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# ABSTRACT

Previous studies mainly discussed problems of women participation in politics in Nigeria without touching on women political empowerment, thus this research was carried out in order to cover the gap. The study examines the relationship between educational attainment, economic empowerment, cultural factors and political empowerment on women participation in politics using Zamfara State as a unit of analysis. Feminist theory was used to test the relationship. Quantitative method was used, questionnaire was adapted from previous studies and 400 questionnaires were distributed to the respondents in two local governments of Zamfara state that is Gusau and Gummi Local Governments, 374were retrieved. The findings shows that there is relationship between women economic empowerment and participation in politics in Zamfara State with .000 significant, the relationship between women educational attainment and participation in politics in Zamfara State was rejected with .436 significant, the relationship between women political empowerment and participation in politics in Zamfara State was also rejected with .151 and the relationship between cultural factor and women participation in politics in Zamfara State was accepted with .000 significant. The paper recommends culture affecting women participation should be eradicated as well as economic empowerment of women.

Keywords: Local government, participation, politics & women

### **INTRODUCTION**

Women participation in politics has received serious attention both locally and internationally, various conferences and convention were organized which aim at promoting women participation. A clear picture of this is convention for elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW). There was also Beijing conference in China which advocates women rights, fundamental freedom and gender equality. However, despite their advocacies, women are underrepresented in decision making especially in third world countries (Kassa, 2015). Though, democracy gives equal political rights to both men and women. In most of the third world states women are denied access to education, politics and employment (Kumar, 2017).

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|-----------------|----------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| Table 1.1       | Regional | participatio | on of wome | n in politics |
|                 |          |              |            |               |

| Region             | Percentage |
|--------------------|------------|
| Nordic countries   | 43%        |
| America            | 30.4%      |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 23.6%      |
| Asia               | 19.5%      |
| Arab States        | 17.8%      |

Source: (Thorton, 2019)

Table 1.1 shows global participation of women in politics such as Nordic countries with 43% participation, America has 30% of Women participation in politics, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Arab States are the lowest in global women participation. The Nordic countries leads the way in female representation, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Arab states lag well below the global average, but it is the Pacific nations which have the worst record.

The first country globally to encourage women participation in politics is Argentina in 1991 since then many countries encourages women participation in politics. Many other countries have adopted different approaches with the same aim, either reserving seats for women (as in China, Pakistan and many Arab nations), or by political parties voluntarily adopting their own quotas (as in much of Europe).In Africa countries such as Rwanda are performing better in area of women participation in politics. In 1990s on average of 18% of parliamentary seats were held by women. The constitution allocated 30% seats to women in 2003. By 2008 women made up more than half of Rwanda's

parliament, and that proportion rose to nearly two thirds in the 2013 election. Over the last 20 years huge steps have been made towards greater female representation. In 1997 women only held more than 30% of seats in Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark and the Netherlands. Now there are 49 countries where that barrier has been broken. But since 2015 progress has stalled – and in some cases gone into reverse.



Figure1.1. Country and percentage of women in congress

#### Source: (Thorton, 2019)

The figure 1.1 shows the country at the top are Rwanda boasts by far the best record for female representation in parliament, with nearly two thirds of its seats currently held by women. There are only two other countries with more women in parliament than men – Cuba (53.2%) and Bolivia (53.1%). Latin American and Caribbean nations also take a further four spots

in the top 10 – Mexico (48.2%), Grenada (46.7%), Nicaragua (45.7%) and Costa Rica (45.6%). The rest of the top 10 is rounded out by two more African nations – Namibia (46.2%) and South Africa (42.7%) – and, perhaps unsurprisingly, Sweden (46.1%), the world's first self proclaimed feminist government.

