A CRITICAL STUDY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES HINDERING WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KAJURU LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE

BY

ANDREW ISRAEL
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, this thesis is my original work, has been written by me in its entirety and has never been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are suitably acknowledged by means of references.

ANDREW Israel **Date**

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this dissertation, titled; "A Critical Study of Socio-Cultural Practices Hindering Women's Political Participation in Kajuru LGA of Kaduna State" written by ANDREW Israel, (MA/ARTS/11860/2010 – 2011) meets the requirements for the award of Master of Arts Degree in Development Communication from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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Dr. Emmanuel Jegede **Date**
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

---------- ----------

Prof Emmy Idegu **Date**
Member, Supervisory Committee

---------- ----------

Professor M.I. Umar-Buratai **Date**
Head of Department

---------- ----------

Professor Z. Hassan **Date**
Dean, School of Post Graduate Studies

DEDICATION

This piece of effort is dedicated to my son, Bethel Israel Kwasau and his unborn siblings; Daddy has added yet another academic benchmark for you to measure your academic successes.

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ABSTRACT

In this modern age of development, political inequality between men and women has always been an important issue of concern. This is so because of the realization that the marginalization of a segment, race or particular sex in the society has far – reaching implications on the development of that society. Nigerian society and perhaps many countries in Africa seem to have a tenacious tradition of inequality in different facets of life. With the understanding that there is a growing tradition of political inequality against women, Nigeria adopted some gender discriminatory strategies that sought to protect women from cultural practices that demeaned and made them second class citizens no matter their background or social orientation. This is to restore confidence in women and encourage them to participate in all fields of human activity for a better human and material development. But despite the adoption of quota system, affirmative action, and gender development communication campaigns, some societies in Nigeria have shown little sign of progress especially in the area of women participation in politics. The purpose of this study is to assess the effects of existing communication practice on women participation in politics in Kajuru Local Government Area of Kaduna State. The study also attempted to examine some socio-cultural practices that discourage women participation in politics and also suggest some communication strategies that could enhance women political participation in the area under study. This study utilized the qualitative approach to collect information from men, women and relevant persons, Institutions and Government Departments in Four Ward districts of Kajuru Local Government through Focus Group Discussions (F.G.D.) as well as in-depth interviews. The data collected were analyzed and they have shown that, communication practices that exist in the area of study do not always address the established cultural practices that have adversely discouraged or off-put women from participating in politics. It was also gathered from the study that, rather than religion and other cultural practices, the major problems of inadequate participation of women in politics are in the content and medium or pattern of communication which is patriarchal and akin to the vertical and mass media kind of communication. However, in seeking to contribute to the development of more effective communication practice in the area under study, the study recommended the Horizo- vertical pattern of Communication. This is a blend of the mass and folk media or interpersonal communication. Its strength is in its flexibility and multimedia approach. In a whole, the study helped to highlight how media culture and content might affect the participation of particularly women, in politics. Hence, the problem of inadequate participation of women in politics is a problem of culture and of how the culture is communicated in this modern age.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE		PAGES
Title page	- - - - - - - - -	i
Declaration	- - - - - - - - -	ii
Certification	- - - - - - - - -	iii
Dedication	- - - - - - - - -	iv
Acknowledgement	- - - - - - - - -	v
Abstract	- - - - - - - - -	vii
Table of Contents	- - - - - - - - -	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION		
1.1	Background to the Study - - - - - -	1
1.2	Statement of the Research Problem - - - - -	4
1.3	Aim and Objectives of the Study - - - - -	6
1.4	Justification for the Study - - - - - -	7
1.5	Research Questions - - - - - - -	8
1.6	Scope and Delimitation of the Study - - - - -	9
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE		
2.0	Introduction - - - - - - - - -	10
2.1	Culture and Religion- - - - - - - -	10
2.2	Culture and the Emergence of Feminism - - - -	13
2.3	Identity Construction - - - - - - - - -	16
2.4	Women Political Development: A Global Analysis - - -	18
2.5	Women Political Participation in Nigeria - - - - -	20
2.6	Effects of Mass Media on the society - - - - - - -	23
2.7	Theoretical Framework - - - - - - - - -	30

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design - - - - - - - 34

3.2 Research Population - - - - - - - 35

3.3 Sampling Frame and Technique - - - - - 36

3.4 Data Collection Tools/Methods - - - - - 38

3.5 Justification/Application of Data collection Tools - - - 42

3.6 Procedure for Data Presentation and Analysis - - - 43

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction - - - - - - - - 45

4.1 Features of Focus Group Discussants - - - - - 45

4.2 Presentation of Data According to Research Questions - - 47

4.3 Communication Approaches for Enhancing Woman Political Participation in Kajuru LGA - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 57

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction - - - - - - - - 61

5.1 Summary - - - - - - - - - 61

5.2 The Study Major Findings - - - - - - - 62

5.3 Recommendations - - - - - - - 66

5.4 Conclusions - - - - - - - - - 69

References- - - - - - - - - 72

Appendixes - - - - - - - - 77

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background to the Study

The place of communication in enhancing a sense of belonging and social responsibility among members of a society is deeply rooted in its ability to empower people with knowledge and information that could translate to self-discovery, confidence and the will to act on issues needing action. Kothari, in S.K. Nair and S.A. White (1993:23) wraps it up:

> The role of communication…has to be thought of not as a specialized concern, but as a part and parcel of the struggles for human liberation, freedom and justice, strengthening the struggles of communities and cultures of national entities that are thought to be marginalized people…

Communication, in whatever form or channel (mass media, social media or folk media) must serve an empowering or liberating purpose. It must be able to re-awaken people to the realization of societal forces or stereotypes that threaten their transformation and empowerment as a community, race, gender, class or individuals.

Concerns for the role of communication in social transformation began with UNESCO in the 1950s which was elaborated decades later by McAnany (1980), where he examined the relevance of communication to the rural third world. Similarly, Rogers (1983) in "Diffusion of Innovations" also focused on the poor majority, their communication behavior and the impact of education and information on their situations. Rogers recognizes target audience, information environment, information flow, media campaigns and exposure, as the organizational structures of communication that when carefully handled could have positive impact on majority of people.

The organizational, transformational and participatory values of communication must be employed towards conscientization of the marginalized. Paulo Freire (1970) first

introduced the concept of conscientization in communication. Freire argues that, communication should be practiced not as message transmission but as emancipatory dialogue, a particular form of non-exploitative egalitarian dialogue which is carried out in an atmosphere of profound love and humility.

Nair and White (1987), when re-conceptualizing development communication suggest a holistic approach which incorporates the notion of an inter-face between communication and participation. Nair and White view participatory communication as the answer to social injustice and unequal right. Participatory communication ensures citizen empowerment and acquisition of knowledge that could enable people change their lifestyles, relationships and perceptions about their socio-cultural and socio-political environment.

When tailored towards social transformation, communication can be said to be a vehicle for empowerment and liberation from mental and psychological shackles that bind people to structures and processes of oppression and domination. This is also the dimension at which communication is employed in this research. It is contextually channeled towards change (liberation and transformation).

Therefore, the practice of Freire as well as Nair and White's concepts of communication for liberation and social change are vital to the fundamental issues facing the process of governance and democratization where there is a continued lack of gender equality in political leadership. World-wide today, women represent only one in seven parliamentarians, one in ten cabinet ministers and at the apex of power, one in twenty heads of states or government (Norris and Inglehart, 2010).

Multiple factors have contributed towards this situation. These include structural, social, institutional and cultural factors etc. Most striking among these factors is cultural practices and attitudes which have tenaciously continued to prove a significant influence on the proportion of women politicians the world over (Kiamba, 2009).

A recent study by the inter-parliamentary union interviewing 187 women politicians in 65 countries to find out about their experiences discovered that, hostile socio-cultural practices to women participation in politics was the second most rampant barrier against women that are running for political positions and preceded closely by the problems of sex roles in the society (IPU, 2010). However, the social problem of sex role cannot be dissociated from the questions of culture in the family and community. Sex role is a socio-cultural practice that arguably accorded the women an 'extra-unofficial' role than the man. Hence, even the problem of sex role is culturally inclined.

In 2006, the world value survey conducted an investigation in 55 societies (including African societies) and has evidently established that, there exist substantial differences in cultural practices and attitudes towards women leadership in post-industrial, post-communist and developing societies.

Evidence drawn from this survey has also shown that, comparatively, egalitarian societies (communities with high sense of equal rights) have a high number of women politicians irrespective of their socio-economic levels. This is a product of social transformation that comes through conscientization (Inglehart, 2007).

The same can be said about the situation in Nigeria, where cultural indices of history, customs, belief systems or religion form the basis for cultural practices. While it

is easier for women to excel politically in communities with growing consciousness of equal right, same cannot be said about communities with strict adherence to cultural indices, especially those that subvert the woman. Hence, the situation varies from one region to another.

In an interview with Nigerian Weekly Trust Newspaper, in a headline: 'The women politicians are coming', Senator Nenadi Usman argues that, unlike other senatorial districts, the politics of southern Kaduna is dominated by men and this is largely due to cultural practices and attitudes. Though there may be other reasons behind inadequate representation of women in politics, like lack of interest, ignorance, herculean demand of politics and so on, cultural factors constitute the major reasons.

However, the process of effective communication which is a sine-qua-non for positive socio-cultural attitudes and practices may be inadequate in Kajuru LGA and this might have affected the proportion of women politicians in the area.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

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 C. and Herbert Batta, 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 (2010) 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).

As a socio-cultural organ, Mass Media has not been able to significantly change the apparent inequality in political participation between men and women in Nigeria. The mass media is said to have given inadequate attention to issues that are particularly significant to women leading to its inability to address socio-cultural practices militating against women's participation in politics. The impact of this failure according to Ashong and Batta, (2011) worsens prejudices against women and heightens the culture of poor political participation.

For example, the Nigerian home video industry is a socio-cultural organ that portrays a negative image of women through its messages. At the dusk of the twentieth century, Okunna, (2000) observed that, quite often, Nigerian home video was filled with negative images of women as immoral, materialistic, lazy, dependent and subservient to men. Consequently, research has shown that, this culture leaves youth, particularly girls, with feelings of inferiority and increases society's erroneous perceptions about the woman's leadership potentials (Okunna,2000; Ezeigbo,1996).

The family is another socio-cultural institution that communicates customs and value systems to its offspring. The traditional belief or system of attaching prominence to male children over their female counterpart even when they are older and more intelligent passes the wrong message to young people. Citing the example of the Hausa community, where seven and three ululations are reportedly used to welcome a newborn male and

female respectively, Lanihun (2003) argues that, masculine is apparently rated higher than the feminine and this tends to give women a lower status in the family and society by extension.

The messages and teachings of religion according to feminist liberation theologians are patriarchal. The messages seek to subvert the woman and make her subjected to man. Okure, (1993) argues that, from the beginning, the society has been patriarchal which accounts for traces of patriarchal teachings and interpretation of the 'Holy Books' by the hitherto male-dominated field of theology. This she maintains is to make the man a permanent leader while the woman remains a follower.

Therefore, overtly or covertly, the combination of mass media, family and religion which are all socio-cultural organs, seem to fuel socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes that do not favor women's participation in political leadership. This reinforces gross inequality between men and women in politics and governance.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this research is to enhance the participation of women in political leadership in Kajuru LGA of Kaduna State.

