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Women's participation and representation in Nigeria's politics in the last decade (1999-2009)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

'Gender Equality' is a widely discussed issue in the world today. Literatures point out that it has occupied centre stage on the global political agenda in the last 30years (Squires, 2007). The pursuit of this principle is now widely endorsed as a central policy of governments and international organizations around the world. Consequently, in view of these external pressures as well as internal pressures to encourage gender equality, Nigeria over the past few years is making attempts to embrace gender equality in all walks of life especially in politics.

1.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY:

Nigerian women are not yet full participant in the area of politics. Various challenges such as gender roles and stereotypes as well as structure of the political environment in Nigeria militate against the full participation of women in political and public life. As a result women are struggling to gain access, have a presence or be influential in the political process of the country. They are often in a poorer position than their male counterparts in the various spheres of politics. Though a growing number of women are members of the various political parties in Nigeria, very few occupy executive positions in these parties, only very few are given the opportunity to contest for elective positions and even fewer are appointed as members of the ruling cabinet. Recently measures have been put in place as guidelines to encourage women in such areas as politics, however measures alone cannot ensure a positive outcome; the key to success still lie in the incorporation and implementation of these measures.

This research report looks at the level of women participation and participation in Nigerian politics in the last decade, that is from 1999-2009. This era is quite significant in the history of Nigeria because 1999 marked the return of civil rule and democracy after many years of military rule, consequently, 2009 marks a decade of uninterrupted civil rule/democracy in the country. This study therefore explores how women have been affected during this time, how they have fared in politics in this dispensation especially in

areas of decision making. The area of politics that forms that this research will be concentrating on is the political parties. In essence, the research explores the level of women's 'access, presence and influence' in politics today and the role of the political parties in this regard.

According to the 2006 National Census records in Nigeria, the country is said to have a total population of 140million made up of 71.7 million men and 68.3 million women (Census Nigeria, 2006; Fashola, 2009). These figures show that although men are slightly more, the difference is not that significant. As it stands women constitute about 49% of the country's population, which is about half of population thus debunking the myth that women do not have presence in various walks of life as a result of their lack of numerical strength (Badmus, 2006, The Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, June 19, 2009; Fashola, 2009). Also, according to the various respondents in this research, there are a growing number of educated and enlightened women who are beginning to show great interest in political participation; however despite this numerical equality and the increased qualifications, Nigeria is still far behind in the journey to achieving gender equality in the political field. Feminists have argued that discrimination against women manifests itself in the forms of gender, class and personal discrimination (The Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, June, 2009).

In the long history of the country's politics, very few women have held 'important' positions; that is decision making positions either appointed or elected. This, very much affects women's representation and input in the affairs of the state even on issues concerning them. Studies have shown amongst other factors that the level of women's participation and representation in politics may be as a result of their position and the level of opportunity they have within political parties. In the case of Nigeria the general view is that right from the onset of multi-party politics, little attention has been paid to issues regarding women in the area of active or effective participation. The general view is that political parties simply do not encourage proper participation of women; on the contrary, they allegedly pose the greatest challenge to women advancement in politics.

Based on this hypothesis, this research therefore examines the impact of partisan politics on the level of women participation in Nigerian politics in the last decade.

According to the Independent Electoral Commission in Nigeria (INEC), Nigeria has quite a number of political parties (about 50 at the moment), however for this research; the three dominant political parities- People's Democratic Party (PDP), All Nigeria People Party (ANPP) and Action Congress (AC)) were closely examined. This study looked into the position of women in these political parties over the last decade. It also looked at the various challenges the women face in their quest for better inclusion in politics. Most importantly, the study examined the structure and attitude of the political parties in ensuring gender parity; the various mechanisms put in place by the government and their level of implementation by these political parties in the last decade to avert these challenges and include women more in the political field. The research also assessed the adequacy of the strategies in addressing gender issues in politics in Nigeria. In all, the study analyzes what the parties have achieved in the last decade on gender equality in political participation.