|               | House of representative |       |       | Senate |          |       |       |     |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------|-------|--------|----------|-------|-------|-----|
| World ranking | Election                | Seats | Women | %      | Election | Seats | Women | %   |
| 181           | 2015                    | 360   | 20    | 5.6    | 2015     | 109   | 7     | 6.5 |
| 125           | 2011                    | 360   | 24    | 6.8    | 2011     | 109   | 7     | 6.4 |
| 117           | 2007                    | 360   | 25    | 7.0    | 2007     | 109   | 9     | 8.3 |
| 107           | 2003                    | 360   | 17    | 4.9    | 2003     | 109   | 3     | 2.8 |
| 104           | 1999                    | 360   | 12    | 3.4    | 1999     | 109   | 3     | 2.8 |

#### Table 1.2. Women in Nigeria parliament

#### Source: Orji (2018)

Table 1.2 shows percentages of women in parliament in Nigeria, in 1999 3.4% for house of representative and 2.8 for senate. In 2015 it increased to 5.6 and 6.5 for house of representative and senate respectively. In twenty first century, Zamfara state women are facing problem of participation in (Uwa, John, Daudu and Oyindamola, 2018) Women are being marginalize due to cultural factor such as religion, low level of interest as well as economic. Though there are many researches on women participation in politics, no research was conducted on political empowerment as a way of encouraging women participation in Zamfara state that is way this paper intends to cover the gap.

# **STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

In Nigeria women participation in politics is weak, the Zamfara situation is even worst due to the following factors:

The literacy levels for women in Zamfara state is very low which affect their participation in politics. Women enrolment in education is poor; this limits women from contesting for some leadership positions where there is a set academic level requirement (Deborah, 2016). According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2010) states that the percentage of women literacy in the North West is 23.2%.

| Geo Pol Zone  | Male | Female |
|---------------|------|--------|
| North Central | 65.1 | 47.3   |
| North East    | 49.8 | 33.4   |
| North West    | 39.7 | 23.2   |
| South East    | 80.7 | 67.5   |
| South South   | 81.1 | 66.7   |
| South West    | 75.5 | 62.6   |
| National      | 65.1 | 50.6   |

#### Table1.3. Male and Female Literacy by zone (%)

# Adapted from National Bureau of Statistics (2010)

The table above shows male and female literacy rate by region in Nigeria, North central has 47.3% women literacy, North East has 33.4% female literacy, North West has 23.2% female literacy, South East has 67.6% which is the highest, follow by South-South with 66.7% and South West with 62.6 respectively.

**Table1.4.** Literacy rate by state (%)

| State   | Literacy rate |        |  |  |
|---------|---------------|--------|--|--|
|         | Male          | Female |  |  |
| Jigawa  | 33.5          | 18.3   |  |  |
| Kaduna  | 61.7          | 44.4   |  |  |
| Kano    | 36.2          | 19.0   |  |  |
| Katsina | 34.5          | 20.1   |  |  |
| Kebbi   | 37.7          | 19.0   |  |  |
| Sokoto  | 29.7          | 14.0   |  |  |
| Zamfara | 33.3          | 18.8   |  |  |

# Adapted from National Bureau of Statistics (2010)

The table above shows the literacy by state in which Zamfara state is included, Kaduna has the highest of female literacy in the North West with 44.4%, followed by Katsina with 20%, Kano and Kebbi with 19.0% respectively, Zamfara has 18.8% of female literacy.

Another factor negating women participation in politics is lack of finance, women in Zamfara are sometimes not able to raise the required funds for nomination fees and money to run an effective campaign. Elections by design need money for one to set up the required structures to manage a campaign create visibility and network with colleagues which are key elements for success of any campaign (Ayevbuomwan, Popuola & Adeoti, 2016).

Other factors include lack of support from family members including the spouse for women intending to participate in elections demotivate some women from standing for positions. In patriarchal societies men still exert lot of influence on their wives and in extreme cases they are refused to contest for elective positions because is perceived as challenging the power of the man in the home. Sometimes their movement is controlled with claims that women might become promiscuous once they are given liberty to move out of the home and in such a situation they cannot effectively participate in decision making bodies (Arowolo & Aluko, 2010).

Negative cultural perceptions and attitudes about women in leadership. In patriarchal societies there is always a belief that public space is not meant for women and that by nature they cannot make good leaders. These perceptions are stronger at the lower levels making it very hard for women to contest and take up leadership at these levels (Asiju & Adagba, 2013).

