

WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN KADUNA STATE: A CASE STUDY OF KADUNA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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ABSTRACT

The nature, extent and magnitude of violence against women in the Nigerian public service had assumed alarming proportions that necessitates further research efforts on the challenges and realm of possible solutions. This paper examines the challenges of women employees of Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Kaduna and its impact on their productivity. The objective among others is to highlight the factors that contribute to women marginal role in higher positions of the corporation. The study covered the period 2010 - 2019. Data for the study were generated from both primary sources; collected through questionnaires administered to management and staff of the corporation, Data was analyzed quantitatively using simple percentage, Likert's five points rating scale and statistical mean. After analyzing the data from various sources, it was discovered that women actually face some difficulties in the course of carrying out their official duties; being it discriminatory or non-violence. The study concludes that the challenges of women employees in public service are in two folds. It is either the population of the working staff contains fewer women in both management and senior staff, or there is an element of discrimination between the female and their male counterparts. Based on the findings, the study recommends that addressing such problems by changing the negative attitudes of males towards the role of women in administration and acquisition of western education is imperative for national development. In addition, women should be given equal right and education.

Keywords: Nigerian Public Service, Productivity, Women Employees, Challenges, FRCN

1.1 Introduction

Democracy as a system of government has gained more popularity now in the contemporary societies than in the years past. The reasons for this development may not be unconnected with the fact that democratic system abhors segregation in the area of gender when it comes to election participation. One of the features of democracy that makes it unique is equality of participation in decision making on issues affecting all segments of the society. The exclusion of any body from the political process based on gender is seen by scholars as a negation of the true values of a democratic society (Onyeghalaji, 2018).

Looking at women participation in politics globally United States in particular, according to Saskia 2018 in his paper, United States lags behind most established democracies with respect to women's representation in politics. When it comes to women's representation in national legislature, United States' rank has sunk from 41 in the world in 1997 to 101 in 2017. Women currently hold 19.3% of seats in the House of Representatives and 21% in the senate. Over the past decade, these percentages have barely increased. At the current rate of progress, women will not achieve full legislative parity in the US congress for another hundred years. The comparison with western European democracies similar to the United States along most socio-economic and democratic indicators- is particularly revealing. While the United States of America has fallen behind, most western European countries have made significant progress. Entrance barriers to equal representation do persist, particularly at leadership levels, yet across Western Europe including in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United Kingdom- women's share of seats in national parliaments now exceeds 30%. The Nordic countries have come closest to parity, with women holding, an average 41.7% of seats in single or lower houses of parliament as well as significant shares of parliamentary

committee chairs and ministerial positions.

These numbers alone do not constitute proof of equal political power nor does descriptive representation equal substantive representation. Women are not a homogeneous group their interests and experiences are shaped by social, racial and economic hierarchies. Female politicians hail from radically different backgrounds and bring varied ideological perspectives to bear on their work. Yet any democratic system benefits from having people with diverse life experiences and perspectives represented in government and from drawing on the full array of talent and skills in the population. Female legislators often do have different legislative priorities than their male counterparts. For example, they are more likely to introduce bills on gender equality, reproductive health, and issues affecting children and families. And they are generally more likely to consider how any policy reform will impact women as a group, while women of color tend to advanced political agendas that take into account the particular concerns of both women and communities of color. The lack of women in US politics thus weakens the quality of democracy: today's political elites do not reflect the diversity of the US population but instead remain overwhelmingly white, wealthy, and male.

Nigeria like other countries in Africa experienced colonial legacy under the British rule from 1900 to 1st October, 1960. At independence, the country embraced the democratic system based on non-gender discrimination in political participation modeled after the British parliamentary democratic system (Ikelegbe, 2024). However, the colonial legacy of marginalization of women in politics was intensified at independence based on the patriarchal traditional norms of colonial Nigerian society of male dominance (Ojiakor, 2019).

Women marginalization in political affairs could be seen as one of the negative attributes of colonial legacy in Nigeria, which was re-enforced by the different governments of post-colonial Nigerian society after independence. Studies have shown that some notable women played prominent roles in governance of their respective kingdoms, empires and emirates before the

advent of colonialism in 1900. For instance, the governance of pre-colonial Nigerian societies highlighted the exploits of women like: Queen Daura of Daura emirate in the present day Katsina State, Queen Amina of Zazzau, now Zaria, of the Zaria emirate in the present-day Kaduna State, all from the northern part of Nigeria; Ogiso Orhorho and Emotan of the famous Benin Kingdom (south), in the present day Edo State (Agaba, 2017).

