



**UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA**

***WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KATSINA LOCAL  
GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA***

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**WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KATSINA LOCAL  
GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA**

**By**

**AISHA IBRAHIM YUSUF**

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra  
Malaysia, in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of  
Science**

**August 2015**

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Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science

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**August 2015**

**Chair: Professor Jayum Anak Jawan, PhD**

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In Katsina local government area, women constitute almost half of the population. However despite their numerical significance, previous studies have shown that women there do not actively participate in political activities in the area. Since the creation of the local government area in 1987 to date no woman has ever occupied any elective position. This low representation of women in the local government presents a troubling issue to women as majority of victims of many unaddressed problems such as poverty, unemployment and illiteracy are women. In line with this argument therefore, this study aimed to investigate the reasons why women do not actively participate in politics and political activities in Katsina local government. Based on a review of literature and also application of a proposed method of civic voluntarism model, four research objectives and several hypotheses were generated in order to determine how key variables; income, time, civic skills, political interest, political efficacy, political knowledge, party identification, recruitment, cultural beliefs and religious beliefs from the proposed model affect women political participation.

Using quantitative method, a questionnaire was administered to 402 women who were randomly selected from 12 different wards in Katsina local government. The result of the study found that about 58.7% of variance in political participation was explained by all the predictor variables. The study found the following variables: income, civic skills, political interest, party identification, recruitment, cultural beliefs and religious beliefs to be significant in predicting the likelihood for women to participate in political activities. However, political efficacy, political knowledge and time appeared to have no significant influence on political participation. The study also found that there is a difference between hours women spent on domestic work and on political participation and also differences between family monthly income among women and their level of political participation. Based on the above findings the researcher recommended that government should make concerted efforts in ensuring that there is dramatic increase in terms of female literacy rate this will aid in boosting their sense of psychological engagement with politics.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Ijazah Master Sains

## **WANITA DAN PENYERTAAN POLITIK KATSINA KERAJAAN TEMPATAN NIGERIA**

Oleh

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Dalam kawasan kerajaan tempatan Katsina, wanita merupakan hampir separuh daripada penduduknya. Namun di sebalik kepentingan jumlah mereka, kajian sebelum ini telah menunjukkan bahawa wanita tidak mengambil bahagian secara aktif dalam politik dan aktiviti politik di kawasan itu. Sejak penubuhan kawasan kerajaan tempatan ini pada tahun 1987 sehingga kini wanita tidak pernah memegang apa-apa jawatan yang dipilih. Isu perwakilan rendah wanita dalam kedudukan politik dan aktiviti politik merupakan isu yang merisaukan kepada wanita kerana kebanyakan mangsa banyak masalah yang belum diatasi seperti kemiskinan, pengangguran dan buta huruf adalah wanita. Justeru itu, kajian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki sebab-sebab mengapa wanita tidak mengambil bahagian secara aktif dalam politik dan aktiviti politik dalam kawasan kerajaan tempatan Katsina. Berdasarkan kajian literatur dan juga penggunaan model sukarela sivik, empat objektif kajian dan beberapa hipotesis telah dijana untuk menentukan bagaimana pembolehubah utama; pendapatan, masa, kemahiran sivik, kepentingan politik, keberkesanan politik, ilmu politik, pengenalan parti, pengambilan pekerja, kepercayaan budaya / agama dari model yang dicadangkan memberi kesan kepada penyertaan wanita dalam politik.

Dengan menggunakan kaedah kuantitatif, soal selidik telah dibina dan diedarkan kepada 402 wanita yang telah dipilih secara rawak daripada 12 wad yang berbeza dalam kawasan kerajaan tempatan Katsina. Hasil kajian mendapati bahawa kira-kira 58.7% daripada varians dalam penyertaan politik telah dijelaskan oleh semua pembolehubah peramal. Kajian mendapati pembolehubah berikut: pendapatan, kemahiran sivik, kepentingan politik, pengenalan parti, pengambilan dan kepercayaan budaya dan kepercayaan agama menjadi penting dalam meramalkan kemungkinan wanita akan mengambil bahagian dalam politik dan aktiviti politik. Walau bagaimanapun, keberkesanan politik, ilmu politik dan masa nampaknya tiada pengaruh yang besar ke atas penyertaan politik. Kajian ini juga mendapati bahawa terdapat perbezaan antara jam yang wanita gunakan untuk kerja domestik dan penyertaan politik dan juga perbezaan antara pendapatan bulanan keluarga di kalangan wanita dan tahap penyertaan politik. Berdasarkan kepada dapatan kajian ini pengkaji mencadangkan supaya kerajaan perlu berusaha gigih dalam memastikan bahawa terdapat peningkatan dramatik dari segi kadar celik huruf wanita ini akan membantu dalam meningkatkan rasa penglibatan psikologi dengan politi

