcher of Britain (men call her iron lady) set the standard for the country to be referred to as a woman country. Women like Benirzah Bhutto of Pakistan, Golder Mariah of Israel, Margret Ekpo, Alhaja Sawaba Gambo and a host of others who severed and carve niches for themselves and the generality of women in their countries. They can serve as examples of women who worked hard for themselves and their societies to achieve greatness as individuals.

Central to this research is the view that marginalization feminism obliterates the powers of women and denigrates their potentials and influence. This simply refers that marginalization feminism depicts women basically as weak and helpless in the face of the situation (marginalization). Women are powerful and can achieve whatever they want to achieve directly or indirectly .Women in the pre-colonial period attained political power through hard work, patriotism and sacrifices just like their male counterparts. During the pre-colonial time, there were traditional women rulers like Queen Kambasa of Bonny in Delta, Queen Amina of Zauzzau (Katsina state), and Luwo Gbadiga , the first and only woman Ooni of Ife till date. There were female Alafins in the old Oyo Kingdom, such as Iyayun and Orompoto. Ilesa tradition has many female Owas while Ondo traditional history has it that the town was founded by a woman (Simi Afonja 2007). How and why women lost power should be an interesting part of the research and a platform for Third-wave feminism in Nigeria.

In Nigeria today, research is yet to reveal any culture that permits women to wear trousers but now in every culture of Nigeria, women wear different styles of trousers. In some places they have broken this norm with impunity. They wear trousers of any kind because it is convenient for them. Yet they find it difficult to overcome other cultural constraints to their empowerment in all spheres of life including politics and economy.

Again, due to the extant marginalized state of women, humanitarian organizations, local and international, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) ,and feminists alike have all teamed up to fight against the acclaimed marginalization, discrimination, deprivation, denial and maltreatment of women in all sectors of the society. They demand the equality of the genders in all spheres of life. In effect, many conventions and conferences, treaties and declarations have been convened and signed. Most notable are the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEAFDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Millennium Goals. Locally, many women organizations have been formed and the National Council for Women Societies (NCWS), Women in Nigeria (WIN), National Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) as well as the creation of women ministry and the adoption of the 30% representation of women in the political mainstream. Yet, women still insist that they are marginalized (National Gender Policy 2005).

To this researcher, all the hacking on the leaves of empowerment only needs one striking at the root of marginalization. There is an urgent need for paradigm shift and a change of method. This study purports to make women stop believing that they are marginalized. The women only need to change their approach from rhetoric and social appeal to personality, character and attitudinal development, which is what this study is poised to achieve. The work seeks to prove that, with these qualities; women can overcome any form of marginalization and eventually be empowered. Thus, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- a. Are women marginalized in Nigeria?
- b. What frameworks exist in contemporary times for gender equality struggles?
- c. How effective are contemporary frameworks for gender equality struggles?
- d. Is there a need for paradigm shift in the gender equality struggle?

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the study is to evolve a new paradigm for women empowerment and to provide a framework for Third-wave feminism in Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the extent of women marginalization in Nigeria.
2. To establish the sources and type of women marginalization in Nigeria.
3. To establish the role of women in women marginalization.
4. To develop an alternative framework for women participation in government and politics in Nigeria.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.

The study is significant for several reasons. Firstly, the data generated by the study will hopefully be a source of advocacy and strategy for feminist and women activists. Through this data, women organizations and institutions in Nigeria can have access to information on the factors hindering women from meaningful participation in governance in Nigeria. The data from this study will facilitate feminists' articulation of women's problem and strategies for empowerment. In addition, it is expected that this study will contribute to existing wealth of knowledge on women and gender justice. Furthermore, the work hopefully will influence policy formation in the area of gender equality in Nigeria.

Finally, it can assist in providing an agenda for further studies and research in the area of social imbalance in governance in Nigeria. It provides an alternative framework for gender equality struggle and women empowerment. It also avails women the opportunity to bond together and fight as one rather than fight one another. Aside from the above, it will set agenda for further studies and research in the area of social imbalance in Nigeria and Africa at larger.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study covered the political marginalization of women in Nigeria. The research focused mainly on the role of women in women political marginalization in Nigeria. Due to the complex and large nature of Nigeria as a multi-ethnic country, this is structured into six geo-political zones. Data collected from these six zones served as a good analytic reference for related studies and also gave a valid result that proffered a valid explanation for the reassessment of women marginalization in governance in Nigeria. To this extent, the survey was carried out in these six zones by selecting a state each from each of the zones. These randomly selected states include Imo, Adamawa, Delta, Oyo, Kaduna and Benue state as well as Abuja the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). These zones were selected because of their different cultures, languages, extant locations and divergent perception of women, though within the same country.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the organizing principles that underlie this survey research according to the social sciences method. It shows the plan through which the researcher

achieved a reliable and credible research result. The main features of the survey emphasized here are research design, sources of data, method of data gathering, method of data analysis and problems encountered in the course of the research. There has been an avalanche of literature as regards issues of gender inequality in Nigerian politics and governance by male domination, female biology, institutional frameworks and patriarchal structures. However there are very few or no investigation on literature on the role of women in women political marginalization. This study, therefore, explores the roles of women in women's political marginalization from 2003-2011, and identifies strategies for reducing/eliminating women marginalization in Nigeria. The re-assessment of women marginalization in governance is a survey research designed to investigate the role of women in the maintenance, sustenance and perpetuation of women marginalization in governance in Nigeria.

1.7 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design relates directly to the way the study was carried out. Research design helped this study to state whether the study is basically a survey research or experimental which is common in the physical sciences. The research design also showed the future of hypothesis/research questions. It is a specification of the most adequate operations to be performed in order to test specific hypothesis under given conditions.

Following the objectives and nature of this study, the research design for this study comprised a combination of quantitative and qualitative research techniques. The study was both historical and historical in nature. The study traced the sources of women marginalization from the pre-industrial to the industrial period. Also, the study collected empirical data by administering copies of questionnaires and conducted interviews to explore factors responsible for continued political marginalization of women in Nigeria. Ten structured interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with two participants each from the academics, officials of the ministry of women affairs, members of the civil society, business people, professionals and experts in the area of gender advocacy, as well as housewives. Selection was judgemental based on those deemed knowledgeable on gender issues in Nigeria. Data for the quantitative sampling were collected using purposive sampling technique. The six geopolitical zones were used as strata from where respondents were randomly drawn. 1450 copies of the questionnaire were administered to respondents in the capital cities of Kaduna, Adamawa, Benue, Oyo,

Delta and Imo while 250 was administered to respondents in Abuja (FCT). In all, a total of 1450 questionnaires were produced out of which 1196 valid copies of questionnaire were analyzed using descriptive statistical method.

As research category, the work is exploratory in nature because it is merely interested in describing a phenomenon, the political marginalization of women in Nigeria in this case, the political marginalization of women in Nigeria. The research topic of this type also qualifies it to be a descriptive research. The work was structured in a way that enabled it to uncover whether the various factors stressed by women militate against women and to discover if women also contribute to their marginalisation in the civil society, leadership and governance. The study also sought to find out whether the way women are socialized and trained contribute to their marginalization or their biology (nature/nurture controversy), particularly how nurture helps to perpetuate inequality of the sexes in the civil society. It went further to uncover how effective, or otherwise, the existing women empowerment frame-works are and how they have fared so far to proffer solution to the questions of women. Subsequently, the work made recommendations based on the findings of the survey to fill the lacunae thereof.

The work utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods/designs: In social research, most of the properties of objects, persons or events cannot be quantified due to their nature, or the present non-availability of adequate measuring instruments that are calibrated like in the physical sciences. Social sciences therefore rely heavily on explanations, descriptions, generalisations and predictions of social events in social science research. To this extent, qualitative research uses qualifying words while quantitative research relies on measurement to compare and analyze different variables. *The Reassessment of Women In Marginalization in Governance in Nigeria 1999-2011* is a survey research which is interested in exploring the marginal social status of women in Nigeria especially in governance and leadership; therefore, it adopted a qualitative and quantitative research design because it is exploratory in nature and also involved field work research.

The work therefore was poised to bring about a paradigm shift in the quest for women empowerment in all spheres of life endeavours. *The Re-assessment of Women Marginalization in Governance in Nigeria* planned to achieve this through the women

themselves generally. *The Reassessment of Women Marginalization in Governance* believes that, women have the potential to free themselves from their marginal social and political status in governance in Nigeria. The work was also designed to strongly prove that women are not marginalized rather women are getting what they merited in governance.

Following this design, the work started off in chapter two with the “literature review “. It traced the origin of women marginalization right from the time of early philosophers and social thinkers. As they theorized and structured the societies and governments of the world today, as well as whom the custodians of families, civil societies and governments should be. Some of the works of these philosophers were reviewed to reveal how they viewed and where they placed women in the civil society and government. Further investigation was also made to uncover how women themselves have continued to maintain, execute and perpetuate social injustice against their fellow women and still cry, and claim to be marginalized by the society generally rather than looking inwards.

1.8 TECHNIQUE OF DATA GATHERING:

There are three major designs being utilized in the social scientist especially in exploratory research like this one. These are convenience sampling, purposive sampling and quota sampling techniques. Without going into much detail, this work adopted a combination of Convenience Sampling and Judgmental Sampling Techniques within the framework of radical feminism. Employing these styles the researcher was able to collect data for this research in a convenient way. The research selected respondents who were conveniently available and willing to participate in the research activities like interviewing and filling copies of questionnaires.

On the other hand, purposive sampling which is occasionally referred to as judgmental sampling technique was also used. This is a technique of selecting sampling units that appear to be representative of the population earlier stated, especially in administering a large number of questionnaires as this. However, the chances that a particular sampling unit was selected for the research were primarily dependent upon the subjective judgment of the researcher. It was incumbent upon the researcher to figure out if a respondent is legible for the research or the respondent did not meet the requirements

according to the research interest. With these two techniques the researcher was able to achieve the required sample size for the research.

1.9 UNIT OF DATA ANALYSIS:

Unit of analysis refers to the person or object from which the social researcher collects data. Individuals are common units of analysis but in this work, six Nigerian states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) will serve as my unit of analysis because it corresponded to the six geo-political zones in Nigeria. The selected states were Benue State in the North Central, Delta state in the South-South, Adamawa, in the North East, Imo state in South East, Kaduna state in South West, Oyo state in the South-West and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) making it a total of seven states that serve as the unit of analysis for this study. Out these states two rural areas were also selected for the study. This was meant to capture the opinion of people in the rural communities. Respondents were met at different levels for data collection depending on their occupation. Majority of them were met in the offices for those who are still within the active work life and are working while others were met at their home, especially the house wives and the elderly who have retired from work. Data collected from respondents from these units and levels were combined and analyzed to achieve an accurate sample size and population of 1196 copies out of the 1450 copies of questionnaire produced. Result from this was established and added to others from interviews and focus group discussions which were analyzed using content analysis.

1.10 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS:

Questionnaire, as stated earlier on constituted the major instrument for data collection in this survey because it has been found to be adequate for field research (Foddy, W.H.199). The construction of the questionnaire items reflected the research questions and research objectives. Answers to such questions provided the data for the research question which helped in no small measure in drawing inferences and deductions regarding the research questions that were posed. In general, the questionnaire was designed to be motivating to the respondents to provide the information sought for. The 'Question content' has content facts, opinions, and attitudes of respondents and their level of familiarity with certain subject, especially issues pertaining to women. The questions were categorized into factual questions which simply referred to the

respondent's demography and then the question about their subjective experience of women in governance in Nigeria. The "Factual questions" were designed to elicit objective information from respondents regarding their background, environment, habits and the like. The background questions were asked mainly to provide information that can be used to classify the respondents. The background/demographic segment of the questionnaire included such items as gender, age, marital status, education or income. The questionnaire also contained an open-ended question which has the virtue not to force the respondents to adapt to the preconceived objective /answers of the researcher and her research interest. It enabled the respondent to freely and spontaneously express his or her opinion of the subject under investigation.

The questionnaire which was precise, simple and straight-forward contained four sections (section a-c). The first page began with an introduction of socio-economic and demographic characteristics of respondents such as age, marital status, social status etc. Section A started with questions on the subject – matter of inquiry into the sources of women marginalization. This section contains five questions on the issue of women marginalisation in Nigeria. Section B on the other hand, was basically on questions that were based on women empowerment agencies/programmes and their functions and effectiveness. The 'B' section contains five questions in all. The last section, which is section C, contained nine questions with one open-ended question. The essence of the open ended question was to allow the respondent to freely express his/her opinion on the matter under review. The rationale behind the number of questions in this section is based on the fact that this section was the section for strategizing a paradigm shift for women empowerment. It was the section which has the capacity to determine whether it is necessary to call for paradigm shift in women empowerment strategies or to leave things as they are.

After designing the questionnaire, he researcher carried out validity test to ascertain the validity of the questionnaire. This was done through a pre-test/pilot test. The questionnaire was tried out on few respondents to be sure that the questions were well- understood and that there were no ambiguities of any sort before taking it to the field for general investigation.

1.11 INTERVIEWS:

The interview was another technique employed by the researcher to gather information directly from respondents in this work. An interview involves direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions relating to the research problem. Interviews are particularly useful in Social Science research because it enables interviewers to get the story behind a participant's knowledge on the issue under review (FON, Roberts 1994). One way of getting people to express their views is non-scheduled interview which consists of asking respondents to comment on broadly designed issues (Okechukwu Paul 2008). In an interview, interviewees are free to express their opinions on the topic as they saw it, to focus on particular aspect, to relate their own experiences, and so on. For the interview on this survey, a total of ten (10) structured interviews were scheduled and conducted in Oyo state. Out of the ten structured interviews conducted six females and four males. The selection of the respondents was based on (1) social status (2) educational background, academic level, marital status and occupation. The demography of the interviewees followed the same style with the demography of the general respondents who responded to questionnaire items. The questionnaire items were also used for respondents who participated for the focus group discussions (FGD). At certain times in the process of the interview, the interviewer intervened to ask for clarifications or further explanations following responses from interviewee, but did not give directives or to confront the interviewee with probing questions. No time limit was fixed so as to allow people drive home their points as emphasized by McNamara and Carter (1999). The interview section for this research was a structured one. It was structured in the sense that a list of issues for investigation was drawn up prior to the interview in that appointment was fixed, questions were prepared prior to the interview date, and a place was slated. There was the use of electronic recording device. The question list for the interview contained some precise questions and their alternatives or sub-questions, depending on the answers to the main questions. Although the interview was few and selected, it added value to the research findings and helped the researcher to draw conclusions on the research questions and objectives, by way of adopting some and rejecting others. With the help of the semi-structured interviews, we were able to make deductions with which inferences were drawn for the findings and recommendations of this survey.

1.12 Focus Groups:

The focus group selection followed the same pattern adopted in the selecting candidates for the personal interview and the same pattern used in questionnaire items. A focus group for this work followed the normal focus group standard of 4-8 participants. For this survey the number of participants ranged between four and maximum of eight participants who were interviewed together. They were carefully selected according to explicitly-stated criteria. This type of interview was conducted in a semi-structured or unstructured way because the participants were of varying age range and qualification. However, given to the reason for the gathering all were equal and free to express their opinion on the issue under review. From the point of view of the researcher, the FGD, like the interview, was conducted, in an unstructured manner. Carrying out this group interview, the researcher drew up a list of broad questions, topics or themes which were used to develop a discussion among the focus group participants.

The questions however did not deviate from the research questions and objectives. For this research, the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was unstructured, but this was accordance with the research objectives. The fact that the discussion was unstructured gave the discussants the opportunity to discuss the issues in question with one another freely. In the process, one person's idea most of the time set off a whole string of related thoughts and ideas in another person. The focus group was a period of brain storming and challenging times regarding the discussion of marginalization of women social status, particularly the governance question and the place of women in it. Sometimes the participants disagree with and question the remark of another. When this happens it gives the whole group opportunity to further explore the strengths and weaknesses of the issue under contention in details thereby producing a much deeper understanding of the subject as they saw it. It enabled the respondents and the interviewer to clear up misunderstanding which also encouraged rapport among them.

During the discussion, the researcher made sure that, already prepared guideline was followed, which consisted of general introduction of the topic for discussion , specific topics probing questions and summary. The note taker recorded the description of the group e.g. men and women age 55 – 60, date of discussion, community of interview and time of discussion which were used during the time of discussion. Data from this version of the research was content analyzed.

Apart from these primary data mentioned above, the researcher also made use of secondary data. The secondary data acted as supplementary data to the primary data which the researcher already got through the questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions. The secondary data included already existing knowledge in the libraries, i.e reviewing of literature, news papers, governmental records, journals, internet and periodicals that worked on the issues of women especially their marginal socio-political status and role in the society.

1.13 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

In social science survey research, the way and manner data are analyzed depend on the topic of research and type of data collected. That refers to whether the data is qualitative or quantitative data. Qualitative data as stated above are those described by their quality or non – numerical entities such as good, poor, high, soft, effective and many more. Social scientists have successfully used qualitative data results to make predictions and also proffer solutions to socio-political situations and circumstances like election outcomes and policy formation.

Quantitative data, on the other hand, have numerical values and are useful for prediction too. The application of quantitative data analysis depends on the focus and objectives of the survey. This strongly determines the method of data analysis to be used. However, the analysis of some qualitative and quantitative data demands the test of specific hypotheses which involve the use of mathematical and statistical tools and also the use of some computer packages (Gillham B 2008). In this work, the data gathered through the questionnaire cannot be easily analyzed without the use of computer package and a form of data processing. Data processing serves as a link between data collection and data analysis. This process involves two major steps data editing and data coding.

Data editing: The editing process prepared the questionnaire for coding process. This process involves reading through and checking all the copies of questionnaire collected to ensure that they are error – free. The main purpose is to ensure completeness, legibility, clarity, consistency and uniformity in the responses provided in the copies of questionnaire and other forms of information gathered by the researcher (Vogt Paul 2008). During the editing stage, all improperly completed copies of questionnaires were rejected and excluded from the analysis of this work. The

completion of this stage / process took the analysis to another level which was the coding process.

Data coding: The main idea of data coding is to reduce the data collected into machine readable language, and it is very important for computer data analysis. This process involves organizing the data into categories and a number or a symbol is assigned to each item according to the category into which it falls. It is actually the process of translating responses into categories usually numbered so that they can be tabulated and analyzed (Vogt up.cit). After the coding of the copies of questionnaires, the researcher took two steps. The first was to number the copies of questionnaire, interviews and focus group discussions. The second was to open a code book which contains all the codes assigned to various categories of different variables. This book acted as the dictionary of all the codes.

1.14 TECHNIQUE OF DATA ANALYSIS

Finally, in data analysis there is a number of statistical methods or packages that are available for use in the social sciences. The statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) is the package used for the analysis of this survey research data. This package was used to generate descriptive statistical frequencies like percentages, mean, and other descriptive tabulations for the result. The interview schedules and the focus group discussions were analyzed using content analysis method.

1.15 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

In a way this survey research adopted a partial concept of gender analysis which focused on women marginalization in governance alone. The work also reflects a certain lack of interaction at the methodological level of other explanatory variables which affect the empowerment of women. Research has shown that measures of marginalization and empowerment variables are not calibrated and classified. This implied that the variables cannot be controlled in the laboratory as in the physical sciences due to weight subjectivity inherent in social and human factors. Besides, the impact of forces acting on empowerment is not concretized and easy. Furthermore, the administration and retrieval of copies of the questionnaire were such a herculean task that only repeated visits and determination helped to achieve. One major problem encountered in the course of the survey was funding. Financing the survey was very

tasking because conducting research in six states for a self-sponsored student was such a heavy financial burden and strain. The work also received heavy attacks from feminists and women organizations for pulling an opposing string against them and the long-held cry of women marginalization. Again in some places /offices, some over zealous assistant prevented us from gaining access to their superiors. This act alone could have hindered or elongated period of the research but for pleadings and tender persuasions from researchers that helped in the retrieval of questionnaires from respondents.

However, despite these limitations, the researcher exerted enough energy and was able to collect valid and reliable data that were analyzed for the research results.

1.16 CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSES

The purpose this section was to provide operational conceptual framework upon which the urgent need to have an alternative platform to address and explain women marginalization in governance in Nigeria. To this extent, there is need to operationalize the key concepts that have been used above and that will be needed for further discussions. These include:

Sex: The English language distinction between the words gender and sex was first developed in the 1950s and 1960s by British American Psychologists and other medical personnel working with inter-sex and trans-sexual patients. Since then, the term gender has been increasingly used to distinguish between sex as biological construct and gender as social and cultural construct. Feminists have used these terminologies to argue against the view that biology is destiny line. It is the word that marks the distinction between women and men as a result of their biological, physical and genetic differences. From this perspective, sex is fixed and based in nature while gender is fluid and based in culture. This definition constitutes progress when compared with biology as destiny which means that one's biological status in life determines his/her social roles in the society. However, the reference ignores the existence of persons who do not fit neatly into the biology or social categories of men and women as inter-sex, trans-gender and trans-sexual people or simply the androgynies (World Health Organization 2002).

Sex also refers to the biological characteristics that define humans as female or male while these sets of biological characteristics are mutually exclusive as there are individuals who possess both sexes in human beings. According to the World Health Organization, sex tends to differentiate human as male or female. It is not an evenly continuous one either because a fair number of beings are markedly inter-sexual a

number of them are intersexual to the extent that where both external genitalia appears, or where developed breast occur in an individuals with male genitalia and so on. (World Health Organization 2002). Following this argument, Butler Judith (1990) argued that if the immutable character of sex is contested, perhaps this construct called sex” is as culturally constructed as gender.

Sex here also refers to an individual’s biological status. A person’s sex may be female, male or an admixture (hermaphroditic). Following certain behavioural phenomena that are the result of a person’s biological status as a female or a male, the word ‘sex’ is also used in everyday language, sometimes to refer to the physical ‘sexual act’; another term used to describe ‘sex’ is sexuality. Sexuality refers to the meaning and social practice within which sex takes place (Jackson (eds) 1998) .The ideas, meanings and social practices of sex include sexual behaviour, which include polyandry/polygamy, having more than one wife, or having more than one husband, and total abstinence from sexual act or marriage (celibacy).Sexual orientation or identity on the other hand, refers to whether we define ourselves as heterosexual (experimental), homosexual (attracted to same sex),or bisexual sexual desires. In summary, sexuality is often considered primarily biological, and socially, part of the private domain which is considered to be natural and belonging to the home behind closed doors.

Also, sex refers to female and male physiology/anatomy. It equally means the sex organs which refer mainly to the biological difference between male and female. The individual biological determined status is the physiological differences between male and female on the basis of sex. These include hormones, chromosomes, men’s ability to provide sperm and women’s ability to bear children and to breastfeed. According to the social constructionist school of thought, the differences between men and women are universal, obvious and generally permanent. Furthermore the post-structuralism school of thought is of the opinion that even what is thought to be biological can be socially acted upon and interpreted .Generally, sex designates the biological components of maleness and femaleness (R.W Connel 1995). This practically means that there are two sexes, male and female. This summary definition of the concept is where our anchor is in this research.

Women: A woman in this work’ is operationally defined as an adult female human being. A female considered to be a grown-up and possessing feminine qualities (Cambridge 1995). On the other hand, womanliness refers to female qualities of

tenderness, servitude, subordinate or a wife. To be one's woman, means a female human being independent in judgment or action. A female who has a mind of her own and takes independent actions. For example, you could hear people say "she has always been her own woman" Precisely, a woman is an adult female person, a grown-up female distinguished from a man, or a child or even sometimes any female person. We refer to a female person who plays a significant role as wife, girl friend, daughter, or mistress in the life of a man. She is particularly considered here to be a woman and also a woman as a class opposite to man in the social status. The word woman was also used figuratively in this work to represent the female sex from infant to adulthood.

Governance: 'Governance' basically means the exercise of authority, direction, control, leadership and management in a society or organization. It is the specific system by which a political system is ruled. Governance here also refers to the group of people who make up administrative body in all spheres of life, the act, process or power of governing. According to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific; the concept of governance is not new. It is as old as humans' civilization. Governance means the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented. Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. Governance has also been defined as the act of governing. It relates to decisions that define expectations, grant power, or verify performance. It consists of either a separate process or part of management, or leadership processes typically administered by government.

In the case of a business or a non-profit organization, governance relates to consistent management, cohesive policies, and guidance, process and decision-making rights for a given area of responsibility. The two terms governance and government, can be distinguished. Governance is what a government is, its limit and scope. It might be geo-political governance (Nations state), or corporate government (business entity), or social political government (tribe, family etc). Governance is the physical exercise of management power and policy while government is the instrument use by management and leaders to achieve their purposes (usually collective). As a process, governance may operate in an organization of any size: from a single human being to all of humanity; it may function for any purpose, good or evil, for profit or not. A reasonable purpose of governance is to ensure (sometimes on behalf of others) that an organization produces a

worthwhile pattern of good result while avoiding an undesirable and bad pattern of circumstances.

According to the United Nations Development Programme's Regional Project on local government for Latin American in 2011, governance can be defined as the rules of political system to solve conflicts between actors and adopt decision (legality). The concept of governance has been used to describe the proper functioning of institutions and their acceptance by the public (legitimacy). It has also been used to invoke the efficacy of government and the achievement of consensus by democratic means. The distinction between the concepts of governance and politics is that politics involves processes by which group of people with initially divergent opinions or interests reach collective decisions which are generally regarded as binding on the group, and enforced as common policy. Governance on the other hand conveys the administrative and process-oriented elements of governing rather than its antagonistic ones (United Nations Report on MDG Priorities 2011).

Gender: On the other hand, gender refers to the socially and historically constructed relations between men and women. The social relations of gender are dynamic and changes overtime, being shaped by cultural, political and economic relations of power that affect males and females in different ways in the societies. Gender also refers to the qualitative and interdependent character of women and men's position in the society. Gender divisions are not fixed by biology, but constitute an aspect or wider social division of labour and this 'in turn' is rooted in conditions of production and reproduction reinforced by cultural, religious and ideological systems prevailing in a society (Baden, and Goetz 1998). **Gender is also defined as the learned inequality.** It is defined as the amount of masculinity or femininity found in a person. This means that there are two genders: **masculine and feminine**. The concept of gender makes it possible to distinguish the biologically determined sexual differences between men and women from the culturally determined differences between the roles given to or undertaken by men and women in the society. The biologically determined sex difference between men and women are unchangeable but the culturally assigned differences are workable, and may be changed by political and opinion-shaping influences. Gender as viewed from this perspective of this work , refers to the array of socially constructed roles and relationship personality traits, attitudes, behaviours, values, relative power and influence that society ascribes to the two sexes on different

bases, based on their biologically predispositions. Gender is an acquired and learned identity whereas biological sex is determined. It changes over time, and varies widely within and across cultures. Gender relations refer not simply to women or men but to the relationship between them. Gender also refers to the economic, social and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female at a particular point in time (Hazel, Reeves and Sally 2000).

Gender relations are the relations between different categories of women and men to one another, and social phenomena such as the state, the economy, division of labour and educational systems. These relations are shaped by ideologies, beliefs, practices, access to and control of resources and so on. The social relations of gender are embedded in various social divisions that are historically constructed and specific to that location. They include dimensions such as age, class, race, ethnicity and religion. Gender relations are played out in spheres of production and reproduction, in household and communities, and in the social formations like communities and societies among others. Women liberationists argue that women are expected to work in many different spheres at the same time, despite the oppressiveness of such expectations whilst no such expectations exist for men. According to Monro Surya, gender is not what culture created out of “my” body’s sex; rather sex is what culture makes when it genders “my” body. (Monro Surya 2006),

Gender analysis: This refers to the process of analyzing information in order to understand how structures, processes and resources, such as labour for example, are differentiated, divided and valued according to sex and gender. It involves the systematic examination of ideologies and practices affecting women and men. It involves practices affecting women and men within their economic, political, social and cultural context. It also seeks to understand how societal institutions embody patriarchal assumptions that obscure women’s contributions and marginalize women from power and decision-making. Gender analysis often requires separating certain kinds of data and information by sex (known as disaggregate data) and analyzing how the disparities between women and men arise.

There are varieties of gender analysis. Mainstream gender analysis seeks to explore differentials on men and women and to quantify the gendered outcomes within current systems. Feminist gender analysis addresses power relations and the causes of the major differences in women and men’s lives, and also seeks to transform social

inequalities. The general aim of carrying out gender analysis is to ensure that political, economic, social benefits and resources are effectively and adequately targeted to both men and women, and to successfully anticipate and avoid any negative impacts that may accrue to either sex (Ostergaard L.; 1992)

Gender-blind: This concept means that there is a lack of awareness that gender is a key determinant of the choices we make. For example, a person, policy or an institution that does not recognize that gender is an essential determinant of the life choices available to us in society, is said to be gender blind.

Gender-neutral: This is a state of being free of explicit or implicit reference to gender or sex. This does not necessarily mean that the structures, processes or relations concerned affect women and men equally, though it is often assumed that this is the case when no distinction is made between genders. Gender disparities may be quite prominent in the contexts that do not make any reference to gender or sex.

Gendered: It means having or making gender-bias distinctions. It is used *inter alia* with regard to gendered institutions, gendered processes structures and gendered division of labour.

Gender bias: This is the condition of making assumptions, distinctions, decisions or taking actions based on consideration of one gender, predominantly masculine (White S.; 1993).

Gender equity: this is the condition in which women and men relate to one another and to social phenomena (such as state, the economic system and educational systems) as equals or un-equals towards access to exercise control over situations. The promotion of gender equity stems from the established fact that women and men often benefit differently and unequally from opportunities and resources.

Gender sensitive: This is a state of being aware of how the social relations of gender shape the differentiated expectations, needs, activities domains and resources available to women and men. As gender sensitivity means that there is the awareness that these social relations shape different patterns in women and men's presence and power in social formations. **Gender role identity:** this is acceptance of oneself as feminine or masculine or androgynous.

Gender awareness: This, on the other hand, refers to planning and implementations in governmental and international organizations that grant development

aid to set up sections on focal points, and to responsible for grafting women's issue into the administration projects. My interest in this survey is looking at gender from the point of view of biology and social constructs as explained by White (1993).

Marginalization: This is the process of becoming or being made marginal, to relegate or confine to a lower social standing, outer limit or edge. It indicates to the social what is referred standing; "the marginalization of the underclass, the poor, the minority, people of the outer edge in the society or group in a particular society. We also have marginalization of literature, and other examples. Marginalization involves people being denied degrees of power. Marginalization has the potential to result in severe material deprivation, and in its most extreme form, marginalisation can exterminate groups. Material deprivation is the most common form and result of marginalization when looking at how unfairly material resources such as food and shelter are dispensed in society. Along with material deprivation, marginalized individuals are also excluded from services, programs and policies. Marginalization can be understood within three levels: Individual, community and global structural/policies. Although examples are listed within these three levels, one must recognize the intersecting nature of marginalization and its capacity to overlap within each other.

Marginalization also refers to the overt or covert trends within societies whereby those perceived as lacking desirable traits or deviating from society's norms and values are ostracized as undesirables.

Individual marginalization: This is the exclusion of an individual from meaningful participation in the society. An example of individual marginalization is the exclusion of single mothers from welfare system prior to the welfare reform of the 1900s in the USA. The welfare system is based on the concept of the universal work entitlement to welfare and is based on one's contribution to the society in form of employment. The single mothers' contribution is not based on employment which results in the mother's ineligibility for social assistance for many decades. In modern society, caring work is devalued and motherhood is seen as a barrier to employment. Due to the views that an individual can only contribute meaningful through employment, single mothers are marginalised for their significant role of socializing children. As a result, single mothers as well as their children continue to suffer from material deprivation.

Another example of individual marginalization is the exclusion of individuals with disabilities from the labour force. Employers of labour see hiring individuals with

disabilities as jeopardizing productivity, increasing the rate of absenteeism and creating more accidents in the workplace. They are seen as very expensive to keep, especially through the cost of accommodating people with disabilities. This level of marginalization at the individual level is prevalent today despite the Human Right Act, the Employment Equity Act, Academic achievement skills and training.

Community Marginalization: This concerns the exclusion of community/group from society due to the development of practices, policies and programme that meet the needs of dominant communities and not the needs of the marginalized groups. Many communities experience marginalization (Mullay B 2007). An example is the aboriginal communities and women. The marginalization of aboriginal communities is a product of colonization, which resulted in the loss of their lands. They were forced into destitution having lost their sources of income and been excluded from the labour market. This is the case with the Niger Delta in Nigeria.

Some aboriginal communities lost their cultures and values through forced assimilation and so and lost their rights in society. Today, various communities continue to be marginalized from society due to the development, practices, and policies and programmes so that meet the needs of dominant people and not the needs of marginalized groups. A second example of marginalization at the community level is the marginalization of women. Feminist movement came into being as a direct reaction to the perceived marginalization of white women in the society. Women were excluded from labour force and their work in the home was not valued. Feminists therefore argued that men and women should equally participate in the labour force, the public and private sectors, and in the home. They also focused on labour laws to increase access to employment and to recognize childbearing as a valuable form of labour. Today, women are still marginalized from executive positions and continue to earn less than men in management positions

Structural/Global marginalization: This refers to the development of policies that have the potential to contribute negatively to one's access to resources and services, resulting in marginalization of individual and groups with the influx of capitalization. Globalization impacts the lives of individuals and groups in many capacities with the influx of capitalization, information technology, company outsourcing/job insecurity and the widening gap between the rich and the poor. Globalization set forth a decrease in the role of the state with increase in support from various corporate sectors resulting in gross inequalities, injustices, and marginalization of various numerable groups.

Due to globalization, companies are outsourcing employment position. As result jobs are lost, the cost of living globally continues to rise and land is being expropriated by large companies. Globalization and structural forces aggravate poverty and continue to push individuals to the margins of society while governments and large corporate do not address the issue. With the prevailing notion of globalization, we now see the rise of immigration as the world gets smaller and smaller with millions of individuals relocating each year from one location to another. This is not without hardship and struggle with what the newcomer thought was going to be a new life with new opportunities. Immigration has a strong link to access of welfare support programmes in most countries. Newcomers constantly face the problem of inability to access a country's resources because they are seen as foreigners. Migrants are exploited and marginalized within the country to which they have immigrated. Social policies and welfare provisions reflect the dominant notion in society by constructing and reinforcing categories of people and their needs (Mossa–Mitha 2005).

Marginalization and empowerment: Sometimes groups are marginalized by the society at large, but governments are often unwitting participants. For example, in the US, the government marginalized cultural minorities, particularly blacks, prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Act made it illegal to restrict access to school and public places based on race. Equal opportunity laws which actively oppose such marginalization allow increased employment to occur.

Marginalized people who have no opportunities for self sufficiency are always dependent on charity and welfare. As a result given to the fact that they are marginalised, they lose their self- confidence and hence they cannot be fully self –supporting. The opportunities denied them also deprive them of the pride of accomplishment which other who are not marginalized have. The situation in turn can lead to psychological, social and even mental health problems on the marginalized group. Women marginalization refers to the relegation of women to the lower edge in politics and civil society, thereby causing them to have lower self esteem than men. Having concluded the discussion on chapter one where the foundation, methodology and principles guiding the research were portrayed, the researcher moved on to chapter two which is the literature review. The survey started in chapter two with the review of some literatures and works of scholars and philosophers in the area of gender and the place of women in the society.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to provide a conceptual and theoretical framework upon which the urgent need to have an alternative platform to address and explain women marginalization in governance in Nigeria can be articulated. The purpose of the work is to re-assess, and provide explanation and reference on the burning issues of women marginalization.

In this chapter, reviewing of existing works hinged on the premise that there is more than enough literature on gender, women political marginalization and empowerment. However, there are very few literatures which particularly link the analysis of gender politics and women political marginalization to women themselves as principal and contributing parties to women's continued marginalization in governance in Nigeria. The aim of this research is to fill this gap by providing a perspective on the role of women in the marginalization of women in Nigeria, the researcher critically reviewed existing literatures or discourses on the social status of women, in order to discover the opinions and ideas of early works of philosophers, feminists and women empowerment champions so as to uncover the existing gap for this survey on women marginalization.

2.2 GENDER LENS AND THE GOVERNANCE OF GENDER

In the *Governance of Gender*, Lisa Brush,(2005) x-rayed what political sociology, State theory and Welfare state studies would look like if they fully integrate insights from feminists scholars. Her argument was that readers should understand feminist political sociology and state theory by viewing states and social politics through two facets of gender lens. She examined what she refers to as “the governance of gender”, as how states and social policies produce and police the boundaries between masculinity and femininity and thus enforce or undermine male privilege in every life. Lisa also investigates what she calls the gender of governance. Lisa, (2003) argues that gender of governance is the way assumptions and practices of gender difference and dominance capacities, and ideologies of governance are perceived in organized institutions

Lisa Brush (2005) further argues that States- governed gender rest in the end on evidence gathered from answers to a number of questions. For example, do states and social policies turn girls into women and boys into men? Do the privileges given to men give rise to any form of masculinity at the expense of most women and notions of feminine? R.W. Connell (1995) corroborated this argument when he asked whether states and social policies reinforce or undermine hegemonic masculinity. Do they rely on and reinforce naturalness or gender differences and male superiority in accordance to God's law or Darwin's? Do they contribute to gendered civilians and soldiers, elected and appointed officials, social workers and welfare recipients, cops and bank robbers, pimps and prostitutes? In other words, do political institutions and practices generate and reinforce gender polarization, androgenic and biological essentialism?

According to Lisa, the answer to all these questions is "Yes". Both the questions and the answers come into particularly sharp focus when viewing states and social policies through a gender lens. To her states and social policies are like other complex organizations and social processes. In the perception of Wittman and Amand Barrer (2010) the institutions and practices of governance produce gender difference and male dominance as they make meaning, establish contest terrain (geographic, economic, or intellectual and professional), and otherwise organize power in collective life.

Furthermore, Lisa (200) stressed that it is important to make scholars understand the way in which states and social policies regard and reward gender, and how they position and produce masculinity and femininity, thereby governing, maintaining and perpetuating gendered institutions and societies. To use a gender lens to inspect states and social policies 'to her' therefore is to perceive how they govern gender which involves looking at the gendered outcomes or results of the exercise of state power (in terms of both regarding and rewarding citizens – subjects). It also involves looking at the creation and regulation, construction and instruction of proper women and men (who they both produce and position). The differential regarding the rewarding, producing and positioning of men and women is what she considered the governance of gender.

Proponents of states and social policies of governance gender like Lisa suggest simultaneously at least three reasons why the situation is so. One, that states govern already – gendered persons, and are, therefore, neutral terrain of reference. Two, States govern through formerly existing, but increasingly modernized', rules and institutions, which lead to incremental and inevitable decline in gender equality in the state. Three,

states produce, position, regard, and reward women and men in ways that vary over time across nations and among groups by race ethnicity, sexuality and position called the world system. Each claim is supported by different evidence but is not mutually exclusive (Songs Sarah 2005).

Lisa contends that States-governed gender suggest that gendered citizen-subjects encounter fundamentally neutral or neuter state institutions, personnel, and practices. Nordic states like Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway Sweden and France are examples of gender blind states which have pre-established gender differences and gendered-citizen-subjects. These countries have more working women and higher birth rates than those without enlightened gender policies like Japan, and Korea (OECD 2010). Although female presence in the work place is growing currently in other Europe, America and some African countries, women do not yet share in economic and political leadership.(OECD up.cit), argued that, among fortune 500 (economic and financial institutions as banks during the economic meltdown and depression of 200/2010) companies, women are only 3% CEOs, 6% of top managers and 15% board members and argues that companies and firms with more women in leadership positions tend to have better performance and higher profits. The claim is not that states and social policies are gendered, or that they govern gender, but that states govern and sustain gendered societies so as to aid the marginalization of women.

Proponents' of governance gender believe that women and men have different leadership styles, policy concerns and priorities, political cultures, organizational networks and mode of mobilization. Those differences could be natural or as a result of evolved biological predispositions. From this point of argument, the evolutionary imperatives of survival according to Lisa (2003) push men to develop qualities of competition, conquest, and command, while women develop complementary qualities of domesticity, peace and nurturance. They also content that the differences between men and women and consequent women subordination status could be social and historical. Therefore, it can be said that gender differences and dominancy result from actions, choices and performances of both sexes as they respond to their environment in the primitive societies which been nurtured and sustained by the governance of gender. Stressing further, they argue that these differences have been further structured by expectations, opportunities, and struggle rather than by hormones, upper-body strength, and natural selection.

Sarah (2005) upholds Lisa's position that either through nature or nurture, women and men experience different treatments and outcomes when they run for office, lobby for policy, claim benefits, seek protection, compete for government contracts, join the military, call for, or run from the cops or otherwise bump up against state institutions. (Sarah 2005). According to this model, differences in treatment and outcome result because people are already divided into masculine and feminine lines in the society and in their perception. The difference people experience when they encounter states and social policies are not caused by their divided or distinguished mechanism, intuitions or practices of governance but it is because states and social policies govern gender to the extent that the states serve as a neutral referee.

The argument that gender governance is a matter of state as neutral referees tends to measure the gendered effects of government in terms of women's relative political weakness. To them, evidence of that weakness consists of women's vast underrepresentation among elected, appointed, and inherited officials in most countries throughout history. Further evidence comes from women's dismal records of policy influence and political accomplishment even after achieving suffrage. Contending further, proponents of governance gender argue that historically women in most capitalist democracies have had small political influence limited to marginal or petty issues such as drunk driving or material child's welfare as opposed to central questions of national security, foreign trade, or fiscal policy and substantive government of a country as a result women have less impact (Brush 2005).

Lisa (2005) also noted that the above model account for women's limited political accomplishments with reference to the shifting influence of policy networks, ideological climates or electoral strategies such as block voting. There was the rapid spread of state cash assistance programs for poor mothers and their children in the United States during the 1910s (Known as Mother's Aid) to women's activist organizations, and state legislatures susceptible to pressure from them. These accounts and others like them similarly traced the rise and fall of a female dominion in American reform to the New Deal as a function of shifting organizational opportunities, institutional arrangements, and gendered professional competition. To her men won because they commanded greater power and resources. However, women she argues put up a good fight, facilitated by inclusion (e.g, in the Franchise of 1920) and motivated by

exclusion (e.g. from many sector of the academy and other professions during the progressive era).

According to Lisa, models of state as neutral referee attributed women's marginal representation in governance to governance gender, which generally implies that there is something wrong with women. According to such models, women fail politically because estrogens render them too compassionate, too timid, or too distracted to compete in dog eat dog world of politics. Men have more political clout than women because childhood socialization of women into proper femininity suppresses women's political ambitions and capacities for competitions and self-promotion thereby paving the way for men in governance. Women's leadership weakness results from a feminine predilection for domesticity and desire for motherhood. Put differently, champions of governance gender stressed that women are underrepresented and marginalised where the power is due to their choice of an apparently natural and perfectly understandable preference for motherhood over equal pay or high heels over running for office.

