PATRIACHY AND THE EMERGENT GENDER EQUALITY IN GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

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Abstract
In Nigeria like most African Countries, the female gender have been relegated and marginalized. This has caused the misrepresentation of the women's right in all segments of society. The Nigerian society is patriarchal in nature. Promoting gender equality has become a global issue which is critical to the sustainance of national development. The emergence of gender equality can be seen as a catalyst for the attainment of sustainable development in Nigeria. The paper is an assessment of the emergence of gender equality and the empowerment of women in political decision making and governance in the Nigerian State. The paper argued that democracy should allow diversity of opinion and participation by different groups in governance. Women constitute a large proportion of Nigeria's population and their contribution to decision making within the frame work of governance is very important. The paper proposes the elimination of all forms of discriminatory actions and gender inequality in Nigeria.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Gender Equality, Nigeria.

Introduction

Several efforts have been made at different levels to break the barrier of gender inequality. The persistence of gender inequality in Nigeria is attributable to a number of factors which include religion and cultural prejudice against women. About half of the Nigerian population is made up of the female gender. Their contribution to the social and economical development of the Nigerian State is enormous when compared to the men. This is as a result of their crucial rule in both the productive and reproductive sphere of life. However, the participation of women in both formal and informal processes where decisions on the utilization of generated resources are made remains insignificant. The Patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society is a major factor for the existence of gender inequality in the Nigerian Society (Aina, 1998).

The patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society sets conditions for women's structural inequality in the family and the community in which we all exist. Traditions, cultures and religions have defined men and women relationship and entrenched male domination into societal structure and institutions. Patriarchy as a system justifies gender inequality in education, economy, the labour market, politics, family domestic matters and inheritance.

The culture of patriarchy is a major determinant of male domination. Thus in traditional society men are trained for leadership positions in society while women are trained for domestic roles which are ascribed to them by culture and tradition. However, inspite of commitments by different groups to gender equality in governance, reinforced by the Convention of Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform of Action, women are still marginalized in governance (UNDP report, 2005).

Evidently, the African Continent and the Nigerian State has witnessed a rapid increase in female participation in governance when compared to the situation in the pre-independence and early post independence era. Participation of women in governance and decision making has recently been at the centre of global discourse and agenda. Huge achievement has been recorded in the advancement of gender equality. Several

programmes and projects have evolved to increase and advance gender equality and the participation of women in governance.

The development of women's participation in governance have been a function of a number of factors which include, education, economic empowerment of women, increase in political education of women, etc. Despite the increase in political participation and increase role of women in governance in Nigeria and globally, there is still an existing gap to be filled in gender inequality.

The relegation of women to the background in the area of political participation and governance in the Nigerian State can be traced to the pre First Republic that is 1960 – 1966. During the First Republic only four women had political appointment. The situation continued in the Second Republic (1979 – 1984), there was only one senator out of the 571 Senators in the Upper Chambers of the National Assembly. There were 11 female members of the House of Representatives. Evidently, there was no female representative in the State Houses of Assembly during the Second Republic (Agina-Ude, 2003; Oteru, 1999).

The paper is an assessment of the emergence of gender equality and governance in the Nigerian State.

II. Conceptual Clarification / Theoretical frame work

Patriarchy

The word "Patriarchy" has been recreated in the past two decades to analyze the origins and conditions of men's oppression of women (Kamarea, 1992). Okpe (2005) sees patriarchy as a broad network or system of hierarchical organization that cuts across political, economic , social, religion, cultural, industrial and financial spheres under which the over whelming number of upper positions in society are occupied or controlled and dominated by men.

Patriarchy can also been seen in the light of a social relation with a demarcation between men and women which enables the men to dominate women. The domination gives the male gender an overriding dominance over the female gender.

The control is maintained by excluding women from access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting women's sexuality. Men exercise their control in receiving personal service work from women, not having to do house hold chores or bear and rear children, having sexual satisfaction from women and in felling power and being power. The crucial elements of patriarchy are heterosexual marriage, female child rearing and house work, women's economy dependence on men reinforced by arrangement in the Labour Market, the State, the numerous institutions based on social relations among men-club, sports, union, professions, universities, churches, corporations and armies (Hartman, 1997).

A patriarchal system has the following characteristics, male dominance, male identification, male centeredness and obsession with control.

Gender

Gender can be described as a social and cultural construction of roles for men and women. Gender roles which see men as owners of property/ decision makers and heads of households are socially, historically and culturally constructed and defined. Gender can be described based on biological differences between male and female. It can also be differentiated on the basis of defined social roles in society.

Gender roles differ from one culture to another and it is also dynamic, i.e. it is subject to change depending on the circumstance. Gender can be described as a range of features which applies to and differentiates between male and female gender.