The study also has the following objectives

i. To examine perceptions on male and female participation in political leadership in Kajuru LGA.
ii. To assess the level of women's participation in politics within the study area.
iii. To identify and examine some cultural practices and attitudes hindering women vying for political positions within the LGA under investigation.

iv. To investigate the efficiency and efficacy of existing communication strategies used for women political sensitization within the study area.

v. To suggest a communication framework that could enhance effective women political participation within the area of study.

1.4 Justification for the Study

Issues of women political leadership in recent times have been treated with a high level of concern the world over. The recent adoption, (by Heads of States) of the declaration by United Nations Organization for 35% affirmative action on the right of women to occupy political positions is a pointer to the fact that, women are left behind as far as national and international politics are concerned.

Evidence presented by (Sadie, 2005) has shown that, the 35% affirmative action that seeks to place women in political position was relatively not working in most African countries except in South-Africa and Mozambique, where there was 32.8% and 37.2% achievement respectively. In Nigeria, the situation leaves much to be desired as the percentage of women in the national assembly was put at 6.9% (Norris and Inglehart, 2010).

According to Nigerian Weekly Trust October (2010), president Olusegun Obasanjo's administration witnessed a high number of women in his cabinet and perhaps the highest point for Nigerian women when Patricia Etteh became the speaker of the House of Representative. More women were also on the scene during the late President Umaru Musa Yar'adua as well as President Goodluck Jonathan's administration; yet 35% realization of affirmative action is still a mirage even when some political parties have

granted waivers to women. The questions that are begging for answers are: What is responsible for this failure? Where are the women? Why are they not largely in political positions?

It is in an attempt to answer the above questions that this research undertakes a comprehensive study on the relationship between culture, development communication and women participation in politics. It is believed that, the findings and recommendations of this research would go a long way in empowering women politically and helping in achieving 35% affirmative action for a sustainable social transformation from grassroots to national politics.

1.5 Research Questions

To achieve the objectives of this research, the following questions are presented:

- How is male participation different from female participation in politics in kajuru LGA?
- What is the level of women participation in political leadership in kajuru L.G.A.?
- What are the hinderances to adequate participation of women in political participation?
- What kinds of communication strategies are used for political conscientization and how accessible are they to women?
- What alternative strategies can be used to foster adequate women political participation?

1.6 Scope/Delimitation of the Study

The aim of this study is to enhance women's political participation in Kajuru LGA by establishing socio-cultural barriers and providing alternative communication approaches that could address these barriers and enhance political participation. Thus, socio-economic barriers were not considered.

The study has covered the level of women's political participation in the chosen communities only with particular reference to the return of democracy from 1999 – 2011. Due to the demands of multiple data collection tools and methods used as well as time frame limitation, the study covered only four districts out of ten. The researcher categorized the ten districts into north and south cardinal points and two districts were chosen from each point.

Taking into consideration the culture of the people in some communities, which compels women to stay indoors and be visited by only family members and females, the selection interviews and Focus Group Discussions in those communities were designed to be carried out by female research assistants.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

The desire by development communicators and practitioners to change communication systems that do not work and create those that do is seen in a body of scholarly literatures that seek to understand reasons behind the failure of some specific communication methods and approaches in achieving the anticipated results especially in the area of political participation for women. Research findings and experiences of scholars on how socio-cultural attitudes and practices are constructed have gone a long way in shaping notions on how development communication campaigns should be carried out in these contemporary times to properly address issues of social transformation. Thus, this chapter would review scholars' ideas on relevant concepts as well as discuss literatures related to the study.

2.1 Culture and Religion

Different cultural experts define and conceptualize culture from different perspectives based on its historical evolution. For example, Worsely (1984) forwarded four ideal types of conceptualizing culture.

- The elitist
- The Holistic
- The hegemonic and
- The pluralist

In the first concept, culture implies superior values reserved for the dominant few. In the second, it implies a whole way of life. In the third, culture is a set of behaviors or beliefs imposed on the majority by those who rule them. The last concept recognizes that various communities in the society have distinctive codes of behavior and different value systems.

Hence, it suffices to say that, culture is that complex whole which include knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, religion, roles, attitudes, hierarchies and any other practices and habits acquired by man through the processes of socialization. Culture is made up of structures, primarily institutions and practices that reflect and uphold a particular social order through the definition of certain social groups, values, expectations, meanings and patterns of behavior as natural and good while others as unnatural, bad or wrong. Apparently, in contemporary times, societies have constantly and consistently concerned themselves with decisions about what is good or bad in their cultural practices with a view to either correcting or discarding it. Eagleton (2002:2) captures this concern succinctly:

> Culture has had various versions and has over the years, inherits an imposing mantle of religious authority… and it is between the two poles of negative and positive that the concept is currently pitched.

Thus, to achieve social transformation, culture and cultural practices must pass through a screening tube (no matter their religious or traditional etymology) to ensure development among race, class and communities. For culture to enhance development, it must be flexible to conform to the changing realities of the society. Udeafor (1994), strengthened this position when he argues that, "a healthy culture is essentially dynamic, whereby it is critically open to happenings around it".

By the above definition and features of culture, religion can be viewed as a manifestation of culture. In one of its various definitions, the International Theological Commission (ITC) defines religion as a cultural work with all the characteristic of culture that reflects the particular idiosyncrasy of each people and their unique identity. Though religion is a manifestation of culture, it can be argued that religion has the capacity to create its own culture. Therefore, culture and religion are inter-woven and can reinforce each other in subtle ways. However, liberation theologians like Gustavo (1973) and Esack (1997) caution the society on the dangers of using cultural elements like religion to perpetuate domination and create what Worsley calls hegemonic culture. Melkote and Steeve (2001), in an essay, "Liberation Theology and Marxism" identified the capacities of culture and religion to enhance and (or) truncate development. While Marxists blame religion for under-development, Liberation Theologians see an emotive, symbolic and sociological force in religion that could be useful to social transformation. This position is also substantiated by Wang and Dissanayake (1984):

> Religion and local cultures are essential to providing a context for development... denying the role of religion and culture would mean denying change to the people or nations involved

For instance, the custom in some societies whereby a woman gives up her name and takes her husband's name on marriage gives the message that a woman is defined by her relationship to a man but a man is not equivalently defined by his relationship with a woman. This is a socially constructed culture and denying the role it plays in placing wives under the control of their husbands, is denying the wind of change that has characterized the modern society. (Suter, 2004)

2.2 Culture and the Emergence of Feminism

Feminism is basically an emerging understanding of life in the light of experiences and insights of women. Those who consider themselves feminists are men and women who belong to the feminist movements and are motivated by an ideology termed "Feminist Consciousness" which was coined in the middle of the 20th century A.D. in the United States of America (Umoren, 2006).

Feminism is historically born out of the belief that the oppression of women is systematic and cultural in nature. Some feminists identify the oppressive culture as patriarchy. They make giant strides to actively redress the oppression of women in any form, especially that of changing the structures of patriarchy in the society. It is far more than either a search for mere social equality within the status-quo or individual fulfillment. Bunch (1993:249-252) identifies the following as one of the goals of feminism:

> The freedom from oppression for women involves not only equity but also the right of women to freedom of choice and the power to control their own lives within and outside of the homes, having control over their lives and bodies is essential to ensure a sense of dignity and autonomy for women.

Another aim identified by Bunch is the removal of all forms of inequality and oppression through the creation of a more just social and economic order nationally and internationally. This means the involvement of women in national liberation struggles, in plans for national development and in local and global struggles for change.

However, feminists argue that patriarchy and its various manifestations in the society are capable of truncating women involvement in national development. Patriarchy is the socio-cultural belief that the male sex is the norm of humanity, while the female

sex is secondary and inferior and so must be kept subservient to the male. Patriarchy ensures that every aspect of human history, philosophy, religion etc. is understood and expressed according to men's world-views to perpetuate women's oppression and marginalization. Feminist thus, call for the recognition and inclusion of the feminine perspective in all spheres of life, so as to checkmate patriarchy and liberate women from its clutches. This ideology of feminism gave birth to divergent forms and classes of feminist's movements like the liberal, cultural, radical, socialist, post-modern and recently black and third-world feminism.

Liberal Feminist: This form of feminism is concerned with the equality of men and women through political and legal reforms. It also focuses on women's ability to show and maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Liberal feminism looks at the personal interactions of men and women as the starting point from which a society is transformed into a more a more gender-equitable place. Issues important to liberal feminists include reproductive rights, elimination of sexual harassment, voting and education rights, fair compensation for work, affordable childcare, affordable health care as well as bringing to light the frequency of domestic violence against women. But critics of this form of feminism opined that rights are culture-based construct which do not emphasize on individual community culture. Human rights have its origin in enlightenment Europe and so applying the concept of human right cross-culturally without recourse to historical context or cultural particularity is uncritical. This is because the idea of rights is not only male-biased but also culturally biased.

Radical Feminism: Feminists in this movement based their agitations on the concept of patriarchy and the fact that gender is entirely a social construct upon which patriarchy

thrives. They advocate a female culture which subverts male culture. Therefore, this form of feminism advocate that true equality between men and women can only be achieved by dismantling the social constructs alongside all other institutions that support inequality. Radical feminist tend to differ from some other feminists schools of thought in their views that it is only by toppling the issue of gender that the question of power structure can be eliminated. Contrary to popular views, the term 'radical' as it implies to feminist movement does not necessarily imply extremism rather it essentially seeks to get to the roots of oppression, which it believes is sexism, in order to combat it.

Cultural Feminism: This form of feminism is concerned with the differences between men and women and goes to advocate independence and institutional framework that will ensure equality. However, McLaren, George and Cornell (2008) argue that, both Liberal and Cultural feminists unconsciously neglect economic issues. They assert that, though no nation is exempted from the deleterious effects of poverty, the unequal distribution of wealth and power among nations makes the issue of poverty particularly acute to less industrialized countries. They go on to suggest that feminists concerned with global women's issues and rights should prioritize economic and social rights rather than political and legal rights as a hungry person may not have the energy and time to be concerned with gender equality under the law or in the political sphere.

Socialist Feminism: This group emerged in the 1970s to describe a mixed theoretical and practical approach to achieving women's equality. Socialist feminist attempts to analyze the connection between the oppression of women and other oppressions in the society such as racism and economic injustice. Socialist feminists aimed at integration

and recognition of sex discrimination to achieve justice and equality for women, working classes, the poor and humanity in general.

Black and Third-world Feminism: The third world feminists, especially the African wing, are concerned with the socio-political and socio-economic development of the African women. Mikell (1997:1) captures the concerns of the third world feminists thus:

> African women are concerned about the large number of economic and political problems facing their communities… and grappling with how to affirm their own identities while transforming societal notions of gender and familial roles.

Therefore, from the postulations of the foregoing feminist movements, it can be concluded that women unequal representation along political lines rose out of the cultural and historical belief that men make better leaders than women and this notion came to reflect in the socio-cultural practices and communication systems of the society.

2.3 Identity Construction in Nigeria

According to a UNESCO e-journal of culture and religion, cultural values which often include religious beliefs shape our ways of living and acting as well as create our identity in the society. Identity is a critical aspect of cultural practice as it is the basis for individual and group's definition in the society.

Earliest definitions and conception of identity meant that it was fixed and remained permanent throughout life irrespective of social situations (Gosine 2002, Cerulu 1997, Lentz, 1995). But this was refuted by the works of Erik Erikson, Sigmund Freud, Charles Horton Cooley, Ashley and Orenstein. Relevant to this study is Ashley and Orenstein work which portrays identity as a process which is located in the centre of the individual and communal cultural practices. (Ashley and Orentein,2007). However,

dependent on varying social environments and situations, identity is socially constructed and can be reconstructed for a sustainable development.