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I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on 12<sup>th</sup> August 2015 to conduct the final examination of Aisha Ibrahim Yusuf on her thesis entitled “Women and Political Participation in Katsina Local Government of Nigeria” in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U.(A) 106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the Master of Science.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAWP	Centre for American Women and Politics
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CVM	Civic Voluntarism Model
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
LEADS	League of Democratic Women
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEPU	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPC	Northern People's Congress
NPC	National Population Commission
SIEC	State Independent Electoral Commission
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Divisions
WCW	World Conference on Women
WRAPA	Women's Right Advancement and Protection Alternative
VIF	Variance Inflation Factor



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of Study

In any democratic society, equal political participation between male and female is vital to the sustainability of the system. Since both sexes have their needs and interest which must be taken into account, it will be unfair for one group to decide for the other (S. Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Accordingly, each adult member of the society should have the inalienable right to participate in the decision-making of their societies regardless of their sexes. Furthermore, broad inclusion and equality of participation for all citizens allows political competitors to know the range of citizens' preferences thereby enhancing responsiveness (Dahl, 1971). The Inter-Parliamentary Union, (IPU, 1997) states that "the achievement of democracy presupposes a genuine partnership between men and women in the conduct of the affairs of the society in which they work in equality and complementarity, drawing mutual enrichment from their differences". Thus, democracy as a system of government is characterized by justice, equality and freedom to all citizens. It is a system that opens a broad space for competitive political participation treating both citizens as equals (Dahl, 1971). Openness and free participation of the citizenry in the process offers the medium through which those in position of authority know the interests, needs, and preferences of citizens and respond to grievances made to them through such channels (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba, 2001). Based on this line of argument, the benefits of women's participation in politics should not be in doubt. However, in reality politics is globally dominated by men (Burns, et al., 2001). There is a widely held notion that inequalities experienced in the political sphere are perpetuated systematically to favour the most advantaged in terms of education, income and wealth (Lijphart, 1997). Men tend to dominate the political arena because they occupy this advantaged position. Consequently, women are placed in a disadvantageous position in terms of having a say in decision-making and shaping public policies.

The issue of gender inequality is a global phenomenon (Sen, 2001). Throughout history, women have long suffered inequalities ranging from discriminatory practices not only politically, but also in various aspects of life. This form of discriminatory practices affects all women irrespective of their social or economic status. In pre-Islamic Arabia, for example, the birth of a female child was considered so shameful to the extent parents bury their female daughters alive (Yahaya, 2012). The coming of Islam accorded and secured the right of the female child, placing her to the most exalted position and protecting her from inequalities and injustices (Yahaya, 2012). In ancient Rome, the belief of women's lack of mental acuity and physical strength was codified in the legal documents and it was mandated that every woman must be under a male (Lefkowitz & Fant, 1992). In ancient Greek women, are exchanged as objects of transactions and lived all their lives subject to male guardianship (Wohl, 1998). In India, Hinduism describes the good wife as one whose body, speech and mind are all subservient to a man (Raines & Maguire, 2001). Surprisingly in Africa, records show that there was no existence of such gross gender inequality. The traditional African

states do not place emphasis on gender issues as each have a role to play in the development of the society as a whole (Afisi, 2010). The roles of both men and women were complementary (Mba, 1982). Although in the traditional African societies there existed patriarchal ideologies where men were the heads of the family (Afisi, 2010). Nonetheless, women were held in high respect. In some societies, because of their ability to reproduce, they were seen next to god (Hafkin & Bay, 1976). This situation was also evident during the pre-colonial era in Nigeria. During the pre-colonial era no amount of gender discrimination or stereotyping existed in Nigerian societies. Both men and women played a major role in political, social and economic activities (Afisi 2010). Women engaged in different activities outside the household such as farming, crafting, and trading alongside men, thereby contributing towards societal development (Afisi 2010). Records exist of women such as Queen Amina of Zazzau, Queen Kambasa of the Ijaw, Queen Owari of Illesa, and Lady Tinibu who have excelled in both political and economic endeavours during the precolonial era (Fatile, Akhakpe, Igbokwe-Ibeto, & Oteh, 2012). According to Afisi (2010), gender discrimination and stereotyping in Nigeria began as a result of contact with European colonialism. Hence, during the post-colonial era the perspective of women by African men changed to mirror that of their colonial masters who viewed women's roles in the society as subservient (Boserup, 1970). Henceforth, women were subject to different forms of discriminations and subordinations reducing them to playing second fiddle in social, economic and political ranking (Afisi, 2010). However despite the influence of colonialism in subjugating women in Nigeria and many African societies, there exist a number of African women that resisted and went ahead to mobilize and challenge their colonial masters (Afisi, 2010). For example, in Congo, Dona Beatrice led a group of women to revolt against the pre-Portuguese Congo leadership (Thornton, 1998). In Nigeria, also, the Aba women of Eastern Nigeria rioted in 1929 against the British for imposing inhuman taxation (Uwazie, 2003). This goes to show that African women possess the political will and leadership qualities which of recent they have been denied to practice.