Governance

This can be described as "all processes of governing, whether undertaken by a government, market or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or informal organization or territory and whether through laws, norms power or language" (Bevir, 2013). Governance also relates to the processes of interaction and decision making among the actors involved in a collective problem that lead to the creation, reinforcement or reproduction of social norms and institutions (Huffy, 2011).

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This paper will rely on the materialist approach in explaining the exploitation and oppression of women in governance.

A number of views have emerged and expressed concerning the exploitation and oppression of women. The materialist viewpoint as expressed by Christine Delphy. She argued that materialist is the only theory that sees oppression as a reality of women's lives. She posits that, this is why women needs materialism to investigate the situation they find themselves and sees oppression as a materialist concept. Furthermore she sees domestic mode of production as the site of patriarchal exploitation and the basis for women oppression (Delphy, 1980).

The materialist approach notes the oppression of women as a systematic structure which is entrenched into society. They see women subordination as having a material base and a consequence of the capitalist system. This is noticed more in a class society that is fashioned in a patriarchal system. The opinion of the materialist is categorized into two premises. The first one sees women as being socialized into low paying jobs, The second one is that women in addition to any paid job, they also gent engaged in some domestic job which are unpaid for. This is not also compiled in the calculation of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Countries. Domestic labour is a necessity for capitalism (Dalla & James, 1972). Critics of this approach sees it as being rooted in Marxism particularly the orthodox group they see it as laying too much emphasis on material factors and class analysis (Delphy & Leonard, 1992).

Gender Equality and Governance in Nigeria

From the pre-colonial to post-colonial era in Nigeria, women have been denied parity with men in the issue of governance (Aina and Ukeje, 1998; Aina and Olayode, 2012). Political participation and governance remained male – centered.

The marginalization of women in governance continued though the First Republic that is, between 1960 – 1966 when only four women were in active governance. In the second republic (1979 – 1984), Nigeria had only one senator out of 571 senators and 11 women in the Federal House of representative out of 445 representatives. In the 19 states of the Federation there was no woman in the State Houses of Assembly. The picture was the same at the local level of governance (Agina-Ude, 2003; Oleni, 1999). The picture has not changed in the third and fourth republic where women have been grossly under presented.

Halkin (1976), opined that African women lost both political and economic status under the colonial administration. The Colonial Administrators failed to assigned political roles to African women. This is what led to the Aba riot in 1929 against colonial rule. These was lack of moral support for women's participation in governance by the colonial administration in Nigeria. This was encouraged by the presence of cultural and traditional values in existence.

However, post – colonial political development has witnessed laudable effort aimed at eliminating gender discrimination geared toward the achievement of gender equality in the political history of Nigerian State. Table 1 below captures the political participation of both men and women in the Nigeria political terrain.

Table 1: Elective Offices Occupied by Women from 1999-2011 (Fourth Republic)

Year	1999				2003				2007				2011			
Effective Offices	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%
Governor	36	100	0	0	36	100	0	0	36	100	0	0	36	100	0	0
Senate	106	97.2	3	2.8	105	96.3	4	3.7	100	91.7	9	8.3	101	92.7	8	7.3
House of representatives	347	96.4	13	3.6	339	94.2	21	5.8	328	91.1	32	8.9	336	93.2	24	6.7
Speakers of State Houses of Assembly	36	100	0	0	36	100	0	0	36	100	0	0	35	97.2	1	2.8
Total	525	97.043	16	2.96	516	95.379	25	4.62	500	92.421	41	7.58	508	93.90	33	6.10

Source: INEC, 2007/2011; UNICEF (Nigeria), 2011

Table 1 shows the trend of women political participation between 1999 and 2011. Between 1999 and 2011 women in Nigeria have occupy some selective positions which they contested and were voted for. In the period under review no woman was elected as governor of a state as men have dominated the seat of governor for the period. Elective offices occupied by women in the position of Senate shows women won 2.8% of the total senatorial seat in 1999, 3.7% in 2003, 8.3% in 2007 and a drop to 7.3% in 2011. In the house of representative, elective offices occupied by women shows that the total seat occupied in 1999 is 3.6%, 2003 is 5.8%, 2007 is 8.9% while there was a drop in 2011 to 6.7%. The position of the speaker of the House of Assembly in each of the 36 states shows that men dominated the speaker position and not until 2011 when a woman (2.8%) won it.

In all, the general elective offices occupied by women between 1999-2011 have been far less than the 30% given to women in to occupy elective position. Total seats occupied by women after the general elections in 1999 were 2.96%, 2003 was 4.62%, 2007 was 7.58 while in 2011 was 6.10%.