Furthermore, in *Governance of Gender* by Lisa (2011), she broached the logic that there is a reason woman could not vote in national elections in Switzerland until electoral reforms in 1971. There is a reason no women was elected to state wide office in New York before Hillary Rodham Clinton won her Senate seat in 2000. There is a reason no women served as assistant to the president for national security affairs prior to Condoleezza Rice's appointment by President George W. Bush in 2001. There is also a reason no woman rose to the rank of whip in the US House of Representatives until Representative Nancy Pelosi became next in line to speaker in 2002. There is a reason political parties and parliaments around the world set quotas to fill their states of candidates and seats in government with more than a token number of women, even when they often fail to be representatives themselves.

As Lisa's *Governance of gender* suggests, the reason women lag behind men in the political leadership and governance is not the power arrangements that preserve androgenic status quo, such as the overwhelming odds that favour incumbent. It is not due to the fact that campaign organizers place women so far down party lists that they stand no chance of election. The reason is not the popular assumption that the qualities of leadership are congruent with masculinity and, therefore, incompatible with femininity. The reason is not the fact that when men realize that there is money or political power at stake in some particular realm of social policy e.g. birth registration, infant mortality and

child health, they have the resources and ability to muscle in even on policy areas that originated through women's organizing. Lisa argues that women lack the skills, drive, charisma, and political savvy, all of which are symbolized by having a penis. As women lack this important piece of political equipment, being male still seems to be key criterion for growing up to become president of the United States of America or any other country in the world.

In terms of political strategies, the state as neutral referees' approach recommends women's changing to become more like the normative political actor, presumptively masculine. In this model, women enter politics through training and socialization or through structural recommendation and affirmative action measures such as quotas. Such measures may indeed increase the competence and number of women in politics. However, the measures are designed to overcome differences between women and men that exist outside the state and prior to entering politics. It is not in the place of leadership and governance that gender happens, which is part of the reasons such strategies will only ameliorate gendered political inequality to limited degree. Such measures also measures women according to androgenic political priorities and standards. African Americans such as Condoleezza Rice (George W. Bush's national security advisor) and Colin Powell (George Bush's secretary of state), and women such as Jean Kirkpatrick (Ronald Reagan's ambassador to the United Nation) and Madeleine Albright Bill (Clinton's secretary of state) sufficiently resembled the white men, with corporate connections that they could be considered candidates eligible for traditionally male dominated, radicalized government appointments.

Lisa (2011) also observes that historians and other analysts attribute women's relative leadership weakness to women's failed strategies and limited power, combined with men's ability to asses, assert and extend their interest. Analysts making this type of arguments tend to assume that women fail and men succeed in politics due to factors that do not have much to do with the state itself. This she maintained in an important first step in analyzing the governance of gender to admit that masculinity and femininity are sources of difference and inequality in society at large. But notions of state as a level playing field or as being neutral before hypothesis discount the possibility that political institutions and practices might create differences between women and men instead of just aggravating or compensating them. Thus it is not a very strong version of the argument that state and social policies actively govern gender.

2.3 ENDER AND LEADERSHIP RECRUITMENT: EVALUATING THE SUPPLY MODEL BY MERYL KENNY (2009)

Meryl Kenny (2009) in exploring gender and institutions of leadership recruitment evaluated the supply and demand model used by Norris and Lovenduski (1995). Supply and demand model was used as the dominant framework in the studies of leadership recruitment. In this model Meryl depicts the supply side factors for recruitment as resources-time, money and experience. While motivational factors are seen as – ambition, interest, confidence an influence of who decides to run for positions. On the demand side, selectors evaluate applicants in accordance with wide range of factors which include including both formal and informal criteria. Kenny (2009) argues that the effect of gender on leadership, especially political recruitment can be seen as both a supply-side and demand-side effect. According to her, due to wider system factors such as the public – private divide, the sexual segregation of the workforce, and patterns of gender socialization, women are likely to have less time, money, ambition and confidence (which are motivational factors on the supply side) than their male counterparts. Alternatively the effect of gender on selection process can be a product of demand, either through direct or indirect discrimination. Kenny (2009) added that lack of adequate education and qualifications also hinder women from occupying positions of leadership and governance in almost all societies (Meryl Kenny 2009).

Drawing from the supply and demand model, Meryl also notes that the supply and demand model offers a compelling framework for the study of political recruitment stressing that it has two key shortcomings. The first is that it underestimates the extent to which gender norms shape the dynamics of supply and demand. The model all the same represents a significant improvement of previous work on political recruitment in that it highlights the role that gender norms play in the selection process. Accordingly, they view gender as one of many factors influencing the dynamics of supply and demand. On one hand, they find some evidence of both direct and imputed discrimination in the selection process. Yet they ultimately conclude that there is little evidence of pervasive discrimination against women candidate. Lovenduski (2002), and Lovenduski (2005) are generally sceptical about the supply-side explanation for women under-representation in governance. Stressing the extent to which gender norms shape the selection process favour the stereotype of a middle-class, white male and professional candidates (Mona Lena , Krook and Fiona Mackay 2011).

Arguably, both the way in which the role of candidate is defined and the system have been designed to select a standard model candidate who is articulate, well-educated, and typically employed in professional career in the supply and demand mode. Empirical recruitment also highlights the limiting power of demand despite increases in the supply of female candidates.(Norris and Lovenduske 1995). Meryl notes that Fawcett society's report on the 2007 general election found that British political parties were institutionally sexist, meaning that gender bias was entrenched and well established in the parties in terms of personnel, outcome, and practices (Norris E.; 2004).

However, it was discovered that the key factors explaining low levels of women's political representation was a lack of demand on the part of candidate selections and that incidences of both direct and indirect discrimination were wide spread in all of the parties, while Chapman (1993) highlights the extent to which seeming neutral recruitment and selection practices are in fact gendered. Secondly, while the supply and demand model attempts to theorize the interconnectivity between the institutions of political and governance recruitment representing a significant improvement from previous approaches to study candidate selection, disaggregating factor in this way oversimplifies the dynamics of selection process.

According to Norris (2009), political and governance recruitment studies reveal multiple directions of causality. Krook (2009) identifies that the demands of gatekeepers predominantly shape the supply of available candidate; candidates selected themselves out of the recruitment process on the basis of their perception of selection criteria, a demand –side factor which often times are hard for women to meet the requirement thereby reducing the chances of women being recruited into governance and leadership positions.

Furthermore, while the supply and demand model acknowledges that there are institutional interconnections, it fails to explicitly theorize the effect of institutional configurations. In other words, it indicates how the interaction of particular institutions may help or block the selection of women into governance. The supply and demand model assumes that the institutions of political recruitment work together relatively straightforwardly and in tandem with institutional reform. For example, changes in the electoral system impact the selection process within political parties. The resulting changes in the recruitment process then impact dynamics of candidate supply and selector demand.

2.4 GENDER, SEXUALITY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

According to Surya (2005), another reason why women are marginalised in governance aside from gender, is sexuality and sexuality exclusion. She observes that people who have identities that do not fit into mainstream conceptions of gender and sexuality face disadvantage in a wide range of ways. Gender, sexuality and social exclusion play out is because linguistic, legislature and other institutional structures support the institutions of heterosexuality and gender binarism thereby limiting the extent to which moving outside of mainstream gender and sexualities is possible. According to her, a range of intersecting discourses including patriarchy, homophobia, sexphobia, and ethnocentrism underpin the inequalities that transsexual and LGB people face, especially women. She maintains that whilst each person's position in this complex web of structuring forces is unique, some underlying trends can be discerned. These refer to the ways in which certain types of people tend to be privileged (those who for instance, fit gender binaries, or who are heterosexual, male, white ,healthy or able-bodied) and others (those who are gender diverse, not heterosexual, female, ethnic minority , challenged in terms of health or disabled) may face discrimination (Surya Monro 2005).

Surya argues further that the process by which people with non-binary genders and minority sexualities are marginalized can be understood using notions of sexual exclusion. Sexual exclusion refers to the way in which certain groups lack the resources to participate in wider society and face bars to participate at institutional and cultural levels. According to Surya, there are different models of social exclusion, some of which include poverty, cultural norms and notions. Social exclusion tend to highlight individual choice, and to model social exclusion and inclusion processes. This means that people may be seen as moving in and out of mainstream society depending on levels of access to factors such as education, and employment. Social exclusion approaches, therefore, allow for some flexibility. For example, people are not seen as necessarily been frozen into identities that doom them to a life of social marginalization (Livitas , R. 1998)

Burchardt et al (2002) believed that the United Nations Development Programme has taken a somewhat different approach to social exclusion. Social exclusion was conceptualized as a lack of recognition of basic right. Where the recognition existed, there is a lack of access to political and legal systems necessary to make those rights a reality.

To Burchardti et al, social exclusion is a contested term. The main ways in which the concept is used concern, first, exclusion from the labour market, and second, the vicious circle that people get into when they are poor. For example alcoholism relating to despair at being unemployed can make someone unemployable. Thus social exclusion is not just a description of adverse consequences of disadvantage but a process by which people become distanced from benefits of participating in modern society. The notion of social exclusion goes beyond earlier social policy which concerns poverty.

Social inclusion and exclusion take place via the interaction of different factors. These include individual capital such as childhood circumstances and financial resources, external influences including constraints affecting people and communities, and agency. Some factors contributing to this disadvantage cannot be changed, some tend to lead to an accumulation of the characteristics of exclusion and others are more fluid or transitional. Sources of exclusion can be directly created such as the case of legislation stopping foreigners from working in the public sector, excluding single mothers from gainful employment. It may also stem from less concrete factors such as cultural norms and discourses. (Levtas 1998) identifies three ideal types of discourse that underpin notions of social exclusion among which a lot of public discourse shift. These are:

1. The Redistribution Discourse. RED was developed from British Critical Social Policy. Which focuses on poverty. The Redistribution Discourse poverty as main causes of social exclusion, and implies a radical reduction of inequalities, and redistribution of resources and power. Although it focuses on the economic aspects of inclusion, it broadens out debates on exclusion by addressing social, political, governance and cultural inclusion.
2. The second is the Moral Underclass Disclosure (MUD). Which differs considerably from RED discourses, in that it is individualistic, focusing on behaviour of poor, rather than social structures and inequalities. It frames socially excluded people as culturally distinct from others. It links social exclusion with notions of the underclass, and welfare dependency, where socially excluded people are seen as developing morally undesirable attitudes and behaviours characterized by various types of parasitism, crime and immorality.

3. Thirdly, 'Social Integration Discourses (SID) focuses on paid work. Paid employment is viewed as central to social and cultural integration, and because of this focus, SID narrows the definition of sexual exclusion (Livitas R.1998)

The Social exclusion of trans-sex and inter-sex people stems initially from complex cultural and social process of inequality concerning gender and sexuality, rather than economic exclusion. Therefore, as suggested above, a broad model of sexual exclusion, one that addresses a range of blocks to participate in society, is needed for understanding the exclusion of gendered minorities of the different types of discourses. RED provides a critical interpretation that addresses social structures and support social change while SID access to employment is important for trans-sex and intersex people.

2.5 FEMINIST MODEL OF CITIZENSHIP BY SURYA MONRO.

According to Monro in feminist citizenship model, citizenship can be defined as a collection of rights and duties determining socio-political membership, and providing access to resources and benefits. Bussemaker and Voet (1998) consequently discussed three main ways of thinking about citizenship.

1. Civic republicanism
2. Liberalism
3. Communitarians

Civic republicanism, which was developed in Greece in the fourth or fifth century AD, was based on notions of individuals as having equal worth irrespective of their sexes or gender, the importance of individual involvement in politics, and the duties of citizenship. This argument has been criticized because under this system of individuals having equal worth, some people were more equal than others.

Liberalism is perhaps the most influential form of citizenship in the west that is being forged in relation to capitalism. In liberalism as a form of citizenship, the emphasis is on individual equal rights with minimal state intervention and maximum market freedom.

Communitarianisms construct citizens as being dependent on each other, ardent on social social obligations, and discussable of the existence of differences that need to

be taken into account. Although only some differences are recognized, while gender and sexuality tend to be excluded. The development of this welfare state in the west and elsewhere has meant a revisiting of communitarianism, and the influencing of communitarianist notion which persisted in line with a neo-conservative emphasis on duties, as opposed to rights.

2.6 MASCULINISTIC MODEL OF CITIZENSHIP

The feminist model of citizenship started by critiquing the way women have been marginalized in debates concerning citizenship for millennia. From the fifth century BC to mid twentieth century, citizenship rights were almost exclusively given to men, and where women were included, it was often only in their roles as mothers. This model further argues that inequalities persist despite support for formal equality in many countries. The reason is that mainstream notions of masculinistic model has been on implicit assumptions that citizenship means the same thing for men and women making differences in the citizen's interest and that current notion of citizenship still hide gender inequality. For example in the UK, the idea of the "active citizen" erases gendered assumptions such as an emphasis on parental responsibilities without recognition of the way in which citizens are unequally gendered.

Some feminist who challenged masculinistic notions of citizenship include Pateman (1989), and Walby (1994). These authors worked on the shared ground between feminism and citizenship discourses, referring to notions of justice, equality, participation and recognition of pluralism. Feminism has had an ambivalent relationship to notions of citizenship. Accordingly, Lister, (1997) affirms that citizenship has had an appeal to feminists because it promised universal rights, but at the same time it has excluded women. The re-appropriation of strategic concepts such as citizenship is central to the development of feminist leaders in governance and social theory. A feminist project to (re) appropriate citizenship does not, however, imply an uncritical acceptance of its value as a concept. (Lister 1997)

In feminist models of citizenship, civic republicanism was based on the notion of freedom in the public sphere. However, women were excluded from public sphere just as women were excluded from public life in ancient Greece. The notion of participation which is an important aspect of civic republicanism was subsequently an important aspect of civic republicanism. was subsequently linked to notions of gender inequality.

Bussemaker and Voet (1998) argue that civic republicanism is useful for femininity because of the emphasis on participation and public debate, but that it is masculinity due to history and the extent of women's past and present exclusion in governance. In addition, the emphasis on public sphere leads to denigration of the private sphere they argued.

On the other hand, classical liberalism has a number of advantages for women. The discourse of equality takes place via the philosophy of natural rights, the language of freedom and autonomy. Liberal arguments for the equality of women have been widely used by women liberation movement and despite exclusion of women by authors. The emphasis on individualism is frequently masculinistic because it is assumed that women are taking care of the private sphere (freeing up male individuals to engage in public life. Liberalism may also mean a reluctance to address citizenship obligations. Neo-liberalism is problematic for women because of the focus on the market and avoidance of state intervention, which does not support women's equality. It is a threat to the welfare state on which many women rely due to poverty.

Furthermore, communitarianism has advantage for women in that it includes values such as compassion, care, shared responsibilities and interrelatedness. However, it hides some differences under the veil of universalism. In addition, some types of communitarianism are traditionalists in the area of morality and gender roles. In practices, communitarianist notions of community are often locality based, failing to address the communities of interest that may concern women and sexual minorities. Overall, all these approaches have advantages and disadvantages for feminist citizenship but all of them risk the erasure of women's interest in different ways (Monique 2006).

On whether it is possible to formulate the ideal model citizenship, which originally excludes women, to fully include them, feminist citizenship scholars argue that the extension of mainstream notions masculinity model of of citizenship to include women focuses on informal, rather than public forms of leadership engagement on reformulating notions of the public-private divide. Feminists such as Lister (1997) explores the role of women in the public sphere by stressing that women are underrepresented amongst the leaders of organizations and political elites. Instead, they tend to be involved in informal leadership and politics, so there is a need for citizenship discourse to pay a greater attention to this arena. Again, there is a need to re-privilege unpaid caring work, as opposed to paid work. The central issue here is the public-private

divide. On a discursive level, citizenship, and the liberalism from which much citizenship discourse derives, depend on the idea of the separation between the private, (domestic personal life) and the public (paid work, politics) sphere (Livitas R.1998) .On a structural level, public-private inequalities profoundly affect women's citizenship. This school of thought argued that having children blocks women's ability to participate in work and attaining leadership positions at the same pace as their male colleagues'. The alternative according to this school of thought is to expand models of citizenship to include the private realm although this could also pose problems in relation to privacy and autonomy as well as difficulties in implementation.

Feminist citizenship model, according to Surya, is important in foregrounding women's interest and interrogating issues such as the public-private divide. Although there have been debates within feminism and post-structuralist thinkers concerning the category of women and the extent to which people can talk of universal female experience, the notion of 'women,' is a deconstructed idea of feminist citizenship, especially when universal feminist citizenship that pertains only to women becomes problematic. The contention here is that if the broadening "categories" approach to gender is taken 'women,' and 'men into account, then it is seen as umbrella categories covering a multitude of experiences and identities. If the other categories concerning trans are included and seen as particularly overlapping with the categories of male/female, then the picture becomes more complex and finely grained, making rigid boundaries between mainstream and feminist citizenships untenable. If the engendering approach is taken, the basis would involve asserting gender differences.

The gender pluralist approach would entail support for feminist notions of citizenship but only alongside other types of citizenship such as Trans and intersex citizenship. The boundaries between different forms of gender citizenship would not be discrete as some people would move between them or belong to several categories. The picture also becomes more complex when other differences are addressed. For example, race and ethnicity are central aspects of the definitions of citizenship Much contemporary feminists theories invites us to ignore race due to its focus on gender and criticizes the development of feminist thought concerning citizenship in reaction to existing models of democracy and the welfare state, where race has been inadequately problematized.

Monro for instance, explains further that there is a place for strategic identity based on politics, including feminist politics. This, according to her, means eroding models of feminist citizenship because debates concerning post-structuralism and difference would be counterproductive. The diversity of women's concerns and experiences does, however, mean that some of the issues discussed by feminist citizenship theorists may be irrelevant to some women. Other factors such as nationality and ability must be taken into consideration also. Monro argues that certain groups of women with mental health problems may have certain types of citizenship issues that are not shared by other women, and that are not necessarily dealt with by feminist theorists. In addition, the category of women is clearly not discrete or placed in opposition only to the category of man; the binary can be disrupted and other identities introduced.

Feminist models of citizenship do not take Trans or intersex into account, nor do they fully address the many instances of male non gender stereotypical behaviour, such as male caring. There is a danger that feminist notions of citizenship freeze certain concerns that are relevant to certain women whilst erasing the experiences of other women and non gender normative people. From the above discussions on feminist models of citizenship, it is imperative to note that feminist citizens' models or notions explore whether it is possible to broaden the conventional citizenship notions to include women, and point out some of the issues of post-structuralism and gender pluralism raised concerning feminist models of citizenship. Feminist models of citizenship model probes to know how useful the traditional forms of citizenship are for feminist thinkers. Citizenship model looks into the three mainstream citizenship definitions which include civic republicanism, liberalism and communitarianism. However, it failed to address the lacuna of women denigration to women as the reassessment of women marginalization in governance in Nigeria does.

2.7 EDUCATION AND WOMEN MARGINALIZATION IN GOVERNANCE ACCORDING TO PLATO

Plato's ideas on social status of women are important to the Re-assessment of women Marginalization in Governance because Plato was the first to formulate and define political ideas within a larger framework of a philosophical idea of the Good. Plato's stress was about human life and human soul, or human nature. To him, the real

question in it is “how to live what is the best life?”. This to him is inseparable from the question, “What is (the) best order or organization of human society?”

Among the three famous works of Plato are the Republic, the Statesman and the Laws. The one that is of interest to this work is the Republic. The Republic was known to be an amalgam of Plato’s ideas in the field of ethics, metaphysics, philosophy and politics. Its basic theme is justice and the benefits that accrue from being just.

The Republic in Greek means “justice” and should not be understood in its Latin meaning “the state or the polity”. Plato’s work in the Republic began with the quest for understanding the idea of Good, and explained how a perfect soul could be developed. Its core has been succinctly summarized as follow.

Philosophy: this meant to Plato what it meant to his master Socratic. The Socratic philosophy, analyzed and formulated in the early dialogues, was not the study of nature or logic or metaphysics; it was the pursuit of wisdom, and to achieve wisdom would be to achieve human perfection, well-being and happiness. This again does not mean merely caring for one’s own soul as an isolated individual, saving himself and leaving society to its fate. Having this ideal is what constitutes human excellence.

Human excellence, as Plato and Aristotle after him always maintained, is the excellence of an essentially social creature, a citizen. To produce this experience and consequent well-being is the true end of the “Royal Art” of statesmanship. Hence, the life of philosophy and the life of the active statesman ought not to appear as alternative careers but a single life in which all the highest pavers of a man would find full expression. Plato believes. Society could be saved only by reuniting the two elements which had been drifting apart (Mukhereje 2007).

2.8 EDUCATION AND THE PHILOSOPHER KING

Plato considers education to be very vital in his ideal state. To him the ideal state which is ruled by the philosopher ruler was made possible through an elaborate and rigorous scheme of education. He `believed that the state is wholly constructed around the scheme of education, and that if the state performs its task of conducting and supervising education properly it will succeed. To Plato, education is the instrument of moral reform because he believes that education transforms human souls. Education

inculcates the right values of selfless duty towards all. Education is positive; it helps in the performance of one's functions in society and in attaining fulfilment in life.

The one sufficient thing in Plato's Republic is the education of guardian which does not exclude women. He believes that if the philosophers are well educated, they will see to everything in the society. Education was more important than community of wives and property because it tries to cure the ills at the source while communism tries to prevent distractions that may corrupt the soul (Subrata 2007).

The human soul was capable of learning as long as it lives. This means that education is a lifelong process. Knowledge is acquired for the sake of perfection and excellence. Plato believes that virtue is knowledge especially to know good and to do good. That the goal of education is to turn the inward "eye" with the help of right objects towards light. For Plato, the mind is active and capable of directing itself towards objects of study and if nurtured properly, it is capable of becoming totally receptive to objects from the environment.

Plato established the right environment to ensure that the soul is attracted to things that are beautiful and then move towards beauty itself.

Platonic education is primarily a moulding of souls---- Plato holds that orderly arrangement is the function of education to produce such order, which is a necessary condition for the virtue based on correct opinion and a necessary precondition for virtue based knowledge. Whereas Socrates, who views the soul as basically rational, sees education as a weakening of thought, Plato believes education to be concerned as much with the non-rational elements as with the rational(Coole 1993).

Plato's elaborate system of education brought forth the importance and interdependence of nature and nurture in shaping human character. He accepted that individuals differ in intelligence and capacities, which were determined at the time of birth. He believed that these predetermined qualities are permanent but within their limits because the individual could be moulded through training and learning. He holds that the way an individual led a life, whether happily or unhappily is determined by upbringing. He, therefore, observes that talent and training are both required to bring out the best in an individual. As regards elementary education, Plato recommended a state-controlled compulsory and comprehensive scheme of education. Elementary education would be confined to the guardian class till the age of 18years followed by a two year compulsory military

training and then: higher education which commenced at the age of 20 years for those who qualified to attain higher education.

In the Plato's scheme of education, both boys and girls receive the same kind of education. According to Plato, beyond physical distinctions, there is no difference between the sexes in talents and skills, thus making a subtle criticism of secondary status accorded to women in ancient Greece.

For secondary education, this level of education starts at the age of 20 years. From the elementary school, selections will be made at the age of 20 years. The best ones will go for further training in the higher education. They will take advance courses in Mathematics, which would include arithmetic, plane and solid geometry, astronomy and harmonics. At this level, after 10 years those who did not qualify to join the exclusive category of esoteric minds would become soldiers, and form the second tier of the ruling elite. At the age of 30 years those who have flair for science and are qualified will study dialectics or metaphysics then logic and philosophy for the next five years. They will also study the idea of good which is the first principle of being. At the age of 35, they will receive partial experience for ruling by accepting junior positions in military, politics and leadership for 15 years. To him at this age the philosophy ruler will be well equipped at the age of 50 years to devote the greater part of his life to contemplation and philosophy along with governance obligations with no regard to gender or sexes of the student (Daly 1997).

2.9 THE COMMUNITY OF WIVES AND PROPERTY

There are two distinct ideas that were embedded in Plato's community of wives and property. The reform of conventional marriage stressed the abolition of private family and property for the guardian class.

Education for Plato was designed to create the proper environment for the nurturing and development of the human soul. Plato does not believe in monogamous or private family. The community of wives and property tries to eliminate all the negativities that obstruct the proper growth of the individual from performing tasks appropriate to the individual's nature. The community of wives and property ensures that nepotism, accident of birth i.e. birth opportunities and family social placement,

family ties and pedigree or wealth would not be the criteria of selection for social individual stations and their assigned tasks in the society.

It ensures that since governance was a selective and specialized function, only the best and deserving would make it. He believes that the rulers of this kind would pass off the benefits of ruling to the rest of the society that stood disenfranchised. Plato abolished private life and property for the guardian class because marriage encourages nepotism, favouritism, particularism, factionalism and other corrupt practices among rulers. To him governance does not mean promoting one's personal interest but it is to promote the common good. To achieve this Plato proposed that the members of the guardian class live together in common like soldiers in the barracks possessing no gold or silver but will only have a small amount of property that was necessary. None will own a house or storeroom especially an exclusive private space. They will survive by receiving small quota from the producing class depending on what is required for subsistence.

The Community of Wives: Plato devoted time in the Republic to the Community of wives and property. This is hinged on his bother by the negative emotions of hatred, selfishness, avarice and envy that the family encourages. In addition, he was dismayed by the secondary status women occupy within the family confined to perform household chores.

The Platonic educational scheme was gender blind because Plato believes that women and men are identical in natural endowments and faculties. He maintained that male and female did not differ much and that they should be treated equally. That was the reason both boys and girls received the same kind of education in his scheme of education. Plato has no problem if the philosopher king/ruler is male or female. He thought of the idea of women participation in politics from Aristophanes as early as (447–388BC).

The second point emphasized by Plato in the chapter titled community of wives and property is the marriage reform or the abolition of conventional permanent monogamous marriages and private family lives to the guardian class for both men and women. According to Plato, conventional marriage leads to women subordination, subjugation and seduction. Therefore, Plato does not believe in the idea of private family life as a spiritual union, or sacrament or bond based on love and mutual respect. Rather, he sees marriage as necessary to ensure reproduction and continuation of the human race.

To this extent Plato advocates temporal sexual unions for the purpose of bearing children. He relieved women of child bearing and child rearing responsibilities. Plato proposed strict regulation of sexual intercourse for the guardian class which was to be performed in the interest of the state by ensuring that the best and the fittest of human stock were produced for the state. In Plato's scheme only the philosopher ruler has power to decide on sexual unions:

There would be as many unions of the best of both sexes, and as few of the inferior as possible....No one but the Rulers must know how all this is affected. Otherwise our herd of Guardians may become rebellious We must then institute certain festival at which we shall bring together the brides and bridegrooms ... the number of marriage we shall leave to the Ruler discretion I think they will have to invent some ingenious system of drawing lots, so that at each pairing off, the inferior candidate may blame his luck rather than the rulers (Gadamer, 1986).

Plato viewed the ideal time of marriage to be between 25 – 55 for men and 20 – 40 for women. He forbids incest, encouraged abortion for illegitimate children of those that were not sanctioned by the state or were the result of mating by person beyond the prescribed age limit. Once children are born as a result of marriages sanctioned by the state, these children would be taken care of by the state maintained nurseries, which would be equipped with well trained nurses. Except for the philosopher ruler, none would know the parentage of these children. Even the biological parents and the children will be oblivious of their relationship tie. The idea being that all children would be respectful towards elders in the same way as they would have been to their parents. The elders on their own part will shower love and affection on all the children as if they were their biological children.

Each generation of children will be taken by officers appointed for the purpose, which may be men or women or both – for men and women will of course be equally eligible for office.... These officers will take the children of the better Guardians to a nursery and put them in charge of nurses living in a separate part of the city. The children of the inferior Guardians and any defective offspring of the others will be quietly and secretly disposed of (Zajko 2006).

Plato gave women equal and independent status with rights. Plato understood individuality within a social context and equality within the social stratum. He equally advocated sexual equality with the purpose of utilizing women intellectual resources for

the benefit and development of the community as a whole. However, it was to his credit that he was the first to point out any sexual discrimination which had to be justified. Critics of Plato's model argue that only a few women can benefit from his theory while majority will remain marginalized. Yet as early as 356 BC he recognised the importance and place of women in the society. He did not exclude women from governance but realized that both male and female are equal in talents and faculties.

2.10 SEXUAL INEQUALITY AND THE NATURAL LAW BY JOHN LOCKE (1632-1704)

Feminist writers maintain that the political writings of John Locke offered the earliest example of well-worked out Liberal political theory. This simply means that liberalism as a creed began with John Locke and it is still one of the most influential today.

In his book *The Patriarchal* he stressed the rationale behind women's marginal social status in leadership and governance, and male dominance was written in 1653-1657 but was published for the first time in 1680 to counter the pressure of the exclusionist and the wings. In *The Patriarchal*, he contended that patriarchal authority was analogous to paternal authority. Having created Adam, God gave him authority over his family, the earth and its products. Adam was the first king and present kings derive their rightful authority from this grant.

Adam was both the first father and the first King. Subsequent generations of men were not born free, but were subject to Adam and his successors with the power of fathers derived from God since God's original grant to Adam was unconditional. He argued that any attempt to restrain absolutism would result in a limited or mixed monarchy and divided sovereign would weaken authority. Filmier did not support tyranny all the same because he argued that the monarchs should obey the Laws of God in their Kingship.

Filmier was critical of contractualism. He went on to contend that if contractual arguments were true, then it would result in two unacceptable consequences which its advocates would find hard to explain. First, it would not be possible to provide a continuing valid political authority if all authority rest on consent, then an individual who had not consented was not bound by the Laws, implying that minorities, dissenters,

non-voters i.e. women and children need not obey the law and a new ruler if one had not consented to them. If the original contractors who established society were free, then each generation, unless contested, was not bound to obey the laws and this will then make the society unstable.

On the contrary, some scholars argued that the succeeding generations would have to obey because their forefathers and fathers had expressed their consent. On this, Filmer contended that this argument does not differ from the patriarchal that men were not born free but into families and that the relationships of subordination were natural because individuals were not equal; a son must be subject to the authority of his father. He went further to explain that those who explain the origin of government with reference to consent of free individuals would find it difficult to establish either feasible or morally acceptable political authority, or rightful private possession of goods.

However, John Locke did not only refute Filmer's patriarchal theory. He also had to prove that Robert Filmer's criticism of contractualism was absurd. In his own style, Locke's argument had to explain the origins of political power and private property which were the two central arguments of Filmer against contractualism in his first treatise. His argument was based broadly on four points. (1) That God did not give the relevant power to Adam. (2) That if Adam had been granted this power, it did not mean that his heirs had a right to it. (3) Even if Adam's heirs did have such a right, there were no clear rules of succession according to which rightful heirs could be named. (4) Even if there were such rules, it would be impossible to identify Adam's actual heir considering the time span since God's original grant of power to him.

The second treatise of John Locke tried to explain the basis of legitimate government and reasons why individuals acquiesced to subject to an eternal authority. The answer, according to Locke, was simple: free individuals expressed their consent willingly and voluntarily through a contract agreed upon freely among themselves. He went further to explain why the individual agreed to enter into civil society and establish a government. Locke explained in reference to the state of nature. According to John Locke, the state of nature was not only a state of perfect freedom, but also of perfect equality. Individuals had an equal right to natural freedom. As a Christian, Locke believed God created human beings and the earth. And every one created by God had equal right to share the earth and its fruits since they were God's creations and were

subject to the law of nature. In the law of nature, each individual had the right to enforce the law of nature and to punish its transgressors.

John Locke's observation is that the absence of common legislature, executive and judiciary powers in the state of nature created disputes on the interpretation of the law. In the absence of common and acceptable arbitrary power, there were disturbances for the others even when he believed that human beings are natural, social and pacific. He however, did not rule out the possibility of dispute among them. He used the state of nature to describe the lives of persons without political authority (Mukhereje 2007).

He argued that the state of nature is the condition which God himself places all men in the world prior to the lives which they live and the societies which are fashioned by the living of these lives. What this is designed to show is not what men are like; rather this is the rights and duties they have as creatures of God. Their most fundamental right and duty are to judge and live in the world as required by God who created them. His requirement for all men in the state of nature is that they all live according to the law of nature. Through the exercise of his reason every man has the ability to grasp the consent of his law.

According to Locke, men and women were by nature free, politically equal creatures of God and subject to the laws of nature, and possessors of an executive power of the laws of nature; they became subjects of political authority only by their consent. The consent are of two kinds : express/ direct and tacit consent

Locke explains that consent was an explicit commitment given at the time when the commonwealth was instituted. For example, the Carolina constitution which Locke helped to draft provided for declaration of one's allegiance to the commonwealth when an individual came of age. He maintained that in a situation where there was no provision for explicit consent, people's obligation could be gauged by their tacit consent. Scholars like Mackie J.L. (1994) has argued that there are two problems with the tacit consent. The definition of tacit consent and the extent of demonstration were not properly or clearly determined.

.... Everyman, that has any possession or enjoyment of any part of the dominions of any government, does thereby give his tacit consent, and is forth obliged to obedience to the laws of government, during such enjoyment, as anyone under it: whether this possession be of land, to his heirs forever, or lodging only for a week: or whether it be barely travelling freely on highway: and in

effect, it reaches as far as the very being of anyone with the territories of government (Mackie 1994).

He stressed that the obligation to obey the government would depend on the fact that public power was used for peace, safety and public good of the people. Moreover, individuals would not yield to the government more power than what they actually possess in the state of nature. This means that there cannot be an absolute arbitrary government or power over people's lives and fortunes which are as much possible to be preserved. In this case, individuals were not committed to unconditional obligation. Instead, there was a rational and limited agreement which assured obedience for preservation and enhancement of life, liberty and property. To Locke the validity of the contract would depend on the continuation of these benefits (Bourne 1976).

Furthermore, Locke's insistence that there was a higher law above the law of the state became a part of modern democratic theory. According to him, the belief that there is a higher power than that of the state made authority to be transparent, accountable and subjected to change her misdeeds and abuse. Therefore, people would use the right of resistance and revolution wisely as their bitter medicine, and not as a daily bread. It was realized that revolution will result in better social order, and that they would resort to mismanagement in the public affairs or for transient causes.

Locke also asserted that government based on consent, coupled with the right of the people to rebel was the best defence against rebellion. People had the right to judge and assess authority, which was no longer sacred or supernatural.

Parental and Patriarchal Authority:

However, John Locke distinguished political from parental power. For him, individuals have the right to resist a government that was tyrannical thus requiring the government to show that subjects did not have an unconditional obligation to obey as contended by the patriarchalists simply by virtue of their birth. He demonstrated the limits of a natural father's authority. For him, parental authority was natural, not in the sense contended by patriarchalists that political power on the contrary was conventional.

Accepting the Christian dictum that children had to obey their parents, Locke argued further that since parental authority was shared, it would not be model for the rule of an individual, as insisted by the patriarchal monarchist. Obedience towards parents

was temporary till one becomes morally responsible. The rights of the parents were natural not because they had given birth to their children as contended by the patriarchalist, but because it was their duty to take care of them and educate them till they were capable of being independent, which could be revoked if they neglected their duties. According to Locke, what was due to parents was honour and not obedience. The honour was due to both fathers and mothers and not to fathers alone. As in parenthood, while children obey their parents, subjects obey the rulers. He argued that inheritance was a virtual right which children have because it was the duty of the parents to not only provide for their survival but also give them conveniences and comforts of life to the best of their ability.

Locke also granted mothers an equal right with fathers as regards authority over their children. He specified a political role for women, enabling them to enjoy rights and powers within their homes. To him mothers had a right to parental respect independent of the will of the fathers because they had their own responsibilities towards their children. He granted freedom to wives from their husbands. For example, in an unhappy marriage, the wife has liberty to leave her husband. He also granted the wife property for which she had laboured. He regarded a husband's authority over his wife as derived from a contract and not from nature. He saw women as contributing to civic culture though he did not expand nor suggest ways and means of their political activity.

Moreover, Locke contended that biological differences between men and women were irrelevant since women were politically equal, and agreed with Filmer that the natural differences between the sexes however was responsible for the subordination of women. He took it for granted that a husband's rule over his wife was a non-political form of power. He also conferred on husband the power of decision-making as the abler and stronger. He further argued that through the marriage contract, a wife has accepted and has concentrated to her husband's dominion.

....but a punishment laid upon Eve: and if we will take them as they were directed in particular to her, as their representative to all other women, they will at most no more but that subjection they should ordinarily be to their husbands: But there is here no more law to oblige a women to such subjugation. If the circumstances either of her condition or contract with her Husband should exempt her from it, then there is, that she should bring forth her children in sorrow and pain, if there could be found Remedy for it For the whole verse runs thus, unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception: In sorrow thou shall bring forth

children and thy desire shall be to thy Husband and he shall rule over thee .I would think that have been a hard matter for any Body, but for Adam, to have found a Grant of monarchical Government over Eve, or to Men over their Wives, but only foretells what should be the woman's lot' how by this providence he would order it so, that she should be subject to her husband, as we see that generally the laws of mankind and customs of Nations have ordered it so; and there is I grant a foundation in Nature for it.(Cartledge, Ryan 1983).

Although a grant of dominion to the patriarch is denied as having any basis in nature, Locke noted that women's subordination to man is explained as a result of the curse laid upon Eve, for the curse and traditions of mankind, and the foundation of nature. He ridiculed naturalistic arguments for political society on which ground patriarchalism in history, scripture, and tradition and slips in via the Garden of Eden the notion that women's subordination within the conjugal and not the political, society and marriage can be understood and depended on the basis of nature. However, in accordance with his argument on self-preservation and natural moral equality, Locke placed limits on the husband's authority, confining it to property and matters of common interest and explicitly denied right over his wife's life or fortune. As in politics, even family life was based on the premise that individuals were free and equal under the Laws of nature. The members of a family had to preserve themselves and fulfil their obligations.

In spite of giving women a political role, Locke continued to see women as mothers and as wives. He was, therefore, regarded as an early feminist for his considerate views and attitude towards women. Locke placed Filmer's absolutist patriarchal model with liberal redefinition of patriarchal role. For Filmer, parental authority was divine, natural and unlimited, while Locke separated family life from political authority. While a husband – wife relationship was contractual and, therefore, voluntary, a parent- child relationship was natural but limited and conditional. The family was needed for procreation of human race and education of the young.

2.11 THE ANALYSIS OF INEQUALITY BY JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712 – 1778)

In the discourses, Rousseau provided the moral foundations of his social criticism and explored the bases for natural rights by tracing the sources of moral values to natural equality and compassion that could be found among individuals. He described the natural

person as some kind of dumb animal. Rejecting the notion of the original sin, he contended that human beings came into the world as pure and good beings, but in the process got corrupted, tarnished, disfigured and degraded by the society (Sushila 2007).

He went further to demonstrate how humans who were naturally healthy, good, dumb and roughly equal to one another became sickly, evil, intelligent and highly unequal when they mixed in society. The greatest horror of modern time to him was the fact that the society was highly unequal. He provided the reason of the “fall” of human being. His verdict on modern society was essentially negative. He concluded that human beings, in all their efforts, had only succeeded making themselves miserable. Rousseau described the human person as endowed with the ability to choose since he was a free agent and not entirely subject to instinct and natural impulse as other animals are. To him, each human being was capable of being perfect, which enabled him to come out of the state of nature, but in the process created an imbalance between his needs and his ability to satisfy them. In reference to him, civilization multiplied the desire for needs but the inability to fulfil them made human beings unhappy. He did not see material progress being ushered in by modern technology as constituting civility and happiness because modern civilization was highly unequal as it did not reflect merely natural but also artificial inequalities which are corruptible and wrong. Rousseau was an advocate of approximate social equality but not total equality. He permitted two types of inequalities, the kind that is gained when people distinguished themselves by rendering special service /contributions to society. He maintains that existing social inequality did not belong to those types mentioned above.

Rousseau rejected the idea that social inequalities reflected natural inequalities of talents. He argued that it was ridiculous to think that the rich were vastly wealthier than the rest of the population because they were infinitely more gifted and talented. The real reason was the unscrupulous business practices were prevalent among the powerful. He repudiated differences and inabilities as the sole justifications for social inequalities. Instead he pointed out how human beings climbed over one another to get to the top (Broome J.H 1963).

To him social equality implied equality of opportunities. While in a capitalist society wealth was used to secure benefits, in a communist society it was power and prestige that conferred privileges. However, he rejected both principles of distribution and equally ruled out the principle of egalitarianism as a levelling one, as he did not

obliterate distinct individual endowments. To Rousseau the basis of natural right was not human reason, but human sensitivity. It was highly self-interest and pity or compassion that prevented individuals from harming one another except in legitimate self defence.

Women and the Family:

Rousseau defended the patriarchal family. He saw the family as a natural institution and the oldest of all societies. It was based on natural ties of love and affection, and originated on the biological process of procreation and in the natural differences between the sexes. The family, to him, provided the model for other social institutions that were natural.

Within the family, age preceded youth and males had a natural authority over females. In fact, he regarded women as permanently subversive force within the political system because it was recorded that they needed a single authority (which could not be exerted by the wife because she periodically got confined by reproductive activities) and partly because the man had to dominate his wife to ensure that she was chaste and virtuous. Rousseau further argued that a good woman would stay within the family circle, avoiding social distractions and political preoccupations. It was interesting not to figure in his analysis of the status of women. He assigned a subordinate position to women in the society and an education that would be suitable to the inferior position of women.

Rousseau's opinion is that men and women differ in virtues. While a man's virtue was his rational capacity, a woman's virtue was her sexuality which meant chastity, gentleness and obedience. Since the functions of men and women differ their education would also have to be different. The difference in the biological constitution of women-pregnancy and nursing the young-did not enable them (women) to be at par with men, and engage themselves in activities that were similar to the ones that men pursued.. He stressed that while men could have maximum freedom, women would be trained in accepting the constraints and dictates of social and public opinion. If women tried to be like men, they would cease to have qualities that were purely womanly. On the contrary, they would acquire qualities of both men and women which they would be unable to reconcile and assimilate. As a result, women would fail below their own identity only in relation to men, and their education had to be geared to please and be at the mercy of a man:

...woman is specially made for man's delight if man in his turn ought to be pleasing in her eyes, the necessity is less urgent, his virtue is in his strength, and he pleases because he is not the law of love, but it is the law of nature, which is older than love itself. For a woman is made to please and to be in subjection to the man, she ought to make herself pleasing in his eyes and not provoke him to anger (Tong 1992).

Rousseau thought that women are not fit for abstract and speculative truths, and for principles and axioms of scientific study. Rousseau believes that women's studies should be practical because women naturally are cunning and more talkative than men are. He pointed out that little girls love to play with dolls and took to sewing rather than reading and writing. He did not believe that traits in children develop out of the socializing process. Therefore, he regarded women as sources of sexual passion. Nature had made women the stimulator of man's passions, hence men had to try and please them if their desires were to be satisfied. Men in this sense were dependent on women, who controlled them through their gentleness, their kindness and their tears to get what they wanted. As long as men were dependent on women for love, women would get what they wanted. The sole protection men had was to repress women's sexuality and their own passion:

.... He (Rousseau) was one of the most powerful critics of the notion of original sin, and insisted on natural goodness of men, especially his sexual desires if sexism means insistence on essential differentiation of function between men and women both naturally and socially, then Rousseau was indeed a sexist. If on the other hand it means treating women as objects and subordinating them, he certainly was not a sexist. Rather he was concerned with enhancing the power of women over...it is the harmonious relatedness of men and women, which he takes as the model and foundation of all human relatedness (Broome 1963).