Furthermore, the research looks closely at the prescriptions of the two major policies adopted to address gender inequality - the "Policy on Women" adopted by Nigeria in 2000/2001 and National Gender Policy adopted in 2006. The Policy on Women is a policy that prescribes women empowerment and protection from any form of marginalization in all works of life, and it calls for a minimum of 30% representation of women in all aspects of politics- governance, party politics etc; the policy also stresses the need for this representation and participation of women to reflect in areas of decision-making (CEDAW, 2004; Odah, 2007). While the "National Gender Policy" is a policy that was enacted in Nigeria in 2006 to replace the National Policy on Women, the aim or objective of this policy include: to build a just society devoid of discrimination; to harness the full potential of all social groups regardless of sex or circumstances and to promote and protect the fundamental human rights of all citizens (CEDAW, 2008). This study uses these policies as a scale to measure the individual party's level of commitment to gender equality, as well as degree of implementation of measures to address gender

inequality in politics in the country as a whole. Having said that, the major question this research will try to answer would be; **"How has gender equality propositions been perceived and inscribed within the political parties in Nigeria in the past decade and how has this affected women's level of participation in politics?"**

1.2 A BRIEF OUTLINE:

This study comprises of five chapters. This introductory chapter, provides an overview of what the research is all about, the objectives, literature review, research method and also samples arguments on why gender equality in politics is essential. The second chapter examines of the position of women in Nigerian political history which included the pre-colonial, colonial as well as postcolonial times. It creates insight on the various contributions of women in governance overtime. The third chapter focuses on the various challenges women have faced and are still facing in their quest for political prominence. This chapter equally introduces the three major political parties in Nigeria; and using them as case study, this research analyzes the contributions of political parties towards the poor participation and representation of women since independence till date. It highlights their role in representative democracy such as practiced in Nigeria today as well as various avenues they use to hamper women's advancement in politics. Furthermore the fourth chapter looks at the various measures adopted in Nigeria especially in the last 10 yrs to encourage gender equality in the field of politics, the various national as well as international policies amongst other things and how these measures have been implemented. The chapter also analyses the impact these measures have had on women advancement in the country's politics. Finally, the concluding chapter, highlight the researchers observations, experiences, general recommendations on the findings as well as recommendations from various respondents.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

This study is conceptualized out of the larger initiative to highlight the extent of gender inequality that is prevalent in politics today despite the presence of democracy. To this

end, the aim of this research is to find out how this translates in Nigeria's politics and plans being made to ensure gender equality and proper representation of all in politics. Over the years a lot has been said and written about women in politics and their participation. However, most discussions often reflect things like their voting rights and their increasing membership in political institutions. Another area of focus according to Goetz and Hassim (2003) is also on bureaucratic representation/ participation for example dedicated bureaucratic machinery for women –women's ministries or commission etc. As a result, very little emphasis in most cases is placed on the importance of a deeper form of inclusion or effective participation (especially in the developing world). This study therefore highlights this area of women's position in politics, using Nigeria as a case study.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW:

"*Whatever the shortcomings of representative democracy in the world today, one issue that remains only partially resolved is the political participation and the policy impact of one half of the population- Women*" (Goetz and Hassim, 2003; cover pg).

Over the years, there has been increasing research on the position of women in the political arena in various countries in the world. Political researchers and feminists alike have aired their views in this regard. The magnitude of the studies available on this issue alludes to the fact that it is an issue of concern at global, regional, national even local level (Goetz and Hassim, 2003; Luvenduski & Norris, 1993; Philips, 1991; Randall, 1987; SADC gender unit, 1999). According to Randall (1987; ix), studies and debates have analyzed such issues as; 'women involvement in politics; the impact of politics on women; the politics of social position and the politics of feminism'. She denotes that much of these debates and studies generally lie within the boundaries of 'political science, centering on women's political participation' (Randall, 1987). Findings in this regard, however have shown a great deal of under-representation for women and a lack of effective inclusion. The general argument is that despite the fact that women constitute

half of the world population, they are mostly ignored when it comes to decisions that concern them; and that their presence in the political setting is not a fair representation of the percentage of women in the world (Badmus, 2006; Chizea & Njoku, 1991; Odah, 2007; Randall, 1987; SADC gender unit, 1999). Odah (2007) specifically gave a statistical estimate that only 15% of the world's parliamentarians are women. Along this line also, Tremblay (2007:534) argues that as of October 2006, the average percentage of women in lower or single houses of some 189 parliaments was 17%. In other words, women representation according to studies so far is still below the 30% minimum representation proposition in the policies on women. As can be expected this have been classified as highly unfair and a lack of acknowledgement of a fundamental right of women.