During the latter part of the 1960's, most Western countries embarked on the struggle to liberate women from all forms of discrimination and inequalities (Lemel & Noll, 2003). This fight pushes gender inequality to the world stage thereby co-opting the international community. In 1975, the first World Conference on Women (WCW) issues was held to protest against discriminations that exist between men and women in Mexico (Labani, Kaehler, & De Dios Ruiz, 2009). In the same year, women rights were presented as a set of rules in the human rights international instrument. That is: the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) came into effect in 1981 (Labani, et al., 2009). This serves as a framework for tackling issues of gender inequalities. In 1995, the fourth WCW was held in Beijing which emphasizes the importance of a woman's presence in decision-making bodies and political structures (Labani, et al., 2009). These indeed represent a milestone in which the issue of gender inequality is based upon not only the international community but also at the regional level.

Also, this development signals the wind of change in all parts of the world towards moving into a contemporary world with gender equality. Gender equality became a global issue with both stakeholders in particular women activist calling for an end to all forms of discriminations against women. As a result, improved representations of

women in national and legislative levels of government were recorded globally. Numerous women succeeded in becoming head of states such as Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Indira Gandhi of India. In Africa, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia was elected in 2005 as the first female President of the continent. Recently in Malawi, Joyce Banda assumed the presidency following the death of Malawi president Bingu Mutharika. At the present time, in Rwanda women constitute 63.8% of seats in parliament placing the country as the highest in terms of female representation (IPU, 2014). In addition, progress has been recorded on filling the gender gaps in parliament. A recent analysis of data on women parliamentarians by the IPU in 2014, showed that sub-saharan Africa has the highest percentage of women representatives (21.8 %) compared to the rest of the world at 19.2 % (IPU, 2014). The African average is still short of the target of 30 % set International Agencies.

Presently, in Nigeria, women do not actively participate in politics (K. Ajayi, 2007; Arowolo & Aluko, 2012; Fatile, et al., 2012). This is despite the fact that they constitute almost half of the nation's population of ca. 140 million (NPC, 2006). The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides for equal participation of all citizens. Section 40 of the same Constitution (Nigeria, 1999) states

“Every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons and in particular may form or belong to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interest... Section 42 (1) states further that “A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person be subjected to any form of discrimination”

Hence, this provides the legal justification for equal participation of both sexes in the political realm. Despite this constitutional backing, there is a gross absence of women at all levels of decision-making bodies in the country, and when present they are grossly outnumbered by men (Innocent, 2011). A closer look at the political environment in Nigeria from 1999-2012 reveals the under-representation of women in the decision-making of the country. Data from 1999 general elections in Nigeria and subsequent elections thereafter show low representation of women in federal legislative, state legislatures, and local government councils (see Table 1).

Many studies have been conducted to investigate the reasons/ factors that hinder women's participation in politics. Moreover, many more have been done to proffer possible solutions that could mitigate the impediments and improve the presence of women in political activities (Agbalajobi, 2010; K. Ajayi, 2007; Arowolo & Aluko, 2012; Fatile, et al., 2012). Generally, these studies have concluded that many factors are responsible that the low level of women participation in politics. These include cultural prejudices, direct discrimination and structural barriers, manipulation of religious injunctions, high levels of illiteracy and little financial independence and others. Agbalajobi (2010) identified the culturally perceived notion that women are the weaker sex whose primary role in the society is confined to household chores and in procreation. They are regarded as having little or no meaningful contribution to make in the administration and development of their societies. Societies also use religion to hinder women participation. For instance, in Northern Nigeria, the practice of the

pardah system (i.e. house seclusion of women) prevents women from intermingling freely with men during political activities (Akande, 1979). Consequently, only very few men, allow their wives to come out and participate in politics. This has