Rousseau like Aristotle regarded the family as the first form of society though the relationship within the family needed a different kind of regulation from the ones within the state. The relationship between the father and children was based on love and superior physical strength of the father. Paternal authority was established by nature as long as the child needs protection. The father needed the ultimate and sole control over his wife's sexual independence in order to assert his control over the children. He reinforced the renewed eighteenth century emphasis on female chastity and monogamy.

He equally recommended the Athenian model where women confined themselves to the private space of the home, enjoying the status of a wife, mother and house holder:

When Greek women married they disappeared from public life, within four walls of their home they devote themselves to the care of their household and family. This is the mode of life prescribed for women alike by nature and reason (Burns, 1994).

Paradoxical as it may seem at first glance, Rousseau did not accept patriarchal household where the husband/father was the absolute person with total authority over his wife and children. He believed in the idea of a compassionate marriage where the wife was a companion to her husband. It was for this reason that a woman had to be educated up to a point of making her agreeable to her husband and to be intelligent enough to handle her children, but not beyond that. A woman should be a free equal, rational and independent being with a mind of her own. Most of the Rousseau's arguments were critically analyzed by Wollstonecraft in her book *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*.

It has been argued by some schools of thought that Rousseau did not consider women as inferior, but according to them, a subordinate position for the sake of the family which he held very dear. However, there was no denying the fact that Rousseau, who had been the first to highlight the effects of inequalities and questioned many of the inherited assumptions, reiterated many of the male prejudices without critically dissecting them. He also failed to articulate an equal status for women in the family and home but he glorified women as mothers, wives and also the roles they performed:

There were a few greater enemies of sexual equality than Jean Jacques Rousseau, yet he was revered and adored by women everywhere.... Rousseau might have told women (gracefully) that they were weak and stupid, but he also told them that they were beautiful, that they were the moral ally of humanity and that they are utterly necessary for men's happiness... The secret of Rousseau's success was that glorified and aggrandized women in the only career open to them which is that of wife and mother. He promised them in return love, respect and happiness. It might have been more subtle form of belittlement and new justification for exploitation disguised as sentimentalism but it set the tone for much of the nineteenth century feminism (Burns 1994).

2.12 WOMEN, JUSTICE AND REASON BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT

According to Wollstonecraft, God had not differentiated between the sexes in the respect of reason and common sense she remarked that “sense is a portion that God Himself had been pleased to distribute to both sexes with an impartial hand but learning is what men have engrossed to themselves”.

This line of argument depended in turn on another claim that women possessed souls. Wollstonecraft restates that if a woman is allowed by God to have an immortal soul, she must have, as the employment of life, an understanding to also improve. God has created women who are capable of seeing his wisdom, and whose souls can rise to their creator. This God did not mean that a woman sent into the world to acquire virtue was made only to submit to man, her equal. Nor did God want her to rely on men’s reason, rather than cultivating her own. Women, too, are capable of climbing the arduous steps of knowledge, she argued.

Wollstonecraft insisted that religion, no less than any other authoritative doctrine, must be based on reason. The sceptre of her fellow men, she states, “extends not to me unless that of an individual who demands my homage; and even then the submission is to reason and not to man, nor is my faith in submission to God unreasoning. “I fear God, but it is not his power that I fear – it is not to an arbitrary will but to unerring reason I submit”.

Again she did not simply replace natural feeling with abstract reason. She argues that there is a close relationship between reason and sensibility. She notes that the feeling of the heart may be sacred but that without invigorating impregnation of the heart through education, reason could not bring forth her only legitimate offspring which is virtue. Conversely, the heart goes astray without reason. She maintained that both feeling and reason can be educated and informed by each other and that also will be through actual sensibility of knowledge.

She maintained that both feeling and reason can be educated and informed each other and that true sensibility is the auxiliary of virtue. To act according to principles of right conduct requires reason, and feelings will respond to the same principles. Properly cultivated, sensibility provides, as it were, a short cut through long process of reasoning. According to her, when feeling is unconstrained by reason, sensibility can become vicious. She accused Edmond Burke of conspicuous contempt for the poor whom he sees

as labourers and as part of nature rather than humanity; he sees the poor as nothing more than another form of livestock in the estates of the sublime. Burke believes that the poor are denied rights and have no asylum from oppression. Consequently, he shed no tears for the plight of poor man, or his family when he is pressed – ganged, hanged, for stealing a deer, or plunged into idleness and want through the loss of employment. (Boucher 2003).

2.13 MEN'S RIGHTS AND WOMEN'S FREEDOM ACCORDING TO WOLLSTONECRAFT:

Wollstonecraft argues both for and against the rights of men and for the rights of women. One of her major contributions to political theory and governance is to show that the rights of man are in two dimensions. The first dimension includes familiar civic and political rights set down in documents since 1789 by John Locke, which is now known as human rights. She insists that this should be enjoyed by both sexes. The second dimension consists of rights that are exercised by all men, and that gives men power over women and deny women freedom, leadership and participation in governance. These rights to her are not set out in documents (constitution) but embedded, for example, in the law of convictions that sanctions a conjugal relationship of master and upper servant and in widely held social convictions about the respective characteristics, places and duties of the sexes.

In an aristocratic political order, the rights of men can be nothing more than grating sounds that set (the) teeth on edge. Wollstonecraft declared against Burke's assertion that English liberties were an entailed inheritance that both rights and liberty are a birthright. In her *Vindications*, she refers to the rights of men and rights of humanity as sacred. She argues that men, whatever the station in life, must have such a degree of liberty, civic and religions are compatible with liberty of every other individual. She also asked a vital question too often ignored by historians of political thought: who is included in the category of man? Wollstonecraft is well aware that rights of humanity have been confined in the male line from Adam downwards.

Wollstonecraft argues that all women have been denied their birthright of freedom and wives are based for life. Women subordination has spiritual as well as political consequences. Only a free soul can seek and know God, but women are deprived of moral freedom, and thus of the opportunity for true devotion and reward in

heaven. On earth women also lack physical liberty and are slaves in political and civil sense. The vulnerability of women, denied rights and protection by law, is graphically set out and Wollstonecraft asks if women have a country.

Wollstonecraft also notices that male radicals (in other respects) in her own circle as well as famous political theorists resisted the inclusion of women within the rights of “man”. Rousseau and Burke bringing together the personal and political denounced the sexes as a threat to the order of the state. In his inquiry, Burke elevates common sense views of masculinity and femininity into an elaboration of sublime in terms of masculine power and awe, and the beautiful in terms of feminine weakness, a weakness which has no place in the state.

Again Rousseau, who Wollstonecraft learned a good deal from, is her major target in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, an action which is not suppressing to feminist scholars. Rousseau presents an elaborate justification of the second dimension of the rights of men. In general Rousseau depicts the picture of the free male citizens who inhabit Rousseau’s pages, rule over women in households as well as the state. He insists that the natural characters and capacities of the sexes entail that women’s (lack of) education must uphold and reinforce their submission; they must be taught to be creatures of feeling and to please men. Women must learn to submit to injustice at men’s hands.

Wollstonecraft’s attack on such claims depends on the argument that the characteristics and appearance used to justify the denial of rights and outcome of the very institutions and relationships which depended on writers such as Rousseau. Burke in his *Reflections* had provided a very influential, romantic portrayal of the French queen glittering like the morning star before her downfall, and had condemned the poor, uneducated women who supported the revolution as the vilest of women. Contending against Burke, Wollstonecraft states that in societies in which we see only master and servant, the development of reason, virtue, morality and cultivated sensibility is inhibited in all ranks of the social order and in both sexes. These qualities can flourish only in a content of freedom and rights for all men and women. Liberty is the mother of virtue. Wollstonecraft insists that virtue in private or political life has no sex. Virtue requires that both sexes must act from the same principle but the conduct of men and women are regulated through arbitrary distinctions. To her, morality is not sexually differentiated,

and the same principles and standards must govern the character and rights of men and women alike.

In *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, she writes of mainly virtues as those of talents and the exercise of which ennoble the human character. She uses terms like manly and effeminate to refer not to contrasting but natural attributes of the sexes and also human characteristics that are associated to freedom. This is why she declared against those who decry masculine women that she wishes women could grow more masculine. She notes that the popular assumption is that women were made to be loved and must not aim at respect lest they should be considered by the society as masculine.

To Wollstonecraft, Burke's emotion, raw sensibility, and literary style appear to reveal an author who lacks manliness. She even comments that she fears that the mere mention of metaphysical enquiry will derange nervous system because such effeminacy is endemic in a hierarchical society. The rich who, sunk in luxury, idleness, sensuality and flattery, have ceased to be men, and the profligates of rank are emasculated by hereditary effeminacy. To her, even the military usually seen as the epitome of masculinity have become effeminate in the preoccupation with dress and manners.

Wollstonecraft, therefore, states that she will offer manly definitions and speak with plainness. The boldness, and difficulty, of her strategy and argument was accentuated once her identity as author of *A Vindication of Rights of man* was revealed. Manliness is a human capacity, but her attack on Burke's lack of reason invokes the association of voice of reason with male sex. For Wollstonecraft to claim manly reason, for her to defend the rights of women, and to treat the state as seen by Burke, as consecrated, so that any of its faults must be approached with pious awe and trembling—as human contrivance was audacious on several accounts. Her boldness is frequently underestimated, as, for example, in the charge in her second *Vindication* she is making a society where neither sex is reasonable beings.

She was not merely appealing to men or claiming that women should emulate men. But that men and women have to change if God – given reasoning capacities of humans are to be cultivated. To Wollstonecraft, this means that women must enjoy the full range of natural rights and the second dimension of rights of men must be emulated. Wollstonecraft also demands political representation for women, instead of being arbitrarily governed without having direct share that would include them in deliberations

of government. She also added however, that since the British political system is but a convenient handle for despotism, women are as well off as hand working machines that pay for the upkeep of royalty when they cannot feed their children. But rights are not sufficient to ensure women's freedom. Wollstonecraft argues that radical social and cultural changes are required if the birth right of humanity is to be enjoyed by everyone.

2.14 WOMEN AS LOVERS, PARENTS AND CITIZENS

In order to fulfil the duties of life, and to be able to pursue with vigour the various employments which form the moral character, a master and mistress of a family ought to continue to love each other with passion. I mean to say, that they ought not to indulge those emotions which disturb the order of society, and engross the thoughts that should be otherwise employed. The mind that has never been engrossed by object wants vigour – if it can long be so, it is weak. (Sapiro 1992)

Wollstonecraft nowhere suggests that men and women should abstain from sexual relations – indeed, she comments, for calmness to excite her husband, as Rousseau recommended to Sophie. Both sexes ought to have the common appetites and passions of their nature which God has given them. Her target in *Vindication of Rights of Women* is not sexuality as such, but romantic sensibility and femininity. To her sexuality is connected to women subordination and exclusion from rights and citizenship.

She maintained that because of ignorance and lack of the capacity for moral discrimination, women are vulnerable both in and out of marriage. They have no choice but to rely on their physical charms to try and captivate men. Men are thus encouraged to be libertines and Wollstonecraft believes sensualists are some of the most dangerous tyrants. Wollstonecraft intentions were to restore to women their lost dignity so that they can enter sexual relations as equals. This is why she turns her attention to romantic love or sexual infatuations, although she knows that to speak disrespectfully of love is seen as treason against fine feelings. In the *Rights of men* she defines romantic as artificial feelings. The romantic love that women are taught to pursue helps to corrode the whole of the society. It is very far removed from the human love that part of the glowing flame of universal love, which mounts in grateful incense to God.

In *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Wollstonecraft devotes a chapter to modesty which she links to personal reserve. Neither characteristic is now fashionable, but she treats modesty as a virtue not a quality and as virtue for both men and women,

though she is not considering modesty as a sexual virtue nor as synonymous with chastity or reputation rather she believe that the development of modesty is part of a political transformation. It is an attribute of individual dignity, strength of mind, and cultivated powers of reason; it is vain to expect much public or private virtue, till both men and women grow more modest.

According to her, modesty is also important if marriage is to be changed from an institution of master and servant into relationship between equals, based on mutual respect. She argues that wives and husbands are supposed to have sublime for all affections and modesty as necessary virtue for them to be domesticated friends. Marital friendship does not preclude continued sexual attraction and relations, but only a weak mind remains completely engrossed by physical passion. Women and men of weak minds make very poor parents and citizens.

Motherhood and fatherhood, according to Wollstonecraft, are integral to the rights and duties of citizenship. Her view of citizenship and motherhood is easily misunderstood since it is very different from the contemporary conception of citizenship as a purely public activity. Citizenship to Wollstonecraft involves marriage and managing a family as well as taking part in civic affairs. Household duties as well as rights are part of citizenship.

The work of both marital partners is part of citizenship, but Wollstonecraft sees their duties diverging in certain respects – though in both cases there are human duties governed by the same principles. She hopes that one day society will be such that a man must necessarily fulfil the duties of the citizen or be despised. But she sees him as employed in any of the departments of civil life, while his wife also, an active citizen, will be engaged in household duties and assisting her neighbours. The welfare of the society is not built on extraordinary exertions, so the majority of women and men will express their citizenship, in part, through their daily familial tasks. Wollstonecraft also insists that men cannot be citizens unless they are serious husbands and fathers. The qualities of a good father as shown by her portrayal of the father and uncle in Maria are cultivated, not natural. Hierarchical institutions produce poor fathers as well as weak mothers.

During the course of her discussion, Wollstonecraft states that the care of children in their infancy is one of the grand duties annexed to the female character by nature. This

exception to her general argument about nature is seen as evidence of resentment. Contemporary feminists, therefore, argue that fathers should take an equal share in child rearing, but how likely was such an argument, especially in the case of early infancy, in the circumstances of the 1770s. She agreed with Rousseau that the development of morality began from birth. To her breastfeeding was the beginning of moral education, and she joined Rousseau in urging mothers to suckle their babies.

The arguments of Wollstonecraft about motherhood and citizenship have suggested that the sexual division of labour and its corollary of the public/private split remain structurally untouched. It must not be assumed that it was obvious in the 1770s as it is today although strenuous efforts were being made to ensure that it seemed obvious. She wrote before the completion of the long process through which the home was separated from the workplace, and before the ideals of male breadwinners and his economically dependent housewife become the model, during the 1780s for all respectable classes. She goes quite a long way in challenging what became the acceptable sexual division of labour. Wollstonecraft has a very robust view of motherhood, yet it has been claimed that she helped to define an idea that was influential during the American and French Revolutions that contemporary historians call reputation motherhood. Wives, by virtue of their natures, were allocated the political task of bearing and rearing the next generation of (male) citizens.

However, it was believed that it was not nature that excluded women rights and citizenship. To her, Republican motherhood was corollary rights of man and they are exactly what she was attacking. That a subordinated wife confined to domestic world and deprived of rights could manage a family and perform the education task prescribed for her was nonsensical. To Wollstonecraft, women had to be strong, educated, with a cultivated reason and sensibility, and to enjoy economic independence if they were to be good mothers – and they had to have rights and be good citizens.

Wollstonecraft's rights of women were simply a combination of the old debate about women's nature and their capacity for reason and followed in contrast the writings of Burke and Rousseau. In the writings of Rousseau's book, *Emile* Wollstonecraft refuted the attributes Rousseau ascribed to women. The philosopher that Rousseau had in his work, *Emile*, described the ideal education for a young man; he also included a chapter on the very different education of Sophie, *Emile's* future wife.

According to Rousseau, men's and women's natures and abilities were not the same and these biologically given differences defined their roles in the society, with men becoming citizens and women as wives and mothers. To him, this meant that the education of boys and girls must both recognize natural differences in ability and inclination. For example, little girls are inclined to dislike learning to read and write, but they are always ready to learn to sew.

Rousseau following this argument encourages the virtue appropriate to adult life. To him, this involved training in rational citizenship for a boy and lessons on how to please a man and bring up his children for a girl. This shows that Wollstonecraft shared and admired Rousseau democratic radicalism which marked him out from the rest of the philosophers of the enlightenment, and also shared in his passion of liberty and justice in other spheres of life. This admiration caused Wollstonecraft to be so enraged by his views on women.

In the vindication of the rights of women, Wollstonecraft's contention was in four folds. Number one, like early feminists, she refused to accept that vanity, weakness and frivolity were the natural attributes of her sex. She argued that she has probably had opportunity of observing more girls in their infancy than J. J. Rousseau. Secondly, she argued that if men and women are equally possessed of reason they must be equally educated in its use. For woman is not essentially made for man's delight but is an independent being that is both capable of and entitled to a rational education. Although this argument has already been asserted by earlier feminists like Mary Astell, Wollstonecraft, extended the argument by stressing that as men's and women's common humanity is based on their shared and God-given possession of reason, then virtue must be the same for both sexes. That is, it must be freely chosen. To Wollstonecraft, the virtues of a good wife and mother could not be seen as natural, nor could they be based upon a male-imposed ignorance. "Cunningly disguised as innocence", she argued forcefully that a woman taught only passive obedience to her husband could never be fit to bring up children. Therefore, women must be given knowledge and education so that they can make rational choices, as it is only then that it makes sense to talk of their goodness.

The claim that women's' actions must be freely chosen add a radical new dimension to the debate about women and reason in the enlightenment era. This argument challenged the whole idea of ascribed social roles, and distinguished

Wollstonecraft and her contemporaries from the earlier feminists because the idea of equal worth now led irrevocably to that of equal rights.

Unlike earlier feminists whose argument of women's rationality was combined with political conservatism, Wollstonecraft's argument was firmly linked to political liberalism. This also established the principles that were to lead to later campaign for women suffrage and legal participation with men in worlds of politics and paid employment. This argument of Wollstonecraft was timely and proper because she was writing for women on very low wages and in appalling condition, and at a time when the middle ranks of society women's economic dependence on men had grown with increased separation of home and work. This was despite the fact that this was a time when industrialization was opening up new employment, knowing how degrading and unsatisfactory the options of being a teacher, companion and governess could be from her own experience. It was a time the wife of a man is seen as the ornamental symbol of his success and not his partners.

It was in this context that Wollstonecraft's argument was stressed. She insisted that women had an independent right to education, employment, property and protection of civil law. All these things, she argued, were needed to ensure that women were not forced into marriage through economic necessity, and that wives were not entirely dependent on the goodwill of their husbands. She, therefore, argues that women needed legal rights in order to make independent rational choices and achieve virtue; a woman who is forced to perform the traditional female roles will do so very badly. Then she wishes that men:

Would...but snap our chains, and be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience, they would find us more observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers-in a word better citizens (Thornton 1986)

From the above, scholars argue that Wollstonecraft did not expect that education and freedom of choice would lead most women to reject their traditional role, but argues that they would enable them to perform it better. She did not accept the public/private split that runs through liberal thought and did not insist on the superiority of the former over the latter; rather she sought to "value" women's domestic duties, which if properly

performed, were a form of rational citizenship; that is, they were to be seen as public responsibilities rather than a source of private satisfaction or tribulation.

Critics of Wollstonecraft argument contend that in a world in which domestic duties are unpaid, the economic dependence of a woman upon her husband remains. Similarly, her insistence that motherhood is a form of citizenship does not solve the problem of the male monopoly of formal political and legal power, which leaves women dependent on the goodwill of men to snap their chains. She also did not suggest that individual successful women might use their power to benefit the generality of women (their sex). Carol Pateman (1988) argues that Wollstonecraft was caught in an underlying dilemma which still traps liberal feminists today. Because she sought to claim citizenship for women on a gender neutral grounds at the same time as recognizing their specific qualities and roles, within a framework that allowed women to become full citizens only by being like men.

Some recent feminist critics of the liberal and enlightenment have argued that Wollstonecraft's arguments are further confused by her uncritical acceptance of inherently male model of rationality which is bound up with the need to subdue qualities traditionally associated with women, such as passion and emotion, and which sees calculating self-interest rather than sympathy, emotion or imagination as the only legitimate basis for human motivation and conduct. They argue that even Rousseau who stressed the importance of passion in human affairs insisted that public life must be ruled solely by reason. He also argued that women as the objects of passion can have no place in politics. The critics of Rousseau further argue that this exclusion is not simply a regrettable product of Rousseau's personal prejudices, which could be ignored latter by theorists, but basic to a view that rational citizenship presupposes not only the exclusion of passion from public life, but its containment and expression within the family. From Rousseau perspective, if women enter political life they will only disrupt it, they also will destroy its domestic foundations.

2.15 THE SUBJUGATION OF WOMEN BY JOHN STUART MILL

Mill's argument at one level in the subjugation of women was simply an extension of women's enlightenment belief that an institution can be defined only if it is in accordance with reason. He argued that women's subordination is a barbaric relic of an earlier historical period; far from being the inevitable outcome of natural attributes, it

originated in force, and was sanctified by custom so as to appear natural. He agreed that women appeared to be in many ways inferior to men, but argued that this was a consequence of social pressure and faulty education, the result of forced repression in some direction, unnatural simulation in others. Women therefore must be given the same opportunities as men, only then “will we know their true abilities, and only then will society reap the full benefit from the talents of all its members”. This to him meant that legal discrimination against women was wrong in principle. Women must be allowed free access to vote and to hold political office, he argued.

In his argument, Mill, stressed that although women are like men possessors of reason, women’s mode of thinking tend to be more intuitive and down to earth, so that women’s’ thoughts are as useful in giving reality to the thinking of men, as men’s thoughts in giving width and largeness to those of women. Against this suggestion, recent feminist angrily argue that in identifying women’s thought processes as essentially intuitive, Mill has fallen for the oldest cliché (Bryson 2005). Mill was of the view that women should be admitted into intellectual life, not because they are in all relevant aspects the same as men but because they are quite probably different. However, according to recent feminists, it is also quite clear that Mill gave men and women equal rights, and insisted that there must be no bar to women’s education and employment. In practice, he saw the sexes as playing very different roles in society. Roles which largely conformed to the ideology of separate spheres should be discouraged.

Mill argued that women should be free to pursue the career of their choice, and they should not be forced into marriage through economic necessity. If, however, they do choose marriage, then this is their career, and they should accept the responsibilities that it entails. This meant that a married woman should be responsible for running the home, and the common arrangement by which the man earns the income and the wife superintends the domestic expenditures. The constraint which Mill believed should be imposed on married women contradicts his beliefs on equality of individual’s freedom between the sexes which is the principles on which feminism was based. Mill believed that only women can or should perform domestic tasks, so that if a wife goes out to work she is disabled from taking care of the children and household which nobody else takes care of. No suggestion that a man could ever share these tasks with his wife.

Accordingly, he regarded the improvement of the position of women as a concern not restricted to women alone but of entire humankind. In the *Subject of Women*, Mill,

therefore, made a strong claim for equal status in three key areas: women's right to vote, right to equal opportunities in education and employment. He acknowledged the tremendous impact the writings of his mentor Bentham and his father had on his intellectual development, for both of them had grappled with the issue in the course of a long – drawn out debate on the subject. The other intellectual influence on him with regard to the women question that cannot be ignored has been those of Harriet Taylor Mill, who was his one and only love till his death.

In the writing of Mill, liberty and self-determination were two themes that figured prominently. He believed that freedom was the most precious and crucial issue for common well-being of the people. In this context, women were the subjugated sex denied access to their own potential, and subjected to the unquestioned prejudices and biases of society. He declared his concern to show that:

.... the existing relation between the sexes, the legal subordination of one sex to the other is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement, and that it ought to be replaced by the principle of perfect equality admitting no power or privilege on the one side no liability on the other (Coole, D.1993).

Equality, as a legal right between the sexes, was Mill's main concern. He referred to women as both subject and enslaved class, for their position was worse than that of slaves. Unlike slaves, women to him were in a chronic state of subordination and intimidation combined. Mill's subjection of women

.... is avowedly devoted to the condemning the legal inferiority of women in Victorian England but it ends with an argument from absolute value of liberty: no country would surrender its independence for any amount of prosperity and no human being who had tasted freedom would give it up at any price. What further proof could there be of the supreme value of liberty, for women as well as men.(Okin 1980)

Mill also went on to argue that women's capacities were spent seeking happiness not of their own lives but exclusively for the favour and affection of the other sex; which was only given to them on condition of their independence. He maintained that the parallel women and slaves were used to depict the reality of the nineteenth-century England where, on marriage, the women became subservient to their husbands both in physical being and property. According to him, marriage was for women like

Hobbes's choice; either to marry and face abuses and loss of dignity that subjugation and subservience entail, or remain single and be deprived of educational and professional opportunities. A woman was not free within marriage nor was she free to remain unmarried. Through the example of Eleanor Garrett, the sister of Millicent Garrett Faircett, the suffrage leader, Mill explained how unmarried women in the nineteenth-century were deprived of avenues for leading a good and independent life. He deplored lack of freedom of choices for women and contended that equality should be the ordering principle of societal and personal relationships.

Mill pointed out that opposition to sexual equality was not based on reason. To dismiss equality of sexes as a mere theoretical proposition did not lend credibility to the argument that women were weaker, and hence subordinate. He agreed that the majority opinion favoured inequality, but this contention went against reason. The basis for such a supposition was that it was derived from the generality of the practice in the history of mankind, and hence was regarded as good. But Mill pointed out that the subordination of women was only due to the fact that they were physically not as strong as men. In fact, the origins of women subjection were in physical force of allegedly superior bodily strength of men.

Consequently, while this had become a virtue in a man, the opposite, namely, renunciation, patience, resignation and submission to power, have been regarded as characteristics of a gentle and graceful woman. The subjection of women was similar to slavery and so true that it unnatural generally means only uncustomary. She stressed that everything which is unusual appears natural. The subjection of women to men being universal appears unnatural.

Again Mill pointed out that the rule of men over women was not entirely and altogether based on force. Women also accepted it voluntarily without complaint and became consenting parties to their subordination. Men, on their part, expected not only obedience, but even affection from women. This was ensured through education, training and socialization processes. Women from childhood were taught to be submissive, yielding and accommodating, rather than become independent with self – will and self control. They were taught to live for others, their husbands and children. Selfless devotion was considered to be the best feminine virtue, the glory of womanhood.

When we put together three things first, the natural attraction between opposite sexes, secondly, the wife's entire dependence on

the husband, every privilege or pleasure she has being either his gift or depending entirely on his will; and lastly that the principal object of human pursuit consideration, and all objects of social ambition, can in general be sought or obtained by her only through him, it will be a miracle if the object of being attractive to men had not become the polar star of feminine education and formation of character. (Okin 1980)

According to Mill, sexual relations which were based on force gradually softened, and with the progress of society from status to contract, it came to rest on consent. In case of a pre-contractual social arrangement, birth determined one's position and privileges, while modern society was characterized by principle of equality. Every individual enjoyed greater freedom of choice to pursue his own life and improve his faculties. However, women continued to be denied this opportunity, for they were still born to a particular place and were not free to do what they chose to do. To him, paradoxically as it seemed, the modern world accepted the general social practice of human equality. Denying women an equal position only demeaned a man.

A most beneficial change, if the championship were between equals; but being un-equals, it produces a progressive deterioration among men in what had hitherto been considered the masculine excellences. Those who are so careful that women should not become men, do not see that men as becoming, what they have decided that women should be, are failing into feebleness which they have so long cultivated in their companions. Those who are associated in their lives, tend to become assimilated in character. In the present closeness of association between the sexes, men cannot retain manliness unless women acquire it. (Caine 1997).

2.16 EDUCATION AND THE SUBJUNCTION OF WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE ACCORDING TO MILL

Contending in favour of women still, Mill echoed the sentiments of his father, who too felt that men would be debased by their women. For both father and son, the ideal was a compassionate marriage between a strong – minded man and a strong minded woman. Like Wollstonecraft, John Mill, believed that women could earn their liberation with the support of men. The above represented a reasonable critique of male domination within marriage which Mill extended by pleading for a relationship based on mutual friendship and respect.

Marriage being the destination appointed by society for women, the prospect they brought up to the object, which it intended should be sought by all of them, except those who are too little attractive to be chosen by any man as his companion; one might have supposed that everything would have been done to make the condition as eligible to them as possible, that they might have no cause to regret being denied the option of any other. Society, however, at the first, in all other cases have preferred to attain its objects by foul rather than fair means Valeria (Bryson 2005).

Like Wollstonecraft and Margaret Fuller (1810-1913), Mill articulated and defended the right of women to be considered as free rational beings capable of choosing the life they would like to lead for themselves, rather than being dictated to by what the society thought they should be or do. He was confident that women, even if granted freedom and opportunities, would not fail to perform their traditional functions. It was not a question of a choice between domesticity and career. Mill argued that the reason men shy away from granting equal status to women was because they were afraid of marriage on equal terms.

As a member of English parliament during his time, Mill supported a Marriage Property Bill. He contended that England had to move beyond the “savage state” where marriage was based on the idea that one had to have absolute power over the other. He pointed out that the position of the wife under the common law of England is worse than that of slave in the laws of any countries by the Roman law; for example, a slave might have his peculiar status which to certain extends the law guaranteed to him for his exclusion. He went further to argue that marriage did not give the woman the dignity and equal status that she ought to get. Once married, she was totally under the control of her husband. She was denied by law the right to her children and property. Hence, they must have the right to property, inheritance and custody. The woman, according to Mill, was worse than a slave; a personal body servant of a despot, for her husband compels her claims from her and enforces the lowest degradation of human being.

To him the law granted the husband rather than the wife the right over her children. A mother did not become a legal guardian of her children in the event of death in the will of the decease. Mill pleaded, therefore, for equality of the sexes before the law. He saw this as a crucial condition for ensuring just arrangement. This, he felt would be beneficial to all. He made an interesting point that normally, institutions such as slavery, political absolutism or the autocracy of the head of the family were judged by

giving the best examples in their support, as the purpose of the law and institutions was for good. But for bad persons stating that any good law should take into account domestic oppression and personal violence, considering the high incidence of such crimes. The only option was that

...the equality of married persons before the law, is not only the sole mode in which that particular relation can be made consistent with justice to both sides, and conducive to the happiness of both, but it is the only means of rendering the daily life of mankind, in any high sense, a school of moral cultivation.(Valeria,2005).

2.17 WOMEN AND THE FAMILY ACCORDING TO JOHN STUART MILL

Mill, in his essay *the Subjugation of Women* (1869), argues that a marriage contract based on equality of married persons before the law was not only a sufficient, but a necessary constitution. This is because full equality was genuine moral sentiment that ought to govern all relationships, including the marital one. Such a sentiment could be instilled and nurtured with family that had been justly constituted. Mill acknowledged the family as the real school for learning the virtues of freedom and liberation, yet it was here that sentiments of injustice, inequality and despotism reside. The boy, by virtue of being a male, was treated and reared as if he was superior and better taught than the girl, thus dismissing the needs and interest of one subordination and inhumanness. The self-worship of male in traditional family, described by Mill as a school of despotism, was contrary to the modern principles of individuals being respected for what they did, rather than what they were.

To Mill, therefore, a just family will nurture feelings of sympathy in equality and love rather than subordination and command. He desired a transformation of the family to suit the temperament and spirit of modern age, namely the spirit of equality and justice and in the process brings about a moral regeneration of humankind. The relationship between a man and woman in marriage should be based on mutual respect and mutual love, giving due regard to each other's right. This vow makes them self-reliant and self-sufficient. Unless the equal and just worth of every human being was recognized, he could not enjoy equal right nor realize his full potentials. A life of rational freedom devoted to release of their full creative potential was a much requirement for men as women.

Mill's essay emphasizes the value of non-instrumental relationships in human life. His depictions of both corrupt and well ordered marriage trace the relationship of many families to right political order. His vision of marriage as a locus of mutual sympathy and understanding between autonomous adults stands as an unrealized goal for those who believe that liberation of women requires not only formal equality of opportunity but measures which will enable couples to live in genuine equality, mutuality and reciprocal relationships. (Goldstein.1980).

Mill argued that men should not be trusted with absolute power. Such absolute power within the family and marriage only lead to brutalization of women. He denied the need of one having power to decision making within voluntary association between two persons and cited the example of commercial partnership. In matters where quick decisions were needed, it would make sense to have power of decision, but one that involves changes, system or principle would need the consent of both parties. The division of affairs for practical purposes would depend on comparative qualifications of the couple. The man had advantage, being the older of the two, the bread-winner and provider of his family. In spite of his insistence on need to restructure family relationships based on equity and fairness, Mill continued to perceive the family as one where a man earned the family income, and a woman would take care of domestic affairs.

Another school of thought noted that Mill reiterated the conventional assumption about the role of women in patriarchal family; the woman contributed more to the household and its common life. In addition to these chores, if she went out and worked it would impair the proper discharge of these functions. The subjection of women toned down the assertions made by Mill in (1832) that in the absence of servants at home women would do all the work that servants would have done if there was one and at the same time be a mother and natural teacher to her children. Moreover, if the woman was well protected and enjoyed an equal status within marriages, she would not feel the need to labour outside her home, for when she married she chose a profession, that of managing her home and bringing up her children.

Like a man when he chooses a profession, so, when a woman marries, it may in general be understood that she make choice of management of a household and bringing up of a family, as many years of her life as may be required for the purpose; and that she renounces, not other objects and occupations but all which are not consistent with requirement of this (Goldstein1980)

Mill was also convinced that if suitable domestic help was made possible, then women, and in particular, talented and exceptional ones, could take up a profession or a vocation. He argued that the dignity of women was guaranteed if she had the power of earning her own living. A married woman would have full right in her property and earning. She would have the right to enter a profession or take a career. He notes that women were fully capable of becoming business partners, philosophers, politicians and scientists.

Mill questioned Locke's separation of paternal and political power, and raised the largest question about the status of the family. He treated the family as conventional rather than as a natural institution, yet he did not regard the family as political. On liberty, he resolved the private-public divide and suggested personal judgment as a solution. He, however, did not tackle the other important public-private dichotomy of the family versus the civil sphere. Mill further reinforced his position by emphasizing the inherent weakness of mid-nineteenth-century England in particular, and Europe in general in their exclusion of women from public realm. This made his position similar to those of scholars like Paire, who heightened the hollowness of British democracy at the end of the eighteenth-century, because of exclusion of the majority of the people from political process. According to him,

The subjection of women challenged much more than Victorian decorum. However, it was radical challenge to one of the most fundamental and precariously held assumptions about marriage in the modern era, which is that it was relationship grounded on the consent of partners to join their lives. Mill argues to the contrary that the presumed consent given to women to marry is not in any real sense a free promise but one socially coerced for the lack of meaningful options (Thornton 1986).

Mill argued that it was the principle of political economy that prejudices of the society, thereby making women appendages of men and giving the latter a greater portion of whatever belongs to both. The second reason for low wages was surplus female labour for unskilled jobs. Both law and custom prohibited women from seeking any means of livelihood other than being a mother and a wife. Mill maintained that if women were allowed to exercise their faculties freely and fully, the real beneficiary would be society. This is because it would be able to draw from a large pool of mental resources. If women were properly educated it would not only brighten their dull and

impoverished lives, but also enhance society in general. He understood the important point that equal opportunities in education meant equal opportunities in employment. If women were denied the latter, it was only because men could not think of them as equals, and only desired to confine them to their domestic chores. He, therefore, pleaded for political rights to vote and to participate in government as administrators and as rulers for women.

In Representative Government, Mill observed that difference of sex could not be the basis of political rights. Citing examples like Joan of Arc, Elizabeth and Margaret of Austria, he argued that there are women who have proven that women were as competent as men to participate and manage political offices. In getting the right to vote, Mill hoped that women will be able to bring about legislation to remedy domestic violence. He desired that the subjection of women be ended not merely by law alone, but by education, opinion, habits, and finally, by a change in the family itself.

In conclusion, the scope of the subjection was much wider than alleged by Victorian Feminists. Mill saw the plight of single women in a society that gave undue importance to marriage. This was clear from his concern and description of Eleanor Garzet, who was denied the opportunities of leading a decent and independent life. The solution, according to him, was giving freedom of choice to women whether married or single. He could perceive clearly the problems women faced were not merely those of misconception or false social notions, but of systemic domination, which was why he constantly used the language of justice, freedom and slavery to improve their lot.

Mill defended the right of individual women who wanted the opportunity to choose a life other than that of motherhood and marriage. He did believe that most women would not make the choice, but he certainly did not believe there is any justification in forcing women into marriage by not offering the alternatives. He also defended the right of exceptional women to have their freedom of choice and to make the home a dignified and honourable place for those who preferred domestic work. He believes that ordinary men and women were slaves to custom, and it was necessary to move the legal barriers which restricted women's opportunities. Feminist's reaction from the women's clubs was stopped and the most prominent writers and spokeswomen imprisoned or put to death like Charlotte Corday. De Gonges, for instance, claimed that since a woman has the right to mount the Scaffold, she must also have the right address to the house, a position that has a terrible irony. (Baumgold, D.1988)

Although the articulation of feminist's demands in the French revolution was short-lived, it had an impact on the public imagination that was to affect popular reaction to feminism in other nations. The feeling was that the French were bad, and that the revolution was bad. The French revolution has led to feminism. To this extent feminism must be bad. Therefore, liberal feminism could be seen as revolutionary ideology which spread to other continents and nations.

2.18 OVERVIEW OF SOME FEMINIST THEORIES

According to Valeria Bryson, (2003) during the 1970s, it became quite widely accepted that different kinds of contemporary feminism could be classified as liberal, radical or socialist/Marxist. As ideas and practices developed, many other categories were identified, including black and post-modern feminism. However, this classification is only a starting point; it is not intended to suggest either that it is the only possible way of approaching recent feminism, or that ideas can be neatly packaged into competing body of thought.

Liberal feminism is feminist theory that drew on liberal ideas of equal rights. The equal rights feminism took the common sense values of liberal democracy as its starting point. Although sometimes entangled with contradictory assumptions, liberal feminist demands with equal rights have usually started from the claims that "women are as good as men", that they are entitled to full human rights, and that they should be free to explore their full potentials in equal competition with men in all spheres of life.

These liberal arguments were used during the inter-war years and concentrated on supporting women in their traditional roles rather than challenging their remaining legal inequalities. Feminism based on equal rights argument had been abeyance as mainstream feminist activities. The years after the Second World War contained the seeds of discontents that were to explode in the second wave of mass feminist activity in the 1960s. It developed rapidly in several different directions. For instance, it began in the United States as an essentially liberal protest against the failure of the society to deliver to women the promise of independence self-expression and fulfilment that seemed central to the American dream of independence.

Anti-slavery campaigners like Sarah and Angelina Grimke, popularly known as the Grimke sisters, though whites were passionately assertive about women's rights. The rights of women went beyond earlier ideas of Mary Wollstonecraft demands in her book

the *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Women themselves acted to secure their political, legal and economic rights with men. Feminists like Maria Steward (1803-1879) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) developed their liberal ideas from the context of the movement for moral reform that emerged in the religious revivalism of the early years of the century. Particularly for Stanton, the impact of religion was very direct. A free young adolescent, she was orphaned at five, widowed in her twenties and denied and deprived of her inheritance by white lawyers. Religion then provided succour for her to develop activism. (Robnett B 1997). She believed that the liberal ideas of morality were simply a matter of personal devotions, as demand for the moral regeneration of the American community would demonstrate its worthiness and entitlement to equal rights and respect.

Liberal feminism would appear to be the earliest form of feminism. All forms of feminism have a relationship with liberalism, and it has been said that all feminism is liberal at root. Scholars are of the opinion that earlier treatment of women by early philosophers were anti-feminist in character and that the ancient Greek philosopher Plato, cannot be regarded as feminist, although his views on women were remarkable. For example, Plato argues in the *Republic* that women can be among the elite who rule philosophically in his ideal state as whereas Aristotle like Rousseau had contended that the relation of male to female is naturally that of superior to inferior, of the ruling and the ruled. In the Plato's *Republic*, he adopted a gender-free view of political capacities. On the other hand what makes feminists critical of his ideal state opinion of women was his explicit elitism. Only a tiny number of women would have been eligible to become elitists and rulers and that those who did, would have to act just like men.

As a result of these male positions, Mary Steward, a feminist liberalist argues that all people are equal in the eyes of God and was linked with the liberal stress on the reason which liberals believe God has given to all people equally. Steward combined religious rhetoric's with the more secular language of the American constitution, placing the demand for black equality firmly in the mainstream of American political thought:

I am a true breast.' the whites have so long and so proudly proclaimed the theme of equal rights and privileges, that our souls have caught the flames also, ragged as we are. (Kleinberg, 1999)

For Stewart, black women were not simply included in the movement to gain rights for black Americans, and yet they were central to it. According to her in language

that echoes, Mary Wollstonecraft's idea on motherhood has a form of citizenship rather than simply a private responsibility. She argues that it was only through the influence and example of their mothers that children could be instilled with love of knowledge and virtue, and that such effective motherhood required that women themselves acquire education. Liberals like her also used the language of the Bible and cited evidence of eminent women throughout Bible history and used it to justify their right to speak in public as women.

Furthermore, liberals, both black and white, campaigned against the evil of the drink and urged that the money spends on drinks be used on education leading to another liberal feminist dimension. As it is done in Britain, American woman surrendered all independent legal rights when she got married; this simply means that she has no right to protection against her husband if he were violent, and no right to leave him or keep her own property or earnings. With this temperance campaigners, soon demanded that women who were on the receiving end of male drunkenness should have legal protection and opportunity to escape from violent marriage. This campaign led to the demands for the reform of divorce and child custody laws, for women to have access to education and employment that would give them economic independence, and by the 1840s, to the first organized political campaign for married women's rights to her own property.

Liberalism and the Abolition of Slave Trade: The abolition of slavery was also linked to liberal feminist ideas, although not in a straight forward way but for the white women, at a time when married woman was effectively her husband's possession. There seemed to be a clear analogy between the situation of women and slaves, and the common subjection of white women and slaves to the male head of household which meant that a challenge to one aspect of this had repercussions for the other. Indeed, the marginalization of black women was built into the white feminist claim that women's situation was analogous to that of slaves or black men, as this perception of marginalization forgot the specific situation of black and slave women. Stanton, for example, argues that the black man and the women are born to shame....

“That the black man and women are born to shame. The badge of degradation is the skin and the sex – the scarlet letter so sadly won upon the breast” (Steward 1987)

Some early liberal feminist got into feminism due to the fact that to many of them black or white, the men were hostile to their involvement in the anti-slavery campaign.

The collection of signatures for petitions were frowned at while women's attempt to speak in public was vehemently opposed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who with her husband, had played an active part in American anti-slavery movement was incensed to find that she and other women delegates were excluded from anti-slavery convention held in London in 1840. It was this experience, coupled with Stanton's personal frustrations with the demands of domesticity, that provided the direct inspiration for the first ever women's convention – the "Seneca Falls Convention" of 1848. According to Stanton, this represented the inauguration of the rebellion (feminism) such as the world had never seen. This marked the beginning of women liberation conventions which is now being organized today by many bodies and organizations that are pro women.