Although marginalization denotes debates of women in politics today, it is important to note that it is definitely not because women are new on the scene. On the contrary, various studies have covered the entire history of women's struggle on the political scene. Sapiro (1983) argues that women were not entirely restricted in the area of politics even in pre-suffrage times. She talks about 'the visibility of women from the innovative beginnings of modern political campaign' (Pg 19). Many literatures support this view by analyzing the visible involvement of women in struggles or movements especially in the era of foreign rule or pre- democracy. Ogundipe (1985) argues that though the roles of women in politics in Africa today are negligible, avenues existed traditionally for the political participation of women, for example; female traditional rulers in pre-colonial or colonial Nigeria were not only recognized for their political powers but also for their vicious diplomatic maneuvers. In South Africa also women played a huge role in the ANC during the apartheid regime etc. (Chizea & Njoku, 1991; Ogundipe1985; Badumus, 2006; Hassim 2006).

Today, however, in many parts of the world, the level of women participation in politics and public offices vary. Although the general view is that women are still stifled in their attempt to seek elective and appointive office (Whitaker, 1993:3) it is also important to acknowledge that, in some cases a lot have been achieved in recent times as compared to

what was, where as in other cases, little or no improvements have been recorded. In Europe for example studies have shown that the Scandinavian countries top the list in not just numerical but also effective inclusion of women in politics (IDEA International). According to Freedman (2004), in 1999-2000, France embarked on a radical reform to address the issues of gender parity in politics; the parliament passed a constitutional revision and a set of legislation in other to achieve this goal. In Africa on the other hand, although the continent has produced and adopted many worthy policies and declarations, some of which look radical and visionary; there is little cause to celebrate just yet as the objectives are yet to be realized (Mama, 2008). On the upside, South Africa have is an exception to this rule, Goetz &Hassim(2003); Hassim (2006) analyzed that not only are there a high representation of women in general even surpassing the 30% minimum mark, this representation includes various substantial positions thus showcasing a strong inclination towards true gender parity in politics. Women have also been given opportunities in places like Uganda, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania, Seychelles, even Liberia where the current president is a woman (Ogidefa, 2008; SADC gender unit, 1999). In view of the above, it is important to note that some of these opportunities does not mean opportunity in decision making position, a level of marginalization still exit in some cases, for example Uganda (Goetz & Hassim, 2003).

On the down side, many African countries are still struggling to encourage women's representation in politics, for example, according to the 1999 SADC gender report, Swaziland is at 7.3%, Mauritius at 7.6%, Malawi at 8.3% and Botswana at 9% (SADC gender unit 1999: 7). Nigeria has consistently resisted women's demand for affirmative action and has one of Africa's lowest representations of women in politics. After the 1999 election till about the 2003 elections, women's representation was just about 5% (CEDAW, 2008). Despite efforts and transformations around the world, Nigerian government lags behind in translating this transformation in the Nigerian society. The general saying is that 'politics is still very much a man's game' (Badmus, 2006; CEDAW, 2004; Odah,2007; Ogidefa, 2008). These studies argue further that even with the 5% representation; women constitute less in decision making bodies or positions within politics. Based on these manifestations and more, feminists have concluded that

women have been ignored and are still largely ignored in political matters (Bryson, 2003).

In line with the above, a range of factors have been identified as influential to the position of women in the political field. These factors, grouped these factors into Cultural factors, Socio-economic factors as well as Political factors. While these factors underlie the challenges women face, it is important to note that they tend to overlap in influencing women's access to power (Tremblay, 2007). Cultural factors are the beliefs, values and standards that form a society and influence a population's way of being and doing things (Attoe, 2003; Tremblay, 2007; Odah, 2007). According to Tremblay (2007), 'religion and views of gender-based social roles are the primary cultural factors identified as determinant to the proportion of women representation in politics', these beliefs and assigned roles tend to relegate women to the background. In most cases as in the case of Nigeria, these attitudes are so embedded in the society that they are seen as natural events that should be upheld at all cost.