Finally, lack of political empowerment constitute problem to women participation in politics, the few one that are willing to contest are not giving opportunity by the political party in Zamfara state which affect their participation in politics(Ajayi,2007).

#### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The following research questions will be tested and analyse:

- What is the relationship between women economic empowerment and participation in politics?
- What is the relationship between women educational attainment and participation in politics?
- What is the relationship between cultural factor and women participation in politics?
- Is there relationship between women political empowerment and participation in politics?

#### **OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY**

The following research objective will be tested and analyse:

- To examine the relationship between women economic empowerment and participation in politics in Zamfara State.
- To analyse the relationship between women educational attainment and participation in politics in Zamfara State.
- To examine the relationship between cultural factor and women participation in politics in Zamfara State.

• To describe relationship between women political empowerment and participation in politics in Zamfara State.

#### **RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS**

The following research hypotheses will be tested and analyse:

- There is relationship between women economic empowerment and participation in politics in Zamfara State.
- There is relationship between women educational attainment and participation in politics in Zamfara State.
- There is relationship between cultural factor and women participation in politics in Zamfara State.
- There is relationship between women political empowerment and participation in politics in Zamfara State.



Figure 1. 2. Research Model

Adapted from Emelie (2010)

#### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **Political Participation**

Participation is a development approach, which recognizes the need to involve disadvantage segments of population in the design and implementation of policies concerning their wellbeing. The strengthening of women's participation in all spheres of life has become a major issue in the development discourses and hence, socioeconomic development cannot be fully achieved without the active involvements of women in the decision making level in all society (Parrot, 2017). On the other hand, political participation refers the active involvement and engagement by individuals both women and men in political process that affect their lives. The act of active engagements includes voting, standing for office, joining of political party or to take part the political campaigns of the political parties and to exert influence in the decision making process through public debate, and dialogue with the representatives they elected or through their capacity to organize themselves; or exercise public power by holding public office at different levels of administrations- local, regional, national and international. Therefore, political participation is understood as a prerequisite for political development hence, by improving women's political participation, given that they constitute over a half of the world's population may help to advance political development and improve the quality of women's lives. In fact, without the active participation of women, and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved (Kassa, 2015; Agblajobi,2010).

### **Perceived Socio-Cultural Factors**

In many countries, traditions continue to emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and to restrict them to those roles. A traditional strong, patriarchal value system favors sexually segregated roles, and 'traditional cultural values' militate against the advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process. Societies all over the world are dominated by an ideology of a woman's place. According to this ideology, women should only play the role of working mother, which is generally low-paid and apolitical. In addition, in some countries, men even tell women how to vote. This is the

environment, in which a certain collective image of women in traditional, apolitical roles continues to dominate, which many women face (Bennion, 2018).

Cultural ideas about women can affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process, from an individual woman's decision to enter politics, to party selection of candidates, to the decisions made by voters on Election Day Arowolo & Aluko (2010). Hence, women face prejudice as leaders because people tend to assume that leadership is a masculine trait. And when women do lead, they face a problem. People evaluate autocratic behavior by women more negatively than the same behavior by men Ngara & Ayabam (2013). Thus, even in countries where women have made gains in employment or education, they face cultural barriers to participation in politics Lucas (2001).

In the context of Nigeria, there is a traditional belief that, women are made to take care of children and do kitchen works than participating outside home activity. Hence, there is division of works between men and women, which means home activities are belongs to women and outside home activities are belongs to men. Women are overburdened with different household activities like cooking, take caring kids, washing and so on. These all activities make women busy in the household and impede their involvement in the politics of the country. The socio-cultural Factors that hinder Women's Access to Management Positions, revealed that women has to do house duties, gardening, and washing up while men go out for duty and also go for further studies outside the family as women stay back to take charge of the family Izugbara (2004).

Culturally, there is a belief that women are supposed to be led but not to lead. In fact stereotyped notion about women constitute major barriers; societal perception about leadership ability of women, women's lack of assertiveness is some barriers that hinder the participation of women Falade (2015). In this regard traditional attitudes towards gender equality influence women's advancement in political participation.