The declaration of sentiments and resolutions resulting from the Seneca convention (which were signed by 68 women and 32 men) can be seen as a straight forward demand that the principles of liberal republicanism can be applied to women as well as to men. This declaration was deliberately modelled on the 1776 Declaration of Independence, down to its assertion that "we hold these truths to be self-evident" that all men and women are created equally (Anderson, 1998).

However, by the 1960s, this kind of feminism which was usually expressed as a self-conscious political theory and as a common sense application of pre-existing values to women's situation emerged. From Liberal feminism emerged other feminist political thoughts like the radical feminism that followed immediately after the liberals achieved voting and property rights. The development of other theoretical debates also produced critics of liberal feminism who attacked the positions that had never been fully articulated and perhaps at times creating and demolishing a liberal feminist straw woman who did not really exist. From there sprang the second-wave feminism championed by the radicals feminists.

Liberalism And The State: Critics, however, argue that they are inevitably challenged and undermined by such feminist demands. In particular these demands involve a use of the care and state power beyond that which envisaged in classical liberal theory. No longer is the state only to provide the legal framework that enables individuals to pursue their own ends, but it is being asked to intervene on behalf of a particular group which is seen as having a particular needs and suffering from particular disadvantages. For the Neo-Liberal of the New Right who are gradually turning away from the classic liberal laissez – fair position towards a greater degree of state

responsibility for the economy and general social welfare, this trend is, however, currently being opposed by the New Right and in American it has never involved the degree of state intervention that seems to be implied by some recent feminist.

From liberal perspective, the danger is that such demands will prove incompatible with individual autonomy and self-determination, and that may dangerously increasing the power of the state. Some feminists argue that while extensive state provision and intervention may free women from dependence on individual men, it increases their dependence on the patriarchal state.

Equality: It is not only in terms of their attitude to the state that feminists have found themselves running up against key liberal assumption. Existing ideals of equality, human nature, rationality and the very meaning of the political have all been challenged or modified by feminist experiences, although once again the full implications of these have not always been taken on board. Thus, the demand for full legal equality runs into immediate difficulties when it is extended to women. This is because it ignores not only existing differences in the social roles of the sexes, but it also ignores the implications of basic biological differences. The right of a male citizen to pass property to his heir cannot simply be extended to women in a gender neutral fashion; his male right involves a degree of control over a woman's body that would be undermined if she were given equal rights and independence. Critics also argue that feminists are entrapped in equal rights arguments which may in some situations be quite inappropriate.

They also contend that the theoretical premises and the practical consequences of the liberal idea of equality and sex blind legislation ignore biological differences and the social realities of a gendered society. They claim that an unmodified liberal feminism cannot meet its own state goals because it cannot acknowledge the fact that woman's reproductive role handicaps them in a society in which the competitive terms have been laid down by men. Aspiring to compete on strictly equal terms, it has denied seeing any recognition of sexual difference as an admission of inferiority or as a reduction of women to biological faction. In practical terms, this has meant particularly in America that many feminists have been reluctant to campaign for maternity rights and benefits.

Human Natures: For some critics, the problems go even deeper. Liberalism is said to rest upon a partial understanding of human motivation which involves a denial or devaluation of women's experiences and reproductive needs. They also described the liberal idea of human nature as political solipsism. This sees each individual as

essentially rational, a view which she believes ignores the nurturing, cooperation and mutual support that are essential for human society and that have historically been central to women's lives. Others argue that the assumption of individual self – sufficiency is plausible only if one ignores human biology and that it is hard to imagine women developing political theory that pre-supposed political solipsism, ignoring human inter – dependence and especially the loving and caring for the young.

The liberal paradigm produces a number of inter- related problems for the feminists. In the first place, if it is based on an incomplete view of human nature, it cannot provide an adequate understanding of human motivation and behaviour. It will, therefore, be unable to predict political outcomes or provide a workable political strategy. Secondly, in treating men as the norm, it imposes particular goals and standards under a universal guise, requiring women to become like men rather than evaluating traditionally female attributes and ways of thinking. Thirdly, even if liberal feminism's value and priorities are accepted as failure, discussing society's reproductive and domestic needs has important practical consequences. The truth is that these needs will not simply 'go away' once it is recognized that women have a right to fulfil themselves in other roles (Friedman B 1997). The liberal feminist's promise of liberation from domesticity, therefore, begs the question of who is to care for children and the home. Although, as we have seen, some writers may advocate flexible work arrangements and greater male involvement in the home, it is hard to see why capitalism should accommodate these changes or why a majority of men should willingly embrace activities which feminists have seen as inherently unfulfilling.

A final problem arising from the individualistic assumptions of liberalism is the difficulty these may pose for feminist politics based on recognition of shared gender interests. The liberal belief that it is up to each person to make the best of his or her own life clashes with feminist awareness of group disadvantages and needs for collective action. Here there is a contradiction at the heart of liberal feminism, which is constantly threatening to overstep the boundaries of liberalism itself and thus revealing the limitations of liberal thought. It has the potential for developing in truly radical direction Lister (1997).

3.19 CRITICISMS OF LIBERAL FEMINISM

Liberal feminism has been so criticized that even within its own terms it has failed. They argue that women have manifestly failed to gain real equality with men in worlds of work and governance because the publicity received by a few token women conceals the overwhelming predominance of men in positions of power and authority, and women's earning power remains dramatically lower than men's. Even the goal of full legal equality has not been met. Many liberal feminists have not questioned their goals and methods, but believe that these arguments must be pursued and employed more vigorously. They, therefore, strongly demand extension and more rigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination and equal pay law, and for the effectiveness of the latter to be increased by extending it to work and equality of education was to be seen as a priority, though there has been a shift from the formal provision of education opportunities to more active attempts to counter traditional socialization and gender stereotypes.

Some argue further that because of the degree of discrimination and disadvantage they face, true equality for women must involve a temporary measure of affirmative action whereby women are appointed or promoted in advance of equally qualified men or even of reverse discrimination' whereby women are appointed before more qualified men. Other liberals claim that it is the burden of childcare responsibilities that has prevented women from competing and attaining equality with men, and they therefore demand that women's freedom of choice should be extended by giving them full control over their own fertility (in particular, the right to abortion) and that action be taken to make the rearing of children and pursuit of a career more readily compatible. Although liberalism has always included childcare provision and maternity leave in its list of demands, these were not originally prioritized, and Friedan herself has admitted that the neglect of these issues has placed impossible demands upon women. She, therefore, called for increased nursery and childcare provisions, greater involvement by men in child-rearing and for a basic restricting of work patterns to enable both men and women to combine family responsibilities with a career Lister (2000). She has also written enthusiastically about the Swedish model which involves the state promotion of gender equality through active intervention in education, provision of childcare and welfare facilities, positive attempts to change the attitudes of men, and extensive legislation for parental leave and flexibility in work arrangements.

2.20 RADICAL FEMINISM

Liberal feminism, otherwise known as equal right feminism, as discussed above, took the ‘common sense’ values of liberal democracy as its starting-point. In contrast, the radical feminist ideas came from the Women’s Liberation Movement (WLM) from the 1960s and produced a challenge to accepted values and lifestyles that often seemed both extreme and shocking. Although in practice, there was always a significant overlap between the WLM and equal rights feminism in terms of both goals and membership. Radical feminism had a theoretical starting point which clearly distinguished it from other approaches Rubin (1990). Firstly, Radical feminism, unlike the equal rights argument claimed to go to the roots of women’s oppression, and it proclaimed itself as a theory of, by and for women. As such, it was based firmly in women’s own experiences and perspectives and agendas. Secondly, it saw the oppression of women as the most fundamental and universal form of domination, and its aim was to understand and end this oppression. In radical feminism patriarchy was a key term. Thirdly, radical feminism stresses that women, as a group, had interest opposed to those of men. These interests united them in a common sisterhood that transcends the division of class or race and meant that women should struggle together to achieve their own liberation.

Finally, radical feminist analysis insists that male power was not confined to the public worlds of politics and paid employment but that it extends into private life. This means that traditional concepts of power and politics were also challenged by the radical feminist argument. This challenge was also extended to personal areas of life as both the family and sexuality were seen as instruments of patriarchal domination.

2.21 ORIGIN OF RADICAL FEMINISM

Radical feminism did not emerge until the late 1960s when it began to be formulated as self-conscious theory. The energy for this development came from women’s experiences in the civil rights anti-wars, New Left and student movements in North America, Europe and Australia. In these places young women realized that the left-wing groups were not immune from the feminist mystique that Betty Freidan had identified in mainstream American life. Their role was essentially that of secretaries, housewives or sex objects servicing the political, domestic and sexual needs of men. Any attempt at raising the subject of women’s exclusion from decision making was met with silence, ridicule or contempt.

In the United State, the irony of the movement that seemed to promise freedom to the Black people while denying it to woman soon became apparent. This symbolised the Black leader Stockely Carmichael, who refused to discuss the position of woman in the movement beyond saying that it should be “prone”. In the 19th century parallels between the situation the Black and women were readily drawn and when, after 1964, sections of Black movement shifted away from liberal civil right ideas to more radical and militant concepts of the Black power contending White imperialism, Black separatism and liberation through revolution some women saw this as a clear model for female liberation that went far beyond liberal ideas of equal rights. From this perspective, women were involved in a revolutionary struggle against gender inequality that could not be won by polite requests and far from seeking respectability and acceptance within the system. Yet equal rights feminists did not allow themselves to be overthrown.

Despite the origin of radical feminism, many critics claim that from its inception radical feminism has been rooted in racist assumptions. They claim that there had always been social and sexual tensions between black and white women in the civil rights movement. Although the Black women had been to the fore front of early complaints about sexism, they rapidly become invisible in a movement that contrasted the demands of Black women as if Black women did not exist. Also the insistence on the oppression shared by all women also obscured the very real differences that existed amongst women, and seemed to deny the possibility that women could oppress each other. The systematic articulation of black feminist critique lay, however, in the future, and in the first heady years of the new movement such problems seemed easily ignored.

In 1967, the first radical women’s groups were formed in the United States. This was influenced by Maoist ideas current in left-wing circles and used in Chinese idea of speaking bitterness to express and share personal experiences so as to bring out their political implications and to develop a political strategy for change. This idea was also use to enable workers to recognize their collective oppression and potential power. The concept became known as consciousness raising, and was of central importance in the movement as women broke years of silence to discover the shared nature of the problems which they had assumed to be theirs alone.

As the years went by, some women tended to use consciousness raising and advocacy as a form of therapy which could articulate problems to which individualistic solutions could be found. Originally, radical feminism was a self-consciously political

strategy which is based on the premise that women's problems were shared and that they could only be ended by collective political action of women. However, as the new groups spread rapidly, the message was that 'persona' is political and that a theory and a strategy for women's liberation could only be based on women's shared experiences, not on abstract speculations of equal rights feminism. Radical feminism was out to waged war against the universal oppressor-man because to radical feminism--

-women are an oppressed class. Our oppression is total, affecting every facet of our lives. We are exploited as sex objects, breeders, domestic servants, and cheap labour. We are considered inferior beings whose only purpose is to enhance men's lives --- we have been kept from seeing our personal suffering as a political condition --- The conflicts between individual men and women are political conflicts but can only be solved collectively --- we identify the agent of our oppression as men. Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination --- All men receive economic, sexual, and psychological benefits from male supremacy. All men have oppressed women (Morgan 1970).

2.22 RADICAL FEMINISM & PATRIARCHY ACCORDING TO KATE MILLETT

The term patriarchy was not of course new to political theory, but what was new was how Millett puts it. Derived from Greek word patriarchs, meaning head of the tribe; patriarchy was central to seventeenth century debates over the extent of the monarchical power. Then it was the belief that the power of the king over his people was same as that of a father over his family, and that both were sanctioned by God and nature.

Millett took such familial power as her starting points so that the principles of patriarchy appear to be two -fold: male shall dominate female, elder shall dominate young. She, however, explored the first principle (male shall dominate female) but did not distinguish between male power within the family and in society as a whole. In view of this, efforts have been made by some feminist scholars to restrict the term to strictly family base power. Its use as short-hand for social system based on male domination and female subordination has become standard among feminists. Millett's central claims were simple, and they essentially represented a formalization of ideas that were already current in the new women's movement (WLM). She argued that all known societies' relationships between the sexes have been based on power, and that they are, therefore, political. To her this power takes the form of male domination over women in all areas of

life. Sexual domination to her is so universal, so ubiquitous and so complete that it appears “natural” and hence becomes invisible that it is perhaps the most pervasive ideology of our culture provides its most fundamental concept of power.

According to Millett, the patriarchal power of men over women is basic to the functioning of all societies and it extends far beyond formal institutions of power. It overrides class and race divisions for economic dependency; it means that women’s class identity is tangential, vicarious and temporary matter while sexism may be more endemic in societies than racism.

Patriarchy to her is primarily maintained by a process of conditioning which starts with childhood socialization within the family and is reinforced by education, literature and religion to such an extent that its values are internalized by men and women alike. For some women this leads to self-hatred, self-rejection and an acceptance of inferiority. Millett referred to this as inferior colonization. Despite the success of this inferior colonization, patriarchy also rests upon economic exploitation and the use of threat or force. To her, this means that the history of patriarchy is a record of man’s inhumanity to women and that the thousands of women who die in the United States each year as a result of illegal abortion are victims of the same system; the Indian women forced to die on husband’s funeral pyre, the Chinese woman crippled by foot-binding and the African girl whose clitoris is cut out in the name of circumcision are all victims of patriarchy. She believes that in all societies too, patriarchy relies upon sexual violence and rape. In this context she argues that sexual relationships between men and women are but an expression of male power (Cook, (eds) 1978).

2.23 POLITICS OF PERSONAL LIFE AND RADICAL FEMINISM

To radical feminism, the claim that ‘the persona is political is central to the concept of patriarchy. Although some critics argue that this has totalitarian implications, there is the implication that no area of life can be free from political scrutiny and feminists are to be held accountable to their sisters for every aspect of their behaviour. Others argue that the insistence of radical feminism that persona is political is effectively de-politicizing, as it can be seen to suggest that radical feminists can never hope to change the world before they put their own personal houses in impeccable order. As such, it legitimizes a privatized and self-indulgent retreat from collective struggle and into the seductive world of open-ended therapy.

Radical feminist scholars defended this argument as not true of Millett's original theory and argue against such misinterpretations which were believed to be derived from the media. In defence, they made it clear that they were not demanding that private life should become political, but claiming that it already is. From this perspective, current notions of privacy conceal many of the ways in which women are oppressed, but the question of whether women should have a right to private life can be left open. This is essential because the goal of radical feminism was not individual therapy but collective action. From the radicals also develop the Marxist /socialist feminist theory that see the oppression of women from the economic perspective (Bryson 1999).

2.24 CLASSICAL MARXIST THEORY AND FEMINISM

To some scholars, it is odd to include a section on classic Marxism in the work on feminism because Karl Marx was not a feminist. Others argue that he was not hostile to female liberation but unlike Mill and Thompson he did not give it a special attention. However, recent feminist writers have suggested that far from providing a feminist view of history, it gave women an essentially passive role, seeing them as sufferers or beneficiaries from man-made history. Cynics might however draw support from Marx's frequently quoted formulation that ---"Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex the ugly ones included" (Lee-Hampshire, 1994).

Although Marx himself did little to say directly about women, his history claimed to provide a comprehensive analysis of human history and society, and later feminists have attempted to apply it to feminist issues. This means that to understand much recent feminist debate it is necessary to have some knowledge of Marx's original ideas. This is because his theory provides a perspective completely different from the feminist ideas we have discussed, the liberal and radical feminism.

CLASSIC THEORY OF KARL MARX

According to some recent feminist, Marx and Engels ideas were extremely complex and they had been interpreted in very many different ways. However, at their core was a view of history and society that saw the world as constantly changing and progressing, and insisted that liberal ideas of individual rights, justice and human nature were not universal principles, but the product of a particular period of human history. To Karl Marx" the key to understanding the process of historical development lay, not in the

ideas that people hold, but in their physical activity. It was the first cooperative act of production that formed the basis of the earliest primitive society and beginnings of human society; To Marxist life evolved before everything else: eating and drinking, a habitation, clothing and many other things. The first historical act is thus the production of means to satisfy these needs, the production of material life itself (Coole, 1993 and Draper 1978).

Stressing that as methods of production gradually become more complex, so too did the division of labour and the form of social organization based upon it. With the production of surplus came the institution of private property. The division of society into classes and corresponding to and reinforcing these, the development of laws, states and systems of belief for the mode of production of material life, conditioned the social, political and intellectual life procession generally. Therefore it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, it is their social being that determines their consciousness.

They argue further that the process of historical development was neither random nor smooth, but was expressed through class conflict and revolution. Although human history was the study of man's progressive mastering over nature, so far this had taken place within the framework of ever-increasing alienation and exploitation of women. Nineteenth-century capitalism was not, however, the final form of human society, but the condition which were developing within it that would give birth to the final proletarian revolution. It was only through this that man could gain full control over the whole productive process, and only then that a classless communist society could develop in which full human freedom could eventually be achieved and the narrow horizon or bourgeoisie right be crushed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: "From each according to his ability, and to each according to his needs".

The extent to which all this implies is that theory of technological or economic determinism is a matter of intense political and scholarly debate, but it seems that in seeking to understand social, political and legal systems and the beliefs that people have about them, Marx said that we must look first at the economic system on which they rest. It also means that possibilities for change will be fairly and strictly limited by socio-economic conditions, rather than being a simple product of people's intention. Marxist believe that for men, they make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under

circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past (Maconachie 1987).

The implications of this whole approach for feminist theory are profound. In the first place, the family and sexual relationships are, like other forms of social organization, placed in historical context: neither eternally given nor consciously planned. They are the product of a particular historical situation and, therefore, open to change in the future. Secondly, this change will not be brought about by appeals to reason or to principles of justice like the liberal argument stressed, but only as part of changes in conditions of production. Like the Utopian socialist, Marx and Engels believed that the good society could not be achieved at will, but only at a particular stage of historical development (Humphries 1987).

2.25 THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE ACCORDING TO ANGELS

The origin of the family, private and the state was used by Engels to explain the social status of women. Engels drew heavily on the work of the nineteenth-century anthropologist, Lewis Morgan, to trace the supposed evolution of the family from the earliest savage society to present day. Engels totally rejected the claim that the modern family is somehow 'natural'. He argued that the earliest sexual relationships had been totally promiscuous and unregulated, and that they gradually evolved to take the form of pairing family, which characterized later forms of primitive society. The force behind this evolution was in the first instance natural selection (which ensured that those tribes prohibiting incest were stronger), and the wishes of women, who increasingly found group marriage oppressive and humiliating and longed for the right of chastity, of temporary or permanent marriage with one man only as a way of release (Vogel 1983):

Engels argued that primitive societies also differed from modern society in that relationships between the sexes were based on equality; there was a sexual division of labour whereby women were responsible for domestic work and man for agriculture. Even in the pairing family (which was not the same as strict monogamy), this did not involve subordination; the women reigned supreme in the home, and descent was calculated through the female line.

This egalitarian situation was changed by development of new source of wealth in the male sphere of activity, through the domestication of animals and breeding of

herds. As some men gain property and power over others, their position within the family was strengthened, and they wanted to pass their property to their children; to do this they had to overthrow the traditional order of inheritance and ensure strict monogamy on the part of each woman, who become the mere possession of husband and the means of producing heirs (Evans, R. 1987).

According to Engels, The overthrow of mother right was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home and the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude: she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. This means that the subordination of women coincided with the first private property and class society, for it was then that women lost control in the home and became economically dependent upon men; it also means that female oppression has no other material cause – it is a part of class society, but not necessary or permanent feature of human relationships. From this it follows that the abolition of private property will mean an end to sex oppression, for men will no longer have any motive to exploit women. The supremacy of the man in marriage is the simple consequence of his economic supremacy and with the abolition of the later will disappear itself.

According to Engels, the basis for new and equal relations between the sexes was already developing within capitalist society. For modern industry's increasing reliance on the labour of women and children in the factory production was having a profound effect upon the balance of power within the family. Nearly forty years earlier in Engels' *The Condition of Working Class in England* (1845), he had been greatly concerned about such employment, noting the appalling effects upon family life and describing it as an "insane state of things" the not frequent situation in which a woman was in paid employment, and her husband condemned to domestic occupations. He argued that this reduces the personality of the man and takes from woman all the womanliness. According to him, it is easy to imagine the wrath aroused among the working men by this reversal of all relations within the family (Mies, 1998).

However, his concern that working women were neglecting their home and children takes on a new dimension when we remember the condition and nature of early factory employment and the particular problems faced by women who had to work throughout pregnancy (even on occasion giving birth amongst the factory machines), and who often had to return to work less than a week after giving birth. These women also

faced problems of sexual harassment and exploitation by male factory owners. Engels' descriptions were largely based on analysis of government reports and official statistics, and they remain a searing indictment of mid-nineteenth-century conditions: women made unfit for childbearing, children deformed, men enfeebled, limbs crushed, whole generations wrecked, afflicted with disease and infirmity just to fill the purses of the bourgeoisie.

Although Engels retained his opposition to capitalism exploitation by 1884, Engels saw female paid employment as progressive force. The bourgeoisie woman was, he argued, still a mere breeding machine and provider of sexual services who only differs from the ordinary courtesan in that she does not let out her body on piece-work as a wage earner, but sells it once and for all into slavery. Her economic dependence on her husband meant that within the family, he is the bourgeoisie and the wife represents the proletariat. However, the proletarian marriage was not based on property, and because the wife was frequently a wage earner, the last remnants of male supremacy in the proletarian household are deprived of all foundation. This meant that paradoxically, the proletarian wife was less oppressed as a woman than her bourgeoisie counterpart (although she remained oppressed worker), and that the first condition for the liberation of women is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry.

The second condition for liberation was the social revolution that Engels believed would soon occur, and which would replace the capitalist economic system with one based on common ownership. As private property disappeared, so too would men's motive to produce heirs and their ability to buy women, whether as wives or prostitutes. At the same time, women's productive labour would no longer involve neglect of home and family, for private housekeeping is transformed into social industry. The care and education of children becomes a public affair; society looks after all children alike, whether they are born of wedlock or not. Marriage (that compound of sentimentality and domestic strife) and sexual relations would also be transformed as they ceased to be based on economic needs. Engels claimed that present arrangements were characterized by sexual license for men, while adultery and prostitution rather than fidelity and love were basis of modern bourgeoisie marriage. He thought that this would be replaced not by promiscuity but by individual sex love, which he believed already characterized relationships amongst the proletariat:

When a new generation has grown up; a generation of men who never in their lives have known what it is to buy a woman's surrender with money or any other social instrument of power; a generation of women who have never known what it is to give themselves to a man from any other consideration than real love, or to refuse to give themselves to their lovers from fear of economic consequences (Lane 1987).

All these give us a theory that sees the changing condition of women as a product of economic processes. The subordination of women began with private property and class society; amongst the property-less classes it has already lost its economic foundations while with the impending socialist revolution which will reappear in its entirety. For non-Marxists, the apparent reduction of social questions to an economic cause makes Engel's approach unacceptable, as does his belief in imminent replacement of capitalism by socialism. Many late twentieth century Marxist feminists have also been highly critical of Engel's ideas and have attacked it at various levels.

2.26 THE IMPORTANCE OF MARXIST CONCEPTS IN FEMINISM TODAY

Feminists have continued to argue that these problems enumerated by Engels may be relatively superficial, a product of Engels' personal limitations and prejudices rather than the underlying methodology. However, there remains the problem of whether Marxist is really able to see or understand any non-economic sources of oppression, and this is related to its underlying theory of history. In the German ideology, Marx and Engels saw both production and reproduction as the basis of society. The production of life is seen as a double relationship which is, on one hand, on the other hand, a social relationship. According to the materialistic conception, the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of immediate life. This again is of a twofold character. On the one side, the production of means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools necessary for that production, on the other side, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species. The social institutions under which the people are conditioned by both kinds of production are the stage of development of labour and of development of the family (Vogel 1983):

Despite these formulations, neither Marx nor Engels gave production and reproduction equal roles in the productive process. As we have seen, Engels did say that the family developed autonomously in the earliest human society, but he argued that this

independent development ceased when it reached the stage of pairing marriage and that unless new social forces came to play, there was no reason why a new form of family should arise from single pair (Barrett, M 1987). Engels further argued that such social forces did arise in Europe, with the introduction of private property, but that in America, family remained in its early form. This means that it was only in pre-class societies that the family and sexual relationships developed under their own momentum; for most of recorded history their form was dependent upon the development of production. Marx never said anything so special but it is quite clear that although he saw reproduction as a part of the material basis of society, it was in no way a dependent source of change in general. Therefore, he found the oppression of women to be theoretically uninteresting, a product of class society rather than something worth understanding in its own right.

This theoretical perspective meant that Marx and Engels never explored in any detail the ways in which sexual relationships and family organization have changed over time. It also meant in terms of practical politics that the whole question of women's oppression tended to disappear. Marx did say that of course women could join the First International Workingmen's Association and proposed the establishment of women's branches within it

. However, the idea that women as a group might have shared interests that cut across class lines, and that these might be in opposition to women's interest never arose. For later Marxists, this approach has been explicitly interpreted as meaning that all problems of relations between the sexes can be postponed until after the revolution, and that any attempt to improve the situation of women in the short term are at best a bourgeois irrelevance and at worst a ploy to divide the working class and distract it from the class struggle (Barrett, M.1987). Believing on the kind of assumption that if class struggle is taken care of, then feminism will take care of itself, this is an assumption that has been attacked by some recent feminists who rejected the idea that Marxist involves a crude reductionism whereby there is a one-to-one causal relationship between economic organization and situation of women. For such Marxist feminists, reproduction is a key part of material base which must be incorporated into a correct understanding of society. This opens the possibility of causal interaction between class and sex struggles – and , in practical terms, this means that sexism of men in left-wing organizations or the working class can legitimately be challenged.

Despite this kind of attempt to “rescue” Marxism for feminism, some critics have argued that key concepts of Marxist theory are not gender neutral ones which Mark happened not to apply to women, but that (like liberal ideas of reason, autonomy and competition) are based on a male view of the world that excludes women’s needs and experiences. Thus, the concepts of productive labour, self consciousness, creative, rational and un-alienated activity are said to be based on a paradigm of male activity that not only fails to encompass women’s work as natural but it renders it invisible and places it outside of history. Others claim that the whole view of history as a process through which men increased their mastering over nature reflects an essentially male view that is responsible for women’s current ecological crisis the drive to subdue or conquer nature is contrasted with the female method of working with and understanding it (Foreman 1978).

2.27 POST-MODERN/WOMANISM THEORY

From the starting point of feminism in the 18th century, feminists have been divided as regards the causes of and potential cures for women subordination, inequality or oppression. They generally agreed that the task of feminist theory is to contribute to the understanding of women’s situation in order that the situation can be challenged and changed. Feminist, therefore, set the ‘common sense’ assumption that we know who we are. Some feminist writers recognized that there are important differences among women that have not been treated as central to their analysis, and most of them assumed that “women” are a readily defined and identifiable group of people.

This assumption consequently has been challenged in the recent years. Black feminist have argued that when White feminist talk about “women” they tend to think about people like themselves, and a situation where Black women are taken as starting point of analysis a very different picture emerges. They contend that Black women have contributed to feminist thought and activism from at least the early nineteenth-century yet they have until recently been marginalized within western feminism. By the closing years of the twentieth century, however, they were developing a more systematic analysis of the situation. Today Black feminism is an important strand of thought in feminism which has moved well beyond a critique of White feminism to development of original African feminist theory that is relevant not to black women alone, but has a profound implication for feminism as a whole.

Prior to the inception of Black feminism, a minority of White feminist were overtly racist. For example some opposed the involvement of Black women in the suffrage campaign. However, many of the White women were involved in the movements against slavery and civil rights for black people, and today the vast majority would say that they were opposed to racism. Nevertheless, the effect of their feminism has at times been to strengthen racist stereotypes during the 1970s and 1980s. Blacks were particularly angered by Reclaim the Night Marches which were intended to assert women's rights to work through cities without sexual intimidation, but which often involved White women marching through black/or working-class neighbourhoods and which seemed to tap into deep-seated assumptions about the threat of black male sexuality (Barrett 1982). The first perspective of postmodern critique of White feminism is that it fails to see the depth and ubiquity of racism and racist assumptions and the second contrasts sexism and racism, women and blacks allowing no space for the experiences of black women. Such perspectives forgot that the vast majority of women are not Whites and do not live in the West, and that even in Western nations, women experiences are far from being uniform. Black women see race as an issue for non-white groups only, failing to see either that white people have an ethnic identity or that they are privileged by it. White women believe that when they talked about themselves they were talking about all women, and many White feminists have unthinkably generalized from their own situations, ignoring the experiences of the Black women, or treating them as marginal and different. Many have also projected western concerns and priorities onto the rest of the world, measuring progress according to western liberal standards or identifying a global system of patriarchy through which differences are treated as local variations on a universal theme. Some postmodern feminists argue that White feminists within the radical feminist tradition are less entrenched than sexism, and claimed that class and race were invented by patriarchy to divide and conquer women.

All this, according to black feminist/postmodernist, mean that White feminists have confirmed and at times even strengthened racist oppression and produced bad and partial theory that misunderstands the world in critically important ways. Such theory they stressed silences or marginalizes black women's voices and cannot see them as independent actors or explore the ways in which the experience of sex oppression is mediated through race and the experience of racism is gendered. As Bell Hooks puts it...

Black women have felt forced to choose between a black movement that primarily serves the interest of black male patriarchy, and a white woman's movement which primarily serves the interest of racist white women (Bryson 2003).

Black feminists also argue that White feminism have been unable to understand the ways in which racism contributes to their own oppression. For example the construction of white femininity as pure and frail, was often bound up with and dependent upon very different assumptions underlying White feminism (Zalewski 2000).

Today, Black feminists agreed that they do not simply want to be included in White feminism on existing terms, but that they want to decentre White feminism and challenge the normality of their perspective. For example Black women argue that White feminists critique of the public/private distinction look very different from the perspective of Black women who have always worked outside (farm lands and market places) as well as within the home (family), whose bodies were historically at the disposal of white slave owners, husbands and who today may find their personal lives monitored if they seek welfare benefits or joined by a spouse.

Feminist writers like, Angela Davis has argued that a feminist movement which begins with middle-class White women will only change their position at the top of the social pyramid, leaving the lives of other women untouched. She notes that "if however, we aim at improving the situation of those at the bottom – that is, proletariat class of Black women, and then the entire oppressive structure of the society will be transformed". The advancement of women of colour almost always indicates progressive change for all women. Again some postmodern feminists built on the feminist standpoint theory that those who are on the receiving end of oppression are more able to see it than those who are advantaged by it. Angela Davis suggests that, because black women occupy a position whereby the inferior half of a series of dichotomies coverage, they have a particular clear view of the world from which we can all learn (Brown 2002)

Here it is argued that not only that Black women are inevitably aware of the power relations involved in racism, which White feminist can conveniently forget, but that Black women's experience of gender, race and frequently also class oppressions shows that these are not simply separate systems which produce cumulative disadvantage, but that they are dynamically interconnected. This means that systems of

oppression are mutually reinforcing, producing experiences of gender. It means that the oppression of black women is more than just the sum of racism and sexism, but is qualitatively distinct. The oppression of White women too is often bound up with racism.

In the era of slavery in the United States, White men were free to exploit female slaves. This abuse of power was also a way of controlling and humiliating black people as a whole, while stereotypes of black male sexuality were used to inflame racial hatred and also justify restrictions on the freedom of White women, whose supposed purity was `trusted with the promiscuity of Black women. They believe that if such stereotypes continue today, and reflect in instances whereby if a Black woman is raped, she is to experience this as a Black woman. If her rapist is White she is much less likely to be believed by authorities than if she was White and he was Black. If her attacker is also Black she is more likely than White woman to fear that she is betraying her community by reporting him to a racist police authority. Rape is also a natural weapon in racist, ethnic or nationalistic conflict. It can be used both to humiliate the enemy and to dilute the purity of its stock just as the fear of rape can be used to justify restriction on women. According to Collins P (1990), opening up feminist concerns in this way enables us to see that individuals are positioned in a matrix of oppression, privilege and that they are unlikely to be either oppressed or privileged in every dimension, so that

Placing African American women and other excluded groups in the centre of analysis opens up possibilities for both this and other conceptual stance, in which all groups possess varying amount of power and privilege in a historical created system. (Collins 1990)

Bell Hooks, (1991) therefore, argues that the idea of sisterhood, which implies an oppression shared by all women, should make way for that of solidarity. This will enable different groups of women to support each other without insisting that their situation be identical; it also enables women to form alliance with oppressed groups of men and to become involved in a politics of solidarity, which recognizes the multiplicity of oppressions and supporter's struggles not directly indicated by ones' own lived experiences. (Hooks, B. 1991)

All of these imply that exponents of Black feminism do not see this simply as a theory of and for feminists who happened to be Black rather, it is a self-conscious epistemological standpoint which argues that feminist struggles cannot be confined to gender issues and that, if Black women's perspectives are excluded from feminist

thought, its attempt to understand even the situation of White women will be seriously flawed. Also the idea that oppressions are interconnected and, therefore, cannot be challenged in isolation is now widespread among Black and third world feminist writers. Some White feminists today agree with this analysis, and have attempted to move beyond earlier confessions of shortcomings to critical awareness of their own ethnicity.

2.28 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Feminism first came into use in English during the 1880s, indicating support for women's equal legal and political rights with men. Its meaning has since evolved and is still hotly debated.

In general terms any theory that sees the relationship between the sexes as that of inequality, subordination or oppression, which sees this problem of political power rather than a fact of nature, and that sees this problem as important for political theory and practice can be regarded as feminist theory. Anachronistically, this applies to those women who wrote in favour of women before the term feminist existed, and those who rejected it (most often because they understood it to refer only to the concerns of middle class women and some men who contributed to feminist debate.

It is evident from most of the history of political theories reviewed above that women have been ignored. As such, women seldom appear in the analysis of who has or should have power. Secondly, political theory has been designed not to notice women, and has usually defended their exclusion from public affairs and their confinement to the home. As a result, rarely have women been seen as political animals worthy of serious consideration. (Bryson1995)

Today, this exclusion of half of the human race is either perpetuated or dismissed as a trivial oversight. The inequalities that may exist between men and women are deemed practically unimportant and theoretically uninteresting (Bryson up.cit). Feminist political theory, however, sees women and their situation as central to political analysis; it asks why it is that in virtually all known societies, men appear to have power over women, and how this can be changed. To them, feminist theory is engaged theory, which seeks to understand society in order to challenge and change it. They went further

to argue that the goal of feminist theory is not abstract knowledge, but knowledge that can be used to guide and inform feminist political practice.

Modern feminist however argue that men can never be feminist, either because they are the enemy or because lacking first hand experiences, they can only be at best feminist supporters. The development of feminist thought has not only been uneven, but it has also always involved deep theoretical disagreements. These partly reflect the varied needs and perceptions of women in different societies and situations; feminist theory also stems from feminist's mixed origins in both the liberal and socialist tradition of male-stream political thought as in women's own experiences.

Rather than thinking of feminism as a unified body of thought, many modern commentators identified a number of distinct feminist's positions. Here the approaches most commonly identified are those of liberal Marxist and radical feminists; the term socialist feminism to some scholars is also rather confusing. Socialist feminist theory often is used to describe all theories that see socialist and feminist goals as related whether or not they are based on a specifically Marxist analysis and some modern attempts to synthesize the ideas of Marxist and the radical feminism.

Several feminist schools of thought presented different claims to the status of women. They argue that because women are rational beings as men, they are entitled to the same legal and political rights; In the course of this work some feminist theories were reviewed. These include the Liberal, Radical, Marxist/socialist and post modern feminist theories. Feminism has a maze of theories that on the surface level may be interconnected and also confusing when trying to separate them. Feminists are profoundly divided as to the cause of and potential cures for women's subordination, inequality or oppression in the civil society and government. They are however in congruity on the definition and function of these theories.

They believe that the task of feminist theory is to contribute to the understanding of the situation of women in order that this can be challenged and changed. All the feminist theories are all hinged on understanding, challenging and answering the woman question. I understand fully-well what the forms of oppressions are connected and that they reinforce each other in application. However, not all the theories reviewed are considered adequate and applicable to the *Reassessment of Women Marginalization in Governance in Nigeria*. Following this, the theoretical framework of this survey was based on one of the theories considered germane to the work. The theory consider

appropriate here is the radical feminist theory but before then it is the brief over view of the other theories that will be turned to.

2.29 The Liberal Feminist Theory – Liberalism is feminist activities which took place in the mid eighteenth century. Liberal feminists have therefore stressed and campaigned over the last three hundred years for women's right to education, employment, political participation and full legal equality. They concentrated on rights in the public sphere and do not analyze power relationship that may exist within the home or private life. This school of thought also assumes that the justice of its cause will ensure its success and that men will have no reason to oppose it. Although it is premised upon the perception that women as a group are now disadvantaged argues that it is up to individual women to make most of their opportunities once political and legal equality have been won. Then feminism was based on rationality and questioning of traditional authority which originated from the seventeenth century Europe philosophy when it reached its fullest expression. It was also during the age of Reason or the Enlightenment era that liberal feminism started. The belief was on the onward march of reason and knowledge, and then reason replaced God or antiquity as the standard of right or wrong. Challenging the traditional authorities, many of the philosophers' belief that, as rational beings, individual men have rights that must not be violated by arbitrary power, that any authority must be based on the consent of the governed and that, individuals should be as far as possible self-determining and free from government control. (Spelmen 1988)

However, there was a widespread consensus amongst the leading philosophers that the principles of rational individualism were not applicable to women. They held that by the very nature of women, they were incapable of the full development of reason. These believe was expressed in the works of eighteenth-century philosophers like Voltaire, Diderof, Montesquieu and Rousseau among others. These philosophers argue that women are essentially creatures of emotion and passion who have an important role to play as wives and mothers, but who are biologically unsuited for the public sphere.

However, feminism activities have been considered essentially reformist in that they did not seek to deny the rule of law and the traditional roles of women. Also, they did not provide systematic attack on the socio-economic system, or on marriage and family. This has led to the classification of the nineteenth century feminist activities simply as equal rights or feminist liberals. Because the work on reassessment of the

social status of women is a survey for paradigm shift on the issue of women marginal social status, therefore jettisoned liberal feminist for another.

The Marxist Feminism Theory: Beginning from the orthodox Marxists, women's liberation required economic independence and full participation in economy, believing that the marginalization of women is due to division of society into classes and, corresponding to and reinforcing the development of laws, states and systems of belief. To the Marxist the origin of the family which traced the subordination of women to the first private property and the formation of class society, as well as the over-throw of mother- right, which to the Marxist is the world's historical defeat of female sex. The Marxist believe that the supremacy of the family is the simple consequence of his economic supremacy and that with abolition of economic power of men-women subordination will disappear because men will have no motive to marginalize women. A re-assessment of women marginalization in governance is not merely about economic position of women. To this end, Marxists feminist theory is not adequate for the Theoretical frame work for this work.

2.31 The Postmodern Feminist Theory: Recognized the important differences amongst women. Challenging middle-class White feminists and their work on feminism, in post-modern feminism Black feminists argue that when White feminist talk about women, they are talking about themselves. They argue that they do not simply want to be included in White feminism on the existing terms, but that they want to decentre White feminists because in practice, Black women are the ones who have empirical experiences of subordination both from men and from middle-class white women in Europe and America. The *Re-Assessment of Women's Marginalization in Governance in Nigeria* is not about the colour of women but about their social status especially in governance. It is not about the segment of economic position of women but about the involvement of women in women marginalization in all spheres of life especially in governance. To this extent Post-Modern feminist theory is rejected for this study.

2.32 Radical Feminism – Radical feminism as stated earlier on has its starting point the claim that women should develop their own theories based on their own experiences rather than relying on ideas that had been developed by men. Radical feminism saw women oppression as the most fundamental and universal form of domination. Arguing

that women as a group has interests opposed to those of men and that these interests unite them in common sisterhood that surpasses the division of class or race and meant that women should struggle together to achieve their own liberation.

Secondly, radical feminists argue that male supremacy and power transcends the public worlds of governance and paid employment but that it also extended into the private lives of women. Inventing the word “the personal is political”, radical feminism challenged the other areas of life of women as the family and sexuality both of which they consider to be cogent instruments of patriarchal domination of women’s lives. Furthermore, radical feminism channelled its right for equality through patriarchy which they introduced in feminist thought as a key concept.

Radical feminists like Millett stretched the meaning of patriarchy to mean male domination of female. The power of patriarchy extends to all areas of life. Contending that, male domination is so universal, so ubiquitous and so complete that it appears normal and natural. However, drawing on the proposition of the universality and ubiquity of male domination that women have interest which contrast from the interest of men and that these interest should unite women. The re-assessment of women marginalization in politics in Nigeria draws the theoretical frame work from the radical feminist theory.

Although the point developed by radical theorists like Millett, the message is that it is a not unjust law or economic systems that are responsible for women’s oppression but men. To some radical critics such position is unattainable, and is largely responsible for feminism’s negative image as a complaining, whining, and negative creed, irrelevant to the lives of go-ahead young women.

Radical feminism is also germane to this work because it pointed out that many men are not in positions of power over women, but may in fact be subordinate to women and that, despite the general imbalance of power, loving, non-exploitative relationship between men and women can and do exist in our society. Men too they say, may suffer in sexist society and not just women. For example, they argue that men in sexist society are forced into the role of breadwinner and are denied an active role in bringing up their own children. By having to repress unacceptably feminine aspect of their personality, they are therefore alienated from their own full humanity.

Again, radical feminism believes that there are essential and irreducible biological differences that shape men and women's nature, and that "women" are naturally superior. This view has led some feminists (radicals) to develop an eco-feminist analysis while some have rejected all association with men, social, sexual or political. Radical separatist argument is however distinct from the original patriarchal argument of Millett in her patriarchal argument, man-hating and separatism are not inherent in it. Her argument was far from seeing all men as undifferentiated enemy, who can never be trusted as fathers, friends, colleagues, sexual partners or political allies. Meanwhile the concept of patriarchy which Millett argued can be used to explore the possibility of male support and political solidarity for women. Also, it can be used to analyze ways in which some or all men may themselves be harmed by patriarchy and so assist women in their quest to dismantle patriarchy. This is why radical feminism was chosen for this work above other feminist thought.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FEMINISM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

For most of the recorded history, a key aspect of women's subordination has been their exclusion from public debate and the means of written expression. This means that women have little direct access in determining what they eventually become in life and their place in the civil society. Nevertheless, feminists believe that wherever women have been subordinated some women have resisted. It stressed that that it is possible to trace elements of feminist consciousness back to the first written expressions of woman's thought in the seventh century Europe. Gerda Lerner (1993) argued that any woman who wrote in this early period, or who claimed the ability to benefit from education or contribute to theological, philosophical and political debate was already challenging her society's teaching about women's intellectual inferiority and their propensity for sin. Gerda stressed that it is not surprising that identifiable themes in early writings by women are attempts to re-interpret the scriptures to challenge such beliefs (Lerner, op.cit).

