

**ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS IN
NIGER STATE, NIGERIA**

BY

Florence Obed DADA

**CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS STUDIES SECTION
DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION,
FACULTY OF EDUCATION,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA – NIGERIA.**

OCTOBER , 2015

TITLE PAGE

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M.ED/EDUC/8535/2011-2012**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work entitled “Assessment of Women Involvement in Politics in Niger State”, Nigeria has been carried out by me in the Department of Arts and Social Science Education, under the supervision of Rev. Fr. Dr. Peter. B. Tanko and Dr. Oliver I. Bongotons. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and the list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other institution.

.....
Name of Student

.....
Signature

.....
Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled “Assessment of Christian Women Involvement in Politics in Niger State, Nigeria” by Florence Obed Dada meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Masters of Education in Christian Religious Studies, Department of Arts and Social Science Education, of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

----- Rev. Fr. Dr. Peter B. Tanko Chairman, Supervisory Committee Signature Date
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----- Dr. Oliver I. Bongotons Member, Supervisory Committee Signature Date
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----- Prof. F.S.M. Koya Head of Department Signature Date
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..... Prof. K. Bala Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies Signature Date
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DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my dear husband, Mr. Obed A. Dada who endured my absence throughout the period of my studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The researcher's gratitude goes to God Almighty for His love, protection, guidance and inspiration towards the successful completion of this course. Appreciation goes to the people who were influential to this work, my studies, and professional growth. I am grateful to my supervisors and mentors, Rev. Fr. Dr. Peter B. Tanko and Dr. Oliver I. Bongotons who devoted their time making useful and constructive criticisms, and suggestions. May the Almighty God reward you all a hundredfold.

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ABSTRACT

Women constitute almost half of the population of Nigeria but they are not well represented in vital decision making organs of government. In Nigeria, there is no legislative framework securing quotas for women in political parties and national elections. This is due to cultural and religious beliefs. The main objective of this research is to assess Christian women involvement in politics in Niger State, Nigeria. Three research questions were formulated. What is the understanding of Christian women participation in politics according to their educational attainment? To what extent do married and single Christian women engage in partisan politics in Niger State? Which political offices do Christian women from orthodox and Pentecostal churches in Niger State contest for? And three null hypotheses There is no significant difference in the understanding of Christian women' involvement in politics according to their educational attainment. There is no significant difference in the extent to which single and married Christian women engage in partisan politics in Niger State. There is no significant difference in the number of political offices Christian women' from orthodox and Pentecostal churches in Niger State contest for. Were stated and tested. The population of this study comprised all Christian women in Niger State. Survey research design was used for the study. Using the multi-stage sampling technique, three (3) local government areas were sampled from each of the three (3) senatorial zones of the state. Seven hundred (700) Christian women were sampled. A modified questionnaire was used as an instrument for data collection and statistical package for social science (SPSS) was used to analyze the data. Frequencies and percentages were used for bio-data variables. Frequencies mean and standard deviation were used to answer research questions.

Inferential statistics were used for the test of the hypotheses. Specifically, the one-way analysis of variance was used for hypothesis 1, while the independent t-test was used for hypothesis II. Hypothesis III was tested with chi-square procedure. All hypotheses were tested at 0.05 alpha level of significance. From the result of this study, educational attainments have a significant role in the level of Christian women involvement in politics in Niger State. Marital status has no major role in the level of Christian women participation in partisan politics in Niger State. The choice of elective political offices by Christian women in Niger State is not influenced by their church denominations. Based on this, it is recommended that the church should encourage the education of women not only to acquire the basic education but to attain higher level of education as the basis for political participation. Women should be encouraged to participate in politics irrespective of their marital status. All constraints on the part of participation should be eliminated through church encouragement. Women should also be encouraged to vie for elective positions both at state and national levels.