Religion is another important source of cultural beliefs in most countries. Arguments about women's inferiority to men are present across all dominant religions, and religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political, or religious life around the world Odejide, Akanji & Odekunle (2006). But the major religions of the world are differentially conservative or patriarchal in their views about the place of women, both in the church hierarchy and in society. For example, Protestantism promotes nonhierarchical religious practices and more readily accepts women as religious leaders compared with Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity. And Islamic law is typically interpreted in a manner that constrains the activities of women Ajayi (2007).

Hence, exclusion of women from religious institutions and religious leadership may have a negative impact on women's status in society and limit their opportunities in politics and public life. Hence, religious is one of the anachronistic cultural beliefs in manv communities in the country that excludes women from the mainstream of leadership. In most religions, power and authority is believed to divinely belong to men hence subjugating women. Thus women are encouraged to play subsidiary roles since their place is in the kitchen and men are the decision makers. Arguments about women's inferiority to men are present across all dominant religions, and traditionally religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political, or religious life around the world Nolte (2008). Women are also seem to be their own enemies in their own political advancement and empowerment, especially when they internalize these long held anachronistic assumptions and perceptions that politics is a dirty game thus a preserve game of men Nolte (2008).

### **Perceived Economic Factors**

Women's experience of historical discrimination puts them at a disadvantage position economically. Socio-economic status of women to a greater extent plays a significant role in enhancing their participation and representation in political decision making bodies. In this regard Shvedova in 2002 argues that social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. In other word Lack of economic resources is one of the biggest obstacles that prevent women from participating in politics in greater numbers. Making it easier for women to access economic resources, therefore, is a key in expanding women's presence in the political realm March (2019). The study revealed that most of women are financially dependent on

their husbands or relatives; it may not be possible to them to enter in political campaign. Lack of financial resources is the overwhelming obstacles to women political participation. Women move from their father's home to their husband's home. They are like refugees. They have no base from which to develop contacts with the people or to build knowledge and experience about the issues. Furthermore, they have no money of their own; the money belongs to their fathers, their husbands or their in-laws. Given the rising cost of running an effective campaign, this poses another serious hurdle for women in the developing world Cohen (2019).

In fact women's participation in political life depends largely on their access to employment which gives them not only material independence, but also certain professional skills and grater self confidence. So that access to means of production and finances has a direct relationship and influence on the participation of women in political institutions Cohen (2019). In most Nigerian societies women have no right to decide on one's own property in the house hold because the household head is always the father which can control every asset and property of the family. Due to this facts women always needs to get permission of the father to buy some consumption materials and other resources of the household. Even if women are salaried, most of the time their income is controlled by men and sometimes if father and mother have their own income independently, women cover household expenses while men enjoy outside home. Women are always dependent on men economically which is the main cause for their low participation to politics of the country Cohen (2019).

Gender roles-patriarchy: The family is the main institution of patriarchy, which is an important concept in explaining gender inequality Ajayi & Otuva (2005). Literarily, it means "the rule of the father"; more broadly, it refers to a society ruled and dominated by men over women. This is inherent in most African families. Giving men a higher social status over females has crept into public life, which reflects in state activities. The family plays an important role in maintaining this patriarchal order across generations. The socialization of children to expect and accept different roles in life has created a social mechanism for the development of values that engender the several forms of discrimination against female The greatest the sex. psychological weapon available to man is the length of time they have enjoyed dominance over women, who have taken it for granted especially in the area of politics that often continue to stereotype women and justify their subordination Ajayi & Otuya (2005).

In many societies women are portrayed as weak and incapable of making smart decisions. They have been depicted across generations to be only capable of trivial matters, constantly engaged in gossip and hearsay, utterly incompetent and less intelligent. This was projected and reinforced through the years through male-dominated institutions and patriarchal societies which internalized the idea that the woman was inferior. With the constant reinforcement of the notion that women are inferior in every aspect, it became hard for women to pursue their political rights as an active participant. For a woman to enter politics, such patriarchal attitudes make it even harder. The truth is that such attitudes are not a thing of the past. Such attitudes towards women still exist in societies all over the world today - in both developed and developing countries Abubakar (2019).