**Table 1.1. Women Elected to Various Offices in 2009 - 2011**

Office	1999		2003		2007		2011	
	Vacancy	Women	Vacancy	Women	Vacancy	Women	Vacancy	Women
President	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Senate	109	3 (2.8)	109	4 (3.7)	109	9 (8.3)	109	7 (6.4)
House of Representatives	360	7 (1.9)	360	21 (5.8)	360	27 (7.5)	360	25 (6.9)
Governor	36	0	36	0	36	0	36	0
State House of Assembly (SHA)	990	24 (2.4)	990	40 (3.9)	990	57 (5.8)	990	68 (6.9)
State House of Assembly								
Committee								
Chairpersons	829	18 (2.2)	881	32 (3.6)	887	52 (5.9)	887	-
Local								
Government Area								
Chairpersons	710	13 (1.8)	774	15 (1.9)	740	27 (3.6)	740	-
Councillors	6368	69 (1.1)	6368	267 (4.2)	6368	235 (3.7)	6368	-

Source: NBS (2009:63-65)

significantly reduced the number of women in policy positions in the Northern Nigeria (Yahaya, 2012). Another problem facing Northern women is inadequate education. Women constitute a larger percentage of the illiterate group in Northern Nigeria less than 20 per cent of women in the region are literate (British Council, 2012). This could be attributed to the fact that, previously in most families, parents preferred to send their sons to school, instead of their daughters. It is widely believed, that the girls would eventually be married off to other families. Western education was also seen as alien to belief and culture of the region; because it encourages the intermingling of both sexes which is considered un-Islamic. Thus, a larger percentage of the girls remained uneducated and unexposed. Also misinterpretations of Religious injunctions are also a probable cause (Yahaya, 2012). In Nigeria, the Religious space is dominated by men and with this advantage they tend to interpret Islamic injunctions to favour their patriarchal view on women in the public sphere (Yahaya, 2012). Also, inadequate finance has been identified (Ademiluyi & Adedamola, 2010; Fatile, et al., 2012) as a crucial hindrance to effective female participation in politics. Financial resources are essential in the electioneering process. They serve not only as a means for financing elections campaigns, but also as a source for gaining influence among the populace. A large portion of the Nigerian female population is not as financially strong as their male counterparts. Recent studies show that seventy percent of people living in poverty in Nigeria are women (British Council, 2012). Family responsibilities and childbearing also hinder women from participating effectively in partisan politics (Fatile, et al., 2012). Other identified factors include the influence of colonialism that sanctioned disenfranchisement (Agbalajobi, 2010). This point is corroborated by documented evidence. For example, In 1922 Sir Hugh Clifford Constitution, political participation was limited to wealthy male thereby officially disenfranchising women. This is not to say that there was no existing element of gender inequality in traditional state and stateless societies in Nigeria but that the colonial order made sex discrimination more pronounced (Agbalajobi, 2010). Women were constitutionally allowed to start participating in politics in 1979. Political parties are formed and managed by men (Labani, et al., 2009). Because men constitute the larger percentage of the party membership, they tend to dominate the party hierarchy and are, therefore, at advantage in influencing the party's internal politics (Labani, et al., 2009). In addition, even where a woman is contesting, voters including women overwhelmingly favour and tend to vote for male contestants rather than female contestant even in the case where the female contestant is considered more qualified.

Several studies have shown that, through their different perception and intellect women can contribute to strengthening political issues by redefining political priorities and providing new viewpoints on political matters (Chinkin, 2003). Women's participation enriches the democratic process. They are more likely to put gender issues on the policy agenda, set different priorities and possibly bridge the political divide more effectively than their male counterparts (Mayanja, 2010). For example, in Kenya it was not until a woman Hon Njoki Ndugu got elected to the house of parliament that sexual offences laws were finally enacted. Thus, the participation of women in Nigerian politics will not only engender greater inclusiveness but also promote diversity of ideas and innovativeness in governance. This is expected to lead to greater equity, social justice, development and most importantly lead to the emergence of a peaceful and harmonious society.