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DEFINATION OF TERMS

1. **Orthodox Churches:** in this context it refers to those Churches that are not founded in Nigeria but brought by the missionaries such as Anglican, Assembly of God, Baptist, Catholic and Evangelical Church Winner ALL (ECWA) Church.
2. **Pentecostal Churches:** in this context it refers to churches that were founded in Nigeria such as Nupe Calvary, Redeemed Christian Church God, and Winners Chapel.
3. **The Christian woman:** The Christian Woman is described in Proverbs (31:10-31) as noble, hardworking, charitable, strong, dignified and resourceful.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Today, there is a misleading belief among Christians that politics is a dirty and immoral activity. This belief has determined and shaped the disposition of a considerable number of Christians towards politics. This misleading belief is capable of placing Christians at a disadvantage. If there are some observed moral defects in the game of politics in our society, and Christians choose not to be part of it, how do they then inject sanity into it? Christianity is the religion that is based on the teachings and the way of life of Jesus Christ through His death, resurrection, ascension and the gift of the Holy Spirit to believers. These teachings were given by Christ to His apostles through a special revelation. The beliefs and practices of Christians are directed and motivated by the injunction and precepts of Christ as contained in the Bible. Unger (1996) opines that Christianity is a way of life while Mu'azam (2002) observed that Christianity is a way, manner and system of life which are ordained by God Almighty and therefore sacred.

The exclusion of women from political processes in Nigeria can be traced back to the colonial time when women were forced to give up many of their political rights. As a result of colonization, the resurgence of women's movements demanding greater political participation in Nigeria took place later than other countries. For instance, women living in northern Nigeria received suffrage as late as 1978. Some women who made the mark on the political scene at that period include Mrs. Margaret Ekpo of the famous Aba riot of 1929, Madam Tinubu of Lagos and Egbaland, Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome- Kuti of Abeokuta Union of 1948 and Hajiya Gambo Sawaba of Northern Element Progressive

Union (NEPU) (Awe, 1992). Though women enjoyed high democratic authority in southern Nigeria, this was not a general phenomenon because men had always been dominant in the political structure with women complementing them.

Gender has come to be a very crucial instrument for shaping the society. Based on this, the world's government adopted Gender Equality and Women Empowerment as part of the third Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000. Previously, United Nations Conferences such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1997), The World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995) and Security Council (2008) all focused on Gender Equality and Women Empowerment in the democratic structure. With this, most Nigerian women still have little influence and control over economic resources. This is a situation that has wasted the potentials in women and has brought about a decline in economic development.

Just like women in other patriarchal societies, the subordinate position which Nigerian women are subjected to predispose them to various acts of gender-based discrimination. Being a patriarchal society, male dominance is reflected in marriage institutions where a woman is regarded as the property of the man. She has no right to take any decision that concerns her except with the permission of the husband. Also, in political and governing institutions where the Ministry of Women Affairs has a male as commissioner or permanent secretary, religious institutions such as non-inclusion of women in the Board of Elders in some churches. Some public and private institutions would not employ women because they would go on maternity leave or if they are employed they are not paid salaries during such leave.

The election of Olusegun Obasanjo as the president of Nigeria in May 1999, the morale of Nigerians was at the lowest ebb because of several problems that characterized the past military regimes. These problems include unemployment which is still a problem till date, high level of corruption, near total absence of infrastructure, malfunctioning public utilities, inefficient state enterprises etc. Within few months of democratization, political, economic and institutional areas of reforms to deal with these issues were identified. Over the years, many reforms were initiated. These include the liberalization of key sectors of the economy, restructuring of government budgeting and taxation laws, governance and institutional strengthening and debt management (Okonjo-Iweala and Osafokwaako, 2007). Along these reforms, several policies and programmes were put in place to improve education and health; and reduce women's disadvantage in labour market outcome in general. A specific example of female empowerment in democracy is the government appointing more women with expertise into top government positions.