Records also have it that by the beginning of the fifteenth century, there was European-wide public debate, which came to be known as Querrelle des femmes, over the nature of women and their portrayal in literature. Of the pro-women writers, the best known is a French woman Christine de Pizan (1365-1430) who appealed to the authority of women's own experiences and to the record of great women in history to assert her sex's innate intellectual equality with men and to defend women against the misogynic literature and religious authority. Although the work of Pizan and her contemporaries did not produce any kind of political programme or analysis of power, they only show that debates over women's roles in society that include a recognizably feminist perspective gone back much further than has recently been assumed (Stuurman 1998)

3.2 FEMINISM IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The European-wide public debate known as Querelles had been primarily concerned with education, morality and manners, and participants frequently based their arguments on interpretations of the Bible. Feminist theological arguments were further

elaborated in the seventeenth century. For example, some writers used creation story to argue that Eve was superior to Adam because she was created last, or because she was created out of Adam's rib rather than out of mud and slime .(Rubin,M. 1998). Some writers also engaged directly with the increasingly secular arguments of mainstream philosophical and political debate, appealing to reason rather than existing authorities when making their claims, and employing concepts and terminology that are still with us today.

According to Cartesian philosophy, all people possess reason and true knowledge, which is based on experience and self discovery rather than on the study of classics or sacred text, and is in principle available to all. This means that traditional authority is rejected in favour of rational analysis and independent thought, and that customs and institutions which are not in accordance with reason should be rejected. The focus on reason has been criticized by some recent feminists. Despite this, it provided inspiration for many feminist writers. This implied that women's exclusion from classical education need not also exclude them from philosophy, since what is important is good ideas, and not the fanciful things people have said about them. (Rango, 1998). It also meant that questioning authority could be extended to that of men over women, and that unreasonable institutions might include those, such as seventeenth century marriage laws, that perpetuated women subordination.

The seventeenth century feminism has been described as the feminism of the age of rationality. Feminist writers used Cartesian principles to make increasingly egalitarian claims. Such continental feminism was probably given its most systemic and radical philosophical exposition at the period by the French man, Francois Poulain de la Barne, in his three famous treaties on sexual inequality. In it he claimed that since the mind has no sex, women are as capable of reason as men. He also argued that women are capable as men of gaining the skills and knowledge that would enable them to participate equally in virtually all economic and social activities, including government and military.(Ferguson,(eds) 1985)

3.3 EARLY BRITISH FEMINISM AND MARY ASTELL'S IDEAS

The impact of continental debate extended to Britain where, by the second half of the seventeenth century, they had combined with more local influence to produce the

first sizeable wave of British secular feminist protest with significant numbers of women challenging received ideas about their sex in pamphlets and in books.

Any attempt to “read off” feminist theory from the social situation of women should be approached with extreme caution. However, it does seem that the increased scale and intensity of the debate in Britain stemmed at least in part from changes in gender roles that occurred in its early years of capitalist development, as well as from political upheavals of the century’s revolution. Changes in agriculture created a new and growing class of wage labourers and as the division of labour became more complex and units of production larger, the old system of family-based domestic industry gradually declined, creating for the first time a distinction between the public world of employment and private world of home and family.

Meanwhile, working women were progressively excluded from trades and professions in which they had previously been active, such as brewing, painting and medicine, and aristocratic women, who had formerly played an important role in running their husband’s estates, were increasingly restricted to the domestic sphere. As it became increasingly difficult for women to earn their own living, marriage became an economic necessity and wives became increasingly dependent on their husbands for financial support. Demographic factors were, however, increasing the numbers of ‘surplus women’ unable to find husbands while the sixteenth century English ‘reformation meant that the option of entering a convent was no longer available. Feminist argue that it was in this context that the role of women should have been debated. It was then that the public and private could have been clearly distinguished, and it would make sense to ask about the appropriate sphere of women’s activity. Instead, this distinction that was alien to the medieval society has remained central to many discussion of feminism today. (Ferguson,1985).

Politically, the seventeenth century was the most turbulent period of British history. It was a time that the country was engulfed by civil war, and all political and religious authorities were questioned. It was almost inevitable that many women and men would become politically aware. There was evidence of women demonstrating, rioting and petitioning parliament; these activities included demonstration’ by Shoals of Peace Women wearing white ribbons and mobbed Westminster, demanding an end to civil war. More subversively, a number of radical religious sects that sprang up challenged received notions as to appropriate sexual roles and behaviours. For example,

the Ranters preached extreme sexual permissiveness, while the Quakers argued that men and women were not only equal in God's eyes, but were equally eligible for the ministry.

Questions of authority in the state and family were intimately linked in the political theory of the time. Conservative defenders of absolute monarchical power argued that the authority of the kings over his people was sanctioned by God and nature in exactly the same way as that of a father over his family. This meant that 'patriarchy' (the rule of the father) in the home was used as justification for a parallel power in the state. On the other hand, opponents of such state power, who argued that authority was not divinely ordained but must rest on reason and consent, were forced to re-examine arbitrary power within the family as well. Logically, it seemed patriarchy in the state and home must stand or fall together. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this logic then was not pushed further to its conclusion by male writers as the feminists activities went into a lull.

According to the feminists, philosophers like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, and many of the foremost political theorists of the century did examine relationship within the family at some length but they fall back on arguments by social convenience and male superior strength to justify the continued subordination of women. This meant that they saw men as independent and rational individuals capable of perceiving and pursuing their own self-interest. On the other hand, they saw women as wives and mothers, weak creatures unable to escape the curse of Eve, a sect whose interest were bound up with those of their family, and who, therefore, had no need for independent political right. The above appears to be the kind of inconsistency that a more rigorous application of the underlying principles could rectify. Some recent theorists have, however, suggested that despite their universality pretension, the basic premises of early liberal writers were inherently biased against women. They argue that the views of early liberals were based on an essentially male view of human nature that ignored human inter-dependence and attributes such as nurturing that have traditionally been associated with woman. They also perpetuated a view of rationality that excluded women because it defined reason in terms of overcoming femininity identified with nature, particularly, biology, passion and emotion.(Kent,1999)

As in the early periods, mainstream political and philosophical debates in the seventeenth century were conducted almost exclusively by men. There were, however, exceptions as to whom was the most important, probably Mary Astell (1666-1731). Although written out of histories of political thought now, in her lifetime, Astell was

widely seen as a serious contributor to mainstream political theory. She has also recently been described as the First English feminists and arguably the first systematic feminist theoretician in the west. It was in Astell's writings on women that recent feminists find the new approach to philosophy and knowledge being used to produce a classic early statement of the core liberal feminist belief that men and women are equally capable of reason and, therefore, they should be equally educated in its use. Since God has given to women as well as men intelligent souls, why should women be forbidden to use them? Here also she anticipated the argument of Mary Wollstonecraft and other later writers, by arguing that although women in the society of her day appeared frivolous and incapable of reason, this was the product of faulty upbringing rather than natural disability. As such, it was an evidence of the need for improved female education rather than its impossibility. Although Astell based her arguments on the liberal idea of rationality, she did not accept the idea of political rights because as a staunch defender of the monarchy, she was more interested in denying political rights to men than in an attempt to extend it to women.(Davis, 1998)

Astell insisted that a woman's duty to obey her husband did not involve any recognition of his superiority; indeed there is throughout her writings a marked tone of barely disguised contempt for the male sex. For example, she said that men are not fit to educate children, for precepts contradicted by example seldom prove effective. Secondly, she argued that submission to male authority could not extend to single women, whether poor fatherless maids like her or widows who have lost their masters. Thirdly, an educated woman should choose to reject the domestic slavery involved in marriage. She, therefore, advised women to avoid matrimony (while cheerfully admitting that if they followed her advice, then there is an end to human race). In addition, that woman's activities need not be limited by the need to attract a husband, and that they could concentrate on improving their minds rather than their beauty, because, according to her, their morning can be more profitably spent at a book than at a looking glass.

Finally, as a practical means of freeing women from marriage and dependence on men, she advocated the establishment of female communities, rather like secular nunneries, where women could live and learn together without men, knowing themselves capable of more things than the pitiful conquest of some wretched hearts. This idea excited considerable interest but it failed to attract sufficient financial support, not so

much because of its feminism, but because of its dangerous associations with Roman Catholicism through the nunneries' idea. (Pateman, 1986)

Indeed, the logic of her conservatism led her to seemingly very non feminist conclusion. Accepting the parallel between the authority in the state and in the home, she argued that a wife must obey her husband as a subject must obey the king; when a women enters marriage, she has chosen a monarch for life and must, therefore, submit to his authority. All the same, despite her conservatism her work still contains in embryonic form some of the core ideas of recent radical feminism. The idea that man, whether as sexual predator or tyrannous husband, is the natural enemy of woman and that women must be liberated from the need to please men, is an early form of consciousness – raising. It was the belief that this liberation can be achieved only if women are enabled to live separately from men. It was also the perception that men have controlled and defined knowledge because histories are written by them, and they recount each other's exploits and have always done so excluding women's own account. (Waters, (ed) 2000)

Other feminists argue that the understanding that women's experiences can give them a valuable and distinctive perspective about the world makes Astell a precursor of late twentieth century feminism. Mary Astell may have been the most radical and systematic feminist of her time, she was as has already been said above, certainly not an isolated voice of feminism of her time. By the early eighteenth century, we have quite widely established perception of women as a group in the society whose situation is in need of improvement, and it is this consciousness of women's group identity that distinguishes writers of this period from their predecessors. What feminists did not find, however, is any direct challenge to women's social and economic positions or to the sexual division of labour. There was also not any coherent political programme or demand that the rights of male citizens to be extended to women politically. To social and political conservatives, these early feminists addressed themselves almost exclusively to women of the upper and middle classes, and there were few attempts to link the situation of women to other disadvantaged groups in society. For the feminists of the seventeenth century, it was through education and the exercise of reason that women could be made independent of men. As such, there was no investigation into the role of women in the perpetuation of women's exclusion, which is the concern of this study.

3.4 FEMINISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The middle years of the eighteenth century seemed to represent a retreat from feminism, as arguments for women's rationality became less fashionable than belief in their innate weakness and dependence on men. The ideas of Astell and her contemporaries fell into disrepute, and the very names of these early feminist were forgotten. Nevertheless, although there was no systemic analysis of women's situation or organized women's movement, individual complaint about their situation continued, as did discussion of women's abilities and social roles. There was clearly a full blown feminist consciousness in existence among some privileged women and men in Europe. (Perry 1986)

In Britain, many women continued to write and publish throughout the period; most famously the bluestockings group of salon intellectuals. They debated and wrote on a range of contemporary issues. The bluestockings, whose best known member was Hannah More, have usually been seen as anti-feminist: they stressed the importance of women's domestic role, particularly their responsibility for nurturing virtue within the family, and they argued that to a greater extent than men, that women were motivated by sensibility than reason. They also argued that if women were to become good wives and mothers they must be educated. While arguments about women's greater emotional sensibility were both positively appraised and used to justify women's involvement in movements for moral and social reform, such as temperance and anti-slavery campaigns.

Moreover, the very existence of the bluestockings as a group of intellectual women, publicly discussing and publishing from 1750s onwards, could be seen as a statement about women's ability and role in society; no longer a silenced majority, women could not be entirely excluded from public debate. The second half of the eighteenth century was a period in which the stress on rationality and the questioning of traditional authority which was in the seventeenth century philosophy reached its fullest expression. It was a period dominated by experiences of the American and French revolutions and in which philosophical debates on the nature of freedom and human rationality were to take tangible form in the American Declaration of independence in 1776 and the French Declaration of the Rights of man citizen in 1789 (Offen, 2000).

What united the philosophers of the so called Age of Reason or Enlightenment was their optimism and belief in progress through the onward march of human reason and knowledge. Reason replaced God or antiquity as the standard of rights or wrong, and no constitution or authority was to be exempted from its judgment. Although many of the leading philosophers were in fact socially and politically conservative, the radical implications of these principles are obvious, and they provided the basis for liberal belief that, as rational beings, individual men have rights that must not be violated by arbitrary power. Therefore, any authority must rest upon the consent of the governed and no individuals should be, as far as possible, self-determining and free from government control. Although always expressed in terms of the rights of men, it might at first sight seem that this could be understood as generic term that includes women. For the most part, however, the philosophers of Enlightenment and leaders of revolution did not simply fail to make this extension but they denied that it could be made. There was indeed a strikingly widespread consensus amongst leading philosophers that the principles of rational individualism were not applicable to women. It was held that by their very nature women were incapable of the full development of reason. Thus, as in the writings of Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu and also Rousseau, women are essentially creatures of emotion and passion, who have an important role to play as wives and mothers, but who are biologically unsuited for the public sphere.

This consensus did not, however, go down unchallenged, and by the end of the century there were a number of attempts to show its inconsistency, and to demonstrate that the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment could be applied to women as well as men. The best known of these contenders was Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), but the fame should not be allowed to obscure the extent of other feminist writing at the time. For example, According to Landes (1988) women were capable of reason and should be educated accordingly, and that they should have the same political rights as men. According to him, to deny this was an unacceptable tyranny. In practice, he did not anticipate the widespread involvement of women in politics, but this he said was no reason to deny them political rights in principle. Indeed he argued that women could no more be logically excluded from politics on the grounds of menstruation or pregnancy than could a man because he was suffering from gout. (Landes 1988)

Feminists have a direct attempt to confront the inconsistencies of other writers and to claim that liberal principles have a universal application that includes women, so feminism was an integral part of the complete pattern of liberalism enthusiastically advocated. Landes (op.cit)also rejected the idea that women's exclusion from civil and political rights could be justified in terms of biologically given nature, claiming that it was men who has made women what they were. He demanded, therefore, that men and women be given equal rights and education for citizenship rather than traditional sex roles. He went further than other writers of his time in blaming men for women's situation and in denying that the traditional division of labour between the sexes was sanctioned by reason or nature. He, however, argued that enlightened men who had to act to liberate women had been rendered incapable of independent political action.

However women at this time were themselves far from silent and their voices were to be heard on both sides of the Atlantic demanding equal treatment with men. In America, Abigail Adams (1744-1818) wrote in 1776 to her husband (who later became the second president of the United States), employing the language that he had used against English rule to point out that her sex too needed protection from tyranny and will not hold themselves bound by any laws in which they had no voice or representation. John Adams replied that such extraordinary code of laws was laughable. This did nothing to change her opinion that all men would be tyrants if he could. Other correspondence of the period suggests that such ideas were commonly discussed by women of Adam's class while more systematic analysis was given by other feminists like Judith Murray (1751-1829) and Rendall (1985).(Scaporo J.S. 1978).

Meanwhile in England the historian Catherine Macaulay (1731-91) was arguing on similar issue by insisting that the differences between the sexes were a product of education and environment and not of nature. She attacked the way in which women's minds and bodies had been distorted to please men, and demanded that boys and girls be given the same education. In her book titled *Letters on Education* (1790), she went beyond uncritical acceptance of male values to demand the education of boys to be changed to provide them with traditional female skills. Macaulay's work has been overshadowed by that of her close contemporary, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97), but at one time her fame extended across two continents.(Rendall,J. 1985) By the late eighteenth century, a key source of progressive idea in England was provided by the Unitarians. These are protestant dissenters who saw reason as the basis for religious

understanding and social progress. Although their relationship with feminism was not unambiguous, they drew many women as well as men into campaigns against slavery and education, and they were an important part of the radical circles which Wollstonecraft was to join.

In France, women of this period were to play the most dramatic role: the women of Paris demanding bread, and the tricoteuses knitting under the guillotine. A number of individual women such as the moderate republican madame Roland were involved in the struggle for political power for women. Feminism as such was always marginal to the revolution; demands for improved female education were, however, included in the first petition to the National Assembly (the French Parliament) and wider issues of women's rights and representation were soon fiercely debated in pamphlets and radical press, and in the women's political clubs that sprang up between 1789 and 1793. Like Condorcet, women were arguing that principles of Enlightenment applied to them too, and that political rights belonged to them as much as to men. (Spender 1883)

Such demands seem a straight forward and common sense application of existing principle. But they were deeply paradoxical, for the claim to equal rights simultaneously denied the relevance of sex difference and affirmed the existence of women as a sexually differentiated group with identifiable interests and needs, in order to protest women's exclusion; they had to act on behalf of women and so invoked the very difference they sought to deny. Feminists argue that this paradox occurs throughout the history of feminism. As revolution developed, demands were silenced in an anti-war era.

3.5 DEVELOPMENT OF FEMINISM IN AFRICA

As stated earlier on, feminism originated in the eighteenth century England as a social movement that promoted equality between the sexes and as a system of thought that challenged mainstream science. Despite the tensions that occurred in its early days, it spread to other parts of the world like Africa and Nigeria in particular as part of the colonization of knowledge in the third world aided by the methods of social anthropology. Decolonization to the African feminist writers was described as thinking through an anti-colonialist, anti-capitalist vision of feminist practice to transform capitalism. Feminists rejected the dehumanizing effects of colonization and projected decolonization as a political process that establishes a feminist democracy. In their early

work, to the feminist, post-modernist theory was unacceptable and an international sisterhood non-negotiable unless there was consciousness and identity building, political organization and mobilization across borders, class, ethnic, racial and religious groups.

According to Sotunsa (2008), the contemporary society is gender sensitive because gender portrayal is a critical and sensitive issue in the writings and interpretations, construction, and deconstructions of works of literature. According to her, several female critics have condemned what they consider to be the weak women presented by male African writers. The woman's role, more than not, in male works, is seen within the bonds of relationships only. Female characters in the writings of men are made marginal to plot of stories while only a few emerge as powerful and credible protagonists.

The ideal female created by male writers in fiction often acts within the frame work of her traditional roles as wife and mother, so strong are social values that the respect and love which a woman earns is relative to the degree of her adaption to these roles (Chukwu 1995).

African feminist writers contend that male writers mirrored patriarchy in their works. The man is often the protagonist and antagonist who dominate other people while the women at the peripheral and their character hardly developed. For example Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* provides the classical example of this trend where the male is active but the females are docile and helpless playing no part in shaping their fate. Again, in *Things Fall Apart*, Okonkwo beats up his wife for failing to provide his meal. In *The Concubine* by Elechi Amachi, Ekwueme attempts to discipline his wife, Ahurole, to curtail her independent spirit. Cyprian Ekwensi is not different. His works like *People of the City* and *Jagua Nana* series present women as prostitutes who are used by men as distraction from the stress of life. Ekwensi often presents the female as dependant on man for her survival. In spite of some exceptional portrayal of some politically active and morally strong females like the works of Ngugi Wa Thiong's *Petals of Blood* (1974), *Devil on the Cross* (1982) and Ousmane Semebene's historical Novel, *God's Bits of Wood* (1975), the dominant character in African male writings are usually men.

This perhaps is the reason Chikwenye Ogunyemi (1988) described Nigeria Literature as Phallic, dominated as it is by male writers and male critics who deal almost

exclusively with male characters and male concern, and naturally aimed at a predominantly male audience. According to her,

African literature is a male created, male oriented chauvinistic art. An honour roll of literary giants clearly proves that point..... Man constitutes the majority and women minority Femi Ojo (1983).

The unfavourable portrayal of women by African male writers ignited a literary outburst which culminated in female writers attempt to counter the impaired picture of African womanhood by reversing the roles of women in African fiction written by men. African female writers began to present female protagonists who are pitted against all odds yet emerge liberated and determined to exist with or without the man. According to Femi Ojo-Ade (1983), in a typical African female's writing, the woman is the protagonist. She is often industrious, dynamic and resourceful rather than weak, docile and dependent. Female characters are imbued with qualities of independence, dynamism and industry which the society and male writers hitherto associated with the male alone. The strong characters can be seen in Buchi Emecheta's *Second Class Citizen*, Nawal El Saadawi's *Woman at Point Zero*, Mariama Ba's *So Long a letter*, Zaynab Alkali's *The Still Born* among many others. However, in some of their works feminist writers reveal some of the heroine's weakness thereby making their works credible and realistic.

One reason for the fore-grounding of female experiences is that the female authored work is usually about the women's experiences in the society. Although, many female writers focus on domestic experiences of their female characters, others depict women and politics, economy and administration. Women writers in Africa generally criticize the negative atmosphere created by women socio-cultural condition which hinders the female's complete happiness and self fulfilment. African feminist writers have succeeded in reversing the patriarchal image of women as docile, helpless with no control over their fate to some extent.

It is difficult to date African feminism. However, there is growing evidence that feminism in Africa in fact predated Western feminism and that African writings were available in the pre-colonial era for women's education. For example, Mama (1996) cited the example of Nana Asamau, a sixteenth century Islamic scholar and educator, who worked with a network of women educators in her time. Another is early twentieth century Egyptian writers such as Huda Sharawi and Dora Sharif whose writings served

as a form of political engagement to alter the cultural landscape. This can be seen in Nelson (1996), Badran (1998), and Mack (2000). Consequently, a feminist writer recently documented women's engagement of the Ghanaian press in the pre-colonial era to protest wrong representation of women's interests and their voices on cultural and political issues. Also, in the West African region during the colonial era women such as Funmilayo Ransome Kuti in Nigeria, and Constance Agatha Cummings- John in Sierra Leone corrected colonial assumptions and actions about the position of women in political hierarchy in the African family and economic life.

However, more systemic attempts to rediscover African's past did not start until after the colonial era and African historians played a major role in rediscovering Africa women's history. The first major task of the post-colonial historians was to correct the image of African women as chatter and identified women and women institutions that were active in social and political life. Studies on other parts of Africa, especially the popular works of Fatima Mernessi (1983) on women in Morocco and Nawal El Saadawi (1983) on Egyptian women provided significant knowledge about African women. In an assessment of these early contributions Lewis described them as comprehensive accounts of women's agency and subordination transcending the limitations of insular anthropology and developmentalism. The qualities of their work and their popularization of life histories and legacy which they bequeathed to African women's historiography make them useful resources in most historical accounts of the development of African feminism (Afonja 2007).

Matriarchy and motherhood had been celebrated in much of the anthropological literature in Ghana, Nigeria and other African countries as evidence of female autonomy. Matriarchy is a cultural essential that survived colonial rule in Ghana (Oppong, 1986). Like other African theorist of matriarchy and motherhood, Amadiume outlined the ways in which the system favoured women through matriclan's control of property, the care of children and widows while the patriarchal family was dismissed as an institution of new Akan who has lost his identity and access to local culture and resources.

The popularity of the shift from patriarchy to matriarchy was made clear during the International Conference on Images of Motherhood – African and Nordic Perspectives held in Ile de Goree, Dakar Senegal in February 2003. According to Sime Afonja (2007), the conference was an opportunity to advance the deconstruction of patriarchy in African feminism. At the conference, the opening statement from Mama

(2005) indicated that motherhood was under theorized and invisible in feminist discourse and the gap had to be filled in view of increasing number of single parents worldwide. She acknowledged that theorizing motherhood was an important part of African theoretical framework.

Furthermore, Arnfred (2003) highlighted other concepts that were under scrutiny: the distinction between wife and mother, mothering, mother-work and motherhood. These concepts of her are radical because they can resolve some of the inequalities of the past and present social, economic and political formation as pilots of transformation agenda. To her, the success of the transformation depends however on the resolution of the past controversies and gaps in the new theoretical approaches. (Arnfred 2003)

3.6 DECONSTRUCTING PATRIARCHY IN NIGERIA

According to Nwajiaku (2004), the urgent need for self-redefinition and self-evaluation has located the African women at a critical ideological spike. This assertion becomes even more credible when one considers the intensity, complexity and quality of the multifarious literacy activities birthed in the last decade of the twentieth century. African women, more often than before, are taking a stance against the male-favoured system -a socio-cultural system that has hitherto put the woman in a position where her role is to keep quiet(Nwajiaku up.cit),.

Nigeria and African culture is one that favours patriarchal system: a system that puts gendered relationship in a vertical structure. Men are always above women in our social structure. However, African women in the contemporary times have visibly situated themselves at very epistemological positions that are relevant to the task before them. The task is simply the task of deconstructing the African patriarchal structure and constructing matriarchy.

They (women) are deconstructing imperialistic images of Africa, rejecting luminal and negative images of women that are prevalent in African literature by men and they are reacting to mainstream western feminism. Having broken the fork of voicelessness, these women are speaking out (Nwajiaku, 2004).

However, women seized the opportunities afforded them by language to react to negative images and positions placed on them by the society. Since literature mirrors society, women subverted the cultural/traditional norms constructed at the detriment of female gender as evident in Africa female writers including male sympathizers of

women's conditions. Feminist writers argue that traditional African culture is not fair to women. Though there are some exceptional African societies that give some pride of place to women, majority of the African societies dictate that a woman's place is in the kitchen. Traditional African culture clearly stipulated the different roles of men and women in the society which makes women victims of injustice not because of what the society did to them but because of what the society did not do to them.

Both in Africa and elsewhere in the world, gender inequality seems to be blossoming in new dimensions and injustice against women seems to be on the increase. Research has shown that in South Africa, rape occur (s) every thirty-six seconds. In the United States, a woman is physically abused every nine seconds. In Indian, five thousand women are murdered annually through dowry murder rituals. Nigeria is not left behind in this injustice case. Destructive customs like female genital mutilation are being practiced by many African and Nigerian communities. Women in today's world, especially in the Third world countries and Nigeria, are given raw deal. However, it is disturbing to note that gender inequalities still persists virtually in all the countries of the world. In African context, Nigeria for example, gender inequality is worse than it used to be decades ago. Evidently, westernization may have brought many things like education, civilization, religion etc but gender equality and gender relations are not one of them.

3.7 MARRIAGE & AFRICAN WOMEN WRITERS

In most cases the challenges of the African women is marriage. Most times the challenge even began before the marriage is contracted. It is customary in most cases in African communities for parents/guardians to decide or at least approve the proposed spouse of their children or ward. Where the parents make the choice often times the feelings of the woman is completely ignored. The woman in most cases is pushed into loveless marriage with consequent problems. In contemporary times the practice of choosing a husband for a girl appears to have reduced considerably; nevertheless it is imperative for parents to sanction their children's choice. Where the families withhold their blessings, the marriage usually becomes mootable. This is the case with Buchi Emecheta's *The Bride Price* (1976). (Alkali, Zaynabs 1984)

Loneliness is another serious challenge facing many married women in Africa. It would appear a contradiction since one of the major reasons for marriage is to avoid

loneliness. However, in most loveless marriages, particularly where the husband keeps mistress/mistresses, the woman is subjected to acute loneliness. Also the agony of women in polygamous marriages is also a familiar theme of African women feminist contentions. Polygamy is a phenomenon sanctioned in Nigeria and also by most African communities. The traditional African religion promotes its practice, the Islamic faith supports polygamy and Christian faith which supposedly forbids polygamy turns blind eyes to common situation in Africa and Nigeria where a man legally marries a wife but keeps concubines who beards children for him outside the matrimonial home. So far, English language has no word that describes this situation of a man with one wife but several concubines outside the home but the English language created the word concubine. Faku, a character in *In the Still Born* (1984) was used by Sotunsa to describe and reveal the bitter experience and misery of the predicament of many women trapped in polygamous marriages. The feelings of rejection, betrayal and abandonment suffered by many women is adequately captured by Mariama Ba in *So Long a Letter* (1981) as mentioned above.

Furthermore, the woes of barren women are also commonly catalogued by African female writers. Flora Nwapa, one of the earliest African female writers explores this theme in *Efuru* (1984); it is also the main theme in Ifeoma Okoye's *Behind the Cloud* (1982). Akachi Ezigbo also captured the woes of barrenness in her book, *The Last of the Strong Ones* (1991). Sexual problem also constitutes a major challenge for women in marriage. Many women are apparently passionless because they are unloved by the husband who insists on love-making without passion and love. Conversely, where the woman's sexual desire remains unsatisfied by her husband, she often remains silent since it is a cultural taboo for the woman to demand sex in traditional and patriarchal Africa society and cultures. Ba, Mariama (1981)

Conversely, many men who are sexually unsatisfied in their marriages often take their feelings outside the home while the woman "burns". The reason is that culturally, adultery on the part of a man is excusable while a woman, if caught is stoned to death in some religious milieu. Sotunsa (up.cit) argues that adultery on the part of both male and female is inexcusable. The society's tolerance of the vice for males only again is a cultural incongruity which should be remedied. Though forbidden by law, wife beating, a global problem is still a common practice among many Africans today and Nigerian societies. Most women tolerate these inhuman violations of their persons in order to

avoid divorce or separation. Beatrice in *Purple Hibiscus* by Chindima Adima Adiche is a point in case. Usually where women take legal actions (where they are aware of their right, as many African women do not know their rights.) the marriage ends in divorce and ridicule for the woman. (Adieche Chinmamanda 2004)

In addition, child rearing burdens often fall solely or heavily on the women if the husband is irresponsible. In many instances of polygamous marriages, each woman caters solely for her children. Child rearing responsibilities are heavy burdens for women when not shared by the man. Li and Awa in *The Still Born* (1984) and Adah in *Second Class Citizens* (1974) provide illustrations of the frustrating experiences of women bearing almost single handedly child rearing responsibilities.

In *Gender Politics*, Sotunsa explores the society's insensitive and careless attitude towards the suffering of unhappy women in marriages. Yet, daily throngs of women are sent to their early graves. Many young women die today of hypertension, high and low-blood pressures. These to Sotunsa, are the direct or indirect results of heartaches, burdens and sorrows experienced by women in their marriages. Very often the man is urged to adopt a stoical attitude to the affliction of women, their wives. Women's domestic problems are related as light. This attitudinal anomaly must be corrected; it is high time the society recognized the damages inherent in women's predicament. The challenges faced by women in marriages are critical issues which demand urgent attention. Repressive cultural practices and selfish, egoistic attitudes of many men militating against women in marriage must be addressed. (Moblanle Sotunsa 2008)

Unfortunately, women who are expected to forge female bonding in order to ease one another's burdens sometimes contribute in no small measure to the problems of their fellow women. This is especially true of prostitutes, mistresses, mother-in-laws, sisters-in-laws, and co-wives. In Africa, it is expected that a wife respects and accommodates her-in-laws. This is positive cultural tradition which promotes the African communal spirit. However, many in-laws do over step their boundaries. They interfere indiscriminately in decision-making of their relative's families. Where the woman resists such undue interference, she is regarded as rude, stubborn and heady, especially where the man is less vocal and indecisive. However, the above review also revealed that women marginalization in governance and other spheres of life has not been squarely attributed to women, but to men the society, culture and a host of other external factors

without mentioning any form of contribution by women in all of these. To broach and complete the deconstruction of women marginalisation in Nigeria, the Reassessment of Women Marginalization in Governance in Nigeria addressed the role of women in sustaining patriarchy.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 SOURCES AND TYPES OF WOMEN MARGINALIZATION IN NIGERIA

4.1 Introduction

Gender issues refer to the problems that stem from the way women and men have been socially constructed and their commonly shared experiences which is brought about by structural and societal causes. All these issues are recognized as undesirable and unjust. For example, Princess Idonije, chief planning officer, National Centre for Women Development, submits that people's view for the desire of gender equality has women challenging the headship of family but they should see it as equality of rights, opportunities, benefits and personal or collective societal development. If the man is the head of the family, the woman should be the neck that cooperates with, and guides (not direct) the head. As a result of this woman should be seen as an important being in the society and should be involved in all sectors of the society (Kolawole, 2010). Nigerian women, more often than before, are taking a stance against the male-favoured system - a socio-cultural system that has hitherto put the woman in a position where her role is to keep quiet and be in the kitchen.

Nigeria and African culture is one that favours patriarchal system: a system that puts gendered relationship in a vertical structure. Men are always above women in our social structure. However, African women in the contemporary times have visibly situated themselves at very epistemological positions that are relevant to the task before them. The task is simply the task of deconstructing the African patriarchal structure and constructing matriarchy. They (women) are deconstructing imperialistic images of Africa, rejecting luminal and negative images of women that are prevalent in African literature by men and they are reacting to mainstream western feminism. Having broken the fork of noiselessness, these women are speaking out (Nwajiaku, 2004).

However, women seized the opportunities afforded them by language to react to negative images and positions placed on them by the society. Since literature mirrors society, women subverted the cultural/traditional norms constructed at the detriment of female gender as evident in Africa female writers including male sympathizers of women's conditions. Feminist writers argue that traditional African culture is not fair to women. Though there are some exceptional African societies that give some pride of

place to women, majority of the African societies dictate that a woman's place is in the kitchen. Traditional African culture clearly stipulated the different roles of men and women in the society. These roles make women victims of injustice not because of what the society did to them but because of what the society did not do to them.

In many countries, especially Nigeria, women have been practically absent in politics and governance. This is not because of their lack of interest or political will, but because of the spectre of their marginalization in the society and the roles the society assigned to them (the kitchen). However, there are a handful of Nigerian women who have distinguished themselves and have made tremendous impact in the country in the past and even at present. Some of these women include women like Dr (Mrs) Ngozi Okonjo Iwueala who was two times finance minister and currently the coordinating minister of the Nigerian economy, a position she earned out of hard work, educational qualification and her cognate experience as the vice president of the World Bank, and Dieziani Alison Madeke, Others include Chief Oby Ezekwesili, also a former minister of petroleum, Prof. Dora Nkem Akunyili (OFR) who was the first female director of Nigerian Food and Drug Administration Control NAFDAC and also a Professor of Pharmacology. She was Nigerian's Honourable Minister of information and communication until December 16, 2010 when she resigned to seek to actualize ambition of becoming the senator representing Anambra central in the National Assembly. Some women have also been appointed into leadership and governance office in different capacities in Dr Jonathan's administration to increase the number of women in governance in Nigeria.

The Goodluck Jonathan led government included women in by appointed the following: Mrs. Hadiza Ibrahim Mailafa, Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Mrs. Stella Oduah Ogiemuwonyi, Federal minister of Aviation, Mrs Olajumoke Akinjide, Minister of State of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Prof. Mrs Rukayatu Ahmed Rufai the past Federal Minister of Education, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo – Iwuala, Minister of Fiancé and the Coordinating Minister of the Economy. Prof. Mrs. Viola Onwuliri -Minister of State (1) for Foreign Affairs. Others include Mrs. Sarah Ochekepo, Minister of water Resources, Mrs. Deizani Alison Madueke, Minister of Petroleum Resources, Haija Zainab Mina, minister of Women Affairs; Ms Ama Pepple, minister of lands, housing and urban development, In 2008, the then president of Nigeria Chief Olusegun Obasanjo labelled female ministers as the winning women of Aso Rock

to depict their importance in the presidency. The impact of these women in Nigerian politics cannot be over-emphasized.

4.2 MODES OF WOMEN MARGINALISATION IN NIGERIA

Global surveys of women in politics in most African countries register five percent or less of women at every level and in every sphere of leadership. Before Nigerian independence in 1960 the British who colonized Nigeria did not help matters. They barely had anything to do with women in politics and did nothing to bring women in to governance (Audit 2007). They even suppressed the traditional institutions that protected women against the injustice of the society. Since then, the situation has remained the same and Nigerian women have continued to be repressed in politics, governance and in public decision making. According to Gender Audit (2007) and other women empowerment champions, the marginalization of women in Nigeria is made manifest in different forms which according to .Abiola Akinyode-Afolabi, and Osaro, Odemwingie (2007) include the following (1). Labelling, (2) Politics of invectiveness, (3) the indignity ploy, (4) Party techniques for the elimination of female aspirants, (5) Financial constraints (6) sabotage/ pull-her down syndrome (7) political party techniques and (8) high registration fees and some religious practices among others.

Labelling: scholars like Ibrahim and Salihu,(2009) argued that labelling is one of the strategies employed by men in politics to exclude and subvert the affirmative action policy. Using the method, in general, party officials refuse to take the candidature of female aspirants seriously. With labelling, men label women as anti-party people, create basis for their exclusion and it erodes their personal legitimacy. Labelling used as a strategy of exclusion labels women as cultural deviants since the Nigerian culture does not accept assertive public or leadership roles for women. Party executives in most consistencies set out to label women aspirants as party deviants and not being committed to the party.

Party barons at the local government levels repeatedly argue that by convincing the national executive to remove nomination fees for them, women have demonstrated a lack of commitment to the development of the party. Thus, they use this argument in favour of men, making declarations that male candidates are more committed to party because they make their financial contributions willingly. To this extent they argue that party commitment should be recognized and rewarded accordingly knowing too well that

women are not as financially strong as the men. Another form of labelling, apart from anti-party labelling, is to describe women political aspirants as cultural deviants. In Nigeria and Africa in general, culture plays a very significant role in gender role specifications. Culture and tradition play a strong role in many communities in Nigeria.

In most of Nigerian societies culture determines what is allowed or not in the community. As such, culture and traditions are held on to tenaciously and are enforced by male gender when it is to their advantage. Using this model, male politicians exclude their female counterparts with concerted allegations and campaigns portraying women aspirants as people acting in ways that contradict their culture. In some cases, party officials make open or covert assertions that some female aspirants are too assertive and independent and, therefore, cannot be team players. Chief Titi Ajanaku, for example, was accused of being an “Iron Lady” who would take over the whole state when she wanted to contest for Ogun gubernatorial ticket. Honourable Habiba Sabo in Bauchi State Assembly had to combat the alleged contradictory situation of Kalabi tsakanin rawuna – the headscarf (read deviant) among the turbans. The implication is that a woman who normally wear headscarf in Muslim Hausa Society has no business among the male power wielders (Aina,1999)

The Politics of Invectiveness: This is the act of women marginalization in governance which undermined the moral standing of female political office aspirants. Closely associated with negative labelling is the use of invective. Invective on the other hand is the use of abusive language to demoralize and delegitimize female aspirants. In sociology, life competition, the use of invective and insults is an effective strategy of eliminating political rivals. Many of the female aspirants profiled were subjected to whisper campaigns and innuendos about their alleged loose sexual and moral standing, and some were directly insulted with the use of invective words like prostitutes and harlots. Campaigns were organized around the time that would not favour marital status of female aspirants as means of questioning their moral standing.

The aboriginal / indigenous strategy: The 1979 constitution introduced the concept of nativity into Nigerian public law as an equity principle to guarantee fair regional distribution of power. Over the years, this principle has been subverted and used to discriminate against women where they are told that they do not really belong because nativity is based on consanguinity (blood relation) principle. This principle is particularly insidious to women because many of them married outside their indigenous areas. Even

those who married people from their original areas lost their nativity when their home areas were carried out in subsequent state and local government creations.

Party Techniques for Women Elimination: Political parties have repertoire of techniques used to eliminate people from political party primaries particularly women given to their gender and where women are coming from. Declaration by powerful party barons, state governors, godfathers etc that people must support one candidate and others must withdraw. Given that these people are very powerful and feared in their communities; their declarations carry a lot of weight. Often times those to withdraw are women

Religious practices: In Nigeria, women's voices have been strident in their quest for power within the past few years. This is because there are many socio-cultural and educational obstacles that hinder the realization of their objectives like the practice of purdah in the Northern part of Nigeria and the belief that female child should not be educated. People believe that women's place is the kitchen, and the home to take care of children and not election rallies or in the speaker's chair. Again the Christian religion believe that women should be seen not heard but silent and not to speak in public places.

Poverty: Money is of course a major factor in party primaries and is used to bribe officials, encourage voters, and support particular candidates. Since male aspirants have more money than female aspirants, many women were eliminated because they simply could not match up. In this case an aspirant would win a nomination or election and polling officials would simply disregard the results and declare the loser winner and the winner the loser (Abiola, Akinyode-Afolabi etel 2007). According to Janet (2004), changes can only be made if women themselves are committed to making changes. She stated that women are selfish by nature and the is believed that women usually do not have the kind of commitment men show towards social and political issues thereby making it difficult for women to succeed in elections. She further argued that women in the Western world are so committed to gender emancipation and gender equality, and they pursue it with vigour, even the little result women in Nigeria are enjoying today in equality and politics is because of the commitment of the West. The average Nigerian women will not support the other woman even amongst the elites, she argued.

Janet argues further that all these make male politicians to have wives and more wives. If women are committed to gender development, it can easily be addressed. She

stresses that if as the First Lady her husband asked her to go on an official trip and she refused to go giving as excuse her dissatisfaction with what was happening to women; the President will be forced to look at it. “There is a way to put pressure on your spouse to make your spouse understand that you are committed to a project”.

According to Akiyode – Afolabi (up.cit), engaging with women aspirants for future elections in Nigeria, women should organize themselves and re-align their strategies so as to learn from past experiences. Non – governmental organizations must begin to identify female aspirants across parties, take them through training, speech-making, media campaign and other technical supports that can make their entry easy. Women in Nigeria must organize themselves independent of the state.

Afolabi also observed further that women should not be under any illusion that the fight for gender equality can be won easily and cannot be negotiated for either. Rather women should brace up and obtain it by force, build strategic alliances among themselves and with progressive male counterparts across political parties. She maintained that women need also to understand that the presence of their kind in decision – making is a very powerful tool for challenging patriarchy and creating role models. Referring to a recent study of Southern African region where research has shown that women’s presence in the political space makes a big difference, she urged women advocates to come together to organize themselves as strong constituency for one another.

Alongside the debate over quota, the performance of women in public office remains topical. There is a muted expectation by the public, especially females, that women occupying exalted political position benefitted from the affirmative action at all times should advanced women’s interests.

4.3 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN NIGERIA

Given to the extant marginal status of women and modes of women exclusion in Nigeria, several international and national civil society organizations sprang up to aid women leadership ascendancy in Nigeria .These organizations have worked and are still working in different capacities to facilitate women political participation in Nigeria. They try to make governments to comply with the stipulations of the United Nations Organization affirmative action initiative, the millennium goals, and improved health care delivery

among others. The essence is to bring about the reduction of maternal mortality and the consequence elimination of the feminization of poverty by assisting women to gain employment and establish businesses. Women that are involved in politics are also helped by civil society organizations by providing support for them in the form of training and financial assistance before and during campaign. (Frene Ginwala 1998)

A major asset available to feminists and women in politics is the rising numbers of national and international civil society organizations working on issues related to the marginalization of women in politics in Nigeria. These organizations with the support of diverse funding agencies have been very active in improving the performance and participation of women in politics by providing training for would-be women politicians and also creating avenues for networking and community mobilization to encourage women's political involvement and empowerment. The organizations have been particularly active since the return to elective government in Nigeria from 1999. According to Jibrin (2004) the inauguration of the 4th Republic in May 1999 signalled a break from decades of military dictatorship and general usurpation of the political will of the Nigerian people.

A much anticipated component of this was opening up the liberation of the hitherto constricted political space. This issue is of particular significance to **Advocates Women's Rights**. Under military rule, scant regard was paid to the political representation of women because the military is overwhelmingly, and by policy male dominated and masculine. To be sure, giant stride in terms of civil rights have been noticed since May 1999. While such developments are welcomed, they must be situated against the context of how truly empowered are the various layers of civil society especially women. These Civil society organizations in Nigeria have made several efforts through programmes which include advocacy, capacity building, research and training, workshops and seminars to empower women for political participation.