The position of women in Nigerian politics reflects their subordinate status. This is however not peculiar to Nigeria but Africa and the world at large. All over the world, women have continuously accused their male counterparts of chauvinism. In Nigeria, the general belief is that the leadership history of Nigeria has been male dominated and women have not had a fair share of the cake of leadership role in Nigeria. They have therefore been seeking for equal power sharing in governance like their counterparts elsewhere in the world. On a cursory look of women participation in politics, it can be said that the involvement of women in politics in the recent past has improved tremendously. However, this is only noticeable in the areas of voting and support for their women folk and their chosen political parties. This has not, however, been fully translated into women representation in all tiers of government. This is because the number of women holding public offices is relatively low when compared with that of their male counterparts. It is noted that the political right of women is unequivocally enshrined in many international, regional and national legislations. Nigeria has even gone to the extent of domesticating some of the provisions of the laws into her local law. This has not brought any considerable change in the level of participation of women in politics and of course the decision making of the nation.

Naturally, women are moving into such highly visible positions in other spheres of life as there seems to be a tidal change in the political terrain as more women are now visible in public offices. Yet, they still remain distinctly in the minority in politics. Against this backdrop, this thesis examines challenges militating against women participation in democratic governance

in Kaduna state, with a view to determining the actual level of their representation in the new political trend and governance in Nigeria. It also critically examines the challenges responsible for the low level of women participation in politics and governance with a view to proffer suggestions and possible solutions that will enhance the representation of women in politics and decision making of Nigeria.

1.2 Justification for the Study

Women's access to education, information and political leadership are impeded by traditions and prejudice instigated most times by socio-cultural and communication practices (Ashong and Herbert, 2011). Intervention campaigns to address these problems of leadership disparity in the late twentieth century took the shape of feminist movement which culminated into three basic policies that sought to ensure that women partake in political leadership. Norris (2000) outlined the policies as the rhetorical strategies, the affirmative action programs and the positive discrimination strategies. All these policies are political and public statements or speeches proclaimed by successive government and applauded for tilting the way to paltry rise in women leadership but faulted for their lack of adequate communication approaches that would properly conscientize the society to act on socio-cultural practices that impede women political participation (Sadie, 2005).

Women and democratic governance especially in Nigeria involve a long-term of political education, liberation movements and empowerment programmes for proper integration into Nigerian politics, so as to increase their representation and political opportunities in the future. We must admit that women constitute the oppressed, exploited and under-privileged in the third world countries of which Nigeria is one. The political challenges of women in Nigeria and particularly in Kaduna State is not in gaining political posts at different level of

government, it is rather in gaining equal representation with men in the political arena (Ogunba, 2022).

Caldwell (2006) argues that “striking changes in women’s lives over the last 50 years have brought shifts in work roles, family lives, political and educational access and social awareness. What is now more obvious than ever is what has not changed or rather what has barely begun to change – namely, women’s under-representation in positions of power and leadership”. The recent involvement of women in political positions in Nigeria is being hailed by many as a seminal movement of the advancement of women in politics. But a deeper look at the current political gender balance shows that women still have a long way to go to gain equal footing in the nation’s halls of power (Hartman, 2006). This suggests that some of the problems or constraints to women involvement in political powers are the focus of this research work.

This research study shall be guided by the following research question;

1. What are the roles women played in Nigeria politics?
2. What are the reasons for the under-representation of women in democratic governance in Nigeria using Kaduna North local Government as a case study?
3. What ways can be implored to ensure full participation of women in democratic governance in Kaduna North local government area as a case study?

1.3 Women and Participation in the Political Process

The women question is an important social and political issue which has attracted the attention of international organizations and governments worldwide. There is a general realization now that the advancement of women in general must be addressed thoroughly because women constitute a significant percentage of the country’s total population and have been making tremendous contributions in all facets of the society. The right to vote becomes the basic demand of feminist movements because election is considered to be the fundamental act of

political life. The vote is essential because it is in the political arena that the basic decisions that shape the pattern of the society in which women live are made and once gained, it could be used to eliminate other discriminations (Adesani, 2022).

The political history of Nigeria since independence has been that of instability, as portrayed in the incessant military coups. Politics is about the competition for the control of the public policymaking process within the organized framework of government. In a democratic polity, that control is achieved by persons or groups irrespective of gender through a process of participation which eventually leads to various positions at the pinnacle of power. In the modern democratic state, there can be no political power without political participation, the latter being the only avenue to the former. This, according to Folasade, is in sharp contrast to what obtains in traditional patrimonial state or in a dictatorship, where positions of political power can be attained by aristocratic birth-right or by force (Folasade, 1999 in Ogunba, 2000). Political participation is a democratic principle. When people participate in it, it shows political maturity. Political participation is a way of ensuring that the interests of the participants are taken into consideration.