The Obasanjo administration appointed the former vice president of World Bank, who happened to be a Nigerian. (Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala) as Minister of Finance, Mrs. Dora Akunyili was appointed as the Director General, National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). In addition, several regulations and electoral acts were put in place to ensure that political and non-political appointments/elections and government contracts were awarded based solely on merit. Education enabled more women to participate in elections in 2003, 2007 and 2011. The 35% affirmative action appointment of women into strategic positions, during Dr. Goodluck Jonathan's administration has received a tremendous boost till date with the present democratic government doing its best to carry the women along. The Church should encourage

women with their own affirmation policy to participate in Politic following the example of the Godly strong woman Deborah.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to 2006 National Census report, Women constitute almost half of the population of Nigeria, that is (69,086, 302 million out of 140, 431, 79 (49.2%) (Census, 2006).The independent National Electoral Commission did not issue any data about the number of women registered to vote in the 2011 election. However, Agbalajobi, (2010) estimates that half or slightly over half of 73.5 million registered voters are women. Yet with this high percent of population, women are not well represented in vital decision making organs of government. In Nigeria, there is no legislative framework securing quotas for women in political parties and national elections. Section 40 of the constitution, confers on all citizens the right to democratic governance and participate therein and Section 77(2) states that every citizen in Nigeria who has attained the age of 18, residing in Nigeria at the time of registration of voters for purposes of election, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter for that election. However, in practical reality, as experienced in the country's political exercise, there has been an apparent lopsidedness in terms of the participation of women in politics vis-à-vis their male counterpart. Some of the reasons that account for this lopsidedness include:

- i. Women have not summoned enough courage to participate in politics
- ii. Men have not given the women the opportunity to participate in politics
- iii. Christianity does not encourage women participation in politics
- iv. Political parties have not done enough to allow women to participate fully in politics

- v. Traditional beliefs serve as impediments to women participation in politics.

The marginalization of Nigerian women in politics and decision making by men is as old as Nigerian society and actually predates the advent of colonialism in southern and northern Nigeria. It is believed that the marginalization of women in political participation and decision making processes has been responsible for the exclusion of the interests of women in governance and developmental paradigms and Niger State is not an exception. Women are poorly represented in political parties which is partly because male characteristics are mostly emphasized in the criteria for eligibility as candidates for such positions.

It is interesting to note that by virtue of the 2006 population census, the population of male gender in Niger State is 2,032,725 while that of the female gender is 1,917,524. Out of this number of women, none has become governor or deputy governor since the creation of the state in 1976 till date. Only four of the twenty six commissioners are women. It is also amazing that of the twenty-seven constituencies in the State House of Assembly; only three (3) are represented by women, while the rest are men. There are three (3) women special advisers and one (1) local government chairperson out of twenty five (25). There are ten (10) women permanent secretaries. These are career civil servants who rose through the ranks.

How many Christian women participate in the political activities? Has a significant number of Christian women been involved in governance of the state? This

study therefore sets out to assess the level of the participation of Christian women in politics in Niger State.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this research is to assess the level of Christian women participation in politics in Niger State. The specific objectives are to:

1. investigate the understanding of Christian women involvement in politics according to their educational attainment
2. Determine the extent to which single and married Christian women involvement in partisan politics in Niger State.
3. Assess the political offices that Christian women from orthodox and Pentecostal churches in Niger State contest for.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the understanding of Christian women about politics according to their educational attainment?
2. To what extent do married and single Christian women engage in partisan politics in Niger State?
3. Which political offices do Christian women from orthodox and Pentecostal churches in Niger State commonly contest for?

1.5 Hypotheses

Ho 1. There is no significant difference in the understanding of Christian women' involvement in politics according to their educational attainment.

Ho 2. There is no significant difference in the extent to which single and married Christian women engage in partisan politics in Niger State.

Ho 3. There is no significant difference in the number of political offices Christian women' from orthodox and Pentecostal churches in Niger State contest for.