As stated earlier, the rights of women, to participate in politics and political decision-making, are enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution and the country is also a signatory to many international and regional treaties and laws to protect and promote the advancement of women. This includes the Beijing Platforms of Action, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality, the New Partnership for African Development, etc. Also the Nigerian Government in its effort to curb gender inequality has passed a National Gender Policy which has as one of its goals the eradication of sex inequality in power relations and to support, encourage and increase women participation in decision making. Also many Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) both foreign and local such as the League of Democratic Women (LEADS), Women's Right Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA), BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights have made concerted efforts to encourage active participation of women in politics and reduce societal discrimination against them through holding of sensitization workshops, pushing for the enactment of gender biased legislation, use of monetary incentives, co-opting religious personalities to preach the spiritual virtues of women participating in active politics. Such initiatives have only succeeded to a limited extent.

## **1.2 The Country Nigeria and Her People**

Nigeria is a country in the Continent of Africa (see Figure 1.1 (a)). Specifically, the country is located in the West African region, and comprise of 36 states and the capital territory Abuja in the centre of Nigeria. The country is bordering Niger to the North, Chad and Cameroun in the East, Republic of Benin in the West (Anyabolu, 2000). In the national census conducted in 2006, the National Population Commission (NPC) states that the country has a population of over 140 million (NPC, 2006). Nigeria is a multi-cultural and multi-religious country comprising of over 250 ethnic groups. The major ethnic groups in the country are the Hausa-Fulani making up 30 % of the total population, Yorubas 20 % and the Igbos 15 % (Falola, 2001). The country consists of the northern region and the southern part. Figure 1.1 (b) above gives the visual representation of the country in other to aid in explaining the multi-cultural and multi-religious diversity of the Nigerian state. The Northern and Southern regions of the country are almost literarily separated by Rivers Niger and Benue. Above these rivers, lies the northern region which consists of 19 states and atotal population of about 75,025,166 (NPC, 2006) the area is predominantly occupied by the Hausa/Fulani and other ethnic minorities such as Kanuri, Jukun, Tiv, Nupe, Gwari, Biroms, Igbira, Igala, Idoma, Babur, Mumuye to mention a few (Falola, 2001). Islam is the dominant religion among the inhabitants of this region (Falola, 2001). However, there exist quite a number of Christians and traditional religion followers across the area. While below the rivers, lies the southern part of Nigeria comprised of 16 states and a population of 64,978,376 (NPC, 2006), the major ethnic groups in the region are the Yoruba to the West and the Igbos to the East. However, there are many ethnic minorities spread across the area such as the Ijaw, Itsekiri, Urhobo, Edo, Ibibio to mention a few (Falola, 2001). Christianity is the dominant religion of the region however Islam and traditional religion is practiced by a large part people in the Western part of Southern Nigeria (Falola, 2001). In addition, variation, in terms of socioeconomic resources is highly visible in the two regions (Mancini, 2009). The northern region which constitutes

almost 65.2 percent of the entire population is characterized by high level of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy compared to the south part.

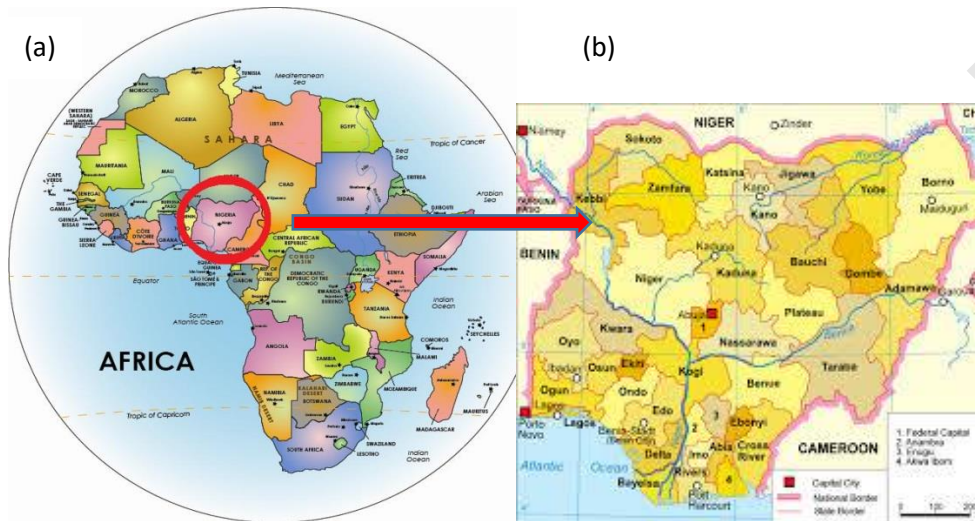


Figure 1.1. (a) Map of Africa showing location of Nigeria. (b) The Map of Nigeria showing the 36 states including Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory.