In an Essay, "The Social Relations of Identity Construction in Nigeria" Ugbem (2012) identified different levels of identity construction viz; ethnic identity, religious identity, regional identity and gender identity. All these are identities socially constructed and can be mobilized for group action leading to non-violent and sometimes violent contest or agitations to establish supremacy or relevance as the case may be.

Gender identity is the consciousness of being a male or female which is constructed by societal perception of what is feminine or masculine. The construction and reconstruction of gender identity for women in Nigeria could be traced back to pre-colonial and colonial eras. According to Niara (2009), women in pre-colonial Nigeria held a basically complementary work-position to men. Power and privileges in the household and community were based on seniority rather than gender. Niara observes that, there was absence of gender in many African languages and most native names were interchangeably used for both males and females. She further argues that contrary to pre-colonial culture, colonialism as epitomized in its western religion and culture of patriarchy, changed the identity of women by endorsing their sub-ordination and domesticity.

Citing the 15th century, Palmer (1928) in Niara (2009) argues that Zaria witnessed the rule of Queen Amina who succeeded her father and conquered all the towns around Zamfara and Nupe and dominated these regions for thirty four years. But after the 19th century conquest by the Islamic jihadist, Islam changed the position of women in hausa

land. The “purdah” culture was institutionalized and it spread from the noble to the peasants. This reduced the participation of women in hausa politics and as Niara argues, this marked the beginning of a new identity for women especially in northern Nigeria.

It is this new identity for women constructed through socio-cultural interaction that is reflected in Nigerian contemporary and conventional media. “The media was then easily immersed into a conscious manipulation of the new identity for women”. Iwilade (2010) submits that the couching of this identity into the media reflects to some extent, the challenge of truly achieving an adequate representation of women in Nigerian politics. Hence, if this status-quo is maintained, scholars questioned the ability of the conventional media in Nigeria to reconstruct a new identity for women that would recognize the wind of revolutionary process of negative social cultures.

2.4 Women Political Development: A Global Overview

As a domestic and global issue, women political agitation has found its way into virtually all nations of the world. This is perhaps owing to the realization that, for effective social transformation, no segment of the human population should be overlooked or underutilized. It therefore implies that necessary steps must be taken toward ensuring the involvement of every citizen (especially women) in the affairs of any sovereign state (UNDP, 1997).

It was in line with the aforesaid view that a special session of the United Nations General Assembly in June 2000, met on the topic: “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace”. This meeting marked an important milestone in a long line of international conferences that have called for the empowerment of women. Demands in

the Beijing Declaration adopted by the 1995 fourth world conference on women focused on full recognition of women's right and fundamental freedoms, and demands for progress towards gender equality in health care, education, work places, the family, and the public sphere. Consequently, women have mobilized themselves at the grassroots, national and international levels to press government agencies and non-profit organizations to incorporate these agendas into national programs for action.

The June 2000 meeting of the United Nations in New York, reviewed how far the goals and objectives of the Beijing Declaration of 1995 had been met; and in an official UN report published in conjunction with the meeting; "The World Women 2000", the global balance sheet that was summarized indicated a substantial improvement for women in some spheres like access to education, health care and reproductive services as well as reduction in domestic violence and sexual assaults in some countries.

However, progress world-wide has proved difficult to achieve especially in the spheres of politics and governance. The 1981 Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women which was the most comprehensive treaty on women's human rights, called for equality between women and men in all civil, political, economic, social and cultural spheres and it particularly accentuated the importance of equal participation of women and men in politics and governance. 165 states that were parties to the convention were obligated to ensure women equal opportunities in the right to vote and be voted for. Yet there remains a wide gap between these official declarations and the representation of women in politics and governance.

At the time of the June 2000 meeting, there are little over 5100 women in parliament world-wide (representing 13% of all members) with Africa recording 0.30% (IPU, 2000a). Tripp (2008) captures the situation in Africa when he argues that: "Africa still has the lowest rate of female legislative participation in the world because politics is a male affair". And this is made possible through structures and practices, especially communication practices, whose messages reinforce socio-cultural views of what is normal and right for women and men in the society.

It is against this backdrop that optional communication approaches in development efforts became imperative and the need to change the lingering political inequality, through the practice of effective communication, constitutes the driving force of this study.

2.5 Women Participation in Nigerian Politics

Political participation entails involvement of citizens in some way with decision making in political systems. Robert and Edward (1991) described participation as a term which is often applied to voluntary rather than coerced activity. They further explain that, when participation is used in political context, it means the voluntary involvement of an individual in political activities like voting, membership of political movements, groups and parties as well as holding of appointive and elective political offices. However, careful observations have indicated that, the involvement of women in Nigerian politics is largely noticeable at the level of voting and latent support.

Comparatively, the rate at which men participate in active politics is incredibly higher than women despite the fact that women constitute more than 50% of eligible

registered voters. (NBS, 2009) From 1999 to 2011, the election of women into the National Assembly has not gone beyond 22.29% for the House of Representatives and 5.3% for the House of Senate. Available data have shown that, out of 1440 and 436 electable seats in the green and red chambers, only 80 and 23 respectively, were women. (NBS, 2012)

The situation is more alarming at the States and Local Government Areas levels; out of 3960 electable seats in the State Houses of Assembly, women occupied only 189 representing 19% and 571 women councilors representing 9% (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012: 63-65). A close look at the NBS report has also shown that, the 2011 general elections witnessed a sharp fall in the number of women elected into political offices. While the number of women senators in 2007 was 9, 2011 saw a decline to 7. This decline was also witnessed in virtually all other levels of governance.

Omoye (2012) attributes this fall to cultural and ethical issues like patriarchy and religion. Other factors included vote buying, lack of financial power for women and poor awareness on the part of the electorates. Therefore, Omoye calls for empowerment of women along economic lines. Similarly, Luka (2011) ascribes poor participation of women in Nigerian politics to religion. Stressing the "purdah" tradition, especially in Hausa land, Luka blames religion for disempowering women economically by keeping them at home, thereby leaving their financial power at the whims of their husbands.

However, viewed from the perspectives of culture and traditions, women, contrary to Luka's position, encounter tremendous challenges in participating in politics. These challenges are anchored on socio-cultural barriers like the belief in patriarchy and domesticity of women as well as sedentary or social roles placed on the woman. Hence,

in many societies, women are assigned the secondary place by prevailing customs and traditions.

Nzomo (1997) in Kiamba (2009) opines that, women have been marginalized in politics because men monopolized the decision making structures. Nzomo identified some underlying problems for women which include difficulty in dealing with patriarchal structures that pervade beliefs of the people. She also blamed the poor participation of women in politics on their education and training, especially at the family level where they are made to accept a secondary status as the natural order of things.

Despite the enfranchisement of women in Nigeria (which was hitherto denied until 1976) and the 1985 adoption of resolutions of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), arguments are still on the increase on the specific role women should play in the society. Opinions are divided on whether the role of women is predominantly in the home front or women can also engage in other social activities like politics. The recommendations of the British Council Report on "women participation in governance and politics in Nigeria" reiterate the connection between women political participation and economic development:

> Girls and women have the potentials to transform Nigeria. Encouraging girls and women to participate in politics Will improve productivity and growth and also lead to a more peaceful, healthy and skilled work-force tomorrow
>
> (BCR, 2012:63)

Thus, it is this truth advocated by most development scholars that has inspired this study to contribute to already existing approaches aimed at addressing negative socio-cultural practices to enhance participation of women in politics.

2.6 Effects of Conventional Media

Earlier studies of communication models on mass media effect assume that, the impact of mass media on individuals is direct, powerful and uniform, but findings by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet's work (1948) especially on politics and election, later proved that, individuals were more influenced in their political decisions by members of their environment than the combined mass media. Lazarsfeld and his colleagues identified a segment of people who were more exposed to media messages than the ordinary individuals. This segment of people known as opinion leaders gets the media messages first before passing them down to the masses. This however, has essentially suggested a relative weakness in mass media to directly influence individual decisions.

According to Beltran (1975), it was behavioral orientation that forced western communication scholars to design development campaigns based on "hypodermic needle or Bullet models" of media effects. Beltran argues that any communication research which follows the conceptual and methodological orientation established by researchers in Europe and United States of America might end up in the inadequacy and obsoleteness that characterized some of its conclusions. Beltran maintains that, the conceptualization of communication in development implies questioning the component-approach to communication research especially that which ignores the synergistic interaction among the source, message, channel and receiver. Communication, he argues, should be considered from the viewpoints of investigation of an inter-relationship among components as well as the environment in which the communication systems is embedded. (Beltran 1975:83-87)

However, theoretical model of mass media's 'bullet' effects cannot be said to be direct and uniform since media messages flow through opinion leaders to others in the rural communities. Rather than firsthand information, individuals get informed after a chain of processes which could culminate into disparage and distorted information sharing. The bullet or hypodermic needle model also reduces the individual to a passive and defenseless audience whose behaviors and perceptions are influenced to act according to the intensions of the message initiator (mass media). This undermines individual's innate capability to make decisions through active reception, procession and interpretation of information.

Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) criticize the trend of communication practice that concludes that, communication means mass media. Though any type of dissemination of knowledge for human development can theoretically be accomplished through mass media, Rogers and Shoemaker insist that diffusion of technology and ideas in the rural areas should be via inter-personal communication. They argue that, print and other forms of mass media alone have not been found to be effective for influencing rural society. To be effective, it must be utilized in connection with other media like folk media which involve listening and participation. Media programs must not be universal but people centered particularly in content and context.

In another attempt to forward reasons for the failure of mass media to achieve substantial effects in social transformation, researchers have argued that the relationship between mass media and institutional structures has hindered human development in developing countries. Rogers (1976) made the following important observation towards Mass media- social structure relationship:

> By the late 1960^{s} and the 1970^{s}, a number of critical evaluations were being made of the mass communication role in development…
> Some scholars perceived the mass media in their nation as an extension of exploitative relationship with the US based multi-national corporations…
> Further arguments were made about the frequent patterns of elite ownership and control of mass media outlets … and the influence of such ownership on media content.

The concern of development communication scholars in developing countries is also conveyed by Beltran (1976) when he argues that "communication as it exists in developing countries is not only by nature, impotent to cause national development by itself but it often works against development". Communication is so subdued to the influence of the prevailing organizational arrangement of society that it can hardly be expected to act independently as a main contributor to profound and widespread social transformation. Louis Althusser (1971) also talks about the inter connectedness between communication, cultural institutions and ideology. In his work, he has a list of what he calls ideological state apparatus which includes the Family, Education System, Mass Media, Religion etc, Althusser argues that these institutions communicate and propagate social values, attitudes and mores to maintain hegemonic control and also perpetuate or reproduce existing relationships of the social order. Therefore, the overall change of social structure is forwarded by development scholars as a fundamental pre-requisite for the attainment of genuinely human and democratic development. Schramm (1977) summarized mass media weakness with these rhetorical questions:

> Only when communication can build itself into the social structure, is it going to show any real hope of extensive results? Only when media channels can mix with Inter-personal channels and with organizations in the rural areas, are you going to have the kind of development you will like?

Therefore, so long as external forces (social and cultural institutions rather than people at the grassroots) continue to have tremendous influence on communication systems like mass media in the society, it would be difficult for the media to have adequate impact on individuals.