In Nigeria societies, men and women have clearly defined roles that are dictated by the dominant ideology which is patriarchy. Most of the time men are taken as breadwinners; head of the household who has the authority to represent the family outside of the home. Since house work is solely the responsibility of women, a man never cooks even if he has no choice but cook to satisfy his hunger pang. It is a shame for a man to step into a kitchen let alone cook.

Family work and time constraints: Continuing distribution of family uneven care responsibilities means that women spend far more time than men in home- and child-care. Studies repeatedly demonstrate that women pay a "motherhood penalty," across fields relating not just to the time, effort, and medical care of pregnancy and child birth, but to the far greater maternal involvement necessary for breastfeeding, and to the persistent tendency of women to do a larger share of childcare as the child grows. Anyone deeply involved in childcare, whether male or female, would face tough time constraints navigating between family responsibilities and a political position; because the work is rarely equally shared, women are more disadvantaged Abubakar (2019). The position and empowerment of women and girls in society are hindered by negative attitudes perpetuating inequality

affecting all aspects of their lives. Although women's political representation has improved over the years, negative social perceptions about the leadership ability of women, their low socioeconomic status, low educational and skills levels and lack of strong role models all contribute to women low participation in decision-making positions. The burden of household chores and inequitable access to higher education also limit women's ability to enjoy the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as men on an equal footing in the political sphere Barnes & Burchard (2013).

In addition to the above mentioned factors, according to Miranda when many women especially in developing countries were asked if they would consider entering politics, their answer is negative Barnes & Burchard (2013). Foremost their reasons is that politics is reputed to be dirty, where methods employed include the illegal and the unethical to win in elections and assume power, and where the corruption of public service for personal and narrow group interests has been the accepted norm. Another scholar Nadezhda Shvedova mention political obstacle that hinders women involvement in politics. To this end Shvedova argues that men dominate the political arena; men formulate the rules of the political game; and men define the standards for evaluation Barnes & Burchard (2013). The existence of this male dominated model results in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics. Generally many women in Ethiopia have little independents on decision making on most individuals and family issues. Women are also discriminated on the ground of being women and as such low status is characterized virtually every aspects of girls and women's lives.

### **Feminist Theory**

Feminist theory encompasses work in a variety disciplines, including anthropology, of sociology, economics, women's studies, literary criticism, art history, psychoanalysis and philosophy. Feminist theory aims to understand gender inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. While providing a critique of these social and political relations, much of feminist theory focuses on the promotion of women's rights and interests. Themes explored in feminist theory include discrimination, stereotyping, objectification (especially sexual objectification), oppression and patriarchy. The term feminism can be used to describe a political, cultural or economic movement aimed at establishing equal rights and legal protection for women. Feminism involves political and sociological theories and philosophies concerned with issues of gender difference, as well as a movement that advocates gender equality for women and campaigns for women's rights and interests. Although the terms "feminism" and "feminist" did not gain widespread use until the 1970s, they were already being used in the public parlance much earlier; for instance, Katherine Hepburn speaks of the "feminist movement" in the 1942 film Woman of the Year.

According to Maggie Humm and Rebecca Walker, the history of feminism can be divided into three waves. The first feminist wave was in the nineteenth and early twentieth century's, the second was in the 1960s and 1970s, and the third extends from the 1990s to the present. Feminist theory emerged from these feminist movements. It is manifest in a variety of disciplines such as feminist geography, feminist history and feminist literary criticism.

As Lovenduski writes in the introductory chapter in Feminism and politics (2000), there are different arguments for increased female representation: normative arguments that say it is unfair for men to monopolize representation and pragmatic arguments which stress women's special interests and experiences that can only be represented by women.