Orum (1974) defines political participation as a variety of ways in which people try to exercise influence over political process. In the same vein, McClosky (1968) sees political participation as “those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of their rulers and directly in the formation of public policy”. Also, Milbrath and Goel (1977) described political participation as “the process by which individuals acting singly through group organization attempt to influence decision-making or alter the manner in which power may be distributed and actively directed at the objective of control of the decision-making machinery; a means to a goal”.

Dahl (1956) argues that an efficient democracy is only possible when citizens can participate in governance. In the same vein, Kweit and Kweit (1982), note that “citizen participation is expected by many, to reduce the alienation of citizen from their government”. The authors further said that democracy can only work efficiently when the citizens (especially women) are involved because people are inherently satisfied with their government when their voices are being heard and acted upon as this will legitimize the actions of those in government. It could be said therefore, that participation is the bedrock of democratic systems of government. Representative government should not end when people are voted or appointed into office; rather, a conscientious effort needs to be made to keep them involved. One aspect of women participation in politics is their participation in the policy-making process. As illustrated by Ackermman (2007), women are only involved in democracy when they are fully involved in the /policy-making process of the polity.

Nie and Verba (1975) define political participation as “those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and/or the actions they take”. This definition shows the power of the citizens over those in government if they are actively involved in the decision-making process. Huntington and Nelson (1976) also note that there are various forms of political participation apart from voting, such as citizen protests and involvement in political campaigns.

In support of political participation beyond just voting, Olsen (2001) writes that political participation allows women “to be informed, interested and involved those who have a sense of control over their own lives”. Political participation enhances self-realization and reinforces government legitimacy by citizens. Sometimes, women are just happy to be involved in the participatory process with their male counterparts as it is an enlightening task (Thompson, 1990).

There is need to identify the different levels and dimensions at which women may participate in the political process. Milbrath and Goel identified three categories or dimensions/levels in which individual political participation could belong. These are: Gladiatorial activities, Transitional activities and Spectator activities. According to the authors, Gladiatorial activities include soliciting political fund and attending caucus or strategy meetings. Transitional activities include attending political rally, making monetary contribution, contracting political leader or public officials. Spectator activities include wearing party symbols, beret, and badge, attempting to influence a particular person to vote in a particular way, voting at elections and exposing oneself to political stimuli.

Political participation broadly includes the involvement of individuals and groups in policy making. It involves the distribution of power and authority in the society. It also, involves participation in the decision that affects people directly. The implication is that such individuals have the ability and civic competence to make bureaucracy and legislation responsive to their needs and rights, with the view of improving the quality of policy (Ball, 1977). Politics and participation range from the home through the locality to the national level. Women need to participate at the micro level of home, community, organizations and local government, and at the macro level of national party, cabinet and governmental politics.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Classic Democratic theory originated the principle of equality, popular participation and accountability that waves the magic wand in modern democracy. Classic Democratic theory is of the view that every citizen should be empowered politically by training (sensitizing) them for political and public life. After being trained and empowered in this direction, one becomes equipped and has confidence in oneself and would be interested to get involved. This will be clearer to us if we recall Azikiwe (1997)'s word that citizens can, if given the opportunity,

participate more in politics if they are given the ability to participate in policy making. Of course, politicians believed as it was practical, that Classic Democracy enhances good governance and popular participation, but why they are against it is because they feared that granting women equal political opportunity with men would amount to full participation of women in public life and reduce men's dominance. This speaks volume of the under-representation of women in democratic governance and partisan politics in Kaduna state, which this theory can provide for.

The classic Democratic theory 'popular participation' explains conservatism in politics in Kaduna state. Even today, status quo has not given way to dynamism in politics in Kaduna state. It is widely acknowledged that popular or citizen's participation ends with voting people into office. Little wonder the under-representation of women in public life especially in elective positions in Kaduna state today.

Dye and Zaiyler's commitment to equality also points to government and politicians (men) that they have their own work to do and they also need to be sensitized to remove in their heart the negative perception of political women. These points, to our belief, which ran across the discourse that both men and women should be sensitized and enlightened and be given equal opportunities to run for public office for effective democracy and good governance. The emphasis on government by majority rule, freedom of speech, commitment to individual dignity for promoting and developing his power and personality aligns perfectly with our resolve that efficient democracy or democratic governance has to be people oriented to reduce alienation of citizens from their government.