### 1.3 Location of the Study Area

The study area is Katsina local government located in Katsina state in the Northern part of Nigeria. It was created on 13 September 1987, it is the capital city of Katsina State and the largest town in the state. It has an area of 142km with a population of 318,132. The city is situated between Kaita and Batagarawa local government of Katsina state. The city is mostly dominated by the Muslims, and the people are mainly from the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group. Katsina is endowed with vast arable land for farming of grains such as corn, millet, and guinea corn.

In terms of politics, the city being the State capital of Katsina state is the nerve centre of the state government activities. The city houses all the eleven state ministries including the executive, legislative and the judicial arm of the government.

### 1.4 Statement of Research Problem

Political participation is defined as any form of activity aimed towards influencing government actions or policies (S. Verba & Nie, 1972). These types of activities ranged from voting, running for political office, party membership and participating in protest activities. Citizens partake in these acts with the intent to make their needs and preferences known to public officials (S. Verba & Nie, 1972). Because it serves as the only channel that link the citizens and the government it becomes imperative for every eligible citizen to partake in these forms of political activities. Therefore, limiting

political participation to certain group of people in a democratic setting can be detrimental to its sustainability. However, in Katsina local government area of Katsina state in Nigeria women do not actively participate in political activities despite constituting almost half of the local government area population (NPC, 2006). Records have shown that with the creation of the local government area (LGA) in 1987 to date, no woman has ever succeeded in securing elective posts. The possible explanation for this could be attributed to the predominant views of women in the society within the cultural and religious context. Traditionally there is widely belief that women's place is in the home where she takes her primary responsibility as a wife or mother. The segregation of women in the public sphere makes it difficult for her to gain access to both the economic and political environment. As a result of this, women are placed at a disadvantaged position. Majority of these women are living in a vicious cycle of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment in the area (British Council, 2012). Consequently The National Democratic institute (2013) states that having a substantive presence of women in legislative bodies aid in solving the socio-economic and political problems faced by women, as women legislators tend to take women issues as their top priorities and address them than men legislators (Carroll, 2001). Participation of women in political activities contribute in building a just and honest society as countries that support women leadership have low rates of corruption (NDI, 2013). Therefore based on this line of argument it becomes very important to investigate why women in Katsina local government do not actively participate in politics and also examine the factors that affect their participation.

Numerous theories of political participation have been developed by different researchers in the political science field. However, most of these theories focused their attention in explaining why individuals choose to participate in political activities (Cramer, 1998). Verba, Schlozman & Brady (1995) in their ground breaking research developed the Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) in order to explain not only why individuals participate in political activities but also why they choose not to participate. The proponents of the theory invert the usual question of why do citizens participate and ask instead why do people choose not to participate? The authors presented three possible answers to explain why citizens choose not to participate: because they can't (they lack socioeconomic resources), because they are not interested (they lack psychological engagement with politics) or because they were not asked to (they were not recruited). According to the proponents of the theory these three factors provide plausible explanation on why some individuals engage in political acts while others abstain. Because this study is interested in investigating why women in Katsina local government do not actively participate in politics the civic voluntarism model remain relevant in explaining this social problem. Therefore this study will test the civic voluntarism model in other to determine to what extent do key factors in the model affects women participation in politics and also explain their low absence in political activities. In addition to that two important variables: cultural beliefs and religious beliefs will be added to the civic voluntarism model to examine how they affect women participation in political activities. According Nyemutu, Olakunle and Micheal (2009) Islam as a religion is a total way of life and has great influence on its followers. Its regulation guides the whole aspects of human life from the personal, family and community. Therefore since majority of the people in the study area are adherents of Islamic beliefs it becomes important to investigate how these beliefs affect their participation in political activities. For the purpose of understanding this social



phenomenon this study employs a proposed model from the civic voluntarism model developed by Verba, Scholzman and Brady (1995).