In summary, there is still more work to be done to raise political participation awareness amongst women. Apart from the quota system, women should be given political leverage to occupy political office and allow to contest under a platform that does not contest with men.

Factor Affecting Women's Participation In Governance In Nigeria

Participation in self governance is said to be the key ingredient of every system most especially the political system. Political participation or participation in governance over the years have been influenced by several intended and unintended factors like age, sex, financial status, level of education, political and economic experience, psychological, geopolitical zoning, primordial factors (such as religion, ethnicity) and the nature of government (Anifowose, 2004).

In Nigeria, and in terms of women's participation in governance, these factors occasionally affects their participation and there are few occasions where women participate in political activity, especially during elections, few contest for political position and very few vote (Carrillo, 2009).

Empirical studies have shown that there are several factors affecting women's participation in political governance in Nigeria and among these factors, three critical one's will be extensively discussed for the purpose of this study.

1. Male Dominated Political Parties: This factor has been a major contending factor against women participation in politics in Nigeria. Although, women comprise the majority of the population of Nigeria; they are nevertheless, often treated like minority group assigned a definitive place in the social order, denied access to carrier and submissive by nature (Jacobson, 1994). Women disregard to participate in politics actually took effect from the family where the family institution is built on Patriarchal system (Tripp, 1999). The concept of Patriarchy explains gender inequality meaning "the father rules the house". Ina broad sense, society is ruled and dominated by men over women and this sense of dominance is inherent in most African traditional culture and families which give men a higher social status over the female. This scenario has long crept into public life especially in the economic and political status assignment and has reflected in state activities

(Tripp, 1999). Men are socialized in a different role expectation and responsibilities assumption than the women. Due to the influence of Patriarchy, men continue to be in authority of the state of affairs, even in political parties where candidates for elective positions are determined, to make decisions and these decisions are all binding on the women.

The political parties dominated by men have been largely andocentric making it difficult for women to achieve their full potential in politics difficult for women to fully take full part in politics. Man dominance has also reinforce women fear in political activities due to the fear of rejection despite their strength in terms of number and the prevalence of political violence.

2. Cultural / Religious factor as hindrance: The cultural practices in Nigeria societies is based on subjugation of women to be subservient to men while undermining their self-esteem. This has entrenched a feeling of inferiority in women placing them at a disadvantage position while the men in a privileged socio-economic position. These cultural and religious factors hinder women to socially accept the normative and stereotypic roles making them overlapping the weakness of the female sex (Jacobson, 1994). Religion is one of the instrument keeping women in continuous servitude, domination and underrepresentation in decision making (Kira, 2003). Religion inclinations in Nigeria are Sexist and Patriarchal in structure and character, as they continuously seek to suppress women in all ramifications. Even cultural practice will not allow a woman who is married to participate in politics because conception about politics is thought to be a dirty game and meant exclusively for men.

3. Financial Constraints on Women: The history of women's discrimination puts them at a disadvantage economic position of a total reliance on their husbands. Women find it difficult to involve in politics even when the opportunity is given to them because they lack financial backings. Political involvement and campaign are too expensive and required solid financial backings for success. Sexual division of labor and job opportunities offered on sex basis has given men productive gender roles, plaque men to possess more purchasing power over their female counterparts (Tripp, 1999). Few Women have the financial backings and economic affluent to bankroll political campaigns. Societal value assumes that political activities are reserve for men and this has makes it difficult for female candidate or aspirants to finance and sponsor their participation in politics. The extent of financial incapacitation of women in politics is reveals on the level of women dependent on the husband for finance (Kellow, 2010). Women political aspiration have been grossly hindered by the lack of financial backings to subsist their endeavor.

Factors Responsible For Emergent Gender Equality In Participation And Governance In Nigeria

A cursory look at the line of history on women participation in governance, women involvement in governance has never been attractive and a welcomed idea due to the patriarchal system of the society. Recently, as societal changes occur resulting from the socio-political and economic factors, the roles and expectation in gender welcomed several innovations and changes. These changes created a clear awareness among women on how they were oppressed and subjugated and the rise of the feminist movement as a factor,

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cumulated as aggressive force encouraging and motivating women in politics and governance.

In Nigeria, for instance, several factors were responsible for the emergent of women participation in politics and governance. These factors are, but not limited to the following:

1. Proliferation of women Group: Through the series of women enlightenment, emancipation and the conscious raising of groups on women's movement, women subordination in politics have been reduced to an extent. Women through movement platforms have played influential roles and spurred more women into politics (Jacobson, 1994). A notable example of such groups is the Forum of Nigerian Women in Politics (FONWIP) with a main objective of promoting women empowerment and the eradication of all forms of discrimination against the female gender.