'Blame the victim syndrome' is yet another reason forwarded by communication practitioners for failure of transformation campaigns. According to Crewe and Harrison (1998) accounting for the failure of development campaigns usually entails looking at the beneficiaries, who it is believed are not behaving as expected. Most development communicators have an unshakeable faith in themselves that they see no problem except with the beneficiaries' non-compliance. They have the dominant thinking that, if people do not respond to transformation messages, is their fault and not the communication strategies. In a research to find out why 'Diffusion of Innovation Theory' was not succeeding in the third world as it had in the West, Rogers (1969) discovered that, non-adopters of innovations were branded laggards and recalcitrant change-resistors. These findings were later faulted by social scientist who explained blame the victim syndrome in the light of an ideological process which serves as a means of escapism among policy makers and intellectuals all over the world (Melkote and Steeves, 2001:329). William Ryan points out that as an ideology, 'blame the victim' did not consider the victims' natural genetics but focused on their social status. Ryan argues that blame the victim is "a brilliant ideology for justifying a perverse form of social action designed to change not the society as one may expect but society's victims" (William Ryan, 1976:8). Ramiro Beltran (1976) believes that blame the victim ideology was and is still an issue to communication and social transformation programs.

On constraint to social change, research has also shown that, in the rural areas of developing countries, quite often, the people who are supposed to be the prime beneficiaries and movers of social transformation are not reached at all (Lenglet, 1980). In a research conducted by Shingi and Mody (1996), these astute observations were made:

> Those people (especially men) with higher education, higher reading ability, greater exposure to media and higher standard of living attended development programs more frequently than those with less education, less reading ability, limited exposure to media and lower standard of living.

The findings confirmed that the highest attendance is usually among those who have access to sources of information. The rural people especially women often have limited access to the media.

Therefore, there is always an unequal accessibility of media messages between men and women in the rural areas of developing nations. Hence, inaccessibility to media source and messages by a target population might be a crucial hindrance to social transformation in many nations. Similarly, communication scholars invariably agree to the fact that little space and time is accorded to issues of gender communication and development in the mass media. Shore (1980) argues that, Newspaper, Radio and Television media give little preference to relevant women development programs but focused their searchlight on other over-flogged development oriented matters. Thus, the disadvantaged sections in rural communities live in consistent state of "under-communication"

The conclusion that people are to blame for not responding to transformation messages is a simplistic one that ignored all that comes to play in a development

communication process. Melkote and Steeves contributed by posing the following critical questions:

> If peasant were not receiving information at all or if they were receiving it in a form which they are unable to transfer to useful knowledge and practice, researchers should subject the source of information and the messages constructed to greater scrutiny.
>
> Specifically, were the mass media and inter-personal communication structured and treated in ways not comfortable to peasants? How and when were faulty communication strategies used? Did faulty communications, at the onset, fail to identify problems with the innovations to diffuse? Were the channel linkages between sources and receivers too distant to encompass all receivers? (2001:62)

A lot of scholars seem to agree with Melkote and Steeves' critical observations of these issues which, depending on how they are handled, could contribute to a campaign succeeding or failing. Since it has been established by scholars that communication media and the way they are used have sometimes contributed to a campaign's failure, practitioners have been cautioned to avoid over reliance on Radio and Television at the expense of other media that are peculiar to the targeted audience. Francis Harding in Abah (1997) is of the opinion that:

> The element of control by an outside body has remained dominant and many fail to acknowledge the manner in which information is already held, organized and transmitted by people in the rural and urban communities in Africa: They have always stored useful information and extended it as opportunity and experience afforded. Ordinary people have always taken account of change in their society and adjusted their methods of farming, trading, travelling, education and socializing accordingly. The failure lie in not recognizing that information can be stored, analyzed, reformulated and transmitted in ways not understood by, nor necessarily open to the passing development worker

Harding's opinion re-echoed the criticisms on problems of the top-down approach. This is a communication approach that treats receivers as targets for persuasion and change and not as participants in the communication intervention efforts. Rather than allow the

audience to participate, large powerful organizations usually frame 'solutions' to what they "perceive or think" is the peasants' problem. By so doing, the process of social change is left in the hands of the passing development worker or organization (Salmon 1989:25).

Contrary to the top-down approach, a study conducted by Development Alternatives International (D.A.I.) based on an evaluation of over 50 rural development projects and cited by Cohen and Uphoff (1997), revealed that, local participation was a key factor in the success of the projects. Hence, if communication campaigns are to succeed, people's voice on what their real needs and problems are, is imperative. This is best discovered through participatory communication, where the audience will have to be part of the development process every step of the way. However, participation as a concept has multiple dimensions. According to Nelson Wright (1995), agencies and individuals use the term participatory communication/development in variety of ways, one of the common distinction made is that of participation as a means to accomplish the aims of a campaign more efficiently, effectively or cheaply as opposed to participation as an end where the community or group set up a process to control its own development. It is worth noting that, prior to the "development age", most societies developed naturally, they took steps to meet their needs as the need arose. They were the ones that initiated the process. This is "Participation as an end" that a lot of experts believe should be ideal. But what happened in most development campaigns is "participation as a means". Hence, the chances of success are high when true participation is ensured.

On a whole, there are several factors and situations that could culminate into failure of communication campaigns but the chances of a campaign succeeding is

feasible. This has persistently constituted the challenges confronted by most development communicators which this study is also concerned with.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical base of this study is predicated on Dennis Mcquail's Media Cultural Theory, the Agenda Setting Theory and the Participatory Communication concept.

Mcquail's (2005) Media Cultural Theory is concerned with the content of Mass Media, the context of production and reception as well as all surrounding practices. Mcquail opines that, mass media culture is hegemonic and gendered. Hence, the production of media content and context of reception has played a critical role in transmitting a gendered ideology concerning the place of men and women in the society. Mcquail points out that, media culture are characterized by the gendering of contents and the attaching of differential values to masculinity and feminity. On the whole, the matrix between gender and the media leads to Mcquail's conclusion that mass media has marginalized women in the public sphere and promotes stereotypes of sex roles in it content, context of production and reception (Mcquail, 2005). Embedded in Mcquail's Media Cultural Theory is the notion of patriarchy which is the process whereby societal powers are generally rested in men and the various structures of the society consistently assign inferior or secondary roles to women. Para-Mallam (2009:6) corroborated this position:

> Patriarchy… assumes the alienation of women, places the male on the centre of reality and makes the masculine normative… where patriarchy as a worldview is in operation, symbols, rituals, education, laws and other cultural indices will perpetuate fundamental inequality.

This means that, the under-representation of women in societal power structures is as a result of patriarchy which is reflective of the dominant media culture in the society. The customs and attitudes pertaining to the role of women in the society are mainly perceived from social structures and decisions. Whereas the media exert powerful influences on these customs and attitudes, they hardly handle the issues of inequality between men and women with importance.

Although there are recent deliberate affirmative strategies to promote gender equitable content in the media, researches carried out on media positive effects uphold the Agenda Setting Theory of communication which is seen as a vehicle for mass media promotion of equality between men and women. Agenda Setting Theory is a mechanism with which the media place salient issues before the media audience through content generation, placement and dissemination. This theory also agrees with the concept of Participatory Communication which stresses an interactive process in information sharing, interpretation and dissemination. Participatory Communication has a dynamic process of feedback and adaptive behavior, therefore the distinction between the encoder and the decoder disappears because all participated and had the privilege to be both senders and receivers. (Kincaid, et al 1997, Ashong and Batta, 2011). This communication mechanism that allows an open dialogue between sender and receiver opposes the usual unidirectional and vertical message transmission but stresses the need for content generation with media audience before the dissemination of transformation messages. But Ramanama (1986) argues that, "Most media professionals negate this principle of communication." During the content generation process, Kronenburg (1986) advises the media practitioner to take note of the following:

- Participatory communication rests on the assumption that human beings have an innate ability to create knowledge and so this is not the prerogative of 'professionals'.
- It is an educational process for the media audience as well as for the media practitioner. It involves the identification of community needs, awareness regarding constraints; an analysis of the causes of glitches and the designing and execution of solutions.
- There must be a conscious commitment by the media practitioner to work for the cause of the media audience. Thus, the traditional scientific principle of neutrality is rejected in this kind of communication.
- It is based on a dialectical process of dialogue between the media practitioner and the audience. Dialogue provides a frame-work which guards against manipulation from outside and serves as a means of control by changing the underlying conditions to the issues at stake.
- It is a problem-solving approach. The aim is to discover the causes of problems and mobilize the creative human potentials to solve these problems.
- Its major assets are its heuristic values. The close co-operation between the media practitioner and the audience fosters an atmosphere in which all participants analyze the social environment and formulate plans of action.

Beltran (1980) was talking about participatory communication when he opines that, horizontal communication among local members was of central importance and should take precedence over or complement vertical patterns of communication through which

media experts transmit their transformational messages. Also speaking on the importance of participatory communication, Renuka Berry (1995) outlines the following:

> Participatory communication makes participant to transcend perceived boundary to exploring infinite possibilities of implementing change in their communities. It also assists people to explore realities and experiment with approaches that can lead to transformation. Participatory communication can help the people to understand the oppressive structures that are responsible for perpetuating inequality. It leads to the experience of the impact of human dialogue and interaction and makes participants find themselves in the flow of progress.

The above theories and their sequential connections would help to establish the concerns of this study; Dennis Mcquail's Media Cultural Theory exposes the overwhelming culture of patriarchy in the production and transmission of media content in media organizations while Agenda Setting Theory as well as Participatory Communication concept suggest a road map for problem resolution where it proponents call for audience participation in content generation, placement and dissemination.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This research is descriptive in nature. Descriptive Research describes and interprets existing phenomenon. It attempts to investigate, establish and explain the factors behind the under-representation of women at all levels of governance, particularly in positions of power and leadership and to set the tune for better and adequate women political participation through effective communication strategies. The focus of the study is on women and other stake-holders like family heads and members, religious, cultural, traditional, political, community and youth leaders. Others are non-governmental agencies and local government departments that deal with women empowerment and development.

Owing to the nature of the data required, the qualitative research technique of inquiry is adopted. This is considered more appropriate for the study than the quantitative technique. The qualitative method can capture what people say and do and give information about the problem, causes and effects that cannot be easily expressed by numeric (Quantitative). It can also provide information on relatively complex issues such as reasons for certain attitude and practices as well as explore issues in depth to know how and why events occur, local perspectives and focus priorities (Okwori, 2006).

According to Krathwohl (1993) the main purpose of descriptive research is to describe, explain and validate findings. It emerges following creative exploration and serves to organize the findings in order to fit them with explanations and then test or

validate those explanations. It is in line with this that the study begins its investigation at the level of membership selection for group discussions. Membership of each Focus Group is put at a minimum of eight and maximum of twelve people (Mody, 2002:130) Discussions would separately be carried out in four different communities systematically chosen to geographically represent the ten districts of the Local Government Area. The selected districts are; Idon and Kufana from the South axis, Kajuru and Rimau from the North axis. There were also four groups in each of the four communities.

Enumerators served respondents with carefully designed questionnaires to determine participants for the discussions. Through the use of multiple data collection tools and methods, as would be discussed later in this chapter, the study ensured the collection of sufficient and relevant data to answer the questions posed within the research. As much as possible, the researcher summarized what is important to the study by emphasizing some collected data more than others

3.2 Research Population

Kajuru Local Government Area of Kaduna State is purely an Agricultural area with a handful of its dwellers in the Federal, State and Local Government civil service. The area is widely known for the production of both cash and food crops like ginger, cereals, tubers, rice etc. Hausa and English are the official spoken languages since the area is multi-ethnic in nature. The predominant religions are Christianity, Islam and a vestige of African traditional religion. The area shares boundaries with Chikun LGA from the North axis and Kachia LGA from the South axis.