The issue on the low level of women participation in politics has been studied in Nigeria by many researchers. Most of these studies focused their attention in investigating the factors that influence/impede women's involvement in political activities and also proffer possible solutions (Adedokun, 2012; Ademiluyi & Adedamola, 2010; Agbalajobi, 2010; K. Ajayi, 2007; Ajibade, Ocheni, & Adefemi, 2012; Arowolo & Aluko, 2012; Chukwuemeka & Eze, 2011; Fatile, et al., 2012; Ikuomola & Okunola, 2011; Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2012; Ogbogu, 2012; Samuel & Segun, 2012). However, most of these studies have failed to apply the theoretical perspective of political participation in order to understand why women do not actively participate in political activities. Therefore this study will make a unique contribution by utilizing a theoretical perspective of political participation based on civic voluntarism model in order to understand this social phenomenon. Also to the best of the researcher ability so far no study was conducted in the study area on women and political participation by applying theoretical explanations of political participation and looking specifically on cultural and religious beliefs. In addition to this studies have indicated that there exist differences among countries and within countries in terms of women's participation in politics and differences based on socioeconomic status cultural, religious and racial divide among women (Burns, et al., 2001; Pamela Paxton, Kunovich, & Hughes, 2007). These differences between peoples, communities and states make generalization of research findings and their universal applicability impossible. This however buttresses the importance of studying women distinctively within the same community with common characteristics.

Therefore the gap identified by this research is that most studies conducted on this subject matter have been carried out grouping both the women of northern Nigeria and southern Nigeria together despite internal `socioeconomic variations between the two regions and relative differences in terms of religious and cultural belief (Mancini, 2009; Onayemi, 2007). Although there are studies on women and political participation conducted in states and local government which to some extent represent a population of people with a common culture and religion however such studies were conducted in the southern part of Nigeria. Therefore neglecting these differences between the two regions and studying Nigerian women collectively will entail the failure to understand the extent to which they affect the way(s) women participate in political activities. Therefore this study will examine how key variables from the civic voluntarism model affect women participation in political activities and what role they play in explaining the absence of women in the political realm. The current study will also combine another important variable cultural beliefs and religious belief to the civic voluntarism model and examine its effects on women participation in politics in the study area. It is only when these issues are brought forth to light and also addressed by researchers that the relative increase in women participation in political activities will be achieved in the study area.

Addressing women's participation in politics from this perspective will help in providing vast literature to address the reasons behind the low level of women participation in political activities. The study will provide policy makers with ideas which will help in formulating policies that will not cross the boundaries of religious

and social norms. Also men of the study area will benefit from this study by understanding that through their assistance and approval women can participate in political activities without hindrance. Addressing such issues from this background will help in reducing the significance that the society gives to culture at the expense of women's political participation thereby enhancing women's participation in politics and reducing the widely notion that politics falls outside the socially acceptable activities of women.

In the light of the above issues discussed this study will raise possible research questions that stems from the gap identified:

- How do key variables from the civic voluntarism model: Civic skills, income, time, political interest, political efficacy, political knowledge, party identification and recruitment affect women's participation in political activities?
- How does cultural belief and religious belief affect women's participation in political activities?

### **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

In line with the research questions raised above this study have the following objectives:

1. To compare the difference between the time women spent on domestic work and on political participation.
2. To compare the difference between women's family monthly income groups among women and their level of political participation.
3. To determine the relationship between civic skill, political interest, political efficacy, recruitment, cultural beliefs, religious beliefs, political knowledge, party identity, hours spent on domestic work and monthly family income and political participation among women.
4. To determine the unique predictors to political participation.

### **1.6 Justification of the Study**

Many studies have been conducted in Nigeria to investigate the low presence of women in politics. However, majority of these studies focus mainly on identifying the reasons/factors that hinder the active participation of women in political activities (Adedokun, 2012; K. Ajayi, 2007; Ajibade, et al., 2012; Arowolo & Aluko, 2012; Fatile, et al., 2012; Ikuomola & Okunola, 2011; Samuel & Segun, 2012) . Generally, these studies have identified the hurdles to include crime during election, manipulation of religious injunctions, illiteracy, low financial independence and the so called purdah system. There has been little attempt at in-depth investigation of the role that resources (time, money and civic skills), psychological engagement, recruitment, cultural beliefs and religious beliefs of the women play in constraining their presence in the political sphere. This study will attempt to bridge this gap. We proposed to do this by applying

the model of civic voluntarism. The enrichment of the civic voluntarism model will provide a more comprehensive knowledge that will enable us to explain the reasons why women are not actively participating in political activities in the study area. The results of this study will thereby give us the wider picture on the issue of women and political participation in the study area. In addition, the results of the research work will enrich the knowledge base that can be employed to further enlighten women that they can bring about the needed change in the society if they participate fully in politics and if they are in the corridors of power.