Secondly, socio-economic factors manifest in the level of education of women as well as their economic standing. According to Oxfam (2007), women account for about 70% of the worlds poor, mostly as a result of their literacy level and the cultural demands that tend to curtail their ability to attain good economic standing tin the society. Such practices include, the preference to educate the boy child more that the girl, inability to own property and in recent cases, the glass ceiling in formal employment. These factors affect women's ability to stand side by side their male counter parts in politics in many ways. One of the theories in this regard according to Tremblay (2007) is that this is one of the factors that influence party recruitment of potential candidates. Tremblay also highlights that studies have shown that the proportion of women in parliament is positively affected by factors such as participation in the labor market particularly 'specialized' employment. In Nigeria where politics is riddled with a great deal of corruption, financial resources determines ones level of political participation, a degree of financial commitment is required to establish one membership within the political parties.

Thirdly, political factors; Political factors according to Tremblay (2007), presents itself in two categories, 'right of women and the political regime. Under political right, studies have tried to demonstrate a connection between the length of political citizenship and the proportion of women in politics. On the other hand, political regime is considered important as this constitutes the state structure, structure of parliament, nature of legislative career, the party system and their ideologies, voting system etc (Goetz & Hassim, 2003; Badmus, 2006; Tremblay, 2007). All these impact greatly on the women and their ability to participate effectively in politics.

In democratic governments, such as practiced in Nigeria, Political parties are regarded as the key to ones access into government and as such it is also the key to women's effective participation and advancement in politics. It has been implied that for women to participate better in the political arena, they have to be active members of the political parties (Goetz & Hassim, 2003; Randall, 1987; Badmus, 2006; Chizea & Njoku, 1991), in other words, that parties can either create opportunities or barriers for women (Luvenduski & Norris, 1993). Various studies looked into techniques for selection or elimination of candidates, the structure of the parties- the driving force behind the party, their role and the level of discipline, and the level of transparency in activities and dissemination of information (Luvenduski & Norris, 1993; Odah, 2007; Akinyode-Afolabi &Arogundade, 2003; Attoe, 2002, Goetz & Hassim, 2003). Odah, (2007), analyzed the political parties in Nigeria as an institution run by 'god-fathers' and as such they call the shots, and determine candidates in election which mostly do not favor women. In addition, there is corruption and violence in their activities thus relegating women to the background most times. Although study after study suggest that proportional representation in party politics and electoral system is the key to the improving the position of women (Matland, 1996), the work of Darcy et al (1994) contradicts this. Darcy et al, finds that within the US context, that women are not as discriminated in this regard, the political party structure is very much accommodating for women, yet under representation to an extent still exists. Badmus (2006), on the other hand did not rule out the negative role of political parties, however he insists that the major factor influencing the position of women is first and foremost, their lack of

organization. This thus leaves a puzzle for the real reason of under representation and in a way cast doubt to the view that proportional representation in electoral system automatically leads to better representation of women.

In order to bring about a turn around for women, there is an increasing number of International Organizations, National Women's movements as well as policies in place to fight for a better representation of women in politics. This is evident in the reports of the UN resolution on the 'End of Decade for Women (1976-1985); the Nairobi conference of 1985, the Beijing conference of 1995 etc. Consequently various countries have adopted or adapted the recommendation of these conferences in ways of policy documents for example: the National Policy on Women of 2001 in Nigeria and the National Gender Policy (2006). However despite these efforts, the level of women's participation in politics today across the globe still varies from one country to another. In the case of Nigeria, women are yet to attain their desired representation in politics.

Various literatures have portrayed Nigeria as a male dominant society where patriarchy is the order of day in all works of life and accordingly this is projected on the political parties, their ideologies and the position of women in politics (Odah, 2007; Badmus, 2006; Ogidefa, 2008). Despite all the international and national interventions, the general view is that leadership within the political parties and beyond still projects masculine superiority and feminine subordination (International IDEA).

Nigeria runs a multi-party system, there are over 50 registered political parties and about another 28 awaiting registration (INEC, 2008). However amongst all of them, there are three dominant ones that control the government of today- the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), and Action Congress (AC), which this research will be focusing on. The structure of these parties has sparked a lot of arguments ranging from the fact that they are formed on the ideologies and expertise of past politicians and in most cases ex-military personnel who in many ways still project values of the past government where women are relegated to the background. Furthermore, there are other adverse practices within these parties that tend to hinder the advancement of

women in politics. Olukoya (2007) particularly argued that political practices within these parties has never been on merit, rather it is about those who have what it takes to force their way into office, thus women are not always the first choice.