For a woman to be politically equal with a man, therefore, she should be prepared to rise above patriarchy and not accepting stereotype role that a woman's place is in the kitchen or that a woman is no match to a man in the political arena. It is even held by this theory that when the

government is by majority rule, recognition should be given to the rights of minorities to try to become majorities. With commitment to popular participation and equal opportunity for all men to develop their individual capacities, which this theory is not laconic about, women should be at their best politically. There is no efficient democracy if citizens cannot participate in governance beyond voting. Let us indicate that many other theories could be used for this study, after all, Dye and Zaiyler did not claim that their principles are exhaustive but only that it served them well just as it served the researcher well. Other theories can be used in the explanation of the relationship between these variables, but as much as we know, and as earlier mentioned, Classic Democratic theory serves the purpose best.

1.5 Methodology of the Study

The research design for this study is survey research. The purpose is to enable the researcher generalize from a sample population so that inferences can be made. The use of survey design can be justified on the basis of level of women participation in democratic governance using Kaduna north local government as a case study. The data collected centers on the assessment of women participation in democratic governance in Nigeria using Kaduna North local government. The responses of the respondents are measured on the five-point Likert scale.

The survey also adopted the combination of the survey design of the descriptive and inferential statistical tools. In this vein, the research will observe what is happening to the sample subjects or variables without attempt to manipulate them as well as ensure that such observation is done one time. However, a selective description of the aspects of the case study areas is considered to be critical to this research due to its exceptional influence on the output of the local governments.

The instruments of primary data used were the questionnaire administered to the people of the local governments: rural populace, community development associations, traditional rulers;

local governments" staff and top management. The questionnaires were designed in simple language using close-ended and in the responses of the respondents are measured on the five (5) points Lickert Scale. Similarly, an unstructured interview and observation schedule was designed and contributed to the selected local government staff, management, traditional leaders and community development associations Executive. On the other hand, the secondary source of data was generated from the stock or available relevant materials on the topic under study. Published and unpublished materials have been consulted and were duly acknowledged in like manners.

The primary data is that which is collected from the field. Primary sources can facilitate the ability of the researcher to generate firsthand information like the use of questionnaire, interview and observation criteria.

Primary information related to this study will be also generated from the important sources i.e. the sample population, and the researcher. The sample population will be responsible for a huge chunk of the primary information through their responses to the administered close-end questions. Also, a fragment of the sampled population has engaged in an unstructured discussion to generate or confirm vital primary data.

Secondly, sources have to do with the direct interaction of the researcher with the people of the local governments (i.e. Kaduna north) thus soliciting a part of the primary data through observation. Interaction with the Community Development associations, District heads, Village heads, wards heads, Local Government's staff and General top management of these local governments respectively becomes a major source of data in this research.

The secondary data, is that which has been generated and stored in texts, files, government publications, journals, thesis, project etc. and already exist (Refined) in published and unpublished forms. Secondary sources are useful in appreciating the previous studies for

empirical studies and can also be used to broaden the base from which generalizations can be made among other usage. The source of data conveys related views of scholars and researcher, which were consulted for a variety of secondary data in this study. However, all authors consulted are duly acknowledged and cited adequately in the references/bibliography of this research work.

The Kaduna North local government of Kaduna state as the study area of the research work is undoubtedly heterogeneous in terms of population. The population of the study covered both the: Rural populace; local government staff; management staff; community development associations and traditional rulers.

According to 2006 Census Population figure, the Kaduna North Local Government has a population of 357,694 as at the 2006 census. This constituted the total number of population of this study. A sample population for the study was drawn using the Steely Yamane (1967:886) formula as expressed by Israel (1992:1-10) popularly known as Yamane's formula, denoted by:

Figure 1.1

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{357,694}{1 + 357,694(95\%)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{357,694}{1 + 357,694(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{357,694}{1 + 357,694(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{357,694}{1 + 894} = \frac{357,694}{895}$$

$$n = 399.66: n \approx 400 \text{ (sample size)}$$

Based on the Yamane's formula computed above, the sample size for this study stood at four hundred (400). The questionnaires were administered using simple random, cluster sampling and stratified sampling techniques respectively to this study. The research uses the following probability sampling techniques:-

(a) *Stratified Sampling*:- This is a form of provability sampling in which a sampling frame is divided into one or more strata such as Gender, Age, Grade unit, Ward, Districts etc.

(b) *Simple random sampling*:- Here elements in a sampling frame are numbered and then drawn into the sample. Even element has the same opportunity of being selected.