### **1.7 Definition of Terms**

The following terms and definitions were used throughout the study:

**Political Participation:** In general term political participation is seen as those activities a citizen takes part in in order to be involved in decision-making or influence public policy (S. Verba & Nie, 1972). They include those activities that are geared towards a political system through which citizens are able to state their needs and preferences either through direct means example demonstration or indirect means voting (S. Verba & Nie, 1972). Through participating citizens develop political education and also express their political beliefs. Birch (2007) defines political participation as those actions that a citizen takes part in selecting their leaders or shaping public policies. For this study I will use Sidney Verba's explanation of political participation which include not only participating in voting but taking part in more demanding forms of political activities such as political campaigns, contacting officials etc. Therefore political participation can be define as taking part in any activity considered to be political in nature ranging from participating in election related activities, contacting local officials, participating in civil political action and local community action. The basis for a prosperous democratic state is its ability to provide equal chance for citizen participation in the system (Birch, 2007). There are different ways in which a citizen involves in political activities. Some are active and participate in political activities directly like discussing in political issues, contesting for political office etc. while some are inactive and show no much concern in political activities they just comply with laws such as paying taxes (S. Verba & Nie, 1972).

**Gender Inequality:** "Gender inequality can be seen as the unequal access by women relative to men in terms of status, power, privileges and material resources" (Blumberg, 1984). This unequal access prevents women from having equal opportunity compared to men in realizing their full capabilities as citizen. Thus reducing the benefits derived in economic and political participation. There is widely notion that gender differences in behaviour between male and female can best be explained from their biological differences while the male are characterized to be aggressive females are considered to be passive (Lorber, 2006). This entails that natural causes are the reason for gender inequality (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006; Lorber, 2006). However there is also a belief that differences arises between both genders as a results of roles assigned to them by their societies for the fact of them being female or male (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006). Through socialization both sexes learn to accept their specific roles which match up to their sex (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006). Thus gender inequality is the unavoidable effect of gender differences (Kimmel, 2000). For this study I will use Blumberg definition of

gender inequality that is the unequal treatment women experience in the society based on their gender.

**Income:** Income refers to the family monthly income earning before tax.

**Time:** The availability of free time an individual has that will enable him/her to partake in political activities.

**Civic Skills:** Civic skills are” those communications and organizational capacities that are so essential to political activity” (Verba et a 1995) such as chairing meetings, making speeches, writing letters etc.

**Political Interest:** Political interest refers to the importance an individual gives to political matters.

**Political Efficacy:** Political efficacy refers to individual perception regarding his/her possibility to influence political decision-making and the amount of responsiveness he/she thinks government can give to their particular concern (Chan & Guo, 2011).

**Political Knowledge:** Political knowledge describes what an individual knows about politics including the workings of government current affairs, political systems and institutions.

**Party Identification:** Party identification refers to individual identification with a political party.

**Recruitment:** Recruitment refers to “request for participation that comes to individuals at work, in church and organizations- especially those that come from friends, relatives and acquaintances” (Verba, et al., 1995).

**Cultural Beliefs:** Cultural beliefs refer to “the ideas and thoughts common to several individuals that govern interaction” (Avner, 2004). Cultural beliefs provide an organized pattern for members of a certain society on how they should behave. These certain acceptable behaviours are transmitted from generation to generation.

**Religious Beliefs:** Religious belief is defined as the belief in the Supreme Being (Clouser, 2005).

## Summary

The origin of the research topic study is from the researcher’s observation that women in Katsina local government are not actively participating in political activities. Therefore this study aims to find out why women in Katsina local government are not actively participating in political activities and the factors that affects their participation. The Civic Voluntarism Model was utilized as the theoretical framework of the study. Considering the importance of cultural and religious beliefs to the people of Katsina State and how these beliefs in turn influences and determine human behavior and actions. This study enriches the Civic Voluntarism model by adding the cultural and religious beliefs variables to examine how they affect women’s political

participation. In general this study will examine how income, time, political interest, political efficacy, political knowledge, party identification, recruitment, cultural beliefs and religious beliefs affect the participation of women in political activities. The following chapters are arranged as:

Chapter Two: In chapter two a review of relevant literature which gives details about the global context of women participation in political activities and also studies conducted in Nigeria was presented in order to identify the research gaps from previous studies. A literature review of the Civic Voluntarism Model and other related topics were discussed.

Chapter Three: Chapter Three provide the proposed theoretical framework of the study, including an outline of the research design, research methodology, data collection, sampling technique and data analysis.

Chapter Four: In Chapter the results of the findings from this studies were presented including discussions of the findings

Chapter Five: Summary, conclusion and recommendation for future research.



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