This section shows some of the strategies employed by various women organizations in Nigeria towards women's political participation and empowerment, although no attempt is made yet in this regard to evaluate or assess the impact of these projects. Generally, it can be said that whatsoever progress women in Nigeria have made in this regard are as a result of these women organisations' positive contributions. (Jibirin Ibrahim 2004).

However, these civil society organizations also decry the covert and overt policy of exclusion observable in all the political parties after the post-authoritarian election of 1999 which led to an intensification of activities of these organizations. Their activities peaked in the build-up to the 2003 elections to forestall a repeat of 1999 outcome. Following the above, these organizations then got involved in intervention efforts prior to and the aftermath of election. Some of these activities include the activities of organizations like **Community Partners for Development (CPO)** which they entitled 'Women Agenda 2003'. Their objectives include the awakening and sustaining the interest of civil society and women organizations in particular in monitoring democracy generally, and the assessment of women politicians to build partnerships and networks that will strengthen their capacity for negotiations, lobby and advocacy. They are also interested in identifying potential women politicians and change agents, strengthening their capacity to make a difference and, position them properly to participate more in politics. It is also their agenda to produce as corps of democracy workers that will work to audit gender issues in elections.

Gender and Development Network (GDN). This organization was involved in the publication of a mobilization document entitled 'A Political Agenda for Nigerian Women' in 1996. It also held a workshop on political parties and affirmative Action in 2002. Their objectives include the definition of strategies for political empowerment of women, continuity of women participation in politics and decision-making, sensitization and mobilization of women and men towards the enhancement of women status and rights by enabling political parties to engender active women's participation in politics which will lead to the formulation of an action plan for empowering women in political parties. **Women Law and Development Centre:** The project carried out by this organization was in the area of National Democratic Equality (NADEV) (1998). The organization was also engaged in Democracy through the Education of women in 1999 and formation of the Female Parliamentary Caucus in 2000. The objectives of the project are to entrench and support gender sensitive people in governance, to sanitize the corrupt political landscape in Nigeria and to promote gender equality in Nigerian politics and governance.

Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC): This organization carried out projects and consultations on the need to set an agenda on gender in 2003. The objective of such projects was to engage political parties and the

ruling class on an agenda on women issues. They were out to partner with women within political parties and to sensitize them on the need to be in the mainstream through increased political participation. **WARDC** also facilitated the incorporation of the gender agenda in party programmes. The funding also extended to the funding of the gender audit of 2003 elections whose objective was to take stock of situation of women after four years of democracy. They were also interested in critically analyzing the structures and policies of political parties on affirmative action for women and to recommend new strategies to facilitate active political participation of women. Gender audit, which began in 2003, was also meant to learn from the positive and negative experiences of female candidates in the past elections and to create a databank on successful female politicians.

Women's Right Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA): This organization's project was targeted at meeting female political aspirants in 2003. The organization was also involved in the advocacy visits with the National chairman of People's Democratic Party (PDP) on behalf of female aspirants in the party. The objectives of the project was to engage women aspirants on their experiences in the primaries, especially in the PDP, to document the testimonies of female political aspirants and forms of irregularities they experienced so as to map out a course of action and civil society to secure redress.

FIDA Kaduna Branch: This branch of FIDA carried out projects that were focused on Democracy and Women in Employment and Democracy and Constitutional Education in 2001. The objectives were to study the emerging gender issues in contemporary society against the backdrop of international conventions and to educate stakeholders on democracy, encourage participation in politics, particularly participation of women.

In 2007 elections, the civil society organizations were also much involved in intervention activities. Some of these organizations are ERN, which was involved in strengthening Nigerians Civil Society organizations for constitutional and electoral reform. The objective of these organizations were to prepare civil society groups in Nigeria to effectively engage the on-going and future electoral and constitutional reform processes through the development of advocacy and lobbying skills for women. These activities were focused on Civil Education on Electoral Constitutional Review Process and 2010 elections in Anambra State, the constitutional and Electoral

Reforms/Engagement of Senate Public Hearing on Constitutional Electoral Reform. Their objectives also include of participatory dialogue on electoral reform between legislators and their constituents, the capacity of civil society organizations and responding to issues of credible elections in knowledge based coordinated and concerted approach by developing strong operational pillars of collaboration and networking.

Gender and Development Action (GADA): GADA'S activity was geared at developing a gender-based manifesto for women towards the 2007 elections in Cross River and Akwa Ibom States. The objective was to engender gender considerations in development of political manifestoes. It was funded by Federal Ministry of Women Affairs (FMWA). GADA was also involved in strategic engagement with 2005 National Political Reform Conference (NPRC) with inputs from women delegates. It also ensured dissemination of gender concerns of the report of the 2005 National Political Reform Conference (NPRC). This was aimed at increasing the visibility of women in national discourses and debates and to provide spaces for women to articulate their concerns within the context of constitutional reforms.

Gender Awareness Trust (GAT): GAT carried out projects on community service organizations (CSOS) to promote women in politics. The objectives of GAT's activities include strengthening the capacity of women politicians to negotiate access to electoral processes. They were out to develop strategies for increasing women political participation in the electoral process towards 2007 and beyond, to strengthen capacity of civil society organizations to advocate for gender sensitivity in the processes and to build strong societal support for increased women participation in politics and governance. GAT also had a two-day stock-taking workshop in 2007 in Kaduna, Plateau and Kogi States apart from its activities in the South-South region. The objective of these activities was to mobilize women to participate actively in politics and other decision-making organs of the government. Again, they aimed to encourage and mobilize women politicians to support and campaign for credible female candidates in 2007 elections to educate women and women politicians on the democratic process, particularly under the constitution and INEC regulations of the 2007 election. They also worked to provide support for as many women as possible in the election to the organs of government at the local state and federal level in 2007 election.

Women Leadership Group (WLG): This civil society organization was involved in Research and Publication on Women's Leadership in Nigeria, in March

2006. The objective was to document the achievements of women in leadership and public life in order to inspire and encourage young women to run for public offices. On the other hand, Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC) were involved in women's winner-ability project in the South –west. The objective was to build capacity of women aspirants and create competent, effective and committed women politicians in the zone. They also worked to increase women's political participation by forging and strengthening alliance, networking and coalition of women in the South-west zone in 2006.

Women Advocates: the organization engaged in gender mainstreaming of women in politics. Its objectives include deepening democracy in Nigeria and assisting engendered policies and decisions. They seek to assist policy and decision makers to effectively formulate and implement pro-women policies. They also aim to build support systems for women in governance, in order to ensure gender accountability in government financial management systems. Also, the organization seeks to support women in sensitizing leaders' accountability, and ensure that policies respond to the needs of women and other marginalized groups. The overall goal of the project is mainstreaming gender into governance and governance processes in Ogun State in particular by building support around women who are in governance and women group to make a demand of accountability from elected leaders on identified women issues in the communities.

WARDC was also involved in gender monitoring and action in 2007 elections which was targeted at redressing the gender imbalance in the 2003. The organization put structures in place to safeguard and protect the mandate of women aspirants and candidates. They also provided technical support for effective pre and post elections response mechanisms for women during elections and after elections. They complemented the national and international monitors of elections in Nigeria and strengthened electoral institutions to take gender issues into consideration. They also aim to document the experiences relating to gender in the election of 2007.

WOCON in 2006 flagged off women political project in Southwest by Federal Ministry of Women Affairs from 2006-7. They embarked on civil and voter's education in market places, open air rallies in Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, Osun, and Lagos States to mobilize women's participation in politics. Women Political empowerment Project in the South-west was set up to mobilize the participation of women in politics and enhance the

number of women elected into public offices. They also aim to develop a database for women political aspirants in the six states of the South-west and set for women political fund to ensure capacity building for women political aspirants.

Other Civil Society Organizations include Change Managers International (CMI) whose project was on monitoring of elections in the FCT with focus on gender participation. Their project's objective includes monitoring women's participation at the polls. Funding was made available by the Transition Monitoring Group. Women's Right Advancement and Protection (WRAPA) were equally involved in the train the trainers for twenty one (21) WRAPA states coordinators. They were also engaged in voter's education in 2006 in all Nigeria's 36 States and Abuja including the coordination of north central zone. Their achievements include identifying and documenting all female aspirants in the zone. They mobilized women in this zone to register in political parties and partake in voter's registration; they trained the female aspirants in areas of leadership, civil responsibilities, governance and confidence building, lobbying, media relationship, and mobilized election support for female aspirants. The objectives are to increase women's political participation through a set of activities and engagements among government agencies, political parties and the civil society constituency platforms.(Okechukwu Ibeano (2009)

4.4 WOMEN IN PRE-COLONIAL ERA AND POST – COLONIAL NIGERIA.

The evolution of Nigerian states is a story of transformational impact of colonialism on the people and culture of Nigeria. According to Nwankwo, (2003) before the existence of the political entity called Nigeria, there existed different ethnic groups and self-governing Kingdoms. The emergence of colonial rule in Nigeria lasted from 1914-1960. Prior to the colonial era, Nigerian women contributed to the sustenance of kin groups. Apart from being mothers and wives who were taking charge of the domestic sectors sphere of their families, Nigerian women contributed substantially to the economy and agricultural sectors. They also provided healthcare and spiritual services extensively. (Nwankwo N. 2003). Nwnkwo further stressed that in the pre-colonial Nigerian society women were an integral part of the political set up of their respective communities. They carried out separate but complementary functions with men (Nwnkwo up.cit). They were also involved in the communal decision making, although their radius of action was restricted to issues that affected the women folks. Some

women had strong and powerful associations through which they organized and acted politically. This enabled them to put up a united front to express approval or disapproval to political decisions or situations.

However, pre-colonial assumption has it that political and legal matters were exclusively male preserves with men being more prominent in activities related to public domain, decision-making and heads of households. However, studies have shown that both men and women shared the traditional and political sphere. Although pre-colonial Nigeria was largely patriarchal, it appeared that the political climate was such that allowed some women access to leadership and political power on merit.

Moreover, in the colonial Nigeria, the situation was not the same for women. The history of colonial administration demonstrates a high level of women's neglected and the negative impact this had on the post-colonial status of women cannot be underestimated. Following this argument, imperialism emerged with its own setback that grossly affected the progressive political set-up of Nigeria by abolishing self-governing kingdoms and eroding dual political systems of the communities. For example, in kingdoms where there were women chiefs, they lost their power base and were no longer reckoned with in the decision making process. Again in the eventual redistribution of position and power, the colonial authorities ignored women. Nigerian women were adversely affected as they were denied the franchise. As colonial rule came to an end, very few of them were offered any political or administrative appointments. The sidelining of women as a result of imperialism culminated in various protests carried out by women in various parts of the country. In the eastern part, there were uprisings in 1925 and 1929 while in the West such experience was recorded in 1946.

This review of the history of women in political leadership shows a picture of gross and widespread marginalization of women in political and social spheres. This highlights a fundamental problem facing the Nigerian democratic process and a continued lack of gender equity in political leadership which deprived Nigeria of constructive and balanced national development. Nigerian women face an array of barriers to their full participation in various aspects of the social life some of which are entrenched cultural attitudes, which hinder their participation in public life. These discriminatory practices are at variance with the obligation assumed by the virtue of Nigeria's ratification of the Convention on Elimination of all Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa and Sections 15 (2)

AND 42 (1) of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution and the Beijing conference affirmative action needs to be ratified.

Going by the Nigerian census of 2006, women account for approximately one half of Nigerian's population, yet they are hardly represented as determined by their number in public life and any prestigious life endeavour in Nigeria. According to the feminists, women in Nigeria have been noticeably absent in mainstream elective and management position and are marginally represented in Nigerian decision-making generally for a long time. Consequently the participation of women in decision-making, particularly in governance, education and other public offices is very minimal. To them, women involvement in governance is essential because it is through mainstreaming that women in governance can determine their priorities, aspirations, and the appropriation of resources and values that accrue to them in governance and the civil society. (Ogidefa, I. 2008)

However, Erelu Otusola Agbeja Obada, Deputy Governor of Osun State in 2003 and 2007 on affirmative action realizations lays emphasis on the consequences of women and individualism in gender politics. On the other hand, Joyce (2009) in her work *A Trajectory of Women's Political Participation in Nigeria* observed that many more women are coming up in governance and that it must be realized that the reason women have come this far is because the men have decided to shift ground (Mangyvat J. 2009). She stressed further that if women continue to wait for men to shift ground for them, then the space will not be wide enough for more women to come in. She maintained that women should make their own collective effort to bring about the expansion of women in governance and political space. To her, whatever leadership space women achieve today is the grace men gave them and the little effort of women. Should women then always wait and ride on that grace, is the question that begs for answer (Manguwat 2009)

Records have shown that only on rare occasions are women in power perceived by even their most objective critics as addressing the problems militating against their kind in various spheres of life. Some critics are so dissatisfied with the performance of women in public offices that they regard them as mere mannequins cruising along the conveyor belt of power. To Akiyode – Afolabi (2008), millions of other women outside the corridors of power share the view that it is just not enough to be a woman in decision-making position, but it is more important to be gender aware. But ignorance of gender issues may not necessarily be the problem. She stressed that women in public

offices have not dealt with many contending and desperate cultural, political and religious interest. As a result, some of the women are overwhelmed.

NUMBERS: Some feminists in the course of this work argue that women may be well aware of whom they represent, but they believe that there is little they can do to effect changes in their social status since they went there on the ticket and grace of men. To this extent, in most cases, they adopt the position of the proverbial monkeys: see nothing, hear nothing, say nothing and unfortunately, do nothing. (M.O. Ene 2005). The above underscores the issue of whether the enhancement of women in governance and political participation should focus more on number or quality. Stressing the importance of focusing on issues not just for women to make progress in politics but also the advancement of democracy, the former Speaker of the National House of Assembly South African, Frene Ginwala, observed that the question of women's participation was no longer just a matter of numbers. But according to Herstories (2009), the challenges of women go beyond ensuring the election of large number of women into the legislatures because patriarchal subordination of women is deep – rooted. The perception that public domain is reserved for men and that the social contract is about the relationship between men and government, citizens and government come together to exclude women – not withstanding rights guaranteed in law and the political rhetoric of good governance and participatory democracy (Frene Ginwala 1998).

Again, beyond equal representation, there seems to be some consensus among various shades of opinion that women in public offices should not just be content with “being there “as if their mere presence would right every wrong”. Frene Ginwala (1998) notes that women groups and indeed the public must insist on the presentation of women in politics not just astute women politicians and gender aware women, but also qualified technocrats who are experts in their areas of specialty. Such women, she argued, are more likely to represent both the interests of men and women and are more likely to reassure men with acute male – privilege mentality that women can do the same job and sometimes better for the good of the society.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 A RE-ASSESSMENT OF WOMEN MARGINALIZATION IN GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA 1999-2011

5.1 Introduction

The thesis of this survey is to establish and to re-evaluate the marginalization of women in governance in Nigeria, and to uncover the role of women in women marginalization so as to identify ways of mitigating the marginalization of women and empowering them in governance in Nigeria.

The investigation for this study was carried out in the six geopolitical zones of the country, choosing a state out of each zone to this effect for survey.

For the survey, a total of 1450 copies of questionnaires were administered to respondents in the six selected states and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory, out of which 1196 copies were considered valid for analysis. The states are Abuja, Benue, Delta, Adamawa, Kaduna, Imo and Oyo state. An average of 200 copies of questionnaires was administered per state.

Out of the 200 copies administered to respondents in Abuja, 196 copies were recovered out of which only 181 copies were considered valid for analysis. This figure represents 15.1% of the number administered. Similarly, out of the 250 administered in Benue state, 220 copies were recovered out of which only 162 copies were considered analyzable. This figure represents 13.5% of the total number administered. In Delta State, out of the 200 copies administered 189 copies were retrieved and 145 copies were analyzed. This number represents 12.2% of the total number administered. In Kaduna State, 200 copies were administered out of which 178 from which 160 copies were found valid for analysis. This represents 13.4% of the total number of questionnaire of the state. In Imo State, out of the 259 copies of questionnaire 230 copies were recovered from which only 180 considered and analyzed representing 15.1% of the total questionnaire were administered. In Adamawa State, out of the 200 administered 174 was collected, of which 168 copies were valid for analysis. This represents 14.0% of the questionnaire for the state. In Oyo State, 250 questionnaires were administered out which 200 were collected, representing 16.7% of the total number administered.

5.2 DEMOGRAPHY OF RESPONDENTS

The first five questions of the questionnaire sought to find out the demographic characteristics of the respondents such as sex, age, occupation, religion, location and marital status. This was followed by other three sections that serve as the body of the questionnaire. The result of the findings is as follows:

Table .1 Frequency of gender distribution of respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	746	62.4
Female	450	37.6
Total	1196	100.0

Source: fieldwork 2010

Table 2: Distribution of the respondents by Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
21-30	867	72.5
40-49	214	17.9
50-59	91	7.6
60-69	24	2.0
Total	1196	100.0

Source: fieldwork 2010

Result from the questionnaire revealed that 62.4% respondents were males while 37.6% were female. Similarly, 72% were between the ages of 21-30, 17.5% was between the ages of 40-49, 7.6% was between the ages of 50-59, and 2.0% was between 60-69. The reason for the high percentage of those between the ages of 21-30, and 40-49 is that these groups are active people. As a matter of fact, majority of them are still in active employment. They are easily accessible and are willing to attend to issues of social concern.

Table.3 Distribution of Respondents by Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Public Servant	172	14.4
Civil Servant	210	17.6
Student	574	48.0
Businessman	103	8.6
Businesswoman	108	9.0
Housewife	29	2.4
Total	1196	100.0

Source: fieldwork 2010

Going by the result of the data analysis, the total numbers of respondents that are public servants were 172 representing 14.4% of the total number of respondents of 201. This represents 17.4% of the number of respondents that were civil servants. 574 stands for 48% of the total respondents that were students of universities and other tertiary institutions; 103 questionnaires were filled by businessmen this means 8.6% of the sum total. Similarly, 108 were business women which represent 9.0% of the total. The questionnaire analysis revealed that 29 were copies were filled by housewives. This figure represents approximately 3.0% of the number of respondents that filled the questionnaire administered for this study.

Table 4: Distribution of Respondents by Religion

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Christianity	791	66.1
Islam	359	30.0
Others	46	3.8
Total	1196	100.0

The table above reveals that 791 respondents that filled the questionnaire were Christians representing 61% of the total respondents while 359 were Muslims. This represents 30% of the total number of questionnaire. Other religions'' which gives opportunity for people of diverse religion besides Christianity and Islam filled 46 copies of questionnaire. This number represents 3.8% of the total.

Table 5: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

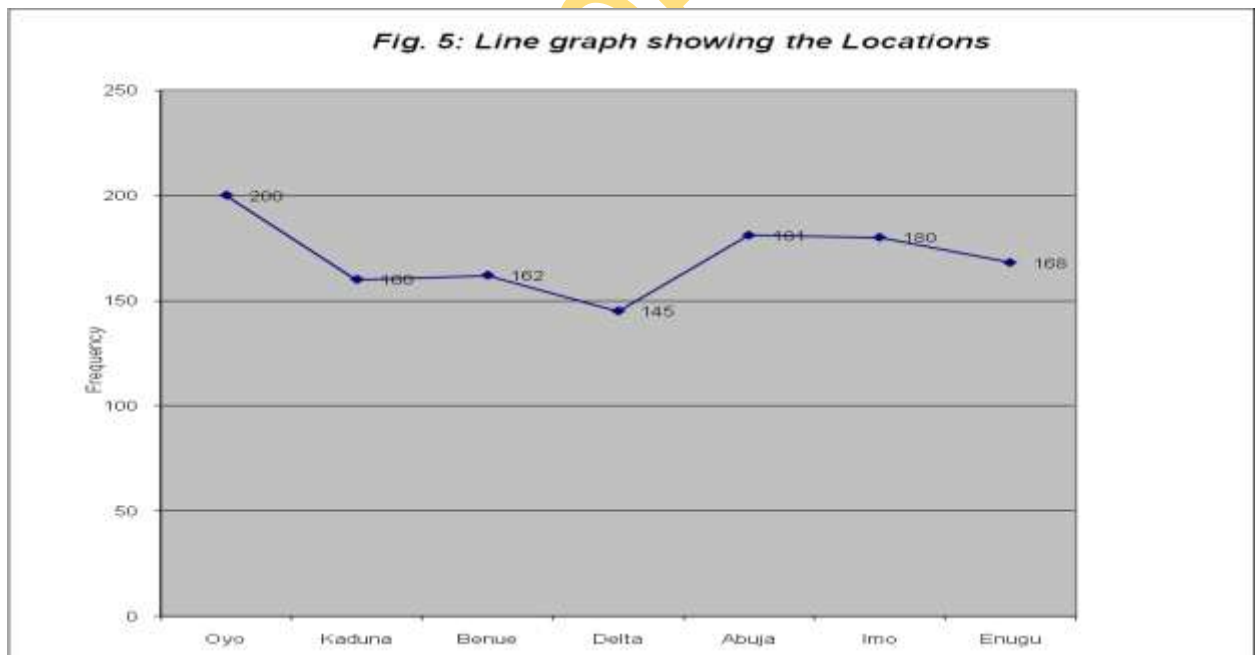
Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	932	77.9
Separated	196	16.4
Divorced	68	5.7
Total	1196	100.0

Source: fieldwork 2010

The result revealed that 455 which represents 38.0% were singles, 487 representing 40.7% were married. 186 respondents representing 15.6% were separated while 68 questionnaires representing 5.7% were filled by people who are divorced.

Graph 1.1: Frequency Distribution of Respondents by Location:

The finding shows that out of 1500 copies of the questionnaire administered, 16.5% was from Abuja, 16.7 from Benue, 16.2% from Delta, 16.7% was from Kaduna 17.1% from Imo and 17.8% from Oyo, and Enugu States each.



Source: fieldwork 2011

Following the demographic section is the interpretation according to the objectives which are situated in four basic stands as highlighted below:

To know the extent of women marginalization in Nigeria which by extension refers to establishing if women are actually being marginalized in Nigeria or not

What frameworks exist in the contemporary times for women equality struggles in Nigeria?

How effective are contemporary frameworks for gender equality struggles in Nigeria?

Is there need for paradigm shift in the gender equality struggle?

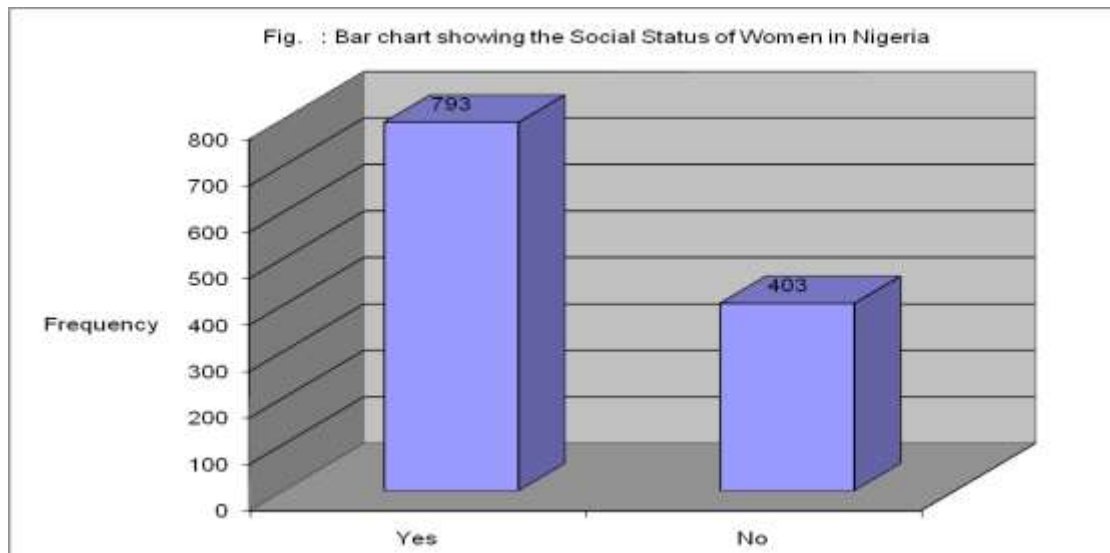
5.3, RQ1: Table 6. Are Women Really Marginalized in Nigeria? (n=1196=100%)

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	793	66.3
No	403	33.7
Total	1196	100.0

Source: fieldwork 2010

In the above table, it was observed that 793(66.3%) of the respondents agreed that women in Nigeria are marginalized while 403(33.7%) disagreed .Table 4.1 shows the response of all the respondents on the social status of women. From the result, it was revealed that 793 out of the 1196 valid copies of the questionnaire agreed that women are marginalized in Nigeria. This means that 66.3% of the respondents confirmed that women are in marginal social position in Nigeria. On the other hand, 403 making 33.7% of the respondents disagreed with the statement maintaining that women are not marginalized in Nigerian politics.(see table six)

This presentation shows that majority of the respondents are of the view that women are marginalized in Nigeria .This means that from the research findings, one can categorically say that women are really marginalized in Nigeria .It also answered the pivotal question in the mind of the researcher when she set out for this survey .One of the contentions of the researcher was that women are not marginalize, and that if they are marginalized at all, they are the architects of their positions in the civil society, arguing that women are getting what they merited from the society.



Source: fieldwork 2010.

The attached histogram shows the various distributions representing the responses on the items of women marginalization in Nigeria.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

5.4, RQ4. 2: Table 7 Showing if there are existing frameworks in contemporary times for gender equality struggles in Nigeria? (n=1196=100)

S/N	Statements	UN	SD	DA	SA	AG	Mean	S.D
1	The existing laws for gender equality are very good and very active in empowering women in Nigeria	39 3.4%	35 3.0%	169 14.6%	309 26.8%	603 52.2%	4.2139 79%	1.0241
2	Are there existing laws for gender equality struggle in Nigeria?	143 12.4%	7 0.6%	79 6.8%	585 50.6%	341 29.5%	3.8433 80.1%	1.2161
3	Women can be independent of men and society if they are properly trained	44 3.8%	140 12.1%	160 13.9%	455 39.4%	356 30.8%	3.8130	1.1138
4	Laws or no laws women are naturally made to depend on men	39 3.4%	35 3.0%	471 40.8%	336 29.1%	274 23.7%	3.6675	.9800
5	Women will do better if they have proper constitutional support	136 11.8%	94 8.1%	227 19.7%	666 57.7%	32 2.8%	3.3152	1.0684

40.7% +27.8=68.5%.

Source: fieldwork 2010.

KEY: UN =Undecided, SD =strongly disagreed, DA =Disagreed, SA =strongly disagreed, AG =Agreed.

Crosstab

	What frameworks exist in contemporary times for gender equality strategies in Nigeria?					
	UN	SD	DA	SA	AG	TOTAL
Q1	80 6.7%	35 2.9%	169 14.1%	309 25.8%	603 50.4%	1196 100.0%
Q2	184 15.4%	7 .6%	79 6.6%	585 48.9%	341 28.5%	1196 100.0%
Q3	85 7.1%	140 11.7%	160 13.4%	455 38.0%	356 29.8%	1196 100.0%
Q4	80 6.7%	35 2.9%	471 39.4%	336 28.1%	274 22.9%	1196 100.0%
Q5	177 14.8%	94 7.9%	227 19.0%	666 55.7%	32 2.7%	1196 100.0%
Q6	606 10.1%	311 5.2%	1106 18.5%	2351 39.3%	1606 26.9%	5980 100.0%
Chi square	X ² =1497.631		DF= 16		Sig =.000	

a.0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 62.20.(X²=1409.484, P<.05) Sig. del. existed

The result contains the assessment of respondents on the opinion regarding the existing frame works for gender equality in Nigeria. It seeks to know if there are constitutional options in Nigeria for gender equality that the respondents are aware of.

Are there existing laws for gender equality struggle in Nigeria? To this question, 12.4% was undecided, 0.6% strongly disagreed, 6.8 disagreed, 50.6 strongly agreed, 29.5 agreed having a mean of 3.8433 and standard deviation of 1.2.

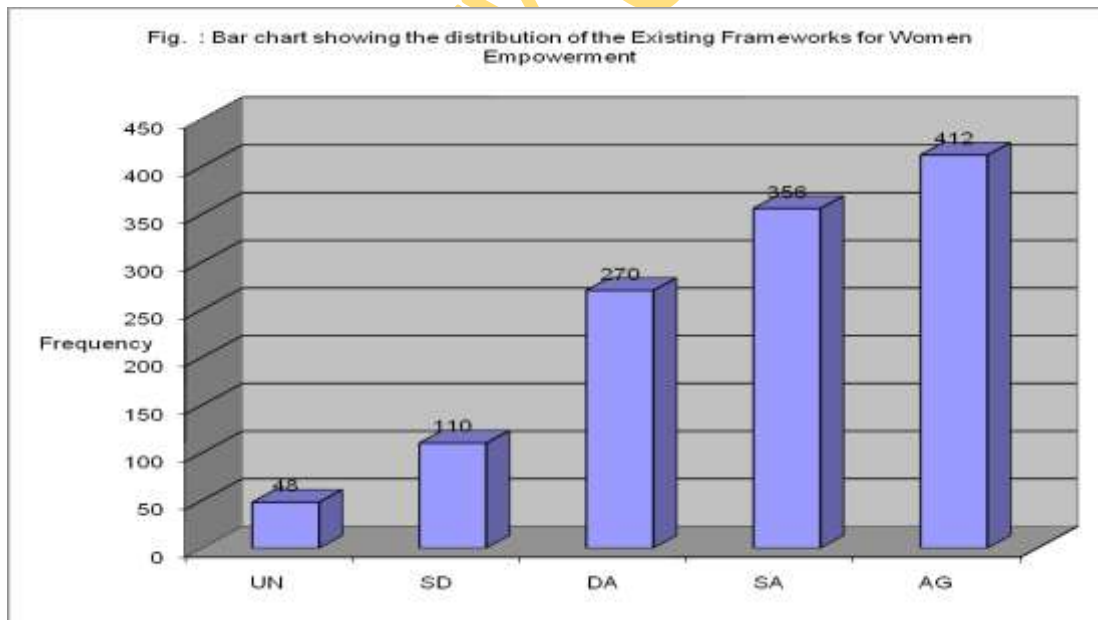
The existing frameworks for gender equality are very good and very active in empowering women in Nigeria”. To this question, 3.0% strongly disagreed, 14.6% disagreed, 26.6% strongly agreed, 52% disagreed, while 3.4% were undecided. The average mean stands at 4.2139 and standard deviation of 1.0241.

Women can be independent of men and the society if they are properly trained”. For this variable, 12.1% strongly disagreed, 13.9% disagreed, 39.4% strongly agreed, 30.8% agreed while 3.8% was undecided. This had an average mean of 3.8130 and standard deviation of 1.1138.

Laws or no laws women are made to depend on men“3.0% strongly disagreed, 40.8% agreed, 29.9% strongly agreed, 23.7% agreed while 3.4 % was undecided. The result has an average mean of 3.6675 and standard deviation of 0.9800.

“Women will do better if they have proper constitutional support.” To this 8.1% strongly disagreed 19.7% disagreed, 57.7% strongly agreed, 2.8% agreed and 11.8 were undecided. The mean is 3.3152 with standard deviation of 1.06 84.

Below are the ratings on the existing frameworks for Women Empowerment in Nigeria: The existing laws for gender equality are very good and very active in empowering women in Nigeria (mean = 4.2139) ranked highest and was followed in succession by “Are there existing laws for gender equality struggle in Nigeria?” (Mean = 3.8433), women can be independent of men and society if they are properly trained (mean = 3.8130), Laws or no laws, women are naturally made to depend on men (mean = 3.6675) and lastly, women will do better if they have proper constitutional support (mean = 3.3152) respectively. This research question seeks to uncover the effectiveness of the already existing constitutional frameworks on gender equality. From the findings, it was discovered that there are some already constitutional laws /institutional frameworks for women empowerment. Among all the variables presented to the respondents, this variable ranked highest as 912 out of the 1196 respondents who agreed that there are constitutional arrangements for gender equality in Nigeria by having a mean of 3.8433 representing 79% of the total number of questionnaire administered.



Source: fieldwork 2010.

KEY: UN =Undecided, SD =strongly disagreed, DA =Disagreed, SA =Strongly disagreed, AG =Agreed.

5.5, RQ 3: Table 8: How effective are contemporary frameworks for gender equality struggles in Nigeria? (n= 1196 =100%)

S/N	Statements	UN	SD	DA	SA	AG	Mean	S.D
1	The existing women empowerment organizations are too high for the grass-root women	50 4.2%	30 2.5%	164 13.7%	279 23.3%	673 56.3%	4.2500	10.559
2	There is need for more women empowerment agencies	180 15.1%	59 4.9%	81 6.8%	410 34.3%	466 39.0%	3.7717 73.3%	1.3995
3	The former ones have not done much to gain constitutional support for the women	90 7.5%	111 9.3%	200 16.7%	420 35.1%	375 31.4%	3.7349	1.2084
4	Women empowerment campaigns have also proved to be a waste of National Fund	118 9.9%	171 14.3%	171 14.3%	380 31.8%	356 29.8%	3.5727	1.3113
	Despite all the noise about women empowerment, women are still marginalized	116 9.7%	115 9.6%	341 28.5%	324 27.1%	300 25.1%	3.4824	1.2357

AGREED and strongly agreed= 30.3% + 36.3%=66.6%

Source: fieldwork 2010. KEY: UN =Undecided, SD =strongly disagreed, DA =Disagreed, SA =strongly disagreed, AG =Agreed.

Crosstab

	How effective are contemporary frameworks for gender equality strategies in Nigeria?					
	UN	SD	DA	SA	AG	Total
Q1	50 4.2%	30 2.5%	164 13.7%	279 23.3%	673 56.3%	1196 100.0%
Q2	180 15.1%	59 4.9%	81 6.8%	410 34.3%	466 39.0%	1196 100.0%
Q3	90 7.5%	111 9.3%	200 16.7%	420 35.1%	375 31.4%	1196 100.0%
Q4	118 9.9%	171 14.3%	171 14.3%	380 31.8%	356 29.8%	1196 100.0%
Q5	116 9.7%	115 9.6%	341 28.5%	324 27.1%	300 25.1%	1196 100.0%
Total	554 9.3%	486 8.1%	957 16.0%	1813 30.3%	2170 36.3%	5980 100.0%
Chi square	$\chi^2=623.222$		DF=16		Sig.= .000	

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 97.20. ($X^2=627.902$, $P<.05$) = Sig.

The existing women empowerment agencies/organizations are too high and too elitist for grass root women. The result indicates that 2.5% strongly disagreed, 13.7% disagreed, 23.3% strongly agreed, 56.3% agreed while 4.2% was undecided. The mean is 4.2500 and standard deviation is 10.599.

There is need for more women empowerment agencies/laws” 4.9% strongly disagreed, 6.8% disagreed, 34.3% strongly agreed, 39.0% agreed and 15.1% was undecided. The mean is 3.7717 and the standard deviation is 1.3995.

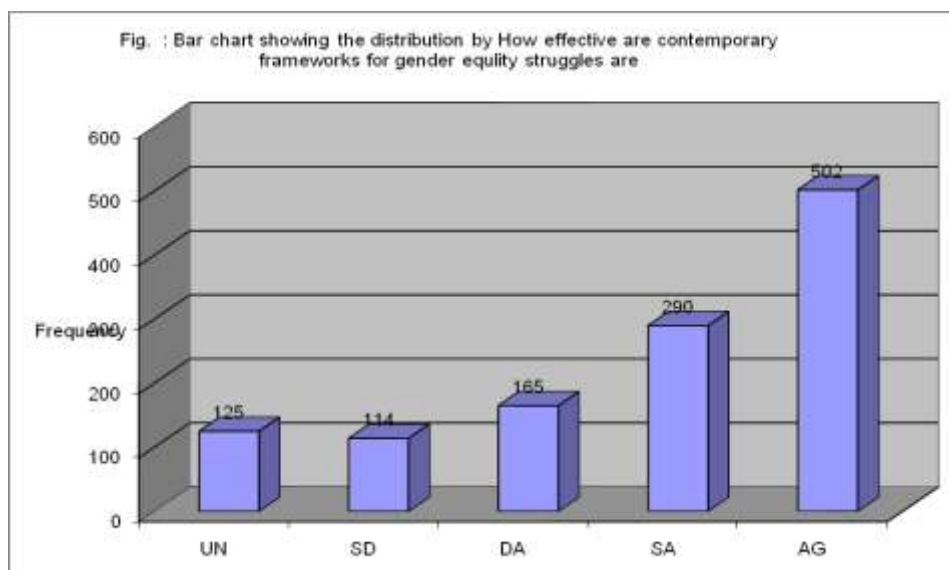
The former ones have not done much to gain constitutional support for women in Nigeria” 9.3% strongly disagreed, 16.7% disagreed, and 35.1% strongly agreed, 31.4% agreed, 7.5% was undecided the mean is 3.7349 while standard deviation is 1.2084.

Women empowerment campaigns and programs have also proven to be a waste of national fund” here, 14.35 strongly disagreed, 14.3% also disagreed, 31.8% strongly agreed, 29.8% agreed while 9.9% was undecided. The mean is 3.5727 with standard deviation standing at 1.3113.

Despite all the noise about gender equality women in Nigeria are still marginalized” 9.6%strongly disagreed, 28.5% disagreed, 27.1% strongly agreed, 25.1% agreed while 9.7% was undecided. The mean is 3.4824 with standard deviation of 1.2357.Effectiveness of Women Empowerment Agencies as rated by the respondents is shown below:

The existing women empowerment organizations are too high for the grass root women (mean= 4.2500), There is need for more women empowerment agencies (mean= 3.7717), The former ones have not done much to gain constitutional support for the women (mean= 3.7349), women empowerment campaigns have also proved to be a waste of National Fund (mean= 3.5727) and lastly, despite all the noise about women empowerment, women are still marginalized (mean= 3.4824) respectively.

This table revealed that the existing women empowerment institutions and organizations are too high for the ordinary Nigerian by having a percentage of 79.6%of the total questionnaire administered .This therefore can be described as a clarion call for the involvement of more women in politics.



Source: fieldwork 2010. KEY: UN =Undecided, SD =strongly disagreed, DA =Disagreed, SA =strongly disagreed, AG =Agreed.

5.6, RQ.4, Table 9: Is there need for Paradigm Shift for Women Equality Struggle in Nigeria?

S/N	Statements	UN	SD	DA	SA	AG	Mean	S.D
1	Is there need for paradigm shift in women equality struggle in Nigeria?	39 3.4%	73 6.3%	262 22.7%	374 32.4%	407 35.2%	3.8978 67.6%	1.0614
2	Is there need for more women in politics?	42 3.6%	80 6.9%	270 23.4%	357 30.9%	406 35.2%	3.8701	1.0834
3	Women need unity among themselves to achieve political equality in Nigeria	39 3.4%	85 7.4%	372 32.2%	435 37.7%	224 19.4%	3.6234	.9866
4	Good women in politics are very few good women in politics already	39 3.4%	114 9.9%	390 33.8%	360 31.2%	252 21.8%	3.5818	1.0395
5	Women are responsible for their marginal social status	89 7.7%	95 8.2%	381 33.0%	403 34.9%	187 16.2%	3.4364 51.1%	1.0944
6	Women need to be educated to achieve equality with men	226 19.6%	145 12.6%	203 17.6%	374 32.4%	307 26.8%	3.1654 50.3%	1.3868

Strongly disagreed, AG =Agreed call for paradigm 32.4%+35.2%=67.6

Source: fieldwork 2010. UN =Undecided, SD =strongly disagreed, DA =Disagreed, SA =Strongly disagreed, AG =Agreed.

Crosstab

	Is there need for Paradigm Shift for Women Equality Struggle in Nigeria?					
	SD	D	UN	A	SA	Total
Q1	80 6.7%	73 6.1%	262 21.9%	374 31.3%	407 34.0%	1196 100.0%
Q2	83 6.94%	80 6.7%	270 22.6%	357 29.8%	406 33.9%	1196 100.0%
Q3	80 6.7%	85 7.1%	372 31.1%	435 36.4%	224 18.7%	1196 100.0%
Q4	80 6.7%	114 9.5%	390 32.6%	360 30.1%	252 21.1%	1196 100.0%
Q5	130 10.9%	95 7.9%	381 31.9%	403 33.7%	187 15.6%	1196 100.0%
Q6	226 18.9%	145 12.1%	203 17.0%	374 31.3%	248 20.7%	1196 100.0%
Total	679 9.5%	592 8.2%	1878 26.2%	2303 32.1%	1724 24.0%	7176 100.0%
Chi-square	$\chi^2=430.490$		DF=20		Sig.=.000	

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 98.67..($X^2=455.507$, $P<.05$) = Sig.

The rating below by the respondents shows the need for Paradigm Shift for Women Equality Struggle in Nigeria. Is there need for paradigm shift in women equality struggle? (Mean = 3.8701), Women need unity among themselves to achieve political equality in Nigeria (mean = 3.6234), There are a few good women in politics already (mean = 3.5818), Women are responsible for their marginal social status (mean = 3.4364) and lastly, Women need to be educated to achieve equality with men (mean += 3.1654) respectively.

Is there need for more women in politics? 6.3% strongly disagreed, 22.7% disagreed, 32.4% strongly agreed, 35.25 agreed while 3.4% was undecided. The mean is 3.8978 and the standard deviation is 1.0614.

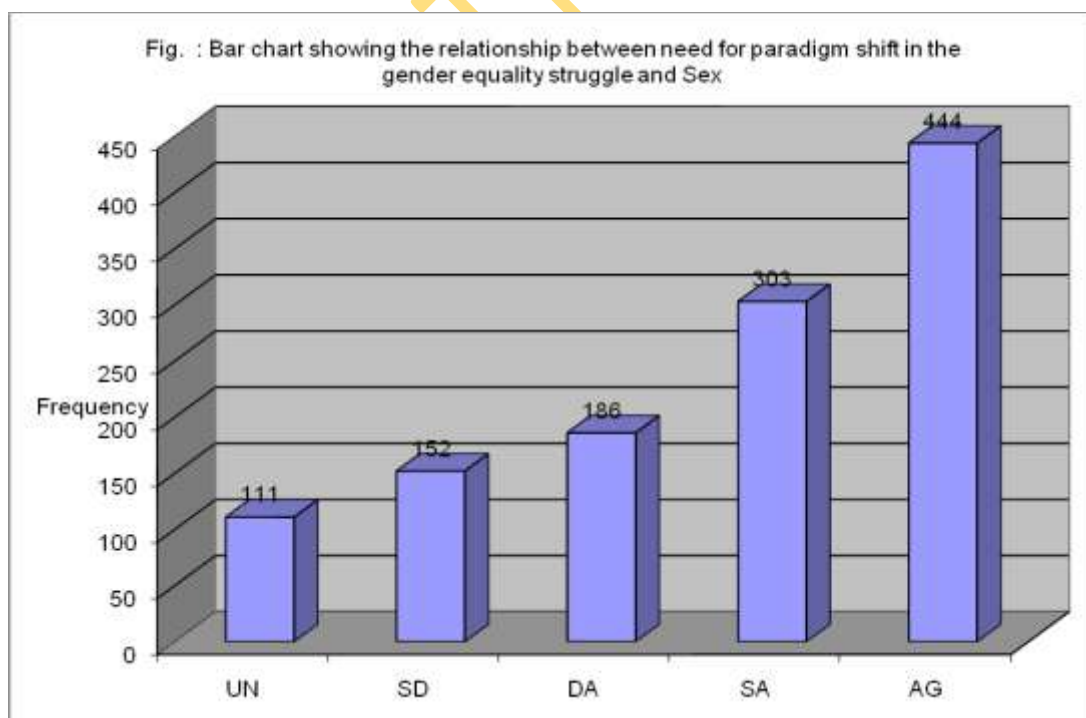
Is there need for paradigm shift in women equality struggle in Nigeria?" 0.9% strongly disagreed, 23.4% disagreed, and 30.9% strongly agreed 35.2% agreed while 3.6% was undecided. The mean is 3.8701 and the standard deviation is 1.0834.