Politically, Kajuru Local Government Area consists of ten ward districts which are; Idon, Maro, Afogo, Kufana, Kajuru, Tantatu, Budha, Kasuwan Magani, Rimau and Kallah. The 2006 provisional census results put the population of Kajuru LGA at

approximately 120,000 people (Population statistic record, Kaduna Ministry of Economic Planning). This figure is shared among the aforementioned ward districts thus: Idon; 12968, Maro; 13050, Afogo; 9418, Kufana; 14159, Kajuru; 10691, Tantatu; 11182, Budha; 10384, Kasuwan Magani; 13462, Rimau; 11780 and Kallah; 12815. Although males constitute the majority, females are put at about 42% of the total poplualtion.

Kajuru Local Government Area served the purpose of this research because of its centrality. It falls within the center of the state and has nearly an equal blend of Christian and Muslim population than the rest of the Local Government Areas; so, the possibility of arriving at valid conclusions about cultural and religious practices that influence women political participation in Kaduna State in general, are achievable.

3.3 Sampling Frame and Technique

The purpose of this research is to investigate, establish and explain cultural barriers to women's participation in politics among a heterogeneous population of estimated 120,000 people. The study sought to probe attitudes and practices of men and women that may hinder women's political participation in Kajuru LGA of Kaduna State.

In doing this, the sampling frame appeared too large and as such, the research adopted the quota sampling technique. This technique availed the study the opportunity to make choice of communities and determine the number of respondents to be interviewed (Eguzoikpe, 2008). For the purpose of this study, 122 people were sampled.

Therefore, since the focused population is women, the opinions and arguments of scholars about development issues discussed in previous chapters of this study, helped in identifying key groups, organizations and individuals to be interviewed. One of the

arguments forwarded by scholars as regards cultural factors hindering women participation in politics is religious institutions. Religion and spirituality has been viewed as an area of obstacle to development including women empowerment (Melkote and Steeves, 2001; Kiamba, 2007). Patriarchy has also been queried for encouraging domination of women by men or wives by husbands. This has recurred in so many works of feminist liberation theologians. Other factors identified are low education levels, lack of interest, poor financial status, the "woman factor" (women envious of women) etc (Kiamba, 2007). These factors combined together to necessitate an in-depth interview and discussions among the following sample frames:

The Focus Groups Include:

GROUP ONE: Adult Women (Wives)

GROUP TWO: Young Women

GROUP THREE: Adult Men (husbands)

GROUP FOUR: Young Men

The In-depth Interview list:

INTERVIEW ONE: Chairman, Kajuru Local Government Area

INTERVIEW TWO: First Lady, Kajuru Local Government Area

INTERVIEW THREE: HOD, Education and Social Development. Kajuru L.G.A.

INTERVIEW FOUR: HOD, Information and Public Relations Kajuru L.G.A

INTREVIEW FIVE: Religious Leaders.

INTERVIEW SIX: Cultural and Traditional Rulers.

INTERVIEW SEVEN: Community and Youth Leaders.

Coding of Individual Interview / Focus Groups Discussion Structure

Structure A: Focus Groups Discussion (FGD)

FEMALE		MALE	
AW	YW	AM	YM

NOTE:

AW --- Adult Women AM --- Adult Men

YW --- Young Women YM --- Young Men

Structure B: Individual Indepth Interview (I.I.I)

LEADERS		RULERS
RL	CYL	CTR

NOTE: CTR --- Cultural and Traditional Rulers

CYL --- Community and Youth Leaders

RL --- Religious Leaders

3.4 Data Collection Tools/Methods

3.4.1 Selection Questionnaire

One of the tools designed is the selection questionnaire. This is used to determine and choose discussants who participated in the group discussion sessions. The tool would assist in defining eligibility for participation. All the features or conditions that were necessary for selecting the discussants were included in the questionnaire in form of interview questions. Potential respondents were engaged through interview questions by enumerator(s) who filled in the respondents responses and therefore decided their eligibility. Where a respondent fitted any of the sample frames, the enumerator fixed a convenient date, venue and time for discussions. Otherwise, the enumerator thanked the respondent and closed the interview.

The selection questionnaire began with an introductory paragraph which the enumerator read to the hearing of the respondent, then sought permission to carry out a brief interview. What followed was the demographic, where sex, marital status, ward district name, spoken language, religion etc, were established. Then the set of questions that followed sought to establish if the potential discussant had attended a group discussion, seminar or workshop on women empowerment before as well as the aspect of empowerment discussed. The questions also found out if the respondent was interested in discussing participation of women in politics with people of common interest. The enumerator was advised to delist respondent if response to these key questions were unfavorable. This was to avoid cases of high absenteeism or passive participation as well as reduce cases of preconceived ideas that were not original to discussants during group discussions. Where a respondent was successively selected, such a respondent was given a pass that enabled him or her enter the discussion venue (See Appendix 1).

3.4.2 Enumerators

The selection method necessitated the use of enumerators who are responsible for screening and enlisting eligible members for the various focus groups. Therefore, care was taken to select enumerators with good communication skills and good knowledge or background of community assigned to them. (Mody, 2002:126). The researcher also engaged four enumerators to represent the four selected districts in the Local Government Area. These enumerators were to select a minimum of eight and maximum of twelve members for each of the Focus Groups that formed part of the sample frame of this research.

3.4.3 Facilitator's Guide

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1987) the purpose of facilitator's guide is to provide direction that a proposed discussion would take. The guide therefore, contains questions and issues as well as Ice-breakers that are to be covered within stipulated period during discussions.

Consequently, this research has divided its guide into two categories: The first category is the procedures of the discussion which contains the main objectives, topics or subjects of the discussion. The second category is the discussion framework itself.

The discussion framework is further divided into two sub-sections: Section one begins with the introduction of the facilitator's assistant(s) as well as other participating discussants. This is meant to build trust and confidence between facilitators and discussants and within or among discussants. Once a rapport is established, the facilitator (researcher) encourages respondents to set ground rules and take permission to record and snap the proceedings or discussion processes (Mody, 2002:35 and S.A White, 1999:216 & 233). The second section is the in-depth discussion and investigation where the facilitator moves to the issues at stake. Questions are asked followed by 'probes' that would lead to the realization of the research aim and objectives. (See Appendix 2)

3.4.4 Interview Question Schedule

Since the research carried out individual or personal in-depth interviews, (as indicated in the sample frame) the interview question schedule is another data collection tool that was employed. The personal interview is applauded for its ability to create room for probing and for being the fastest way of getting data (Equzoikpe, 2008). It will help in

examining the communication strategies used in the LGA for political conscientization. The interview question schedule consists of a brief introduction by the interviewer and a request to the interviewee to permit snap-shot and tape-recording. The next element was a set of carefully designed questions and probes that unveiled the data and helped achieve the research objectives. The last part of the interview schedule was the appreciation for the interviewee's co-operation. – (See Appendix 3)

3.4.5 Focus Group/ Individual Interview Methods

The data collection methods employed for gathering data in this research are the Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and individual interviewing methods. The Focus Group Discussion allows a concurrent and lucid interviewing of the people of Kajuru, with the facilitator (researcher) guiding the respondents in an atmosphere of free dialogue about the issue of women political leadership. The efficacy of the method is on the role it plays in understanding the attitudes or actions of the group members to the issues at stake. And as Osuala (2001) argues, it leads to the discovery of deeper meaning as the facilitator can probe deeper into the responses of the respondents to highlight and illuminate reasons for actions, thereby clarifying ambiguities in responses. This made Focus Group Discussion a valuable method in this research process.

The in-depth individual interview is another method used in gathering data for this research. It enables a dialogue with the specific aim of procuring specific information. Here, the researcher planned sequential questions for targeted interviewee(s) described in sub section 3.3. This enables the researcher to gather dependable and valid data as the interviewer has the option of influencing the type of interviewee(s), responses and conditions of interview to suit the context. And because the length of response or

interview is not restricted, even unexpected but useful information would be obtained from the interview.

Also, in accordance with arguments forwarded by researchers on the need for neutrality and flexibility in the choice of location for group discussion (Folch-Lyon and Trust 1981), the researcher has chosen the respective communities of its respondents as allowed by the works of Robert (1994) and Ankomah (1999) but with options of flexibility as may be determined by the respondents.

As regards sensitivity of Language and dialogue (Axelrod, 1975), the study has employed the services of a female facilitator to dialogue (under the supervision of the main researcher) with the women group(s). Discussions and interviews are carried out either in Hausa or English or in both. Pictures were snapped and interviews recorded but on the permission of the participants. All these features of the qualitative approach to research were adopted in achieving the set objectives.

3.5 Justification/Application of Data Collection Tools/Methods

One of the factors that influenced the choice of this research data collection tools and methods is the complex nature of the research population. The research population share common cultural ties but various religious faiths. Thus, the need to diversify the tools and methods of data collection to ensure balance views from the discussants.

In a bid to ensure accuracy and get qualitative insights from the tools and methods described in sub-section 3.4, the researcher adopted a “train the trainers” approach. A two-day Seminar or Workshop was organized for enumerators and female facilitators who assisted the main researcher. This was to re-emphasize some basic

communication skills and ethics like politeness, use of simple language, attentive listening etc. Other reasons for the workshop were to orient research assistants on what was expected of them and to clarify ambiguities that might arose from the selection questionnaire or facilitator's guide.

Care was also taken to select female facilitators across the various multi-ethnics and religious segments of the research setting. This was to ensure a balance and hitch-free facilitation among the women groups.

The personal or individual in-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher in Hausa, English or both but the group interviews utilized only one of the two languages during discussions. This was to reduce or avoid the use of interpreters which could distort quick comprehension and elongate the communication and discussion process. Discussion with each focus group lasted between two to three hours. (Mody 2002:130).

3.6 Procedure for Data Presentation and Analysis

Collected data were presented in descriptive form and findings or responses gotten from the discussants were presented according to research questions. The research questions are:

- How is male participation different from female participation in politics in Kajuru LGA?
- What is the level of women participation in political leadership in Kajuru L.G.A.?
- What are the hindrances to adequate participation of women in political participation in the area under study?

- What kinds of communication strategies are used for political conscientization and how accessible are they to women in the LGA?
- What alternative strategies can be used to foster adequate women political participation and leadership in Kajuru LGA?

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

Real change may not be possible without a change in the cultural and structural formation of a society. This change, to a larger extent, could be achieved through the practice of effective communication which is a tool for conscientization and radical social action (Freire, 1970). It is against this backdrop that this study undertook a research into the relationship between communication and women political participation. The data presented in this chapter would help in evaluating the political participation level of women in Kajuru L.G.A and some socio-cultural factors that influence this participation. The chapter would also suggest a communication framework for use within Kajuru L.G.A.

4.1 Features of Focus Group Discussants

The tables below introduce and describe discussants through whom the data of this study were collected. The tables provide information about discussants' marital status and religious background.

Table 1: Marital Status of Discussants

Districts Marital status	Idon	Kufana	Kajuru	Rimau	Total
Single	15	13	12	9	49
Married	15	23	17	15	70
Divorcees	1	0	0	2	03
Total	31	36	29	26	122

Source: Field Study, 2014.