(c) *Cluster sampling*: This enables the choice of elements of the population by the use of an picking from into one or more strata of the such as ward, districts of the local government area.

The distribution was thus given below:

Table 1.1: Sample Size Distribution of questionnaires to the respondents, as follows:

CATEGORY OF TARGET POPULATION	KADUNA NORTH	(%)
Rural populace	217	54
Common Development Association	40	10
Top Management	20	5
Local Government Staff	83	21
Traditional Rulers	40	10
TOTAL	400	100

Source: Research Survey, 2019

1.6 Presentation and Analysis of Data

Women and Development in Kaduna North Local Government

Throughout the ages, the sharing of power, wealth, influence, employment, etc. between men and women has never been close to equality. This notwithstanding, the role played by women in all facets of human endeavor has been quite noticeable. Women have contributed to development in Nigeria and Kaduna State in particular through many ways such as agriculture,

child socialization, and creation of political awareness in women especially rural women, participating in the formal and informal sectors of the economy, contesting for equal opportunity with men etc. Women could also be seen as producers outside the home and producers inside the home.

In the agricultural sector, both Oyekanmi (1986) and Adekanye (1990) have highlighted the role of Nigerian women in agriculture. Nigerian women have worked side by side men in agriculture though with some marked division of labour. Women engaged in planting of seeds particularly food crops, harvesting, transportation, processing and selling farm produce. A study of women in Kaduna North Local Government revealed that on an overall base, 40% of women (especially those in the rural areas) regarded farming as their major occupation in modern times.

The inference from the above is that the society (Nigerian) has begun to accept or acknowledge the roles played by women in development of Kaduna North Local Government even though there was no statistical data. National survey shows a remarkable decline in the number of people throughout the country, who say that women have made no contribution to development while a recent survey in Kaduna North indicates that women have really contributed to development and believe they can contribute more to national development including politics.

Table 1.2: Distribution on ways women have contributed in the Development of Kaduna North Local Government.

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Child socialization	60	19
Agriculture	80	26
Informal sector participation	50	16
Formal sector participation	40	13
Creation of political awareness	30	10

Contesting for equal opportunity	30	10
Holding public offices	20	6
Total	310	100

Source: Field survey, 2025

In table 1.2 above, a survey on women and development in Kaduna North Local Government revealed common consent that women have contributed in development of Kaduna North and that women can contribute more in development and politics. A sample size of 310 people was studied and from the above table, 19% made up of 60 respondents believed that women have contributed in development of Kaduna North through child socialization. This according to Ojo (1997), is why you can see women virtually in every aspect of human endeavour, competing with men in areas used to be known as ‘men’s world’. We also gathered that majority of the respondents (26%) made up of 80 respondents believed that women have contributed immensely in development of Kaduna North Local Government through agriculture, while 16% made up of 50 respondents believed women have contributed in development through their involvement or participation in the informal sector of the economy. The survey indicates women engage more in the informal sector of the economy. Whereas 13% made 40 respondents said that women have contributed to the development through their participation in formal sector, 10% made up of 30 respondents believed that women have contributed in development of Kaduna North Local Government through creation of political awareness in women and contesting for equal opportunity with men respectively. Actually, women’s role in development of Kaduna North Local Government cannot be overemphasized. It is against this backdrop that 6% representing 20 respondents agreed that women have contributed in development through holding public offices.

These covers activities such as trading, construction work, sewing, hair dressing and involvement in crafts and cottage industries like weaving, soap making etc. This indicates that

women in the informal sector are involved in self-employment which also enhances development.

In the formal sector, the level of women's participation in the Federal and state civil service over the years shows the contribution of women in the development of Kaduna State. Women are found in universities as academic staff, we have female doctors, dentists etc. which has increased in recent years.

By and large, women who have had the opportunity to be involved in the formal sector in Kaduna North have performed quite well in the profession in the public/formal sector. The study goes on to say that women's contribution has long been kept at the background, the acknowledgement of it now means that the shackles that have bond women for ages are falling off and there is light at the end of the tunnel for the daughters of Eve. Even in the political arena, women are found in politics. The survey result also shows that women have created political awareness in women especially those in the rural areas, mobilizing them to be involved in mainstream politics activities. We see women from different political background embark on campaigns to actively encourage women to participate in election and policy discussions.

Women of Kaduna North believe in themselves enough to think they can make considerable contribution in the development of the state including holding public offices and contesting for equal opportunity with men which drastically raises their stake in national development including politics.

Question one was put across to correspond and respond to – what role have women played in development in Kaduna North Local Government? It is in answer to this research question that we got the above distribution table (Table 5.1). Statistically, therefore, our question one is proved true by data gathered and presented above.