The normative and pragmatic arguments, Lovenduski states, do not say that getting more women into politics will affect the outcome of politics. The third argument, on the other hand, which is based on the stance of difference means that getting more women in politics will lead to an improvement of the politics (Lovenduski. 2000).

My point of departure concerning underrepresentation as a problem within political science starts with the reasoning of Anne Philips. She suggests that social background and opinion-representation should not be separated, but that over-representation of one social group leads to over-representation of opinion (Phillips, 1995). She provides the following logic:

The most immediately compelling of the remaining arguments is that which presents gender parity as a straightforward matter of justice: that it is patently and grotesquely. Unfair for men to monopolize representation. If there were no obstacles operating to keep certain

groups of people out of political life, we would expect positions of political influence to be randomly distributed between the sexes.

There might be some minor and innocent deviations, but any more distorted distribution is evidence of intentional or structural discrimination. In such contexts (that is, most contexts) women are being denied rights and opportunities that are currently available to men (Phillips, 1995). What Phillips points to is that under-representation of women in politics is to be viewed as structural or intentional discrimination. This implies that there are factors behind the under-representation, factors this study aims to explore.

### **Method of Data Collection**

The method employed for the research is quantitative/survey research. The reason for chosen quantitative method of data collection is because of the advantage of generalization from a simple to a population inferences can be made about some characteristics and altitude (Cresswell, 2008). Also survey is one of the method commonly used in social sciences, it is also use for a variable that cannot be directly observed.

# **Instrument of Data Collection**

The research instrument was questionnaire; questionnaire was adapted from previous studies to answer questions that are related to the variables. The variables were adapted from the previous studies but modified by the researcher.

### Validity of Measuring Instruments

In order to validate the instrument, questions were adapted from previous studies that conducted similar researches in the field, the questions were based on the content of research questions and model, Also a pilot study or pretest was conducted and the questionnaires was given to an expert for verification.

### **Reliability of Measuring Instrument**

In order to ensure good reliability, Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was used to explain how well items in a set are positively correlated to each other. Alpha is use to measure internal consistency of a text or scale Mohsen and Reg (2011). It is given as number between 0 and 1. Internal consistency should be determined before a test can be employed for a research or examination purposes to ensure validity Mohsen and Reg (2011).

There is different vision about the acceptability of value of Alpha ranging from 0.75-0.95. A

low value could be as a result of low number of questions, poor interrelatedness between items or heterogeneous construct, if Alpha is high it suggests that some items are redundant as they are testing the same questions, a minimum Alpha of 0.90 has been recommended by Streiner cited in Mohsen and Reg (2011). Also reliability of 0.50 to 0.60 is good for early research stage. Sakaran (2003) recommended 0.60 as minimum in behavioral research.

# **Questionnaire Administration and Follow-Up**

Questionnaires were adapted from previous researches which aimed at answering research. The study used hand to hand distribution of questionnaire that is direct handling of questionnaires to the respondents in the unit of analysis; the questionnaires were distributed randomly to the respondents. Also the questionnaires were retrieved through the same method.

### **Scale Dimension**

The questionnaire comprises two parts; the first part contains demographic data of the respondents such as gender, qualification and working experience. The second part contains questions relating to objectives of the research, the questions was measure in 5 points likert scale which include strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), Undecided (UD)Strongly disagree (SD) and Disagree (D). The scales are categorized as 1,2,3,4 and 5. Study showed that five points scale is good as any, increase of point scale from five to seven points does not led to improve in reliability which is in line with what Elmore and Begs cited in Sekaran and Bougie (2010) recommended.

### **Data Collection Procedure**

The researcher collected data from two different sources that are primary and secondary sources.

### **Primary Sources**

The researcher used questionnaire and distributed to the respondents in order to collect empirical data.

### **Secondary Sources**

The secondary data were obtained using journals, text books and other relevant secondary materials.

### **Population of the Study**

Population means the group of people, thing, place or event in which a researcher wants to

study Sekaran & Bougie (2010). Therefore the population of the study encompasses two local governments in Zamfara State.