Table 2: Religious Background of Discussants

Districts / Religion	Idon	Kufana	Kajuru	Rimau	Total
Christianity	20	17	4	15	56
Islam	8	4	18	9	39
Traditional Religion	8	13	0	6	27
Total					122

Source: Field Study, 2014.

Table 3: Gender Status of Discussants

Districts / Gender	Idon	Kufana	Kajuru	Rimau	Total
Women	21	19	12	15	67
Men	15	15	10	15	55
Total					122

Source: Field Study, 2014.

On table 1, out of 122 discussants, 70 were married. This has given credibility to the views of participants particularly on the influence that family and marriage life could have on women's political participation in Kajuru LGA. Table 2 has shown that, 56 discussants represent the Christian faith while 39 and 27 represent Islam and Native faiths respectively. Table 3 has shown the proportion between male and female discussants which is 55 and 67 respectively. Thus, there were balanced views on how each of the genders perceived women political participation as well as how religion and traditions affect women's political leadership in the area under study.

It is also worthy to note that, from the information on the above tables, the expected sample size of one hundred and fifty (150) participants for the focus group discussions was not met. This was due to cases of absenteeism. However, one hundred and twenty two (122) discussants participated which amount to about 81% of the targeted sample size and thus large enough to allow for appropriate analysis and reliable generalization about the total sample frame (Leedy, 1994).

4.2 Presentation of Data According to Research Questions:

Issues on the Perceptions on Male and Female Participation in Political Leadership in Kajuru LGA

This question is aimed at achieving the objective about the distinct nature of political participation between men and women in the LGA under study. Virtually all the discussants agreed in a focus group discussion that, there are differences in the way males and females participate in politics in their respective communities. Most of the discussants narrowed it to their domestic experiences. They seem to all agree that, in the home, there are duties that are mainly reserved for women as well as others that are for men. For example, discussants see chores like cooking, cleaning, bathing children etc as mainly the duties of women. A lot of them who share this view were men with a handful of women agreeing to this opinion.

In contrast, a few men and women argued against the aforementioned opinion, discarding the view that men are the providers of foodstuff and resources for children when they are sick or in need of School fees etc. These groups of discussants cite examples of some women who tilled farmlands, tend the crops and harvest them while

their men (husbands) roam around the communities' Shebeens where they drink themselves to stupor.

However group discussion in Muslim communities took a contrastive dimension. Here both men and women agreed that the place of the woman is in the home while the man goes out to fend for his wives and children. Only very few women argued that the world is fast changing and some women are doing even better than their male counterpart.

Although most communities (like Kufana, Idon and Rimau) where the group discussions took place concurred to the presence of some societal traditions and customs that accord different roles for men and women, they all share the view that women are gradually proving to be indispensable in some spheres of human endeavors that were hitherto considered to be the preserve of men, and men on the other hand are also doing well, in what was taught to be a female affair. One of these human endeavors, which were viewed to be the domain of men in which women are doing well is political leadership but some socio-cultural conditions seem to be working against them.

However, the views and beliefs on gender roles in the family circles are capable of propelling these communities to frown at the idea of a woman becoming a leader in any organized social structure. This explains why women in these communities invariably avoid contesting for political offices. In an individual in-depth interview, One of the respondents captured women's reluctance to vie for political office thus:

> No woman wants to come forward for any political race. A lot of awareness campaigns have been carried out yet women in this Local Government don't want to show up. Few of them that normally show up get discouraged after the first trial and you know politics is not like that … (interview with Information officer, Kajuru L.G.A on 20 March, 2014)

When probed further, responses of some female discussants indicate that, women experiences at home determine how far they could participate in politics. One of the women in kufana community humorously submitted;

> My husband would always remind me to go and Register as a voter and even insist that I go out and vote on election day but he is not happy when the women leader comes home to invite me for a political meeting. – (Adult Woman:FGD on 13th march,2014)

Therefore, there is a limit to women's political participation because of the restrictions placed on them at the family level. Thus, the woman's right of being voted for is denied while she remains an ardent voter. On the issue of the extent of women's political participation in Kajuru LGA, the study sought to know the number of women elected into political positions in their various communities, especially since the return of democracy in 1999. All the four communities where discussions were held showed a minimum participation. However, one community (Kufana) mistook serving in the capacity of women leader as political leadership. When interviewed, a community and youth leader in kufana submitted thus:

"For long, our people have deliberately neglected woman especially when it comes to political leadership… and it would take only the grace of God to solve this problem" - (interview with community and youth leader on 5th march, 2014)

These findings have to a larger extent validated the researcher's observation that; in the history of democracy especially since 1999, Kajuru L.G.A. has not produced a

female as the chairperson of the LGA nor a woman elected as a councilor. However, the woman is only appointed (not elected) into the office of the woman leader of political parties to mobilize women and ensure that their votes are utilized towards the election of the parties' candidates who are mostly men.

Issues Arising from the Barriers to Adequate Women's Political Leadership in Kajuru L.G.A.

One factor that discussants believe to have stupendously hindered adequate women political leadership is religious teaching about the place of women in the society. They explained that religion has placed women under the authority of men. For example, in the Muslim communities, Islam has forbidden women from showing themselves in public places and has also confined them to their husband's houses. Some men and women also submitted that the Bible has instructed women to submit themselves to their husbands, thereby placing them at the mercies of their men. Most of the discussants seemed to believe that, religious teaching have drastically restricted women and limited their civic roles in the society. This information also confirmed the patriarchal system which regarded the male as the dominant sex and the female as secondary, subordinate and inferior.

However, Grudem's Biblical interpretation on the place of the woman in Christianity negates the practice of patriarchy. Grudem argues that, God's purpose for males and females is to live in a harmonious inter-personal relationship and equality in personhood and importance and since men and women are said by the scripture to be created in the image of God, the feeling of superiority or any idea of one sex being better should be discarded (Grudem, 2007). Similarly, Ahmed (1992) and Mernissi (1987) also interpret

the Qur'an with regards to the roles of women in Islam. Ahmed and Mernissi frown at the cultural practice of "Kulle" (Purdah) which confines women to the walls of their husbands' houses as a wrong religious practice that hinders the application of woman's God given potentials.

There are also respondents who identified society's stereotyping as another barrier to women adequate political leadership. Discussants in Kufana community observed that, there is a general belief that any woman that goes into politics, does that to sleep with men or even when she doesn't have the intentions of promiscuity, circumstances could lure her into it. This, they argue, is the impression that the communities in Kajuru LGA have about women politicians. Women politicians are stereotyped as wayward, as such, no woman wants to bear that name.

Family teachings and the pressure of family responsibilities placed on the woman by the society is another factor that discussants in Kajuru community believe could lead to inadequate women in politics of Kajuru L.G.A. They argue that, the poor socialization of the girl-child in the community as a result of experiences and orientation she gets at home makes her underrate her potentials and capabilities. Similarly, the huge responsibility involved in taking care of the family is a herculean one that women cannot combine with the energy consuming and time- demanding nature of politics and leadership. These according to discussants, are enough reasons to discourage women from adequately participating in politics in this L.G.A.

The woman in the LGA, as observed by discussants in Rimau and Kajuru communities, is also said to have little educational power to compete favourably with

men in politics. This, they argue, is as a result of the imbalance in the educational opportunities between the female and the male. A discussant, Mallam Isiyaka explained that, some families prefer educating the boy to educating the girl. Even when the girl is sent to school, discussants argue that, the education system is dominated by the men to the extent that, the girl-child feels isolated and in a constant danger of being exploited by men.

Other factors hindering adequate women political participation identified by discussants are traditional beliefs and practices. Politics sometimes requires that one travels extensively and spends nights away from home. This according to discussants is a practice against traditional belief in most African communities where women are not expected to keep late nights. Some discussants argue that, though, this practice may be acceptable in western countries, it is not in line with the belief systems in their communities. A discussant in Rimau community expressed his views thus:

> I cannot allow my wife to travel and be meeting men in hotels in the name of attending political meetings… If the white man is allowing that, I am not a white man - (Adult Man:FGD on 31st March,2014.)

Some respondents also substantiated how traditional belief system in the community is a hinderance to adequate women political leadership. In an interview, Hannatu Magaji, who was once a Councilor and House of Representative aspirant further validate the negative role of traditions towards women participation in politics of Kajuru LGA. When asked about some of the barriers she encountered, Hannatu submitted thus:

> Our people have so much respect for tradition. Our communities still believe that leadership is for men and so when a woman vie For political position, they see it as an abnormal thing.

In another separate interview with a two-time councilor aspirant, Madam Hajara Bissallah, the role of stereotypes and traditional beliefs in hindering women political participation recurred. Hajara posits:

> Women politicians in Kajuru LGA always face a lot of criticism. They are Called names and seen as women of easy virtues.

She also argue that, in situations like the one above, even formidable political parties are reluctant to feature a woman as their flag bearer because women leadership is an unpopular idea among the populace or voters in Kajuru communities. Hannatu also lamented the non-compliance of the 35% affirmative action for women to occupy political positions in Kajuru LGA. Hannatu piqued:

> 35% affirmative action in the LGA is not respected. We are still battling with them and until it is respected at the grass roots, the mentor-mentee phenomena among women politicians will be absent.

She further argues that, the nationwide implication of non-compliance of the 35% affirmative action at the grass roots is the continuous recycling of women politicians for states and national assignments.

On the way forward for women politicians in Kajuru LGA, Hannatu calls for extensive awareness and sensitization campaign among Kajuru community members. She also called on party stakeholders in the LGA to empower women by giving them elective mandates particularly at the parties' primaries level where most women aspirants usually lose out. She stressed the need to make incentives, like contracts and political

appointments, accessible to women politicians. This, she argues, will go a long way in encouraging women to participate in political leadership.

Responses on the Kinds of Communication Strategies used for Political Awareness, their Effectiveness and Accessibility to Women of Kajuru LGA

The study also made attempts to find out the communication methods or means in the Local Government Area through which campaigns for political conscientization are carried out and to assess their effectiveness and accessibility. For most of the discussants in Idon and Rimau communities, they have never been mobilized for any women political participation campaign. At best, they only see or hear political programs on the mass media (Radio, Television etc) or from their husbands and other more educated friends. This has however, confirmed Lazarsfeld arguments that, a segment of people always get mass media content first, before passing them down to the masses. Hence, this is capable of reducing success of the campaign as the masses could get the information in a distorted form.

Some of the discussants in Idon community testified to hearing about women empowerment campaigns by some NGOs and Government agencies but they observed that these campaigns are always concentrated in bigger towns of the Local Government Area like Kasuwan magani and Kufana communities. Some also said that, most development programs they watch on Television or hear over the Radio do not always discuss issues of women political leadership but how women can be economically empowered or issues of children and maternal mortality as well as other health related issues. Hence, it is believed that, with the right communication campaigns on the right directions or topics, women can be mobilized to adequately vie for political offices.

Also, the fact that information dissemination is through announcements in churches and mosques (as gathered from Education and Social Development Department of the L.G.A.) has made accessibility to social and political transformation campaigns ineffective. This is because the targeted population might not be reached or those who the campaigns are meant for may only get them through middlemen called "Opinion leaders" (Lazarsfeld, 1948)

Again, information gathered from the Education and Social Development Department of the L.G.A. shows that, other major methods of information dissemination are through print media such as posters, pamphlets and billboards.

These media however, are queried by most development communication scholars as inadequate for achieving a sustainable social transformation especially at the grassroots. Corroborating this position, Schramm (1977) captures it thus:

> Mass media has proved in many countries to be necessary but not Single handedly a sufficient condition for development.