1.7 Gender Discrimination Affects Women's Participation in Democratic Governance in Kaduna North Local Government.

In Nigeria, the issue of the marginalization of women within the economy and gender disparity in the provision of education, employment and general recognition in other spheres of life are still inherent in Kaduna North Local Government. Explanation for gender inequality in the political process abound. But, it should be known that political apathy cannot be isolated from cultural, ideological and ecological peculiarities that constitute the social structure. Women are discriminated in democratic governance or political participation by traditional structure, social structure and socialization difference of male and female children. In the traditional structure, the impact of tradition is expressed and reinforced by social practices. For instance, it is traditionally believed a woman's place is in the home.

Again, in the social structure, it is argued that traditional barriers to political participation can be broken if significant advances are made in education. Lower educational attainment for women is explained as a consequence of opposition on the part of conservatively-minded parents who rather educates males than women because of the presumption that an educated male is more beneficial to the family than a female who will eventually be taken in marriage.

Furthermore, because of the increasing trends to the feminization of poverty, women's needs remain largely invisible. A number of women who might otherwise embark on political lives are discouraged by lack of funds not only for financing electoral campaigns but access to resources adequate to undertake significant initiatives. Again, the unwholesome image of politics as a career in Nigeria makes women to suffer the threat of stronger sanction being imposed on them for what may not even be considered improper in men.

The above inferred that the society discriminate against women in political participation. Survey shows that gender discrimination and inequality still remain a fact of political life in post-colonial Nigeria and Kaduna State.

In the same vein, therefore, question two was fielded out to respondents in line aforementioned assumptions in chapter one – What factors affect women’s participation in democratic governance in Kaduna North Local Government? It is in answer to this research question that we got the distribution table below.

Table 1.3: Distribution on factors that affect women’s political participation in democratic governance in Kaduna North Local Government.

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Patriarchy	140	45
Lower educational attainment for women	50	16
Lack of training and communication skill	40	13
Lack of money (economic resources)	20	7
Socialization difference of male and female	60	19
Total	310	100

Source: Field survey, 2025

A range of five (5) options on the factors that affect women’s participation in democratic governance in Kaduna North was provided for the respondents. Just like in the first hypotheses, where absolute greater percentage of the respondents identified with one option, a greater percentage also identified with one option here. Be that as it may, it was gathered from the options in the distribution that the factors affecting women’s participation in democratic governance are myriad. According to table 1.3 above, women in Kaduna North are discriminated in political participation on the ground of gender.

Explanations for gender inequality in the political process abound. It was believed by more than 30% (precisely, 45%) of the respondents that patriarchy affects women’s participation in democratic governance. 16% believed that women’s participation in democratic governance is

affected by lower educational attainment of women. 13% said that lack of training and communication skill affects women's participation in democratic governance and 7% believed that women's participation in democratic governance is affected by lack of economic resources such as fund, access to land, loan facilities etc. while 19% made up of 60 respondents said that women's participation in democratic governance in Kaduna North is affected by socialization difference of male and female.

Even before the survey, the impact of tradition (patriarchy) is expressed in mythical stereotypes and reinforced by social practices. The survey revealed that the domestication of women and the heavy workload they carry are also major constraints; the resultant effect is that women are expected to balance their time between politics and their traditional gender roles, thereby, forcing them to choose between their political career and family life. One of the causes for this as gathered from the survey is traditional politicization of the female personality in childhood and adult socialization. For instance, women are discouraged to concern themselves with matters of public governance in the community. The survey is in confirmation of opinion already held by trying to know the factors that affect women's political participation so as to adequately integrate women into the political process in Kaduna state. This suggests why we find women being heavily burdened with domestic responsibilities that take up most of their time, leaving them with little or no time at all to engage in politics. Therefore, the magnitude of respondents in option 1 on the above table is not strange.

The survey shows that lower educational attainment, lack of training and communication skill affects women's political participation. Also, the survey revealed that lack of economic resources such as funds, access to land etc. affects women's participation in democratic governance. Women's political participation as indicated by the survey cannot be isolated from their socio-economic status. Women usually do not have equal access with men to means of

participation such as enabling skill acquired through education and training, lack of land and other collateral facilities.

However, as suggested by the survey, if these factors that affect women's participation in democratic governance in Kaduna North are to be eliminated, patriarchy must first be removed because all other factors sprang from tradition.