**Table1.5.** Population of Gusau and Gummi LocalGovernments

| Local Government | Population |
|------------------|------------|
| Gusau            | 383,712    |
| Gummi            | 207563     |
| Total            | 591275     |

| Adapted | from | National | Population | Commission |
|---------|------|----------|------------|------------|
| (2018)  |      |          |            |            |

#### Sampling

Sample is the representative of large population or subset of the population Sekaran and Roger (2010).In order to collect empirical data two local governments were selected as sample. Therefore simple random sampling of used probability sampling was to get information from the field in line with what Sekaran & Bougie (2010).

#### Table1.6. Sample size

| Population | Sample size |
|------------|-------------|
| 10,000     | 370         |
| 15,000     | 375         |
| 20,000     | 377         |
| 30,000     | 379         |
| 40,000     | 380         |
| 50,000     | 381         |
| 75,000     | 382         |
| 1,000,000  | 384         |

Adapted from Krejcie and Mogan cited in Sekaran & Bougie (2010). The population of the study is 591,275, therefore the sample size for the research is 384 as suggested by Krejcie and Morgan cited in Sekaran & Bougie (2010).

#### **Reasons For Chosen the Sample**

- Gummi and Gusau are both rural and Urban Local Governments
- The two Local Government have no female representative.
- Prevalence of poverty and illiteracy in the two Local Governments.

### **TECHNIQUE OF DATA ANALYSIS**

Regression analysis was used to test the relationship between independent variables and dependent variable. Also, a structural package for social sciences (SPSS) version 25.0 was used to analyze data in line with the research hypotheses. Multiple regression analysis technique was use to test relation between dependent and independent variable.

#### **The Findings**

|  | Table1.7. | Demograph | ic data of the | respondents |
|--|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|
|--|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|

| Sex                            | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Male                           | 150       | 40         |
| Female                         | 224       | 60         |
| Occupation                     |           |            |
| Public servant                 | 120       | 32         |
| Trader                         | 150       | 40         |
| Farmer                         | 104       | 28         |
| Age                            |           |            |
| 18-25                          | 150       | 40         |
| 26-35                          | 74        | 20         |
| 36-45                          | 140       | 37         |
| 46-55                          | 5         | 1.3        |
| 56 above                       | 4         | 1.1        |
| Marital status                 |           |            |
| Married                        | 175       | 47         |
| Single                         | 58        | 16         |
| Divorced                       | 65        | 17         |
| Widowed                        | 76        | 20         |
| <b>Education qualification</b> |           | •          |
| Primary                        | 115       | 31         |
| SSCE/NECO/NABTEB               | 100       | 27         |
| NCE/OND/ND                     | 62        | 17         |
| HND/DEGREE                     | 58        | 16         |
| PG                             | 39        | 10.4       |

**Source:** Authors computation (2019)

The above table shows that 150 that constitute 40% are male, while 224 that constitute 60% are female. In another development, the table also shows that 120 respondents that constitute 32% are public servants, 150 that constitute 40% are traders, and 104 respondents that constitute 28 are farmers.

In term of age distribution,18-25 (150) 40%, 26-35 (74) 20%, 36-45 (140) 37%, 46-55 (5) 1.3% and 56 above (4)1.1%.

The table above also shows 175 that constitutes 47% are married, single were 58 that constitute 16%, divorced were 65 that constitutes 17% and widowed 76 that constitutes 20%.

From the table above, primary school has 115 that constitute 31%, SSCE/NECO/NABTEB has 100 respondents that constitute 27%, HND/ Degree has 58 that constitute 16% and PG has 39 that constitute 10.4%.

Table1.8. Reliability test

| Reliability test        |                |           |          |  |  |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------|----------|--|--|
| Variable                | Cronbach Alpha | N of item | Comment  |  |  |
| Economic empowerment    | .950           | 8         | Reliable |  |  |
| Educational attainment  | .716           | 5         | Reliable |  |  |
| Political empowerment   | .924           | 7         | Reliable |  |  |
| Culture                 | .901           | 7         | Reliable |  |  |
| Political participation | .967           | 9         | Reliable |  |  |

Source: Authors computation (2019)

From the reliability test conducted, it was discovered that variable such as Economic empowerment has Cronbach Alpha of .950, Educational attainment has Cronbach Alpha of

.716, Political empowerment has Cronbach Alpha of .924, Culture has Cronbach Alpha of .901 and Political participation has Cronbach Alpha of .967.