Hence, communication scholars called for a blend between mass media and other indigenous media of communication like folk media and other interpersonal channels to achieve 'extensive results' (Schramm, 1977).

In a group discussion session in Kufana, the study also sought to know who the target should be and how best to communicate ideas that support campaigns on women political leadership. For most of the discussants, the major target should be men. Others argue it should be women, but at the end of the discussions, all discussants agree the target should be the general public because the issue of women political development affects virtually the entire society. The nature of the campaign should also be interactive

especially among all stakeholders. This is captured in Kufana community by Miss Keziah;

> The campaign for support of women to vie for political positions in this community has to be in form of discussion just like we are doing now we have to agree among ourselves -(Young Woman: FGD on 5th April, 2014)

On a whole, it is difficult to divorce culture from the social perception and behaviors of a people. There is always the tendency for individuals' perception and behavior to be influenced by beliefs, ideas, values and other cultural practices within their society. Such cultural practices most times, are reflected in media contents and other communication channels which determine the way people react and respond to socio-political issues in various environments. This fact as explained in Mcquail's media cultural theory and gathered from responses of respondents in this study, explain and establish the reasons behind differences in attitudes towards women leadership agitation in various communities. While women in some LGA's of Kaduna state may get the support of their communities to vie for political positions because they understand that leadership qualities are imbued and acquired, women in Kajuru are restricted by religious beliefs, ideas and values.

The communication and practice of gender roles by social institutions like the family and religion in Kajuru communities, where the woman is taught to be the house keeper/follower and man the provider/leader, obviously established why election of women into political positions is difficult.

Customs or traditional practice of early marriage and little priority in education of the girl-child in Kajuru communities which make the girl-child to grow into a powerless

woman in aspects of knowledge acquisition, also establishes the reason for low and poor proportion of women politicians in Kajuru.

Data from the study has shown that communication methods employed to address the existing socio-cultural issues in the communities are basically mass media such as radio, television, video and other channels like IEC materials such as posters, billboards, pamphlets, announcement in churches and mosques as well as awareness campaigns by non-governmental organizations. Some of the complaints about these media are their inability to provide answers that could address personal questions and concerns at the grass root.

Other shortcomings include language barrier; the inability to read and assimilate posters, pamphlets etc by a large number of the population due to poor educational background. Though the mass media and other methods employed in Kajuru communities have their own strength, they appear unsuitable for communities in Kajuru where there is a low level of literacy and high conservative adherence to customs, traditions, belief systems and ineffective or inadequate communication practices as reflected in the way socio-cultural values are inculcated. Therefore, awareness and conscientization through a redefined communication practice, such that aimed at negotiation rather than prescription, are forwarded as the antidote for biases against women political participation.

4.3 Communication Approaches for Enhancing Women Political Participation in Kajuru LGA

The following communication approaches are designed based on socio-cultural practices arising from the study which were discovered to be hindrances to women

leadership participation in Kajuru Local Government Area of Kaduna State. The framework attempts to address these practices by targeting stakeholders while bearing in mind their various communication needs as well as appropriate media channels;

Religious Seminars/Literature Approach

The responses of respondents that are categorized under cultural practice of religion have religious leaders and their members as major stakeholders. Here, some religious leaders communicate to their members, beliefs of men superiority over women. Therefore, there is the need for religious leaders to revert to regular teaching on the 'new religion' that detest inequality and promotes equality between sexes in areas of human endeavors. In addition to mass media, other appropriate media channels to reach out to these religious leaders are through religious seminars and literatures aimed at changing their biased perceptions and interpretation of the idea of sex or gender in religion or humanity.

Family and Peer Group Discussions/Meetings

Husbands and other family members are the target audience for cultural practices of marriage and family institution. Here, a consistent communication and undistorted teaching on family values of love and respect for family members irrespective of sex or gender is needed. Family and peer group discussions and meetings would go a long way in meeting these communication needs.

Participatory and Interactive Workshops on Gender Education

The third barrier comprises responses classified under cultural practice of education. The stakeholders are school teachers, managers and education policy makers. This set of

people need to be conscientized on the need to always check gender biases in school administration, policy making and curriculum creation through communication medium like workshops, deliberate literatures and syllabus on gender education.

Participatory/ Interactional Discussions

Customs and traditions are yet some cultural practices that need to be addressed through communication. The target audience under this cultural practice includes traditional leaders as well as all community members. This class of people needs a gigantic and regular conscientization on the importance of discerning between negative and positive traditions. Here, the interactive and participatory strategies of communication, where traditional leaders and their subjects engage in discussions would help to disregard some customs and traditions that are against women leadership in Kajuru communities.

Community Meetings/ Popular Theatre

Regular awareness campaigns for all community members, against false images, assumptions and overgeneralization through communication channels like community meetings, group discussions and popular theatre are the communication needs as well as communication channels appropriate to address stereotypes that off-put women from political leadership in kajuru LGA.

A careful look at the above table and the communication approaches would show that, the media of disseminating the identified communication needs are largely interpersonal rather than the one-way or two-step flow communication methods. The interpersonal communication model gives room for attentive listening and sharing of

ideas among all participants. Other general elements of considerations for this communication process include:

Message Approach

Due to the level at which Kajuru L.G.A. communities adhere to their beliefs and tradition, the message approach for the campaign for women participation in politics should move from the top-down approach to dialogue, debate, persuasion and negotiation. This kind of approach would ensure equanimity and acceptance and leads to unanimous decision on the issues at stake. Thereby, allowing "the community to become agents of their own change". (UNICEF, 2003)

Language Use

The use of locally acceptable language is also an important element that can play a vital role in the level at which women political development campaign could be accepted in Kajuru L.G.A. Therefore, a development communicator must credibly equip himself or herself with the language preferences of the community. A tone that is instructional rather than appealing or persuasive is likely to be rejected.

Audience Exposure

It is also critical to note that, the low level of education among the community members is such that, it is not feasible for them to assimilate and put into practice, everything about transformation campaigns with only one or two sensitization programs or a couple of meetings or discussion but there is the need for frequent and sequential approach to the issue at stake.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This is the concluding chapter of the study. The chapter would summarize the research work by reviewing important aspects of this study. These aspects include a summary, the major findings as well as recommendations and conclusion.

5.1 Summary

From the discussion and interviews carried out with the sample frame of this study, it is apparent that, the level of women participaton in politics in Kajuru L.G.A is minimal. This is because from the inception of democracy in the L.G.A, especially since 1999, no woman had ever been elected into political position apart from the post of a women leader which is by appointment.

Some cultural practices and attitudes are strongly responsible for the inadequate participation of women in political leadership in Kajuru LGA. These practices include distorted religious teachings, cultural practice of marriage, society's stereotyping tradition, familial teachings and roles, educational system and African traditions and customs on rules of etiquette between men and women.

Media outlets like the Television and Radios are the major sources of information employed to address the issues of inadequate women participation in political leadership. Also, information gathered from the Education and Social Development Department of the L.G.A. showed that, other methods of information dissemination are through posters, pamphlets, billboards as well as announcement in worship places particularly Mosques

and Churches. These communication strategies could not make a strong impact because of their structure and ideology.

The accessibility level of existing communication campaigns in Kajuru L.G.A. is also inadequate. There is always an indirect accessibility as most women get transformational information from more educated friends or husbands. This is capable of reducing the success of the communication campaign as the targeted population could get the information in a distorted form (Lazarsfeld et al, 1948)

The fact that information dissemination is also through announcements in churches and mosques (as shown by Education and Social Development Department of the L.G.A.) has made accessibility to development campaigns inefficient. This is because the targeted population might not be reached or those who the campaigns are meant for may only get them through middlemen called "Opinion leaders" (Lazarsfeld, 1948)

5.2 The Study Major Findings

Tradition, Belief Systems and Women political Leadership: Findings from the study indicate that some members of the various communities have clung on to some traditions and belief systems about gender roles and socio-culturally constructed activities for men and women. Some members see the woman as weaker sex and destined for less stressful tasks and since the demands of leadership is a herculean one, the woman in Kajuru LGA is said to be unfit for it. Belief about politics being a dirty game is yet another barrier discovered to be responsible for women's low participation in political leadership in Kajuru L.G.A. As a 'fragile' being, a woman is said to be easily tempted into promiscuity and other misconducts.

The effect of this societal tradition and belief systems cannot be over emphasized and the way it affects women on political participation cannot be quantified. In the social influence theory, choices or decisions are said to be more difficult or simpler depending on societal perceptions about the matter at stake. (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981).

Therefore, a lot needs to be done in the field of communication to correct societal perception of female politicians as wayward and promiscuous, as it will go a long way in encouraging women's choices or decisions to participate in political leadership.

Religion and Women Leadership: The teachings of Religion are not in favour of women leadership. This is the position of most discussants and respondents that took part in the study. Men and women discussants were emphatic in their submission that, religion advocates the system of patriarchy in their various communities and since patriarchy puts the woman at the whims and caprices of the man, adequate political leadership for the woman is almost impossible as the man would always want to be the leader. A Muslim discussant in Kajuru community submitted:

> … Just like prophet Mohammed was the leader of the Muslim Ummah and he commanded us of what Allah expects from us, so is the man in the house, his wives and children must take instructions from him. –(Adult Man :FGD on 22nd April, 2014)

Another discussant, this time a Christian in Idon community, said;

> Christianity has ordained the man to be the leader in the house, but in a situation where you allow the woman to lead you, then it is like disobeying commandment. – (Adult Man: FGD on 12th April,2014)

This has confirmed the view of the feminist liberation theologians about patriarchy and religion as well as the view of Weber (1964) who blamed relative

backwardness of the third world on traditional values and religious institutions. Weber blames dominant religions like Islam and Christianity for teaching values and beliefs that are incompatible with modern science, technology and ideology of progress and development.

However, these views are criticized for not giving the complete picture as far as the role of religion in social transformation is concerned. Melkote and Steeves (2001) in an essay, "communication and spirituality in Development" argue that, the way Religion has been manipulated by the society to communicate hegemonic values and belief systems, the same way it could be used to communicate positive values.

The findings of this study indicate that while some discussants point to religious teachings for inadequate women political participation, some are of the opinion that an objective and positive religious teachings, free of sexist biases can go a long way in encouraging women to delve into the field of politics. In an individual in-depth interview, a religious leader, pastor Ezra captured it thus:

> If our religious and traditional leaders can teach our people that women are not created to be weak or inferior to men … if they would not be selfish in saying the truth, you will see our women coming out without shame to contest and we will support them. - (interview with religious leader at Kufana on 17th March, 2014)

Hence, the deployment of the right communication approaches to convey the right religious ideals and beliefs can effectively change societal perceptions about the rights of the woman to lead.

Marriage, Family and Women Political Leadership: The socio-cultural institutions of marriage and family are also discovered to impede women's desire for

participating in politics. Women are said to be politically restricted by the culture and practice of marriage in Kajuru LGA. Marriage in the community is seen as topping the list of every woman's dreams and aspirations. A woman who has reached the age of marriage but is single is invariably stereotyped and gossiped about. But once she goes into marriage, the burden of childcare, home and family responsibilities make it difficult for her to delve into politics. Seder, et al (2005) describes the roles of the woman in marriage and family life as running the "double shift", (complementing the man's financial short comings as well as taking care of the physical and emotional needs of the family). Hence, an appropriate communication, through education on the need for equal roles between men and women in marriage and the family, may help in encouraging women to participate in politics.