1.8 Gender Equality Encourages Full Participation of Women in Democratic Governance in Kaduna North Local Government

This preposition is made in reflection of our third research question – In what ways can women be encouraged to participate fully in democratic governance (politics) in Kaduna North? A survey was carried out on ways women can be encouraged to participate fully in democratic governance, and it was gathered that for women in Kaduna North Local Government to be motivated and actively involved in politics and contest as candidates for elective offices, the barriers to women's participation in governance and politics have to be overcome. It was from the survey that we got the distribution table below.

Table 1.4: Distribution on Ways Women can be encouraged to Participate Fully in Politics

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Changing the negative perception of political women	40	14
Family governance reform	50	16
Education/Training and development of women	30	10
Political party and electoral system reforms	60	19
Allowing women a voice in the budget	20	7
Legal and constitutional reform	10	3
All of the above	100	32
Total	310	100

Source; Field survey, 2025

The above distribution is scattered among seven (7) groupings. In referring to table 1.4 above, a survey on ways women can be encouraged to participate fully in democratic governance in Kaduna North, revealed a common consent that some reforms has to be made in the polity for women to be fully in democratic governance in Kaduna State. From the above table, 40 respondents representing 13% affirm that full participation of women in democratic governance could be encouraged by changing the negative perception of political women, 50, 30 and 60 respondents representing 16%, 10% and 19% agreed that full participation of women in democratic governance in Kaduna North could be encouraged through family governance reform, education/training and development of women and political party and electoral systems reforms respectively. 20 respondents representing 7% said that this could be encouraged or ensured by allowing women voice in the budget. 10 respondents representing 3% said that, to encourage full participation of women in democratic governance, there should be a reform of the constitutional and legal rights of women. the greatest percentage, (32%) made up of 100 respondents believed that a combination of the other options, that is, changing the negative perception of political women, reform of political party and electoral systems, allowing women a voice in the budget as well as legal and constitutional reforms will encourage full participation of women in democratic governance in Kaduna North.

The survey suggest that more enlightenment programmes need to be put in place to educate the society especially the men that political women are not wayward women. The survey indicates that, to make a meaningful change in gender role relations in the pursuit of gender equality, culture and principles, men and women must share mutual respect, while there must be a reconstruction of gender power play. Legislative and policy framework that promote choice and flexibility in family arrangements that recognize the wide variety of existing households and their fluid nature and grant equal and parallel status to different family types irrespective of their perceived moral legitimacy are required. The survey also revealed that it is imperative

that the pool of potential candidates among women is enhanced through training and development awareness courses so as to ensure gender balance in public life.

Going further, the survey indicated that there is need for public awareness as to the desirability of women in politics and high-profile public office. The survey goes on to show that laws should be passed to protect women from denial of property rights to women and girls. Women should be given equal rights with men in Kaduna State with regard to implementation of all aspects of the constitution. Recovering from gender disparity and under-involvement of women democratic governance and its consequences require more than the conventional method.

To achieve gender equality in political participation, more legal provisions should be made to ensure the participation of women. in concrete terms, at least 40% of all appointive key positions at all levels of government should be reserved for women and similar provisions should be made all elective positions.

Therefore, a combination of the whole percentage from option 1-7, which sums up to 100% identified changing the negative perception of political women, reform of family governance, education/training and development of women, reform of political party and electoral systems, allowing women a voice in the budget and legal and constitutional reforms as ways of encouraging full participation of women in democratic governance, thereby validating hypotheses two that gender discrimination affects women's participation in democratic governance.

1.9 Discussion of Findings

The economic and national development of any nation/state depends largely on full participation of all her eligible citizens (especially women) in democratic governance. It is the duty of government, especially those concerned with gender and women affairs and

development to ensure that women are fully integrated into the political process to avoid discrimination.

From the responses of the people, one can see that women are underrepresented in democratic governance/politics in Nigeria as a whole and Kaduna State/North in particular. Most of the people, especially men still have negative perception of political women and when that is the case, how can they be encouraged to be fully and actively involved in politics? Under this situation, the need to allow women a voice in the budget which is the major decision-making process can be identified. It is only when men change their negative perception of women in active politics that women can be adequately represented so that they can find equal footing with men in the halls of power.

Furthermore, patriarchy and low educational attainment is a cog on the wheels of women's participation in democratic governance and is evident in the participation of women in politics in Kaduna North. This should be avoided by both government and women themselves in order to avoid low participation of women in politics or democratic apathy which women especially in Kaduna North are currently faced with. Also, family governance (where women are not allowed the right of inheritance and access to economic resources) should be amended or reformed so as to avoid lack of interest which has bedeviled active participation of women in democratic governance.