Table1.9. Model Summary<sup>b</sup>

|   | R R Square Adjusted R Square Std. Error of the Estimate |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1 .796 <sup>a</sup> .633 .629 .17320                              |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| a. Predictors: (Constant), MeanCul1, Mean Eco, Mean Edu, MeanPol1 |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| b. Dependent  | b. Dependent Variable: MeanPar1                         |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Source:** Authors computation (2019)

From the summary table above, R has .796, R Square has .633, Adjusted R Square has .629

and Std Error of the estimate has .17320.

Table1.10. Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

|   | Model      | Unstandardized Coefficients |            | Standardized Coefficients | t      | Sig. |
|---|------------|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|--------|------|
|   |            | В                           | Std. Error | Beta                      |        |      |
| 1 | (Constant) | .138                        | .040       |                           | 3.286  | .023 |
|   | MeanEco    | .786                        | .043       | .768                      | 18.222 | .000 |
|   | MeanEdu    | .041                        | .052       | .027                      | .779   | .436 |
|   | MeanPol1   | 084                         | .058       | 077                       | -1.439 | .151 |
|   | MeanCul1   | .198                        | .052       | .170                      | 3.803  | .000 |

a. Dependent Variable: MeanPar1

**Source:** Authors computation (2019)

#### DISCUSSION

Table1.11. Test of hypotheses

| S/N | Hypothesis   | Sig  | Decision |
|-----|--|------|----------|
| 1   | There is relationship between women economic empowerment and             | .000 | Accepted |
|     | participation in politics in Zamfara State                               |      |          |
| 2   | There is relationship between women educational attainment and           | .436 | Rejected |
|     | participation in politics in Zamfara State                               |      |          |
| 3   | There is relationship between women political empowerment and            | .151 | Rejected |
|     | participation in politics in Zamfara State                               |      |          |
| 4   | There is relationship between cultural factor and women participation in | .000 | Accepted |
|     | politics in Zamfara State  |      |          |

**Source:** Authors computation (2019)

#### CONCLUSION

From the study carried out, the findings show that economic factor plays vital role in negating women participation in politics in both Gummi and Gusau respectively, due to the fact that women don't have money for campaign it affected their level of participation in politics. The findings also demonstrated that cultural factors such as religion, women subordination to men are affecting women participation in politics. Other factors that have little impact on women participation are economic empowerment and political empowerment.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are some of the recommendations with the hope that if put in place, it will help in improving women participation in Zamfara State and indeed Nigeria at large. First and foremost, the fundamental problem facing women participation in poli5tics is problem of political empowerment, men dominate the polity without giving them any opportunity, therefore, and this research recommends that women should be given seat to participate in politics.

- Another issue is that culture that affect women participation in politics should be abolished.
- Political parties should gather financial support for women candidates to enable them take part in the electoral as winner based on the merit of the enormous social mobilization power during political campaigns.
- Gender assessment should be conducted within political parties to establish root causes of the marginalization of women in political leadership within the parties.
- Political parties make the selection and nomination process within political parties transparent in order to have more women involve in party political because there are biased against women in that 'male characteristics' are emphasized and often become the criteria.
- Institute a gender quota system as one of several measure to create an enabling environment for women to participate in leadership roles in society
- INEC should develop and implement customized training on leadership and governance to enable women to acquire the communication, fundraising, advocacy and professional skills to participate in electoral politics, more effectively.
- Women should partner with economic empowerment NGOs to produce goods and services to help remove the financial constraints that act as barrier to women full and equal participation in electoral politics.
- Promote issues based advocacy through the development of communication skills and mass media techniques.
- Since political parties are the gateway to entry in politics, women should organize

grassroots movements to register voters and sharpen these advocacy skills in political party decision making.

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