Mass Media and Political Consciousness: Findings from the study have also discovered that, mass media roles in enhancing political consciousness within the area of study have been inadequate, inefficient and ineffective. Most female discussants in the chosen communities of the LGA unveiled a situation of indirect accessibility to media messages. Media content are often passed down to women by their husbands or more literate friends in the church or community. And few women discussants who testified to having direct media messages, disclosed that, rather than addressing cultural barriers, such messages were always on children and women mortality and how women could be petty artisans (weavers, tailors, traders etc) to adequately take care of the home and community. This is what anti-patriarchal feminist theologians describe as "the perpetuation of the Statusquo" as well as Gramsci and Williams' argument that the ruling or powerful class conditioned the consciousness of the subordinate class to conform to its

interest at the level of economy, state politics and social structures like the family, Church, Mosque, education system and mass media (Gramsci 1971; Williams, 1976)

Hence, the nature of mass-media content and the way it is employed for communication of political issues in Kajuru L.G.A. could be said to be ineffective and inadequate for women political development because of their verticality and ideology. The content, context and methods must be reviewed to ensure effectiveness.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are proffered based on the findings of this study about the factors that hinder adequate engagement of women in politics in the area under study. These factors range from a number of cultural practices, inaccessibility realities of transformation campaigns as well as application of ineffective media of message transmission. The following suggestions can mark an important beginning for an effective campaign towards sufficient engagement of women in politics.

i. **Introduction of Community or Rural Radio:** There is the need to address accessibility problem through the introduction of Rural Radio stations. Rural Radio Station is one that is operated in the community for the community, about the community and by the community (UNESCO, 2002). This is to democratize communication and bring it closer to the door steps of community members. This is important because the Radio medium is identified to be cheaper, popular and convenient among African communities. Community radio is guided by some principles that allow the involvement of rural members in the control and management of the station. It also engages the community members in the design

and production of programs. With its flexibilities, Rural Radio would go a long way in giving voice to women in the community as well as the opportunity to express their views and contribute their quota to community decision making and development. However, there is also the need to protect Community Radio from external onslaughts especially such that pervade the conventional Mass Media.

ii. **Special Media Strategy:** "only when media channels can mix with inter-personal channels… are you going to have the kind of development you will like?" when Schramm (1977) wrote these words, he was talking about the importance of integrating mass-media with folk media like folk theatre, puppetry, folk tales, mimes, folk dance and songs, etc. These serve as vehicles for information, persuasion and entertainment because they are part of the community's social structure. They are credible sources of information and have over the years proved useful in generating grassroots development and social transformation. Folk media is still present and popular among the communities of Kajuru L.G.A. Therefore, a proper and harmonious blend of mass-media with folk media can create a good atmosphere for effective mobilization of women for political participation and leadership.

iii. **Participatory Communication Methods:** These are capable of conscientizing the people and re-awakening them to the realities of some injurious practices that continue to discourage women to vie for political positions. With its knowledge and information sharing principles, messages and source related biases are avoided. All the participants express themselves in an atmosphere of understanding and cordiality. In the case of the communities in Kajuru LGA, participatory message

campaign should make use of tools such as the participatory learning and action (PLA) or Theatre for development (TFD). This is because there are high degrees of participation in their processes.

iv. **Establishment of more Effective Women Political Groups:** The establishment of women political associations in the various communities of Kajuru LGA would also help to mobilize the women into a strong force to be reckoned with. These associations would serve two major purposes.

- ❖ It would be responsible for mobilizing, educating and providing leadership training or apprenticeship for women and the entire community and also ensure the resolutions of differences and proffering of solutions to the general problems of women politicians.
- ❖ Serve as a reference point to government agencies and non-governmental organizations in case information about the participation of women in politics in the community is needed for subsequent campaigns.

  These political associations are however needed because the reliance on local government departments that deal with issues of women empowerment has not been very effective. Thus, these associations would play complementary roles.

v. **Community Gender Meetings:** These are going to be like discussion fora within the communities. The fora should be open to all members of the communities and should ensure that meetings are regularly summoned to discuss issues of women inequality especially in politics. The fora should also ensure that, women and men voices on participation of women in decision-making within the communities are

taken into account and deliberated upon. By so doing, some attitudes and stereotypes about women politicians would be dealt with and politics would gradually become more attractive to the womenfolk.

vi. **Gender Education in School:** There is the need for the introduction of gender related subjects in the primary and post primary schools. This would help to address the already existing culture of gender inequality that permeates the society and has become a way of life. The younger generation would be taught to shun sex discrimination, superiority idiosyncrasies and domination.

vii. **Gender-sensitive electoral Laws:** The creation and strict implementation of electoral laws that seek to undo some bias practices or policies within political parties and electoral bodies is also very important to women political participation and leadership. This is because it might negate the idea of one sex dominating the other.

5.4 Conclusion

One major conclusion that could be drawn from this study is the fact that, there are inadequate and ineffective communication approaches in addressing socio-cultural practices in Kajuru Local Government Area. This is due to over-reliance on mass media and some socio-culturally constructed activities that exist in the area which are inimical to women political leadership in the L.G.A. Societal perceptions and misinformation are on the increase as people (Men & Women) view the roles of a woman from domestic perspectives. While women in some parts of Nigeria have excelled politically, any woman who engaged in politics in this part of the country is often branded as wayward and promiscuous. Hence, the reluctance to go into politics by women in this area could be

ascribed to lack of proper information about the relevance of women in national development which must have helped women to record positive impacts in politics in other Nigerian communities. The lack of proper information about the dynamic nature of culture has also contributed to the adherence to negative traditions and practices that are at logger – head with women leadership agitations.

It can be concluded that Kajuru LGA's tradition of regarding the male as more mentally and physically capable than the female is a practice that hinders a balanced representation of women in politics. The observation of this practice has led to male and female social roles where the man is socialized into conformity with perceived "masculine" standards and the woman is expected to act in conformity with what society identifies as feminine. Thus, husbands and other family members play a vital role in determining the level of women political leadership in Kajuru LGA. Glenys Kinnock (2012) advises;

> The support of the family is a key factor in creating a political situation that encourages Women's participation and strives to create Conditions in which domestic chores are not seen as the exclusive domain of women.

In line with Kinnock's call for conditions in the family that can encourage women political leadership as well as the results of this research, the study can conclude that inter-personal communication will have more impact on members of the communities if they must be mobilized to change their perceptions of how they view women leadership as well as physical and mental capabilities. Interpersonal communication, in form of meetings and discussions, whether among family and community members, plays a vital role in people's decision about what values are transformative and which ones are non-

transformative. Therefore, development and communication planners would do well to ensure that information or transformational messages, especially on women political leadership, flow through a network of interpersonal communication among families, communities and socio-cultural institutions.

In general, it is obvious from the study that, adequate women political participation cannot be realized only through targeted projects, affirmative action and enactment of discrimination laws that seek to place women in leadership positions. Women political empowerment must not be reduced to measuring the number of women in the parliament or the ministerial cabinet. But the society must uncover the hidden biases and practices that limit women's ability to enjoy equal rights and opportunities as well as find the most culturally appropriate means to support women's capacities to drive social change in the society. The society must target a time when affirmative action or quotas for women political leadership is no longer needed because men and women participate or compete on a platform of equal opportunities and conditions. To achieve this, a deliberate and effective communication practice like the ones recommended in this study, should be adopted to ensure a gigantic "political apprenticeship training" for the wide pool of teeming young women to prepare them for future political leadership.

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APPENDIX 1

SELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction:

Goodday Sir/Madam My name is _____I work for a post graduate student of Development Communication in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. I am selecting group members for group discussion on a topical issue. I would be happy if you kindly allow me to interview you for few minutes.

Bio-data

Name: _____

Sex: _____

Marital Status: _____

Religion: _____

Tribe: _____

Languages Spoken: _____

Occupation: _____

Ward District Name: _____

Selection Questions

Q1) Have you ever attended a group discussion on women empowerment before?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Please tick

Enumerator Note: If YES, ask Q2 if NO, go to Q3

Q2) What aspect of women empowerment was the discussion on?

Fill in _____

_____

Q3) Do you think politics is a place for women?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Please tick

Q4) Would you say that women are adequately represented in politics in this Local Government Area?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Please tick

Q5) Would you like to contribute your views towards adequate representation of women in politics in this LGA?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Please tick

Response Summary

QUESTIONS:	Q3	Q4	Q5	
FAVOURABLE	Y	N	Y	Enlist and issue participation ticket
UNFAVOURABLE	N	Y	N	Delist and thank respondent

NOTE: Y.N.Y stands for Yes, No, Yes

N.Y.N. stands for No, Yes, No

V) **Participation Ticket**

Mr./Mal/Miss/Mrs._____ is the discussant No ____ for the Focus Group code ____

Meeting Date: _____

Venue: _____

Time: _____

APPENDIX 2

FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Category A: Issues and Objectives

To understand the nature of political participation between men and women as experienced or perceived by discussants.

To provoke discussions through questions and probes that would lead to the exposure of socio-cultural practices in the communities that can influence women participation in politics.

To also explore the role of religion in women political development or empowerment.

To facilitate discussion that would expose steps to be taken to reduce such 'negative' socio-cultural practices and enhance women political participation.

Category B: Discussion Framework

a) Introduction:

The facilitator introduces himself / herself and the assistants and asks each member of the group to say their names and street names. The facilitator continues to explain the purpose of the discussion (Barriers to women leadership) and encourage group to set ground rules like:

Everybody's opinion is to be heard and respected.

There is no excellent or poor response.

Everybody is entitled to speak for a stipulated period of time.

Responses should be made one at a time, etc.

The group is also requested to permit snap shots and tape recording during the conversation to enable the facilitator run a smooth facilitation and still have an up-to-date material for his or her report.

b) In-depth Questions and Investigation:

i) Nature of political participation between men and women in the community.

Do you think there are differences in the way males and females relate in this community?

If yes, what are those areas where men and women are expected to act or participate differently?

The facilitator pauses and allows respondents to talk extensively then probes further.

Do you think these differences you have mentioned can influence women participation in politics? How?

ii) Level of women political participation

Since the beginning of democracy in 1999, how many women have held political positions in this community?

Facilitator probes further:

Why is it so?

Do you think religion is a factor? How is it a factor?

iii) Barriers against women political participation:

Apart from religion, are there other factors?

Facilitator probes each factor mentioned to dig out more information.

iv) The ways forward

Can the female gender lead or manage political office effectively?

Facilitator probes further:

Why do you think women can be good leaders and should be allow to participate in politics?

What would you say should be done to encourage women to participate in political leadership?

NOTE: The questions above are not rigid but rephrase-able to meet unexpected situations.

c) Appreciation:

The facilitator thanks all the discussants for their contributions and closes the session.

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS SCHEDULE

Introduction

My name is _____. I am a post graduate student of Development Communication in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. I am currently undertaking a research on barriers to women participation in politics in this Local Government Area. I would be glad if you permit an interview for few minutes.

Interview Questions

Q1. In your capacity as _____, What would you say about women's leadership in this Local Government Area, are they adequately represented?

Q2) What has been the greatest barrier to issue of women leadership or political participation at the grassroots?

Q3) So far, what effort has your department/office made to mobilize women for better representation in politics.

Q4) How do you reach out to them (optional, depending on response to Q3 above)

Q5) Would you say, there has been a positive progress? If No, Why? If Yes, to what level?

APPRECIATION

Thank you sir for your contributions. I am honored by your reception and humility.