Women need equality amongst themselves to achieve political equality in Nigeria.” 7.4 strongly agreed, 32.2% disagreed, 37.7 strongly agreed, 19.4 agreed while 3.14% was undecided. The mean is 3.6234 and the standard deviation is 0.9866.

Are there few good women in politics already” 9.9% strongly disagreed, 33.8% disagreed, 31.2% strongly agreed, 21.8% agreed, 3.4% was undecided, 3.4% was undecided. The mean is 3.5818 and standard deviation of 1.0395.

Women are responsible for their marginal social status. 8.2% strongly disagreed, 33.0% disagreed 34.9 strongly agreed, 16.2 agreed, 7.7% of the respondents was undecided the mean for this is 3.4364. The standard deviation comes to 1.0395.

Women need to be educated to achieve equality with men.” 12.6% strongly disagreed, 17.6% disagreed, 32.4% strongly agreed, 17.9% agreed while 19.6% was undecided. The mean is 3.1654 while standard deviation is 1.38678. From the above , it is was established that there is need for paradigm shift in gender equality campaigns and struggles in Nigeria. From the above table it is obvious that there is need for a paradigm shift in gender equality struggles. Having a mean of 38978and a percentage of 67.6% of the total questionnaire administered, this question ranked highest in the answers provided by the respondents on this table



Source: fieldwork 2010.

KEY: UN =Undecided, SD =strongly disagreed, DA =Disagreed, SA =strongly disagreed, AG =Agreed.

5.7, OTHER FACTORS MILITIATING AGAINST WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN NIGERIA

After the field work on the objectives of the study and still not being satisfied with the findings, we carried out further examination into other factors that sustain women marginalization in politics in Nigeria despite the concerted efforts of all the stakeholders in Nigeria for women empowerment. The second investigation revealed the below stated factors as the factors that perpetuate and maintain women marginalization in all facet of life in Nigeria. The factors include the role of the government, the role of the culture, the role of the economy and the role of women in women marginalization.

5.8, Table 10: Showing the Role of Government in the Marginalization of Women in Nigeria

1	Statements	Yes	No
1	Women are already part of the Politics in Nigeria	648 54.2%	548 45.8%
2	Government does not support them	708 59.7%	488 40.3%
3	Lack of Awareness	724 60.5%	472 39.5%
4	The Law is against them	848 70.9%	348 29.1%

Yes for the role of government in women marginalization=59.7%, disagreed is 40.3%
Source: fieldwork 2010. UN =Undecided, SD =strongly disagreed, DA =Disagreed, SA =strongly disagreed, AG =Agreed.

Crosstab

	Role of Government in Women Marginalization		Total
	NO	YES	
Q1	548 45.8%	648 54.2%	1196 100.0%
Q2	488 40.8%	708 59.2%	1196 100.0%
Q3	472 39.5%	724 60.5%	1196 100.0%
Q4	348 29.1%	848 70.9%	1196 100.0%
Total	1856 38.8%	2928 61.2%	4784 100.0%
Chi- square	$\chi^2=75.891$	DF=3	Sig.=.000

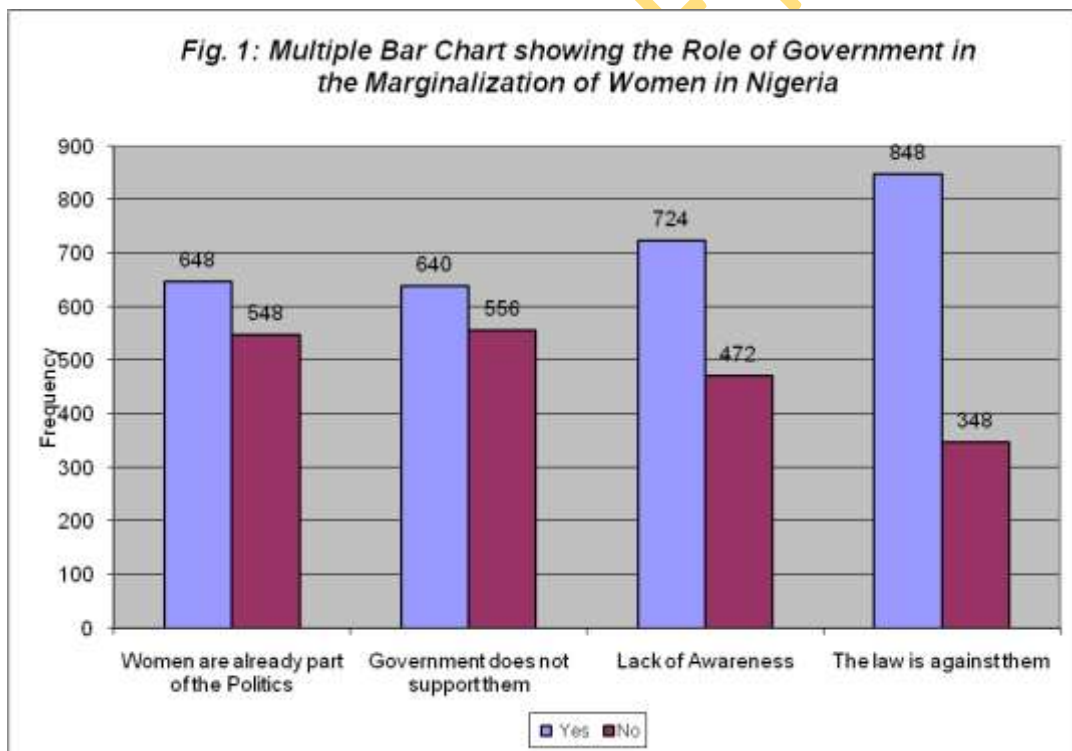
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5.

The minimum expected count is 464.00.

($X^2=74.482$, $P <.05$)

The above questions were meant to identify the role of government in women marginalization in Nigeria. On the question, “women are marginalized because they are already part of politics in Nigeria”, 648 out of 1196 questionnaires administered the being 54.2% of the respondents said ‘Yes ‘ while 548 said no being 45.8% of the sample size. Secondly, on whether women are marginalized in Nigeria because government does not support them, 640 respondents representing 53.5% answered Yes while 556 respondents being 46.5% of the respondents answered “No.”

Investigating whether women marginalization in Nigeria is due to lack of general awareness, 724 representing 60.5% of the respondents said “Yes” while 472 representing 39.5% of the respondents said “No”. On whether women are marginalized because the law is against them, 848 respondents, representing 70.9% said “Yes” while 348 representing 29.1% of the total respondents said “No”. The above findings shows that the government has a role to play in the marginalization and empowerment of women through the enactment of laws and policies in favor of women or otherwise.



Source: fieldwork 2010

5.9, Table 11: The Role of Culture in Women Marginalization in Nigeria

S/N	Statements	Yes	No
1	Culture affects Women in the Society	844 70.6%	352 29.4%
2	Women are not trained as the men	403 58.8%	493 41.2%
3	Men are not carrying women along in politics	896 74.9%	300 25.1%
4	The way women are trained from childhood	624 52.2%	572 47.8%
5	Society looks down on them	724 60.5%	472 39.5%

Yes for the role of culture in women marginalization is 70.9% while disagreed is 29.4%
Source: fieldwork 2010.

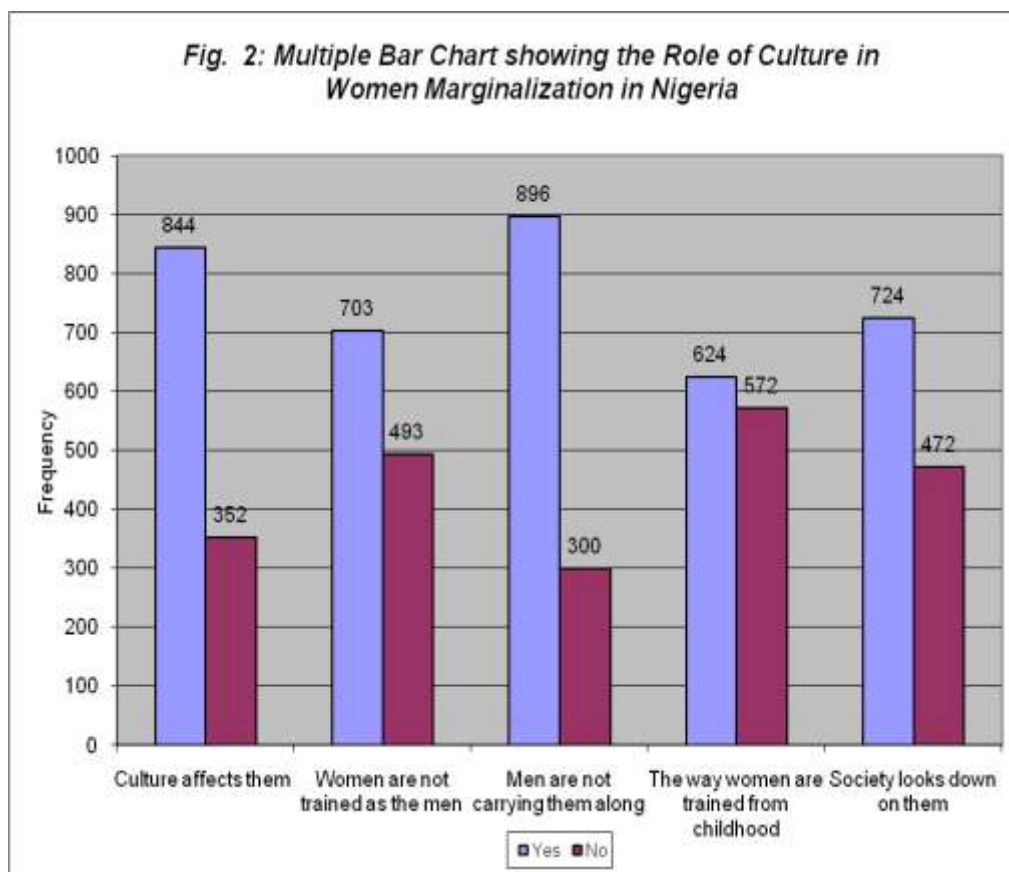
Crosstab Role of Culture in Women Marginalization

	Role of Government in Women Marginalization		Total
	NO	YES	
Q1	352 29.4%	844 70.6%	1196 100.0%
Q2	793 66.3%	403 33.7%	1196 100.0%
Q3	300 25.1%	896 74.9%	1196 100.0%
Q4	572 47.8%	624 52.2%	1196 100.0%
Q5	472 39.5%	724 60.5%	1196 100.0%
Total	2489 41.6%	3491 58.6%	5980 100.0%
Chi-square	$\chi^2=528.885$	DF=4	Sig.=.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 464.00. ($\chi^2=528.885$, $P < .05$)

To the question whether women are marginalized because culture affects them in the society, 844 respondents representing 70.6% of the total respondents agreed while 352 representing 29.4% disagreed. On whether women are marginalized because they are not trained as the men, 403 representing 88.8% said Yes while 493 respondents standing for 41.2% said “No”. On the question of whether women are marginalized because men are not carrying them along, 896 respondents which stands for 74.9% of the total respondents said yes, while 300 of the respondents said “No” representing 25.1% of the total respondents. On whether women are marginalized because of the way women are trained from childhood, 624 respondents, representing 52.2% of the total respondents said “Yes” while 572 representing 47.8% of the total respondents said “No”. This then indicates that women are marginalized but not due to the way women are trained.

To the question of whether women are marginalized because the society looks down on them, 744 respondents agreed while 472 respondents representing 39.5% disagreed that women marginalization is not because the Society looks down on them. From this table, it is evident that the most important factors affecting women’s political participation and empowerment is that the cultures of Nigerian society affect them negatively. The table shows that 70.6% of the respondents agreed to that. On the other hand, cooperation by men was shown to be a big factor in women marginalization as it is revealed by 74.9% of the respondents. What this means is that other inhibiting factors against women, such as lack of cooperation from men can be considered to play a major role in women political marginalization in Nigeria. This result also indicates that if men cooperate and carry women along in politics, it will go a long way to empower women. It will also help to eliminate cultural constraints and practices against women. These two factors (harsh cultural practices and lack of cooperation from men) when eliminated, will go a long way in the political empowerment of women in Nigeria. Although power holders do not give up their power easily in the quest for women empowerment, there is need for men to cooperate and support women in their quest for inclusion into power positions and politics.



Source: fieldwork 2010

5.10, Table 12: The Role of the Economy in Women Marginalization in Nigeria.

S/N	Statements	Yes	No
1	At the family level Women are not educated	846 70.2%	350 29.8%
2	They are also poor	851 71.2%	345 28.8%
3	In the family women are faced with marital problems	862 69.1%	334 30.9%

Source: fieldwork 2010.

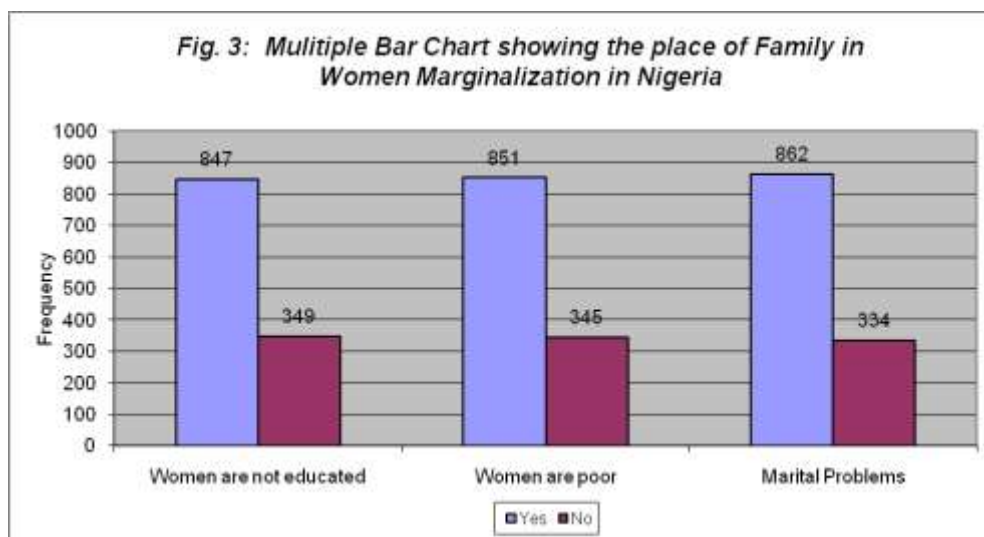
Yes for the role of the economy in women marginalization is 70.2% while disagreed is 29.8%.

Crosstab

	Role of Economy in Women Marginalization		Total
	NO	YES	
Q1	350 29.3%	846 70.7%	1196 100.0%
Q2	345 28.8%	851 72.1%	1196 100.0%
Q3	334 27.9%	862 72.1%	1196 100.0%
Total	1029 28.7%	2559 71.3%	3588 100.0%
Chi-square	$\chi^2=.549$	DF=2	Sig.=.760

0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 343.00.($X^2=.548$, $P <.05$)

To the question, “Are women marginalized in the family because they are not educated?”, 847 respondents representing 70.8% agreed that women are marginal in social status because women are not educated; while 349 of the total respondents representing 29.2% of the total disagreed on the issue. As to whether women are marginalized in politics because women are poor in the family and subsequently the larger society, 851 respondents representing 71.2% of the total respondents said Yes while 345, representing 28.8% of the total respondents said “No”. This means that women are not marginalized because they are poor. To the questionnaire of whether women are marginalized due to marital issues, 862 respondents representing 69.0% of the respondents agreed while 334, 30.9% of the total respondents disagreed. This table shows that the three factors here are as important as the others going by their rating that one cannot categorically choose one over the other. These three factors are very important keys and instruments in women political empowerment. However, it appears that poverty, which represents 71.2%, while the others constitute 70% and 69.0%, is the major factor responsible for women marginal social status.



Source: fieldwork 2010

5.11, Table 13: The Role of Women in Women Marginalization In Nigeria.

S/N	Statements	Yes	No
1	Women are not working hard enough	693 57.9%	503 42.1%
2	Women are always waiting for men to give them power	772 64.5%	424 35.5%
3	Women hate themselves	955 79.8%	241 20.2%
4	Women are not united, they lack cooperation among themselves	610 51.0%	586 49.0%
5	Marginalized for being women	783 65.5%	413 34.5%
6	Women lack of commitment towards anti-marginalization practices	720 60.2%	476 39.8%
7	Women do not support themselves	819 68.5%	377 31.5%
8	Women don't train their girls	927 77.5%	269 22.5%

Source: Fieldwork 2010. Yes for the role of women in women Marginalization practices: 60.2% while no is 34.8%

Crosstab

	Role of Women in Women Marginalization		Total
	NO	YES	
Q1	503 42.1%	693 57.9%	1196 100.0%
Q2	424 35.5%	772 64.5%	1196 100.0%
Q3	241 20.2%	955 79.8%	1196 100.0%
Q4	586 49.0%	610 51.0%	1196 100.0%
Q5	413 34.5%	783 65.5%	1196 100.0%
Q6	476 39.8%	720 60.2%	1196 100.0%
Q7	377 31.5%	819 68.5%	1196 100.0%
Q8	269 22.5%	927 77.5%	1196 100.0%
Total	3289 34.4%	6279 65.6%	9568 100.0%
Chi-square	$\chi^2=356.100$	DF=7	Sig.=.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 411.13. ($X^2=347.319$, $P < .05$)

The first question here seeks to know if women are marginalized because women are not working hard enough. To this, 693 respondents representing 57.9% of the respondents agreed that women are marginalized because women are not working hard enough while 503 respondents standing for 42.1% disagreed by saying “No”. That women are not marginalized because women are always waiting for men to give them power, 772 respondents standing for 64.5% of the respondents said “Yes” while 424 respondents representing 42.1% of the respondents said “No” . .

On the other hand, to the question of whether women are marginalized because women hate one another 955 of the respondents standing for 79.8% said “Yes” while 241 respondents standing for 20.2% disagreed. To the question of whether women are marginalized because they are not united, 610 respondents representing 51.0% of the total respondents agreed that women are marginalized because they are women while 586 respondents representing 49.0% disagreed that woman marginalization is not due to lack of unity among them. To another question of whether women are marginalized

because they are women, 783 respondents representing 65.5% of the total said “Yes” while 413 respondents standing for 34.5% said “No” that women are not marginalized because they are women.

To the question of whether women are marginalized because women lack commitment towards anti-marginalization practices, 720 respondents agreed; this figure represents 60.2% of the respondents while 476 respondents standing for 39.8% disagreed. Again to the questionnaire of whether women are marginalized because they do not support themselves, 819 respondents standing for 68.4% of the total number of respondent agreed that women marginalization is due to lack of support for one another while 377 respondents standing for 31.5% disagreed that women marginalization is due to lack of support for one another .

Finally, to the question of whether women are marginalized because women do not train their girls, 927 respondents standing for 77.5% of the respondents said “Yes” while 269 respondents representing 22.5% of the respondents disagreed.

Interviews and FGDs revealed that on the surface it will appear that women are marginalized but that they are not. For example, Yoruba women are not because they are economically empowered and as a result they can decide what they want to do and can also take decisions in their homes. It can be said that Yoruba women are not marginalized because economic power is the real power. A woman is marginalized only when she is economically feeble and poor that she always need to wait for her husband to make decisions for her. Generally, women are not marginalized nor restrained because times have changed. It was only in the egalitarian and agricultural societies that women are marginalized because the men were farmers and women take care of the domestic responsibilities while proceeds from the farm were managed by the man. In politics, women are few because women go into politics late due to domestic responsibilities. In an interview session, a participant stressed that the source to women liberation is education. Women who are still marginalized should try and get education. When a woman is educated she is enabled because education will remove the shackles of marginalization. Women have natural abilities and talents to take care of children and husbands because God has made them so. Looking at the order of creation God has deposited in women the skills to take care of people around them. Though some men can take care of children it cannot be the same as the care given by a woman. A focus group participant in this study believes that it is not gender roles or cultural practices that make women to be caring, but nature. To her it is natural with women to be caring unlike a

man. She argued that it is neither men nor culture that hinders women's leadership in all spheres of life: it is nature and people should not obstruct the natural order of things by removing women from the home and bringing them into politics and power.

Another participant encountered this point of argument by stressing that women are formidable group but it seems they are not aware or are not tapping the resources that are available to them through their numerical strength. Stressing further, he argued that women in politics are less because women are not likely to vote for one another because women are sentimental voters. They look beyond the individual woman political candidate while men look for delivery. The men want to know if the candidate can deliver as against women's sentimental thinking. In politics men are more likely to vote for women than women would vote for their fellow women

Through Focus Group Discussions (FGD) carried out in the course of this survey, it was revealed that southern and western Nigerian women are relatively more liberated than northern women in due to religious practices. These religious practices also perpetuate the feminization of poverty, especially in the northern part of the country.

5.12 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Thus far, the findings in this study have clearly revealed that women are actually politically marginalized in Nigeria. Data from primary sources, which is the questionnaire, and other secondary data like the personalized interviews and focus group discussions have proved beyond reasonable doubt that women are marginalized in Nigeria. However, the survey made some fascinating revelations on the factors which women themselves exhibit that seriously sustain women marginalization in all spheres of life especially in governance and the economic sphere. The work revealed factors like disunity/hatred for one another as the very strong factor responsible for the maintenance and perpetuation of the marginal social conditions of women in Nigeria. It means that women as a group can be indomitable in the face of external factors if they are united and supportive of one another.

In Africa and particularly Nigeria, research has shown that there is a general manifestation of gender inequality in the contemporary times that is skewed in favour of men and against women. From the findings of this work, men are not to be totally blamed for this lopsidedness of various forms of power in their favour. Gettel (1924)

stressed that Edmond Burk, argued that power is sweet and those who have it find it difficult to cede it, except there is a superior force to coerce them to do so. Given that women are marginalized in governance and politics, women empowerment campaigners and women liberation feminists decry the marginal social position of women by focusing on factors that are external to women without considering the role of women in the whole issue of gender inequality and marginalization, thereby missing a vital points for not emphasizing on the role of women in women marginalisation. To this end, this survey was conceived to investigate the role of women in women marginalisation. The findings as stated above indicate that feminists have been harking at the leaves of marginalization rather than striking at the roots of it by exonerating women from the blame and focusing on the external factors which include men's disposition of masculinities or chauvinisms, cultural impediments, governmental policies, marriage and the others.

In the course of this research, it was revealed through literature that before Nigerian independence women in Nigeria were a strong force to contend with in Nigerian politics. For example in 1946 there was a major spurt in Nigerian political development through the emergence of a women political party. The party was named Women Political Party. The development of women political party was born out of the frustration that laid in women's inability to make a head way in the Nigerian Youth Movement, which was the only political party in Nigeria at that time. That party did not survive because women's individuality came to the fore as the women political party was never organized as an active political party seeking to obtain representation in government (Afolabi (etel) 2009).

Afolabi (2009) went further to argue that women Political party began even before the emergence of National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun (NCNC) in 1946, the Action Group (AG) in 1948 and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in 1951. As these parties emerged, women due to lack of organization and unity in their own party then resorted to forming women's wings of the new political parties thereby abandoning their own which was exclusively formed for women (Afolabi (etel) 2009). Although the political parties related to women through the women associations, some of the women stood on their own as party members and won party elections to attend independent conventions of the women's association.

Here again, women as individuals achieved marginal representation in politics but failed as a group in the formation of Women Political Party. Suffice to say that if women had succeeded in having their own political party, they would have been able to achieve their enfranchisement earlier than the time men granted them their franchise. It can be argued also that it was due to lack of political platform that led to the poor trend of women in governance till date. Being at the mercy of men, all Nigerian women were not enfranchised till 1979 as women in the southern parts of Nigeria got their political franchise in 1959 the Northern women were disenfranchised until 1979. This was the reason why we have the first female senator Mrs. Wuraola Esan out of the 36 senators coming from the South-west and in 1961 women like Mrs. Margret Ekpo and Mrs. Molekwu from the South East (Sylvia Tamale 1996). From then onwards women solidarity went into a lull and it's yet to be awakened.

Different forms of marginalization also emerged to further distance women from the public arena. Several factors were discovered to be responsible for the marginal representation of women in governance among which are the activities of government and the laws 59.7%, culture 70.9%, economy 70.2% and women 60.2%. From the findings of this work, it was revealed that culturally women are marginalised. Champions of women marginalisation in Nigeria emphasized that women are marginalized through harsh cultural practices that impede women's success and advancement in all spheres of life thereby citing the widow's rites as one of those harsh cultural practices against women.

However, as bad and harsh as the widow's cultural rite and other traditional practices may be, though enshrined in patriarchal system of the world, Africa and particularly Nigeria, the implementers are not men but women. It is the women that carry out this "harsh" cultural practice against women in most countries in Africa and Nigeria as well. Take for example, the widow's rite in Nigeria is a cultural perspective in most societies of Nigeria which the woman perform in order to be vindicated of her involvement in the cause of the death of her husband. The outcome of this ritual consequently proves her "innocence" or otherwise she may be accused of being involved in the cause of her husband's death. The degree of the dehumanizing / ill-treatment the woman goes through depends on the stipulations of the specific cultural environment of the deceased's tribe.

Some of the procedures of the widow's rite include that the woman is made to [1] sleep in the same room alone with her husband's corpse overnight. [2] she is to drink the

water used to wash the dead body .[3] she is to be shaven from her head, armpit, pubic and even eyebrows as the case may be[4] she is to wear all black for a period of one year or a year and six months as the particular culture may stipulate . [5] she is to cry in the wee hours of the night, morning, mid-day and evening as loud as possible for at least six months to one year.[6] Some cultures may demand that she is taken to a deity to swear either naked or half-naked before the gods of the land so as to prove.[7] she may be ostracized or exiled, killed and buried together with her husband while in some mild cases, she will just be stripped of any kind of luxury. She may be inherited by any of her husband's kinsmen after the mourning period if the culture stipulates so. Most of the time she is not only inherited but she is dispossessed of her children. Culture also forbids her from having any form of sexual relationship till the period is over and her fate in her husband's house is determined.

Another example of harsh cultural practices implemented by women is the female genital mutilation which feminists and women empowerment agencies should be stopped. This practice culturally is not being executed and monitored by men also but the women themselves. In some places like Calabar where women's genitals (young women not infants) are mutilated in the name of circumcision shortly before they are married, it is also women who carry out this heinous act of cutting off part of the female genitals of their fellow females without any form of anaesthesia because they want to keep the young brides at home after marriage for their husbands. What they are trying to achieve here is that they want to keep the young brides from infidelity after marriage by making sex uninteresting to her. It means that they want to stop the young bride from been promiscuous by making sex uninteresting to them.

Cultural practices, political and economic status of women were some of the reasons why Nigerian women joined the rest of one hundred and ninety-two (192) countries of the world to the Fourth World Conference on women, seeking for emancipation and empowerment in governance, economy and other aspects of life because they believe that they are marginalized. Meanwhile, women in Nigeria who decry the above limiting factors and joined 192 countries of the world for Beijing Women Conference, they did not go to Beijing to seek for the establishment of the office of her Excellency in Nigeria. The office of the first lady in Nigeria is at present in operation without any statutory backing. Nigerian women pushed this office until Nigerians began to recognize and patronize the office of her Excellency and refer to the wife of the president, governor or even local government chairman as her "Excellency"

the first Lady of so, so and so all over the country without electing them on any political platform. How did the women achieve that kind of feat? They exerted their power of influence upon their husbands the presidents and heads of state of the country, past and present, strong or weak.

This indicates that Nigerian women can attain political power if they earnestly desire to achieve it without hindrance. Nigerian women condemn political marginalization, but imagine the rascality and negligence on the Nigerian constitution as they pursue the office of Her Excellency in Nigeria. Surprisingly they achieved the office of her Excellency by riding on the back of their husbands. As manipulators, they use the election of their husbands into political offices to establish themselves because they wanted it and they got it.

Furthermore from the findings of this work, it is discovered that women all over the world, First World, Second world or Third World especially in Nigeria have not been able to overcome other hindrances in their quest for power? Meanwhile women in Nigeria do things that women in even First Worlds dare not think or do in their countries yet women marginalization in leadership and governance is more eminent in Nigeria than other nations of the world. Some of the hindrances women in Nigeria encounter as uncovered in this study include, the role of culture in women political marginalization. Under this, the research investigation revealed that culture is a serious factor playing against women mainstreaming in governance empowerment in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa.

Culture affects women in the society with 70.6 % of Nigerians in agreement, (2) Another factor is that in most societies women are not trained as the men with 58.8 %, training here include childhood socialization up to adulthood. Again in Nigeria as elsewhere men do not carry women along in Nigerian politics. This practice of the men towards the women constitutes 74.9% of the reason why women have remained marginalized. The findings also revealed that childhood socialization was agreed by 52.2% to be the reason for women's poor social status. Generally the way the society looks down on women has 60.5%. From the above, one can conclude that the women have a lot of positive things to do to change the way the society sees and treat them given that they are new comers in the political and power preserves of men. Again, bulk of the problems was directed to the women as been responsible for their problems. Arguing that, women should desist from participating and executing in cultural practicing that are against women.

However, some respondents like Garba, in an interview argue that women behave the way they do because they are in a world of survival of the fittest. The only way some people survive in a dog-eat-dog world is to align with the powerful; even men do it not only the women. In such instance, people just find powerful people and try to be close to them so that they too will appear to be powerful also. She posited that there are women who are in positions of authority and leadership, knowing that if they act the way they should act, men will fight them. Women take escape route by acting and thinking like men even against women. This kind of attitude from women impresses men. They really enjoy such behaviour when it comes from a woman she reiterated. According to her, that is why you hear men say things like “she is one of us”. She stressed that in most situations where a woman thinks like a man, she is accepted by men. So when a woman is going to participate in governance or anything she has at least 2 things to worry about (1) will I be able to do it well (2) will I be accepted by others particularly men(3) will those who accepted me be sincere enough, do they really mean it?

She believes that in most cases men are not sincere and that goes on to reinforce the fears of a woman. Although women have come a long way ‘though’ for today’s women to be sited in some power positions and be increasingly be involved in politics means that some women have sacrificed themselves. Some women have died so that women today can talk and can vote today over the world. Women in the past cooperated, held their hands together in a chain and were shut so that women can vote today. There are a lot of things that have been done and achieved by women. May be they are not yielding results as much as you and I want it that is the problem I can see. From the situation the more we move forward the more stumbling blocks women have to face.

Contrarily, she maintained that some women have devised means of fighting men in this gender struggle, especially in Nigeria. For example women in Nigeria are insisting on education of their children. Many more women are educated now than in the past. Many of them are not going into sciences yet but women groups and NGOs are struggling for more women to go into science to prove that they can do it. Debunking the argument on lack of cooperation she said, she disagreed that women have not cooperated. To her many women have cooperated trying to make things easier for today’s woman just like the men. The burden lies on the new generation of women to go beyond what they have done to make things easier for those coming behind, for instance there are some Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are gender based and do not mind the kind of troubles they go through moving from one country to another trying

to make governments and countries to ratify some bills that will give females equal access with boys in primary and secondary school just to make sure that the girl child is no longer denied formal education because of her sex. Garba, strongly believes that there is a lot of cooperation going on among women really but within the cooperation, there are also people (men as well as some women) who try to kill the cooperation. There are problems out there but there has also been a lot of progress and achievement recorded. (Interview with Garba 2012).

She further contested the word “gender solidarity”. The word, gender, according to her has been there since 1940, and preferred to go for competence and not for gender? If there is a woman party and I do not like the policy of the woman, I would not vote for her “I am enlightened enough to vote for policy. I have been involved in the political system of this country to the extent that I know the kind of leader I want. If a woman comes out today and meets the qualities of the kind of leader I want, I will definitely vote for her and support her. But I will hate a situation where they say all women must come together and support a woman that is incompetent. What if I don’t agree with her policy, what if I don’t agree with her way of life “What she rather supported was women solidarity (women gang up) and not gender solidarity because that word has been there? Women solidarity to her should be for women to come together to build the capacity of other women to contest equally with men without receiving tokens from men because she does not like tokens. She does not like a situation where the society gives tokens to women but wants a situation where women will build up the capacity of the individual women to function. Does not like a situation where the society gives tokens to women but wants a situation where women will build up the capacity of each woman to function. The reason is that when women go to school, they acquire the skills appropriate for them to participate and compete effectively with their male counterparts in the society.

Ojuowo, another participant in an interview maintained that women have some constraints on their part that hinder them from being part of the mainstream in politics and governance. To him government should concede to women affirmative action principle. He believes that the situation of women is like when one is to run a race with someone and a big stone is tied around ones legs. Then, when the person running with you is half way gone they now remove the stone and that person is not going to wait. Another participant said that considering the constraints women have had in the past and even in the present, women should cooperate with one another to bring down those institutions that are hindering them. On the other hand, Kasey stressed that women

should come together to build the capacity of other women. Garba 2012 maintained that women should be worried of how they can support women so that they can be better than they are right now. Participants believe that there are some men women need to pull along in their quest for political empowerment. Men constitute themselves as stumbling block to women because they don't understand why women are fighting for liberation or political power. Women need to make them understand that women are not trying to usurp their power. These category of men need to understand that all women are asking for is to be partners so that this country and continent can be better for all of us . Feminists' and other stakeholders in women empowerment may need to bring such men along and bring them on board. Focus Group Discussion participants agreed that there are a lot of things we need to do. "It is only when women work together that is when ideas will come. So I do agree that women need to come together. Although they have been doing it but may be what is needed is for strategy to change ie a paradigm shift; yes a paradigm shift is what we need".

To this group the hatred among women is simply the pedagogy of the oppressed. It is not peculiar to women alone. It is just like people who believe that Africans don't like Africans.

Women hating women also has to do with human nature of people experiencing oppression. This is why women need liberation and transformation of the mind. It is not really that women hate women but it is just that there is something fundamentally wrong when a woman dislikes another woman saying if I am suffering why another woman should not enjoy. A woman should be happy seeing another woman grow so that when she is pulled up she can pull others. However some of the women who succeeded have not made things better because they think and behave like men just to please men.

"They think that they are no more women but men especially in character. They may not say it but they act it. This category of women, the only reason they behave like that is due to oppression mentality. They want to be loved rather by men than women. Consequently, when the women down the ladder see behaviour of such women in politics and governance, they will be displeased and disenchanted and will be unwilling to vote for another woman or give another woman any opportunity to be higher than they are. So it goes on and on like that".

Furthermore, this study also revealed that the role of the family in Women Marginalization is very critical. In Nigeria and Africa, the family particularly affects women's social status, and from this survey also it was discovered that women's lack of

education starts from the home. It also starts from the cradle because most women are not educated as girls from the home, this means that some families prefer to educate their male children rather than the female ones (Derek Llewellyn-Jone 2002). The consequence of this is that as the female children move from childhood to adulthood, they are married women they are already made poor, disempowered and disadvantaged in life compared to the educated male children. In the course of the work, it was also discovered that one of the factors militating against women in the society is the role of the family in women political marginalization. For example, lack of education has 70.8%, poverty 71.2% and marital issues/problems ranked 69.0%. The implication of this is that none of the three factors can be neglected because their impact is of high degree just as they are high indicators qualities of people of the outer social standing anywhere in the world.

However, women are the ones that will liberate themselves from the crutches of marriage and the family by getting educated and be employed before venturing into marriage. Women as young girls should not yield to societal and social pressures by making erratic decisions and rushing into unwholesome marriages that may eventually turn out to be life threatening . In this case, mothers in the families should ensure that both their male and female children are being given equal education. The girls in particular should be both economically and educationally empowered before marriage.

In most communities, women are economically dependent on their husbands who control the family income. This control does not even change much even in situations where women are allowed to engage in money-making ventures because their husbands still control the purse. Women's weak economic base contributes to their political domination by men. It has been established in this and other feminist research that women especially in Nigeria have far less money than men and are also less involved in politics and governance than men.

To this extent, it means that there is a wide economic disparity between women and men, which gives men competitive leadership and political advantage over women because they are the ones with money to throw around and win votes. However, the argument here is that instead of women who aspire for political offices to seek for the financial support from men who usually will prefer to support their fellow men due to prevalent male chauvinism and financial manipulations that most women will not want to be involve in, women empowerment agencies can raise money for women political office aspirants through launching, donations, advocacy organizations , civil society

organizations and donor agencies rather than depending on the magnanimity of their husbands and godfathers who will rather want to subdue and control them as well as expect some kind of gratification in kind.

Also, women empowerment agencies and feminist argue that women are marginalized but are they really marginalized. According to John Locke, domination is not without the consent of the dominated (Subrata Mukherjee 2007). To this effect, without the consent of women in women marginalization in all spheres of life, there will be no women marginalization in governance or anywhere and there will be no male domination of women. Women are dominated in all endeavors of life. All the same, women marginalization has continued because women also consented to it as they display the androgyny of the oppressed by accepting pain instead of being calculative in order to maximize pleasure as the classical liberals feminist theorist puts it .

According to John Locke the marginalized could give their consent through direct, indirect or tacit consent. But certainly without the consent of the subject domination is not possible. Given that there are some issues of men bigotry and oppression in African and in particular, Nigerian homes but this is when the women allow it to happen. For example, men who display aggressiveness and are narrow minded in their homes if lucky are usually tamed or reduced to nothing but figure heads by their wives through feminine manipulations and influence at extreme cases through metaphysics. This refers to some kind of diabolical means in Africa in order to make less active or less aggressive. It has different names in the Nigerian ethnic groups. For example it is called “ban-joko” in Yoruba and “forget me not” by the Igbo ethnic group of Nigeria. This is however a terrible practice that is unacceptable and cannot be recommended by any rational person. Some women do practice it due to their vain desires and inordinate quest for power. In situations of oppression, the woman opts for diabolical means to influence the man in that he will be well and healthy but assertiveness and chauvinism will be alien to him. He vegetates while headship and decision making is shifted to the woman. This shows the extent, women can go when they desire strongly to fulfill their selfish aspirations.

I discovered in the process of this investigation that it is better for women to generate positive energy collectively as a group and achieve political power than act as individual tyrants in their various homes? Why would women not channel their energy on women political empowerment for the generality of Nigerian women whom they believe are marginalized politically? The point is that women do not need to converge to acquire

power because they are already innately endowed. They know it and are making use of it to achieve what they want to achieve individually. When women gather in women conferences/ political meetings, it seems the women come together only to show off their grandiose apparels, speak in rhetoric, make social appeal to government, society and men then disperse. If women want men to cooperate with them to achieve power, they can. By the time they relate with to their husbands, brothers and friends with sincerity of purpose and unity, they can achieve good representation in governance skewed in their favour and not as individual.

A very good example to show that women can achieve empowerment if they want is the establishment of the office of “Her Excellency” in Nigeria which I have mentioned above. Instead of this platform being used for fun-fare, it should be used to create a channel of awareness for women to be in politics and be elected into elective position en-mass. Instead, the first ladies use their offices for jamborees and means of wasting national fund by way of sharing food items and money to their relatives and friends for identification and acceptance instead of using the opportunity of their positions to mainstream women in governance in Nigeria. Our findings in this work also showed that women are not united. Women in Nigeria are not going to continue with rhetoric and social appeal by gathering themselves occasionally for fanfare which they call conference meetings for women empowerment and successfully be empowered. There is a need for women to concretize their actions and re-strategize, look inwards and stop fighting war against themselves only to turn round and say they are being marginalized. The Aba women riot of 1929 was as a result of resistant by women against the plan of the colonial administration to impose of tax on women. With one voice they resisted and won the war. Following this trend in other areas like leadership and governance, generally women in Nigeria will be empowered and will achieve reasonable representation in politics which can be considered to be.

Furthermore, the Government in Women Political Marginalization in governance cannot be over looked because the art and science of governance is a very important activity in every human society. It ensures that human beings are governed in such ways that there is orderliness and development in the society. It ensures that human, natural and economic resources are well managed by people who are versed in the acts of management, on behalf and in the interest of the generality of the people as Edmund Buck stated in his book *Reflections on the Revolution of France*. In order to take care of all human interests and for proper social engineering, the two genders are supposed to be

fully engaged in politics. Contrarily in Nigeria, the political arena is largely dominated by the male gender, often to the disadvantage of the female.

The government can assist women to be mainstreamed in politics in Nigeria. From the findings of this survey, it was revealed that part of the reason why women are politically marginalized in Nigeria is because the Nigerian law is not gender friendly. As a matter of fact, some of the laws are against women. Findings from this research uncovered that the government does not support women with 53.5% of Nigerians in agreement. This argument stressed that government is hiding under the disguise that women are already part of Nigerian politics as indicated by 54.2% while the government not creating awareness about the importance of women mainstreaming in governance was 60.5%. The law being the major hindrance on the part of the role of the government was stressed by 70.9 percent of Nigerians which is a critical point. This finding then reveals that the Nigerian law is an important instrument that is needed for women empowerment in Nigeria. For example, it is in the Nigerian constitution that women cannot stand as surety to bail somebody in police custody or for somebody standing trial. Again, given that women have been behind for a long time they therefore need policy instrument in their favour. A policy instrument that will guarantee a place for women in every political position that is open for contest. This is also yet to be enacted by the government in favour of women.

However, the ball of empowerment is in the women's court, it starts and ends at the feet of women. I still believe that women can make the government of their countries especially Nigeria to make and implement policies in their favour. After all in the Nigerian constitution Provision was made only for the offices of the president and the vice president, governor and deputy governor, and none for that of the first lady. The constitution was silent on the position of the wife of the political office holder. Though this is also not a commendable character of the constitution it is a form of marginalization and neglect for the wife of the office holder. Despite this deep silence on the office of the wife of the office holder, women in Nigeria used their feminine charm and power to institute one for themselves. Women used their feminine charm and influence the wives of some Nigerian presidents both military and democratically elected ones, from President Ibrahim Babangida to the current president, President Goodluck Jonathan down to governors and to the lowest tier of government, they all use their influence to float their own operational base. "The office of Her Excellency, the First Lady of so, so and so state"

Wives of elected government officials flippantly and with every sense of rascality ignored the stipulations of the Nigerian constitution to establish her Excellency's office known as the office of the first lady of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The first ladies' offices are proudly situated in various states of the federation in the state capitals next to the office of His Excellency the Executive Governor of the respective states. Who gave women the constitutional right to do so? Who gave them the power to establish the office of "Her Excellency", the men, society, culture, or the law? If women could conceive this and achieve it, it then means that they could achieve political power and equality, eradicate cultural impediments through unity and oneness if they so desire. As manipulators and tyrants that some of them are in their homes they can achieve mainstream leadership in good time in Nigeria.