In addition, it was found out that apart from patriarchy and low educational attainment, women themselves contribute to their underrepresentation in politics. Most of the women leaders occupying political/leadership positions that gives them the opportunity to be involved in the formulation of policies in the state find it more comfortable working with their male counterpart as either their contemporaries or their personal aides in whatever capacity. They only reason advanced for this by most of them is that men are ever ready and prepared to

undertake any assignment given to them with little or no complaints or grudges unlike their female counterparts.

Finally, it was found out that though women in the state in recent years are changing their status as regards politics, those occupying public offices are still marginal and are not allowed a voice in the budget. Budget as we know, is the ultimate tool for governments in implementing their policies which has to be interpreted by the differing position of men and women in the economy.

Although women determine their household budgets, their voices are barely heard with regard to national/state budget. Therefore, there is need for government to empower women in and out of office in budgetary affairs.

This study set out to evaluate women and democratic governance in Kaduna North Local Government. After a deep study in the chosen area, the researcher made the following findings:

- (i) Women are under-represented in partisan politics or democratic governance in Kaduna. This means that although women are involved in politics, their number is very marginal when compared with men.
- (ii) Though women have contributed immensely to development of Kaduna North, no statistical data was available to give analysis of their contributions, thereby making their contributions invisible.
- (iii) Patriarchy, low educational attainment and lack of access to economic resources adversely affect women's participation in democratic governance.
- (iv) The researcher also found out that apart from patriarchy, low educational attainment and lack of access to economic resources, women themselves constitute their major constraint

to politics by their attitude towards their fellow women in politics and that of the elite class to the rural women.

(v) Finally, it was found out that even those women in public offices are not allowed a voice in the budget and most times are not involved in policy formulation and as a result, cannot influence policies in favour of women and this can be said to be one of the reasons why their impact is not being felt in the society.

1.10 Conclusion and Recommendations

The research work, which tried as much as possible to evaluate women and democratic governance in Kaduna State using Kaduna North Local Government as a case study, identified, while reviewing related literatures, that women have not been adequately or fully represented in democratic governance or at the decision-making level of government. The body of research fed us with more related factors that are responsible for the under-representation of women in democratic governance or partisan politics in Kaduna North Local Government. We therefore, make some suggestions on how to tackle the problems and improve women's involvement in democratic governance in the next section. It is our humble request that these commended ways or strategies for greater involvement of women in democratic governance should be followed to fully integrate women into mainstream politics and make government itself, efficient. We humbly agree, however, that many other ways or strategies for full participation and representation of women in democratic governance could be excavated because (we admit that) our suggestions here are not exhaustive. But, be it as it may, they are remedial to the identified problems.

In any case, continuing with the status quo (under-representation and participation of women in democratic governance) will not help matters in Nigerian democratic government

particularly in Kaduna North. A change for full integration and equal representation of women in democratic governance is necessary, if not compulsory.

Against the legion of factors found that militates full participation and equal representation of women in democratic governance in Kaduna North Local Government, the following recommendations were made to enable the women increase their involvement in politics for adequate representation in the decision-making positions of government.

1. Government should commit themselves to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, as well as in public administrative entities, and in the judiciary, setting specific targets and implementing measures substantial to increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men in governmental and public administrative positions.
2. Government should take measures, including where appropriate, in electoral system that encourage parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same level as men.
3. Government should promote equal rights of women and men to engage in political activities and freedom of association, including membership in political parties and trade unions.
4. Government should also, monitor and evaluate progress in the representation of women through the regular collection, analysis and dissemination of quantitative and qualitative data on women and men at all levels in various decision-making positions in public and private sectors, and disseminate data on the number of women and men employed at various levels in government on yearly basis, and ensure that women and men have equal access to the full range of public appointments and set up mechanisms within governmental structures for monitoring progress in this process.

5. Political parties should examine party structure and procedures to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women in politics.
6. Political parties should develop initiatives that allow women to participate fully in internal policy-making structures and appointive electoral nominating processes.
7. Political parties should incorporate gender issues in their political agenda, taking measures to ensure that women can participate in the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men.
8. All political stakeholders especially, women's organizations should build and strengthen solidarity among women through formation, education and sensitization activities and also advocate at all levels to enable women influence political, economic and social decisions, processes and systems, and work towards seeking accountability from elected representatives on their commitment to gender concerns.
9. Finally, all political stakeholders should create a system of monitoring for inexperienced women and girls, and in particular, offer training, including training in leadership and decision-making, public speaking and self-assertion, as well as in political campaigning and develop mechanisms and training to encourage women to participate in the electoral process, political activities and other leadership areas.

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