However, today with the growing democracy the political party structures have claimed to provide avenues for a better inclusion of women in politics, unfortunately the present position of women suggests that affirmative action in favor of women have not yet been given adequate attention, 'very few women emerge to leadership positions and even fewer become party candidates for electoral contest' (Badmus, 2006: Intro). This research therefore explores the level of access, presence and influence of women in Nigerian politics in the last decade.

1.5 WHY DO WE NEED MORE WOMEN IN POLITICS?

As shown above the clamor to encourage women to participate in politics all over the world is not new. Arguments point out that marginalization of women in politics is unfair because politics provides an avenue for women to have an input in laws that govern them, the ways they are applied, and the general affairs of the country. Researches have also looked into the possible gains associated with an increase in the level of women participation in politics and beyond, according to Governor Fashola of Lagos state in a public lecture, "an increase in the participation of women in politics and economics will lead to stronger economies, more responsive civil society, healthier communities and greater world peace and stability" (Fashola, 2009). Several other arguments stress women have the ability to reach and hold onto top positions even longer than their male counterparts, and as such they should have equal opportunity as men to prove their mettle.

In Nigeria, the importance of empowering competent women to participate in politics especially in decision-making positions at all level cannot be over emphasized. Various reasons have been given as to why we need more women, why women should continue to forge ahead despite the many challenges. First and foremost, based on the National

Census report of 2006 which shows that women constitute about 49% of the country's population, one of the respondents argues that 'it is only fair to balance our system of legislation or governance to showcase the view of the majority and to accommodate all irrespective of ones gender (Interview, 2009). She argues further that "how can we govern properly and promote true democracy when a substantial number of the population, and a particular group that cannot be classified as minority are not made part of the decision making process of the country" (Interview, 2009). This implies that women's inclusion in politics as regards decision making is first of all their right, their right in a democratic dispensation, their rights as citizens of the country. Other arguments along this line include the fact that democracy will be ineffective and the objective will not be realized if it does not strive for a fair representation of its citizens as its main objective entails the inclusion of all (Hambrook, 2006). Moreover sound policies cannot be attained from the input of one gender only as this would result to one-sided information, which will inevitably lead to an unfair outcome; but having more women in decision-making positions in politics would bring about balance (Hambrook, 2006).

Having more women participate in politics and in substantive positions would mean creating insight and addressing various issues concerning women, not just women but others often seen and grouped alongside women as minority or vulnerable for example, children, the aged etc. It can help initiate and ensure the implementation of programs and activities that would promote the welfare of women and such groups. Most importantly having more women representatives will enable government have access into what can be considered a rich untapped well of resources which is a very much needed contribution towards development (Dolphyne, 1991). Studies have identified that women's perspective on all issues not just women related issues differ from that of men because they have different life experiences and these experiences bring unique points of view. For example, a respondent from the Action Congress (AC) party argues that "women have more insight on the economic challenges facing working families today, they have first hand information on what the communities are lacking etc; we cannot deny that we need those perspectives in our government and even beyond" (Interview, 2009).

Subsequently, a UNICEF (2006) report supports this claim by stating that gender equality produces double dividends. It argues that legislatures with more women produce better policies to fight issues like poverty, issues relating to children etc (UNICEF, 2006). Again, women are seen as the livewires of various units such as the family, community etc., they are generally regarded as more meticulous in their ways of doing things thus implying that women possess a great potential which can be put to good use in politics and other spheres of political life (Dolphyne, 1991).

Another argument for the inclusion of more women in politics according to my respondents is based on the theory that women will help promote the much needed change in governance. Hambrook (2006) argues that the presence of women stands for change. She notes that women have a marked interest for changes; as such promotion of gender equality in politics will bring about the much needed change, the increased presence of women in politics would definitely showcase a forward movement in the area for a change. Some respondents suggest that the presence of women will bring about some change in the area of corruption, violence amongst other things. The Honorable Commissioner of Women affairs, Mrs Adefulire argues that one of the reasons that women are not given the access into politics is that they are not prepared to play the dirty games often associated with politics. She notes that women stand for and would ensure greater transparency in politics; they would encourage accountability because the evidence from the few women that have had the opportunity to be part of government has recorded positive results in these areas (Interview, 2009). Furthermore, Hambrook (2006) notes that to a World Bank report supports this claim by stating that National Parliaments with larger number of women often have the lower rates of corruption. The report categorically states “that numerous behavioral studies have found women to be more trustworthy and public-spirited than men”. These results in their opinion suggest that women should be particularly effective in promoting honest government, thus consistent with their argument that the greater representation of women in parliament will inevitably lower the level of corruption (World Bank, 1999).