It is a known fact that women can with their influence subdue even the strongest of men. If we are in doubt, we can go down the memory lane as regards the Nigerian former presidents, President Obasanjo, Ibrahim Babangida, Abacha, and other notable characters like Julius Caesar, Biblical David and Samson. In fact the list is endless. Nigerians cannot easily forget Turai Musa Yar'adua. They are not likely to forget how she dictated for the nation who and who is qualified to see their democratically elected president in Saudi Arabian hospital. When the president came back, Tura, his wife, determined who should and should not see the president not even the President's deputy could see him. It takes a tyrant to decide for a nation single-handedly without respect to the rule of law, democracy and the constitution which conferred to the man the status of a president.

Babangida in his era was referred to by Nigerians as a maverick, a dictator and a "Maradona" of Nigeria. As a maverick he dribbled the Nigerian nation and her people like football with ease for complete eight years but with Maryam, a woman, his wife it was not so. Maryam was like the de-jury president while Babangida was the de-facto president of Nigeria from 1986-1983. Some scholars argue that Maryam was one family tyrant whose tyrannical reign benefitted the generality of Nigerian women because she helped to launch Nigerian women into the world, showing to the rest of the world what Nigerian women can do both in terms of fashion and glamour. As a family tyrant, when her husband conducted the freest and fairest election then in 1992, she did not like the idea of leaving the presidential villa or was not yet through with the Presidential Villa (Adebola Adewole 2001). The outcome was that the election was nullified by her husband the de-facto President over some political reasons Nigerians could not

understand till date. The annulment resulted into carnage and imprisonment of agitators of political office contenders and citizens alike.

Her namesake Maryam Abacha, on the other hand, was in power during the Beijing Conference. It was during her epoch that Nigeria was a signatory to the Beijing women political quest of September 1995 (Oladimeji Abitogun 1999). When it was time for her husband to leave office, she fed her husband, the president with the idea of self succession which was sweet to his ears. He loved the idea and suddenly there was “the Abacha one million man-march” for him to succeed himself. Today, contrary to recent media campaigns by the former First Lady, Mrs Maryam Abacha to exonerate herself from the complexity in her late husband’s late General Sani Abacha, misrule on the throne of the nation from 1993-1998 yielded no fruits. Details have emerged that she indeed was the Alpha and Omega responsible for most of the misdeeds of the time within the villa using her cousin, Alhaji Usman Juda Shuwa (Oladimeji Abitogun up.cit).

Another example of women display of power, tyranny and manipulation and display of individualism was when President Obasanjo was elected into power. Then, our strong president was asked about the role his wife Stella was going to play in his administration. He simply replied that Stella was just going to be my wife”. The Former President gave the impression that he was in charge of the nation’s leadership even with Stella, his statement also implied that he was going to do away with the office of the first lady which started with Maryam Babangida and Maryam Abacha. For a few months, Stella was simply indeed referred to as wife of the president of Nigeria. That nomenclature soon changed as she began to be addressed as the “First Lady”. This was followed by the launching of an elaborate programme, The Child Care Trust, a non-governmental organization designed to assist in bringing up children who have suffered various forms of disabilities or another (United Nations Report 1995).

With this, she set the ball rolling down to the wives of state governors and the local government level too. The governor’s wives now have a clue on how to launch themselves and their offices on the platform of pet projects. With this the office of the first lady was re-established and also accepted by those elected into power who are their husbands with billboards in government houses/roads indicating their locations in government and state capitals and also the generality of Nigerian citizens . The first ladies were unstoppable and they still are.

Finally, gender affinity policy in Nigerian has both political and socio- economic benefits. The development of this policy will eliminate political inequality,

discrimination; intolerance, women oppression, domination, and uneven development between the sexes. States in Nigeria as well as the fact that feminization of poverty will be a thing of the past. It will also ensure and enforce constitutional democratic rights of all individuals so that there will be harmony. With gender solidarity principle strategy, there will not only be harmony but men and women will be able to complement one another in Nigeria and oppression of women in any form or shape will be a thing of history in Nigeria. Let us try gender affinity as we reassess and re-strategize for women political empowerment and the elimination of women marginalization in Nigeria and Africa. It will work. Some of the salient factors discovered in the course of this work can be summarized to infer that women need to do more than they are already doing in terms of cooperation.

5.13 THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN WOMEN MARGINALIZATION IN GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

Of all the factors mentioned above, the most significant of them all is the role of women in women political marginalization. The place of women in their marginalization as perpetrators of women marginalization cannot be overemphasized or denied. All of the above factors can be overcome by women if women will look inwards and put their house in order before considering other external factors. It is a popular saying that a house divided against itself shall not stand. Women need to form a formidable force to fight marginalization in Nigeria because, as I remarked before, power is sweet and those who have it find it difficult to cede it except there is a superior power that will make them to do so. Women need that superior power to convince men of their determination to be equal partners in Nigerian politics and governance. Women need to watch each other back and be there for themselves.

Politicking is time-consuming with politicians travelling far and wide and often staying overnight in hotels far from their homes during political rallies. Such political rallies are often rowdy and at times violate prone with political thugs taking centre-stage, hurling insults and brandishing different kinds of locally made weapons. Given such scenarios, political opponents use labeling to portray women politicians as promiscuous in a society that believes women's role should be confined to the home. Women in politics are seen largely as lose even by their fellow women because politicians by the nature of politics, stay out late at night attending political meetings and rallies and sometimes sleep in hotels far from home during political rallies. Opponents of women in

politics hurl abusive and violent words, take drugs such as hemp and other stimulants during political rallies and give women politicians an air of irresponsibility when as mothers should show good demeanors. Against this politicking background, it is still women that will be the first to label women politicians as unwomanly, deviants and prostitutes before the men.

It is widely believed that the marginalization of women in political participation and decision making processes has been responsible for the exclusion of the interests of women in governance and development paradigms. As discovered in this research, women have helped in no small measure in the maintenance and perpetuation of women marginalization. The work shows that women are the implementers of cultural practices against women yet women bemoan cultural impediments. How do we then reconcile their cry against culture and their practice in favour of what they called harsh and against women their own specie? I consider this to be a serious hypocrisy by women.

Politically, women also execute harsh and negative judgment against themselves and turn around to blame men, government, culture and patriarchy. Take the example of the 2011 Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) presidential election primary, where Mrs. Sarah Jibril was the only female presidential aspirant amongst the three presidential aspirants, Abubakar Atiku and the incumbent President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. That the incumbent president floored the other two aspirants is perhaps not news and not surprising given the power of incumbency and the nature of Nigeria's politics. The outcome of PDP's primaries especially with regards to the single vote cast for Mrs. Sarah Jibril reaffirms the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society and our body politics and most importantly, how women see their fellow women in politics. It was also a reminder of an urgent need for all the stakeholders to address the immediate and remote causes of Sarah Jubril's poor performance. No doubt, there were quite a number of female delegates at the PDP's presidential primaries. What agitates my mind is why none of the women voted for Mrs. Sarah Jibril? Or could it have been that one of them voted for her and she forgot to vote for herself then voted for her one of her opponents Goodluck or Atiku which is most improbable in this case (Yashuaib Wordpress.com 2011).

A critical mind would also ask why the Honorable Minister for Women Affairs did not vote for Mrs Sarah Jubril assuming that she was a delegate and was at the convention. The reason why she should vote for Sarah is to prove her solidarity and support for women empowerment and political mainstreaming in politics in Nigeria. If she was and she did not vote, this is why some interview participants argue that "women

are their own worst enemies.”They consequently contended if the Ministry of Women Affairs can truly assist women to increase their chances of representation when it failed to work towards their nomination at the parties’ primaries. It is not enough for the government and civil society and international donors to organize women political empowerment programme provide funds for women for elections but it is also pertinent for them to embark on aggressive support and advocacy which actually start by enlightening and changing the minds of women towards their fellow women even from the party’s primaries. To some extent, the opinion that Mrs Sarah Jubril’s poor outing could be caused by the idea that she did not campaign at all as the tabloids mostly featured President Jonathan and Atiku Abubakar, and as such the delegates might not have known that she was contesting.

Consequently, the delegates must have made up their minds on whom to vote for before being aware that she was contesting. Whilst this could be a possibility, however, this reasoning may be incorrect because Mrs Sarah Jubril is a veteran politician and, as a presidential aspirant, should understand that she ought to campaign and woo delegates to herself at the primaries (Nigeriadailynews.com). However, if the view that she did not campaign is correct, one should not lose sight of its financial implications for Mrs Sarah Jubril as the aspirants are not similarly situated. Prima facie, she is most likely to be economically disadvantaged amongst the three aspirants. It is also pertinent to ask if she could muster the financial muscles of the other two aspirants. This reinforces the feminization of poverty especially in the context of Nigeria’s political climate. Given the politics of money that pervade our political landscape, would Mrs Jubril be able to outwit the other two aspirants? Others stress that it was the absence of political god-fatherism that affected her poor political outing. The accusations and counter accusations by the campaign organizations of the other two aspirants who are men should ordinarily question the suitability of the candidates which should have given the delegates the choice of voting for a less controversial candidate in this case but this was not so.

The outcome of PDP’s presidential primaries questioned one of the strategies for achieving the fifth objective of the National Gender Policy, which is mainstreaming gender into party politics at all levels, Federal, State and Local Government Areas. Given this strategy, does it mean that PDP honoured the fifth strategy more in breach than in its observance or does it mean that even the card carrying members of PDP and the entire delegates are not aware that emphasis is now on inclusivity of women into party politics? Are the women delegates also not supportive of their own kind and by

implication sold out on efforts geared towards women's political participation and representation in decision-making? Does not the outcome frustrate efforts also made by NGOs and donor agencies in ensuring that women count and participate in the entire political process?

The performance of Mrs. Sarah Jubril indicates that we do not have a monitoring mechanism in place to ensure that parties put in place structures geared towards mainstreaming gender into party politics. It brings to mind the fact that the policy strategies remain a mere academic exercise, as they have not been used to develop and implement a viable action plan. Politically focused women NGOs should re-strategise in ensuring women's political participation. Efforts should be made by women to involve stakeholders in designing and implementing programme that would de-emphasize money politics at every level. Activities of NGOs should extend to political parties as well.

The process might be slow, but it is achievable. As an immediate step, politically focused women NGOs in collaboration with the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs should examine issues arising from the poor performance of Mrs. Sarah Jubril at the PDP's presidential primaries and the performance of other women aspirants at the primaries of other political parties for other elective positions. This exercise must include the women aspirants themselves as their experiences would provide a road map towards strategies that could be developed to address the immediate and remote causes of poor performance at political party's primaries by women. Lessons can also be learnt from female aspirants who scaled through political parties' primaries. This is crucial given the discriminatory return of male aspirants by some parties for second term elections whilst female aspirants are dropped to be replaced by another woman. Given our patriarchal structures, affirmative action must be put in place even at the party level to ensure that the outcome is met. This can be achieved by waiver of nomination form fees for female aspirants and by aggressive campaign to deconstruct the mindset of politicians and de-emphasizing politics of money bags. There is a need to legislate and monitor the source of funding of political campaigns of aspirants.

Shortly after Dr. Goodluck Jonathan assumed office as the President, the First Lady Dame Patience Jonathan just like her predecessors launched the Women for Change Initiative which had as its focus the mobilization of women towards the 2011 general elections. It is poised to encourage women to contest for elective offices. The extent to which the initiative partnered with political parties to ensure that female aspirants won the primaries in respect of the elective offices in their various parties

leaves room for divergent opinions given the outcome of PDP's presidential primaries held on January 20, 2011. The outcome of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) Presidential Primaries and the general election truly made mockery of the Women for Change Initiative. The PDP's 2011 presidential primaries were a litmus test of the true motive of the First Lady's pet project. The question that comes to mind is whether the Women for Change Initiative was aimed at getting women to vote for men or whether it was aimed at encouraging women to seek for elective positions? If the latter, then PDP's presidential primaries was an indicator of the charade embarked upon by the First lady.

Sarah Jubril's aspiration and venture into Nigerian political space can be seen as the exclusive preserve of men is evidence that there is hope for the Nigerian women in future. What Mrs. Sarah Jubril has started will certainly not end with her. I am confident that there are a lot of competent women who will consolidate on the doggedness of Mrs. Sarah Jubril and emerge winner of the presidential elections after the order of Barak Obama in the United States. Just as nobody gave Obama any chance of winning the Democratic Party's primaries in the United States, let alone becoming the president of America, as a black America with Kenyan decent, women will contest and win the presidential elections in Nigeria sooner than expected.

It is gratifying to note that Liberia, a sister West African country, produced the first African female president in the person of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. It is worthy of note to mention that Liberia was a country that was engulfed in a civil war but at the end they were able to produce the first female president in Africa at the end of the civil war. By position, population and perhaps right that could have been Nigeria, the giant of African continent. However, Nigeria can still achieve same in future because there are many qualified women in Nigeria who can vie for the coveted office of the president in Nigeria in future, women who can measure up with men in terms of suitability, intellect, experience, leadership, politics and governance.

5.14 WOMEN AND HARSH CULTURAL PRACTICES AGAINST WOMEN IN NIGERIA

According to Kassey Garba,(2012), culture is an institution that tells people what they are suppose to do. To the female, this is your role and to the male this is what you should do. Culture stipulates to the individual male or female his or her role in the society. According to her that was why the issue of gender came into the academics in the first place because people are made to do gender activities assigned to them by

culture based on their sex. In culture there are defined roles and responsibilities given to men and women. These are not God given roles. God given role is the sex, male or/female but women are now told by cultural stipulations what and what they are supposed to do and not to do.

Over time women have been socialized toward a particular kind of work closer to what they do in the family setting. That is why in the formal sector like the civil service, you find women more in nursing or teaching and secretarial so that they can attend to their bosses .In the ministries, women are more in those kinds of jobs that are close to their domestic activities (child rearing and caring duties). These institutions have also over time been reinforced by other institutions nationally and globally.

There are lots of bags and baggages that come with even taking advantage of opportunities that are there. It is not easy for the men to let go off power. As a matter of facts, equality is really a power struggle between men and women whether we like it or not. So even when men say, “Oh women come and participate “the issue is, do men really mean it. The social positions of women will change over time in that more women will occupy leadership position, but will gender relations actually change. Will men treat you with respect the way they treat other man? These are the things a woman has to fight and must be ready to fight. Not many people are willing to fight it. Unfortunately not many people (women) are willing to fight gender relations, cultural constraints and women social marginalization. Most women will rather give up and say, “let me stay where I have been told to stay”(Interview with Garba 2012).

I strongly add my voice to the voice of the 67.6% respondents in this work that call for paradigm shift in women empowerment struggle in Nigeria by emphasizing the gender affinity principle. With gender affinity principle in place, there will be political equity in Nigerian politics. If women will cast votes for their fellow women en-mass, sooner or later women will certainly mainstream the Nigeria politics and consequently reasonable number of policy making process in Nigeria. When women have good number of representation in policy making, it will avail them the opportunity to influence gender friendly policies. Aside from this, when adequately represented in politics women certainly will make policies that will ensure human capital and sustainable development and growth given to their nature as mothers and care givers.

Again, women affinity principle will help in the elimination of women political marginalization. With it women will appreciate the need for women alliance and sisterhood, and encouraged women to venture into politics without fear of criticism and

stigmatization by their fellow women. This will also help more women to develop interest in politics aside from being mere political party members and vote-casters for men political candidates. Other principles / social solidarity may not be able to achieve the kind of solidarity gender affinity can achieve for women. That is why it is imperative for women empowerment agencies and feminist and other stakeholders to rigorously pursue gender affinity principle. Social gender cleavages need to be used to compete with political solidarities that are based solely on political party identification and ideology. It should be positioned to compete against other social solidarities based on culture, religion, profession and ethnicity which have not so much benefited women more.

However, it is worth to mention that the experience of women political solidarity is not entirely strange to women following the fact that the year 1946 experienced a major spurt in Nigerian political development through the emergence of a women political party, the party was named "Women Political Party". The development of women political party was borne out of the frustration that laid in women's inability to make a head way in the Nigerian Youth Movement, which was the only political party in Nigeria at that time. The women political party was never organized as an active political party seeking to obtain representation in government. It can be argued that it was due to lack of political platform that led to the poor trend of women in governance till-date. Being at the mercy of men, all Nigerian women were not enfranchised till 1979 as women in the southern parts of Nigeria got their political franchise in 1959 the Northern women were disenfranchised until 1979. This was the reason why we have the first female senator Mrs Wuraola Esan out of the 36 senators coming from the South-west and in 1961 women like Mrs. Margret Ekpo and Mrs. Molekwu from the South-west (Sylvia Tamale 1996). With affinity and gender solidarity woman will cooperate with one another because there will be no other option left for them. With it too, they will flag as many credible and qualified women candidates as possible in politics.

Finally, gender affinity policy in Nigerian has both political and socio- economic benefits. The development of this policy will eliminate political inequality, discrimination, intolerance, women oppression, domination, and uneven development between the sexes, and states in Nigeria as well as the fact that feminization of poverty will be a word in history. It will also ensure and enforce constitutional democratic rights of all individuals. There will be equality and there will be harmony. With gender solidarity principle strategy, there will not only be harmony but men and women will be

able to complement one another in Nigeria and oppression of women in any form or shape can only be referred to as situation of the past in Nigeria. Let us try gender affinity as we reassess and re-strategize for women political empowerment and the elimination of women marginalization in Nigeria and Africa. It will work .Some of the salient factors discovered in the course of this work include that women need to do more than they are already doing , harness their number, fight as one and support themselves in politics and governance.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 SUMMARY: In the April 2011 election in Nigeria out of the 100% of the candidates that stood for election only 9% were women. On political appointive positions especially at the ministerial level (i.e the Federal Government level), women occupy 32% against the 35% affirmative action initiative of the United Nations on women empowerment at the Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing China in 1995. Given that the Federal Government has ceded to women, 32% of the appointive positions at the state and the local government levels are women; Women are their own achieved almost nothing meaning that the 9% figure is very negligible because women got almost nothing as a group on elective positions. Overall, women presently occupy less than 15% of all elective and leadership positions in Nigeria. Though, this can be considered to be an improvement from the past yet very far from the 35% representation required by United Nations and women advocates.

However, beyond political positions the issue of gender equity and national development cannot be over emphasized. It was proven here in this work that women empowerment is most urgent for national development. Women empowerment has political, economic and social dimension. There is need for the economic empowerment of women, because when women are empowered and money is in the hands of women, will automatically reflect in the life style of the nation starting from the family level. With money in the hands of women, the livelihoods of Nigerian families will definitely improve. The various families will experience better nutrition and better living standard and this would trickle down to the nation at large.

It was revealed in this survey that beyond political appointment there is need for women to be educated. To them education is key to empowerment and with education women will be better equipped to gain better employment. The Federal Government efforts to achieve good representation for women in politics are however not complemented by the state and local government levels. This has dare consequences on the overall development of the nation and empowerment of women in Nigeria at all levels. The Federal Government has increased the number of women on ministerial offices and has negated the representation of women in other federal government institutions which is equally needed if the government of Nigeria has to achieve the

empowerment of women and also the 35% -women representation at levels of governance and leadership.

It is worthy to emphasize here that women do not however contest for elections to represent women alone but to also represent the nation, project the pride of the nation and to help in engendering sustainable development. Women negligible representation in election and politics is not because women are voting men against women but as a result of political parties' elimination of women. Some scholars and feminists believe that it is the political parties that determine who represents them in election, so it is the political parties that marginalize women in politics. This school of thought argued that in the case of women, political parties deny women representation by not making women their flag bearers. To this effect women are eliminated from the party level early in the competition. This infers that political marginalization of women has a strong root at the party structures because the parties have refused to honour and implement the affirmative action for women at the political parties.

Again emphasis on affirmative action should be underrated. However, for the purpose of clarity, affirmative action refers to policies that take factors including race, colour, religion, origin, sexual orientation or national origin into consideration in order to benefit an underrepresented group in areas of employment, education and business. Affirmative action is usually justified as countering the effects of history of discrimination. Affirmative action was first used in the United States of America. In America it first appeared in Executive Order 10925, which was signed by President John F. Kennedy on 6th of March 1961, and was used to refer to measures to achieve non-discrimination. In 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson required federal contractors to take affirmative action without regard to race religion, and national origin. In 1968, gender was added to the anti discrimination list. Matching procedures in other countries are also known as *reservation* in India, *positive discrimination* in the United Kingdom and *equity* in Canada. The purpose of affirmative action was to promote equal opportunity. It is often instituted in government and educational settings to ensure that minority groups within a society are included in programmes justification for affirmative action is that it helps to compensate for past discrimination, persecution or exploitations by ruling class of a culture and to address existing discrimination. If women are to be empowered, the effort of the government on affirmative action calls for urgent action on the part of the government in all arms of government and other areas of leadership.

6.2 CONCLUSION: Women organizations, non-governmental, organizations trade unions, social partners, producers; industrial and professional organizations should build and strengthen solidarity among women through information, education and sensitization activities. Advocates at all levels should enable women to influence governance, economic and social decisions, processes and systems. These bodies could also work towards seeking accountability from elected representatives on their commitment to gender concerns. They could establish consistent data protection and legislation database on women and their qualifications for use in appointing women to senior decision – making and advisory positions for dissemination to government, regional and international organizations and private enterprises. Political parties and other relevant bodies also need to comply with gender equity and equality standards, and expectations as it is stated in the Beijing declaration and platform for action.

The findings of this work showed that women are not showing enough interest in politics and governance issue, and therefore need to do more as was indicated by 57.9% of respondents. This finding shows women's lack of interest stressing therefore that women should not wait for the men to throw governance to them on a platter of gold while sitting at the comfort of their homes. Secondly, the work showed that 64.5% of the people argue that women are marginalized because there is lack of commitment generally among women towards anti-marginalization practices and low level participation in politics were confirmed by 60.2% and 70.6% of the respondents, respectively. To this end there is need for women, feminists, women empowerment agencies and other stakeholders to promote unity and cooperation among women. Women as matter of urgency should pursue vigorously equality, affirmative action and practices, in leadership and governance in all spheres of life. Women need to get interested and participate more in election and election engineering and other political processes. The weight of investigation in this work has also revealed that without the application of gender affinity principles, promotion of unity and affirmative action /practices among women, it will be difficult for women to achieve gender equality in Nigerian politics and governance. This therefore means that women should not wait for men to give them power but to work and cooperate with men to achieve equity and equality in governance and leadership because government and men will not be willing to cede power to women on a platter of gold.

Like the Aba women of 1929 and 1958 Bamenda province women in the Northern Region of the British – colonial Cameroons, (Present day Cameroun) women need to eschew disunity, hatred and lack of cooperation among them and take the bull by the horns. In the above mentioned cases the women in unity fought their battles as one and they got results and policies were changed in their favour. For the Aba women the imposition of tax levy was lifted by the British colonial masters while the Kom women who are matrilineal agriculturists with a long tradition of collective disciplinary action against women offenders collectively fought for their place in society and politics and they got it (Sylvia Tamale 1995).

This work also found that 65.5% of respondents stressed that women are even being marginalized for the sake of being women. This is because women believe that they are not capable of anything without a man. In this situation, when they have female children, the female children are trained to be dependent on their husbands from the childhood. The female children from home are given less attention than the boys by both parents especially the mothers. Consequently, with such upbringing /socialization and attitude they would grow up with dysfunctional personality and low self esteem. Men and the society will then perceive women as inconsequential and non- assertive people. Like a vicious circles, when she becomes an adult (woman) she transfers the same treatment to her own female children also.

The failure of women to give their female children adequate training from childhood is like an orbit, it goes on and on like that, passed from one generation of women to another. This is the reason this failure is also being blamed on the women because it is the women's fault. Scholars argue that women could resist poor and inadequate education and training of their daughters from childhood. In this regards attitudinal changed and re-socialization which is unlearning what has already been learnt is needed on the part of adult women especially those within child bearing and rearing age. This step is important for the women so that they can start the training of their female children as independent individuals from childhood to adulthood.

Political participation of women has been seen to be a very cogent fact in women marginalization. It was also discovered as shown in the previous chapters of this work through research that women do not also support themselves in politics. This factor is another constraint that was discovered to be a very high contributing factor in marginalization of the women who claim that they are being marginalized. This problem

also goes with women hatred for women. This particular factor constitutes the opinion of about 80% of respondents on women marginalization. To ameliorate the poor conditions of women in governance, there is a need to increase the political participation of women through the development of social cleavages that are based on gender or that based solely on political party identifications and ideology as already discussed in the previous chapter. It has been established that women occupy less than 14% of the overall management positions, despite the appointment of women to the positions of permanent secretaries from the year 2000 and in line with affirmative action initiatives. This indeed is not a commendable achievement for women in Nigeria. Going by these revelations, it therefore means that to lessen the burden of women is for women to establish strong affinity among themselves by taking the bull by the horns and fight their own battle without expecting that men would do the fight for them.

Affinity with themselves will enable women to elect their own into power come 2015 and beyond. Social solidarities are known to be very strong affinities. For example, there is solidarity that is based on culture which in principle is what ethnic nationalities represent. There are also others that are based on class consciousness, on profession and religion etc. In order to tap the potentials of women for political and economic empowerment, there is need for a developed political platform for the women in the form of gender solidarity through which they can form political parties and associations.

Gender affinity/solidarity as mentioned above can be developed to compete with solidarity which is based on culture and religion and even politics. There is no solidarity that is given by nature except gender solidarity though not yet politically developed in political systems of the world. Nigerians can take the lead as giant of Africa and as one of the most populated nations of the world. Categorically, if developed, gender solidarity in politics and governance can be said to be the only solidarity given by nature out of all the cleavages that exist in the world. The universe is made up of only male and female species except in rare occasions can one find hermaphrodites, even the hermaphrodites identify with either male or female gender on the long run.

Today, some social cleavages have already turned into political parties. An example is the Labour Party in Nigeria, where Nigerian workers exercise their political right by identifying with one another. In the same manner, gender solidarity could be harnessed to form a germane political party. In this instance women who claim to be

politically marginalized can also come under one umbrella and form women's party and present as many candidates as possible for election and participate adequately in 2014-2015 elections. In other words, if the cleavage patterns of the societies can be multiplied by the women by deliberately encouraging the development of other principles of social solidarity like that which is based on gender, the implication is that with gender solidarity, the fundamentals of any political cleavage that is based on political party ideological system which in principle does not recognize gender principles and affinity but does in practice will be reduced. Unlike political party affiliations which bound people from all works of life, religion, cultural beliefs and professionalism that have the same political interests irrespective of their gender, gender solidarity will bind people based on their sex.

Furthermore, solidarity based on occupation and profession such as trade union organizations brings together people who differ in religion and language. Workers solidarity cut across ethnic divides, Igbo, Hausa or cultural solidarity, the same for gender solidarity. It cuts across Moslem or Christian solidarity, profession or culture. If people who differ in culture e.g. language, religion are united on the basis of political party principles irrespective of their gender, class, or professions, then that which is based on gender will bind people more than the strength of all the cleavages put together (Fred Onyeoziri 2002). Again, the rigor and desperation with which people pursue political power that leads to thuggery, bloodshed, and monetization will be curbed and women political marginalization and under representation will be reduced or checked. If people who differ in culture e.g. language, religion are united on gender, class or profession, the vehemence and intensity with which they would pursue cultural differences, loyalty and affinity against national interest and patriotism will be reduced to the barest minimum.

To achieve gender mainstreaming in governance in Nigeria, it is the responsibility of the women to develop strong gender affinity principle among themselves. The principle of gender affinity has the capability of cutting across the solidarities that are cultural, religious and language base solidarities. This affinity principle would today large extent, if adopted, it will bring all women together no matter their cultural attachments, religion, language such as Hausa, Igbo, Tiv, Ijaw, Islam or Christianity. In this regard all women will support and cast their votes to a qualified female candidate irrespective of her tribe. Gender affinity will take the specter of football

in Nigeria. We all know that Nigerians are great football fans and they will support any team that will win the World Cup, Olympics, or African Cup of Nations for them even if that team is an all Hausa, all Igbo or all Yoruba team (Onyeoziri up.cit). Gender solidarity will have that same effect and impact on Nigerian politics and governance.

During the time of any international football match is played, the interest of Nigerians in soccer and winning cuts across any cultural divide such as religion and language, and makes them blind or indifferent to nationality or religious type divisions. The idea of women affinity principle and political cleavage is that it has the same goal /aim of uniting women and solving their political marginalization as a winning national football team. This will enable them to harness their numbers and also achieve gender political mainstreaming. In the manner that foot matches unite the whole nation, gender affinity, during election, should be able to unite women all over, Nigeria so as to vote for women whom they know will improve their lot in politics and also build sustainable development in governance in Nigeria. With it Nigerians would have the opportunity to vote for women of steel and integrity. (Amaka Emordi 2010).

Furthermore, according to Former World Bank Managing Director and the Coordinating Minister of the Nigerian Economy, Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala one of the women of steel in Nigeria, she believes that investing in women is smart but investing in girls is smarter economics. According to her, empowering girls and women is not a threat to men or the economy of the nation but one of the smartest social and economic decisions that a nation can make. This is the reason why the World Bank gender report argues that empowering girls and women is a resource that adds to a nation's GDP growth. She said, "We talk about natural resources and a source of growth, what this report is telling us is that girls and women are sources of growth for the economy. So it's actually a matter of vital economic growth of this country that we focus on girls and women." Irrespective of having a population of about 70.2 million women in this country which has become a song to hearing of men, it has, however, yielded little or no result. Women have got to find a better way of telling the nation that their number strength is insignificant if country does not see its girls and women as growth and development opportunity for the economy. (Sunday Williams 2012).

Contending still, she explained that any serious discussion about Nigeria's future must entail discussion about girls and women on the role they play and the barriers they face in making the future a good one for the country. Women have made progress in the

country but the fact still remains that they still lag behind in gender equality which directly affects economic growth, poverty reduction and welfare of the next generation have direct effect on economic growth, poverty reduction and the welfare of the next generation." The next generation is the reason why women need to harness their strength of number and take adequate place in governance so as to bring about sustainable development in the country (Gender Policy Dialogue / World Bank Nigeria and the Department for International Development DFID).

Education: most cases women and girls alike lack self confidence, they are timid and submissive, and seem to have unquestionably accepted the role which the traditional Nigerian society has carved out for them. These attitudes have significant negative consequences on sustainable political development and governance of the country and women political mainstreaming. Education is part of human right and also an essential tool for achieving the goals of equality, development and peace in the society. Non-discriminatory education benefits both girls and boys and thus ultimately contributes to sustainable development and empowerment. To this end, education is a necessary tool for the women to achieve equality in governance, leadership positions and politics. If women are to become agents of change then literacy and knowledge are veritable gold mine for women to achieve that. Education is also key to improving health, nutrition and education in the family level and to empowering women to participate in decision making in the society. Investing in formal and non-formal education and training for girls and women with its exceptionally high social and economic return has proved to be the best means of achieving sustainable development and robust economic growth that can be sustainable (Osakue (eds) 1992).

However, irrespective of the fact that the education of women and girls is germane to national economic development, discrimination in girl's access to education still persists in many areas owing to customary attitudes, early marriage and pregnancies, inadequate and poor health challenges, as well as accessible schooling facilities. In most Nigerian societies, girls and young women are expected to manage both educational and domestic responsibilities often resulting in poor scholastic performance and early drop out from the educational system. This equally has long lasting consequences for all aspects of a women woman's life and the economic development of the country. The inferior educational status of women is thus a wake-up call for women empowerment agencies to ensure the creation of educational and social environment in which women

and men, girls and boys are treated equally and are encouraged to achieve their full potentials, respecting their freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief. Educational system where instructional resources promote non-stereotype images of women and men in the society would go a long way to improve the lots of women in Nigeria .Education would be effective in the elimination of cause of discrimination against women and inequality between men and women

Government Involvement: **Government** needs to commit herself to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees as well as in public administrative entities, and in the judiciary, including, inter alia, setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action in all governmental and public administration positions. Policies should focus on promotion of intra-gender solidarity and emphasis on affirmative action as a necessary step towards repositioning women politically. Without a deliberate intervention, gender inequity will remain a recurring feature of the Nigerian political landscape. The empowerment of women in governance-equitable access to resources , power and decision making is essential to gender equality and sustainable development .

The attainment of this status demands a paradigm shift in the struggle for women empowerment and gender equality . Consequently, this survey jettisoned individualism for group effort which has the capacity to affect majority of women and the entire nation . Arguing that without applying the group theory strengths as posited by David Truman through gender affinity and oneness among women , it will be difficult for women to achieve gender equality in governance in Nigeria.

Government needs to take measures, including, where appropriate, in electoral system and encourage political parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same level as men, from gender solidarity principle. Government should protect and promote the equal rights of women and men who engage in political activities, freedom of association and membership of trade union. The use of invectives against women in politics and administrative positions should be discouraged and punished if confirmed. Government needs to take positive action to build a critical mass of women leaders, executives and managers in strategic decision-making positions. The long history of women empowerment of

government and feminists in the country is not in tandem with extant status of women with respect to all the social inequality suffered by majority of women in Nigeria. The situation of women is not different in democratic dispensations. This can be referred, as policy disconnect. All efforts through special legislation , state by-laws and gender specific policies at all levels of government and civil society, though note worthy, have failed to deliver dividends of development to women and men equitable.

However, the continued manifestation of the problems highlighted at the sectoral level demand the adoption of a different and more pragmatic approach to the policy framework as compared to that of the national policy on women. In the absence of equal opportunities commission in the country and vibrant legislative structures to protect and advance the rights and course of women, development opportunities continued to elude women. Worst still the existing policy on women failed to challenge the structure, which continued to reproduce gender inequality and over all disempowerment of women. By using a development oriented approach, gender inequality is no longer seen only as right, but also as a cost to the development process

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS: All over the world increasing attention is being paid to women empowerment and the need to narrow and eliminate gender disparity so as to ensure more balanced gender participation and representation at all levels of engagement in the private and government sectors. The Human Development and Capabilities Approach, the Millennium Development Goals and other credible approaches had confirmed that women empowerment was “a necessary step if a country is to overcome the obstacles associated with poverty and development”.“ With increased women participation in governance, our country can achieve the desired accelerated transformation. On this premise I recommend the following to be used as strategic instrument to bring about gender equality in the country.

- (1)Affirmative Action for Women:
- (2)Elimination of Poverty through Economic Strengthening for Women:
- (3)Education and Training of Women:
- (4)Government Policy In Favour Of Women:
- (5)Unity and Oneness among Women:
- (5)Unity and Oneness among Women:

(1)Affirmative Action for Women: Applying the affirmative action principles is important if the nation is to achieve gender equity and equality at all levels of

governance in Nigeria. The empowerment of women is necessary for development of any nation. Women empowerment is a necessary step if a country is to overcome the obstacles associated with poverty and unsustainable development. With increased women participation in governance, our country can achieve the desired accelerated transformation in development. Affirmative action is needed to foster diversity and also to compensate for the ways women have historically been excluded from governmental institutions. An affirmative action programme will help to prioritize the inclusion of minority groups in the employment, education and government sectors among others (Mayor Iroko 2012). The implementation of affirmative action also known as equal opportunity for women simply pertains to providing special assistance to groups who have been disadvantaged historically.

To achieve equality through affirmative action, the law or policy makers may provide legislation or programme aimed at empowering target groups. In this instance, women will have skills and confidence that will enable them to compete on the same level with everyone else, particularly their male counterparts. The law can provide avenues for employers devising and implementing special training or recruitment programmes to special needs groups such as women, and people living with disabilities or those of foreign language. The law can insure the breaking down of barriers to opportunities which different sections of the society may take for granted. Granting affirmative action to women by the Federal Government of Nigeria through policy will enable women to catch up with lost grounds in employment and politics. This is actually the real essence of affirmative action for women in Nigeria.

(2) Elimination of Poverty through Economic Strengthening for Women: Majority of women live in abject and unacceptable conditions of poverty in most developing countries like Nigeria and particularly in the rural areas and the urban poor. Poverty in Nigeria has various causes including structural ones and it is also complex, multidimensional problem, with origins in both the national and international domains. In the past decade, the number of women living in poverty has increased disproportionately to the number of men, particularly in the developing countries and Nigeria in particular. The feminization of poverty has also recently become a significant problem in the countries with economies in transition as short-term consequences of the process of political economic and social transformation.

Women contribute to the economy and combating poverty through remunerated and unremunerated work at home in the community and workplace. The economic empowerment of women is a critical factor in the eradication of poverty among women. While poverty affects households as a whole because of the gender division of labour and responsibilities for household welfare, women bear a disproportionate burden, attempting to manage household consumption and production under conditions of increasing scarcity. Poverty is particularly acute for women especially in the rural areas. The crunches of poverty do not only hinder women from functioning as optimal human beings but it also restricts them from active participation in politics. It is therefore vital for the government and other stakeholders to sort for a means of empowering women economically by granting women some kind of micro credit for those in small scale businesses, provide skill acquisition centres, provide trainings and social security allowances for housewives, and also engage in aggressive employment for women at all levels.

(3) Education and Training of Women: Education and training of women are important strategies for women empowerment agencies and government. Apart from the fact that education is one of the principles of human rights is also an essential tool for achieving the goals of equality, development and peace. Non-discriminatory education will benefits men and women, boys and girls and thus ultimately contributes to more equal opportunities and employment for both sexes. Educational qualifications are necessary if women are to be empowered in leadership and governance and also if they are to become agents of change. The importance of literacy among women is inestimable and therefore cannot be over-emphasized; it is an important key to improving health, nutrition and education for the family and the nation at large. Investing in formal and non formal education and training for women with its exceptionally high scale and economic return can prove to be of the best means of achieving sustainable development and economic growth that is both sustained and sustainable.

(4) Government Policy In Favour Of Women: A wrong perception of the concept of gender by policy makers, charge with the responsibility of policy articulation and execution continues to challenge the attainment of gender equality and women's empowerment goals. There are still evidences that gender education has not permeated all levels of the populace. The impression that gender issues are exclusively about women still persist. Similarly the impression that gender issues negatively challenges

acceptable norms and values of marriage, family and religion is prevalent. Many stakeholders believe that gender concerns should be addressed only within the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development. To this extent, there is need for government to make policies that will have direct effect on the overall development goals as well as gender justice that reconceptualise gender ideologies especially gender equality not only from the context of legal equality and human or women's rights , but within a broad development context.

There is need for the retooling of policies to fit into the expression of gender equality, gender equity, affirmative action and women political empowerment. The purpose of gender policy is to bring a gender perspective into all aspects of planning policy, developing legislation and transformation activities in Nigeria. This is important because gender policy would address the systematic inequalities between women and men in our society without ignoring the fundamental difference between them. More importantly, the gender policy is most likely to prioritise the empowerment of women as an entry point to achieving equality and seeks balance of power relations between men and women for the optimum benefit of both parties. Gender sensitive legislation would guarantee gender responsiveness in all public and private spheres and strengthen capacities of all stakeholders to deliver their compensated mandate of the gender policy and national gender strategic framework. It would help to develop and apply gender mainstreaming approaches, tools and instruments that are compatible with macro-policy framework of the country at any point in time towards national development. The adoption of gender mainstreaming as a core value and practical cultures in the general polity in Nigeria should be encouraged. This will ensure that the achievement of minimum threshold of representation for women in order to promote equal opportunity in all areas of political , social , economic life of the country for women , as well as for men.

(5)Unity and Oneness among Women: Granted that the government of Nigeria and other stakeholders make efforts to empower women yet the attainment of gender equity in governance requires a significant change in perception, attitude and behaviour of women towards themselves. Women's attitudes itself is a deterrent to their progress. From our findings the respondents (79.8%) indicated that lack of unity and hatred for one another accounted for continued marginalization of women in governance in Nigerian. Lack of commitment generally among women towards anti-marginalization

practices was indicated by 60.2%. Women preference for men in politics was a cause of women marginalization as was indicated 68.4% of the respondents. Women not showing enough interest and low level participation in politics were disclosed by 60.2% and 70.6%. Furthermore, significant relationships existed between unity and oneness among women, women not exploiting opportunities, women waiting for men to give them power and women marginalization in Nigeria. Also the choices that women make in terms of in their careers and life endeavours also help to restrict them in life. For example our literature and archival findings revealed that men and women are similar in natural abilities but women became subordinated by choice as they chose sedentary life while men went abroad in search of means of subsistence. Women also chose not to make themselves available for productive economic activities but rather relied on men for their livelihood. To achieve a quantum leap in women empowerment in governance, I recommend unity and oneness among women. Unity in the form of gender solidarity and sisterhood will go a long way in improving the social status of women and also usher many women into leadership and governance.

Again, a significant proportion of women are ambivalent, indifferent or ignorant of what issues like empowerment and feminism mean. It has been argued by some schools of thought like religion and traditional institutions that a man no matter the status is the head of every family. To this extent, for love, peace and harmony to prevail in every home the woman must acknowledge this as a fact and respect it (Ezekwesili, 1993). In Nigeria antagonists of feminism usually base their opposition on traditional and religious grounds forgetting that even the Bible records that we are joint heirs with Christ Jesus and that God treats male and female equally as his children. They also fail to understand that a feminist is anybody who works or writes on any issue related to the women question or is sympathetic to the women and their oppression in the society.

Feminists are people male, or female, who are interested in the empowerment and improved standard of living for women in every facet of life as well as equity and fairness between males and females in the society. Feminists are not only women who want to usurp the authority and power of men. Feminists aspire towards making sexes dwell in peace and also in harmony and to complement each other. Many enlightened women who are not quite clear about feminism and women liberation are sometimes inconsistent, while they clamour for empowerment; they also prefer subordinate positions because it gives them security. Many of them are also insensitive to the

struggles of the women below them and in fact prefer them to remain at the bottom of the ladder to provide a retinue of sycophants (Adepoju, 1995). With unity and oneness among women this misconception will be cleared as women will get to understand the true meaning of feminism, sisterhood and gender solidarity as they interact more and even better with one another.

6.4 SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER STUDIES

The scope of this study and data collected did not allow us to examine in greater details the following areas: The role of women in the marginal economic status of women in Nigeria. Women's roles in cultural marginalization of women in Nigeria, The effect of patriarchy and women political participation in Nigeria, The effect of patriarchy in gender role perception of women in Nigeria, The role of older women in women marginalization in Nigeria, The constitution and women political marginalization in Nigeria, The family orientation and women personality development in Nigeria, Education and women political empowerment in Nigeria. The effect of childhood socialization and poor representation of women in Nigeria, Women political empowerment and sustainable development in Nigeria.

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