2. It is influential in its agenda; it requested that government should yield to 30% female representation in government appointments; made several attempts to increase official awareness on gender issues in public policies and conduct of workshops for women who aspire to run for public offices

3. Equal Education and Economic Opportunities: Educational opportunities which has been made available for girls and women has influenced the participation of women in politics and governance in Nigeria. Women are now given the opportunities to acquire the male dominated professional education. The improvement in women's education have increase the number of women participating in political activities and also assuming economic responsibilities. Because education as being a powerful predictor of political participation many educated and enlighten women have now actively become members of political parties and seeks for elective positions. Educational opportunities given to women have increased their voice in politics. Women now speak out on issues that affects them and the general society. The crucial opportunities that the acquisition of education is unlocking for women have also given them access to participate in economic activities. Women now struggle for white collar jobs with men and use the accrued wealth to actively participate in politics (Cole, 2011). Due to the economic and political positions women now have in the society, they have access to non-political associations like charitable organization or religious establishments which now serve as a recruitment ground for political activity for them (Kellow, 2010)

4. Civil Society Activities: The growth in civil society and their activities have also enhanced the participation of women in politics and propelling them to occupy leadership positions. The civil society has been instrumental in the political participation and election of women into elective offices. They have help to champion policies increasing the political space of women's involvement in politics, the encouragement of women to vote and to be voted for and women activism in monitoring election process and support of the candidate of their choice. The civil society's have help women to achieve their current height in politics through advocacy for women's right and against the practices that violate women's rights (Cole, 2011). The activities of civil society organization have build support to accepting women's political participation and involvement.

5. International Agreement/Convention: Series of International agreements and conventions have contributed to encouraging women's

participation in politics, holding political offices and having significant influence in the policies making process. The principle, policies and actions towards ending gender inequality in the political system of Nigeria have been affected by the influence of international organization by both government and non-governmental organizations (Kellow , 2010). The driving force changing the stead of women's participation in politics that was championed by these international organizations have been the internal, international pressures and norms placing demands on the change. International agreements and conventions documents that work against the prohibition of women participation in politics are; the Universal Declaration of Human Right, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW), Equal Remuneration Convention (ERC), Dakar Platform for Action, Beijing Declaration of 1995 among others. These various international agreements have brought to the forefront the matter of gender equality and the right to include women in politics, providing supports for women in the participation in civic education, constitutional legislative reform, and leadership training program for women in politics. Since then, women political participation in Nigeria has received a boost (Kira, 2003).

6. The Quota System: Women participation in politics and aspiring for elective positions I Africa have also be encouraged through the adoption of the quota system for women. Seeing the inability of women to equally context for elective offices with men due to financial, cultural, traditional and political constrains, women as a form of advocacy clamour for their share and space in the elective positions (Kellow, 2010). Women are now given a constitutional quota to participate in election and politics. The implementation of the Beijing declaration of 1995 gave women the law to a have quota in politics. In Nigeria, the law provides for a maximum of 60% and a minimum of 30 % representation for both male and female and that 30% of the political seats be reserve for women. Between 1999 -2007, there has been about 78% progress in women political participation in Africa both at the local, State and Federal levels (Anifowose, 2004).

Elective offices and political participation of women in Nigeria has not showed a good response using the above discussion as a base line measurement because one would conclude that women in Nigeria have been under represented and have not actively participated in politics and governance.

Conclusion

There is no doubt in the fact that some progress has been made in efforts towards increasing women's involvement in governance in the Nigerian state though insignificant, the forth Republic has shown improvement when compared to the past Republics. This has been due to a number of factors.

However, there is still a lot to be done to bring about the desired change in the equation in terms of gender participation in governance. Gender equality and women's empowerment are major prerequisite of human development. Gender issues will continue to be down played unless conscious efforts are made to put gender issues at the centre of National discourse.

There is the need to improve on the present achievement by the female gender in political participation and governance by putting in place Reforms that will bridge the gap between male and female gender in political participation and

governance. There is the need for conscious efforts to liberate women from gender inequality. There is the urgent need to revolutionize the male dominance which characterizes the present political system in the Nigerian State.

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Appendix A
Data used for the analysis of the multiple regressions

Months of the year	Volume in KG	Malaria	Typhoid	Diarrhoea
January	634	213	421	173
February	771	147	324	214
March	1321	341	243	255
April	1027	452	314	137
May	831	321	432	214
June	1223	276	216	275
July	423	267	321	321
August	745	432	341	175
September	184	232	234	173
October	219	234	231	163
November	673	198	109	138
December	543	149	129	112

Source : Ethiope East LGA and the general hospital Abraka.