1.6 Significance of the Study

- 1) It is hoped that the findings of this study will go a long way in awakening our church leaders to encourage Christian women involvement in partisan politics.
- 2) It will also encourage Christian women to see the need to be involved in partisan politics like their male counterpart. Since men have been the ones mostly in positions of political leadership and not much gain is recorded in terms of dividends of democracy, participation of Christian women in politics will greatly serve to satisfy the socio-economic yearning of the populace in Niger State and the country at large.
- 3) The result of this study will help policy makers' rise up to the challenges in the development process in Nigeria through increase in women involvement.
- 4) It will also add to the existing literature on the involvement of Christian women in politics.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The research work is limited to Niger State which has twenty-five (25) local government areas divided into three (3) senatorial zones. The reason for the choice is because the researcher is familiar with the environment, which makes it easy to reach the people and also due to financial constraint. In Niger State like any other part of Nigeria, males and females participate in politics, but this study is concerned with considering Christian women in politics specifically in Niger State. Politics is in different dimensions, but this study is largely concerned with the assessment of the level of Christian women participation in politics in the state.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher examines related literature, relevant to the topic. In doing so, the following sub-headings were discussed. Brief political history of Niger State, the concept of politics, governance, elements of governance, women and democracy in Nigeria, women as vanguard of democracy and good governance, civil rights of citizens, who is a voter and rights of a voter, women participation, Nigerian women in politics, National Democratic Institute and women participation, women and decision making in Nigeria, empirical study and summary.

2.2 Concept of Politics

According to Crick (2006) the word “politics” comes from the Greek word “polis” meaning the State or community as a whole. The concept of the “polis”, was an ideal state that came from the writings of great political thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle.

Joseph (2010) explains the origin of politics as derived from a Greek word “Politikos” as a term generally applied to the art or science of running governmental or state affairs including behavior within civil government but also applies to corporate, academics and religious segments of the society. Oladimeji (2007) observed that it also consists of social relations involving authority of power and the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy.

From the view of Oshewolo (2011), politics can be understood as an act or practice that values the skills, insights and astuteness of a leader or other officials

involved in politics. Another concept of politics is that, it is the struggle for power. A radical variant of this is offered by Marxists as derived from the works, of Karl Marx, Murkherjee and Ramaswamy (2007). This views holds that politics is a conflict between antagonistic groups in the society. In essence, politics connotes group struggle and the state is an oppressive instrument in the hand of the ruling class. Natufe (2001), points out that politics is about power and influence. It is a struggle of contending ideological view points on the allocation and distribution of resources. It determines who gets what, when and why.

Generally, common definitions of politics are:

- 1) Politics is exercise of power
- 2) Politics is the public allocation of things that are valued
- 3) Politics is the resolution of conflict
- 4) Politics is the competition among individuals and groups, pursuing their interests.
- 5) Politics is the organization and people who make and implement public policies
- 6) Politics is the determination of who gets what, when, how, (where, and why)

Danziger (1994).

Busari (2008) summed it thus “Politics in Nigeria can be defined as the totality of moves and maneuvers relating to the process of authoritative allocation of values in Nigeria or how political actors in Nigeria conducted the struggle for pursuit of conflicting desires on public issues among themselves.

Robert, (2007) and Afinoton (2010) observed that “Politics in Nigeria is characterized by unrestrained struggle for power, acrimony, manipulation, electoral malpractices, and violence and in a number of cases, outright killings.”

Ilori (1990) opines that the most ancient times, infact from Roman to Greek time, politics has been considered to include all the big issues that have to do with the manner of the ordinary or organization in peace and war of the affair of the society or states. Onyekpe (1998) defines politics as the struggle for power which itself is the authority to determine or formulate and execute decisions and policies, which must be accepted by the society...It is the struggle for power of governance, especially executive authority.

From the above definitions, we observe that politics is all about struggle for power as it relates to use and control of such power in governance. Thus, politics involve governance and how the political leaders acquire their mandate. It is concerned with acquisition or exercising power, within a group or an organization. It is in the light of these that Kakabdse (1991) described a politician as “that person who makes a career by seeking or serving in elective or appointive public office, one devoted to the service of the polls, a political community and engage in the professional practice of politics.” From these definitions, it will be a mistake for anybody to think that politics does not require gender equality or balance.

2.3 The Christian Woman

The Christian Woman is described in Proverbs (31:10-31) as noble, hardworking, charitable, strong, dignified and resourceful. She speaks with wisdom. Her children call her blessed and her husband praises her. Cheryl (2013) noted that many Christian women sees the qualities of ideal woman in (proverbs 31) unattainable but she encourage Christian women not to be overwhelmed by the shadow of this “ideal” woman rather, Christian women should be on their knees and surrender to God, becoming total

dependent upon him, the journey will become easier. Grear (2015) asserts that women should not limit themselves to Ephesians 5 and Proverbs 31. In his words he said:

The church needs more Deborahs we need that Godly, strong women to step up and use the gifts God has given them. We need Deborahs in the home, speaking courage into their family's lives. We need Deborahs in ministry, calling us to give and pray, go and sacrifice. We need Deborahs in the society, women who lead with wisdom, courage and faith.