Mrs Akeredolu-ale, a political analyst and journalist sums the argument for increasing the level of access, presence and influence of women in politics by pointing out the fact that, years of male dominance in Nigerian Politics has brought about little development in governance in the country, perhaps this is as a result of sidelining the other half of the population, so giving them a chance would bring about the much needed improvement. Hambrook (2006) also argues that in an institution, mixed teams are better than single sex groups at solving problems. This therefore implies that in politics, countries that do not fully capitalize on half of their human resources run the risk of undermining their competitive potential. And from all indications, women are the most under-utilized resources and it is about time they are given the true opportunity to showcase their potential.

1.6 RESEARCH METHOD:

This study was undertaken in Nigeria. It basically looks into the position of women in Nigerian politics from 1999-2009 and most especially the role of the political parties in determining the position of women as it stands today. To obtain, sufficient data in this regard, a qualitative research method was employed in the form of In-depth interview. In-depth interview is described as a conversation between an interviewer and an individual. According to Giddens (2006), this research method allows the researcher not only to obtain rich data but also to examine issues in great depth. In this regard, it helped to obtain detailed information from the relevant individuals or respondents.

In as much as this method provides rich data, it is also subject to a high degree of reactivity, in most cases the respondent tells you what he or she thinks you would like to hear, and in some cases some might feel uncomfortable answering the questions. As a result an additional method was used to supplement the shortfalls of the above method. Therefore in addition to the in-depth interview, document research was also used to verify various findings and ensure validity. This method was crucial to this research according to Maxwell (1998:65), 'documents are non-reactive' which means there are no

influences from the researcher as well as the respondents. In all, documents consists of tools to formulate, justify information and also make comparisons (Skocpol, 1979).

The respondents for this research were mainly authorities in the political field in Nigeria, men and women, party members, party officials representing the three parties as well as the Commissioner for Women Affairs, Lagos State who is also representing one of the political parties. Others include, individuals with a rich knowledge in the field of politics, political analysts for example- journalists, political scientists, as well as individuals that are vocal in this regard but are not active in politics- especially women. In addition to the various interviews, the documents reviewed included Nigerian Newspapers, Party documents, Policy reports, Party manifestoes from party official websites, copy of the Lagos State governors address on 'gender equality', Electoral Reform Committee Report, Vol. 1 (2008).

This research also conformed to ethical standards, by seeking the respondents' permission before conducting interviews. The interview was also conducted at a time and venue convenient for the respondents. In some cases, the respondents were assured confidentiality and real identities were not used and in cases were respondents declined the use of tape recorder, notes were taken at the end of the interview.

Concluding Remarks:

This research is a contribution towards creating awareness on the issue of women's participation in Nigerian politics. It is a contribution to the pool of debates that already exist within and outside Nigeria on this topic. This chapter provides an overview on what the study would entail and how the data would be gathered. Although this research can bring about a fresh perspective on the position of women in the Nigerian political scene, however it is important to note that this is a qualitative research and the findings cannot be generalized due to the limited number of people interviewed. Furthermore some of the challenges encountered included the fact that because the topic is a political subject, in some cases it was difficult to gain the trust of respondents as some thought the research might bring about bad publicity for their party and findings might end up in the papers. In

other cases especially with the women some details might have been exaggerated. Secondly, politicians were the main respondents and it was very difficult getting hold of them and the protocols involved in getting an appointment with them was cumbersome, expensive and time consuming. Finally, in most cases documents were difficult to get hold of, especially policy documents, so I relied mostly on secondary documents such as the Newspapers or on the help of insiders, like journalists or friends that work alongside these politicians and party officials.

Despite the above challenges, a lot of data were gathered and subsequent chapters will provide details and shed more light on the findings. The next chapter takes us to the very beginning by showcasing the political history of Nigeria and the position of women.