2.4 Brief Political History of Niger State/Politics in Niger State

Niger State was created on the 3rd of February, 1976 from the defunct North Western State during the regime of General Murtala Ramat Mohammed. The state actually began functioning from April 1st of that year. There were originally eight (8) LGAs namely; Chanchaga, Rafi, Gbako, Etsan, Suleja, Mariga and Lavun. The Agali and Lapai LGAs later came out of Etsan Local Government.

Between 1979 and 1983 when Mohammadu Awwal Ibrahim (Present Emir of Suleja) was executive governor of the state; eighteen LGAs were being managed by the administration: Kuta, Paikoro, Chanchaga, Rafi, Gbako, Katcha, Lemu, Lapai, Agaie, Suleja, Mariga, Bangi, Magama, Auna, Lavun, Mokwa and Jima – Doko. But when the military came into power in 1984, it returned to the original LGA structure. Chanchaga was split into two – Minna Municipal Council with Minna as headquarters.

The LGA in Niger State become nineteen (19) in 1991 when President Ibrahim Babangida created nine (9) states and additional LGAs in Nigeria. By 1996 when the late General Sani Abacha created six (6) additional states and 1821 LGAs in the entire country, Niger State got additional six (6) LGAs namely, Katcha, Munya, Mashegu, Edati, Tafa, and Mashegu, bringing the total to 25 LGAs.

In the year 2002, the civilian administration of Engr. Abdulkadir A. Kure responded to the clarion call of the people for the creation of additional local government areas. To this end, additional seventeen (17) new local government areas were created out of the existing ones; bringing the total; number of local governments to 42. However, because this was not gazetted by the National Assembly as enshrined in the constitution, the new LGAs were dissolved and converted to Area Development Councils. Thus, the status – quo of 25 LGAs was maintained.

The state lies on Latitude 3.2° west and longitude 11.3° north. Kaduna and FCT are her borders to the north-east and south respectively; Zamfara State borders the north, Kebbi State in the west, Kogi State in the south and Kwara State in the south-west. The Republic of Benin along Agwara LGA borders her north-west. The population of the state by the 2006 population figure is 3,950,249. The people are predominantly Muslims and Christians while others practice traditional religion.

Political leadership in Niger State (1976 to Date)

S/N	NAME	PERIOD	REMARK
1	Navy Commander Murtala Nyako	Feb.1976-1977	Military governor
2	Navy Commander Ebitu Ukiwe	1977-1978	Military governor
3	Col. Ola Oni	1978-1979	1 st Military administrator
4	Mal. Mohammed Awal Ibrahim	Oct. 1979-1983	1 st Civilian governor
5	Col. David A.B. Mark	Jan. 1984-1986	Military governor
6	Lt. Col. Garba Ali Mohammed	Aug. 1986-1987	Military governor
7	Col. Mohammed Lawan Gwadabe	Jan. 1987-1992	Military governor
8	Dr. Musa Muhammed Inuwa	Jan. 1992-1993	2 nd Civilian governor
9	Col. Cletus K. Emein	Dec. 1993-Aug. 1996	Military administrator
10	C.P. Simeon O. Oduoye	14 th Aug. 1996-Aug. 1998	Military Administrator
11	Col. Habibu Idris Shuaibu	Aug. 1998-May 1999	Military administrator
12	Eng.Abdulkadir A. Kure	May 1999-May 2007	3 rd Civilian governor
13	Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu	May 2007 –May 2015	4 th Civilian governor
14	Alh. Abubakar Sani Bello	May 2015 to date	5 th Civilian governor

Source: Niger State Ministry of Information, 2013

2.4.1 Governance

The concept of governance is not new. It is as old as human civilization. Simply put by Coleman (1966), governance means the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). Good governance according to Downer (2000) is the process by which public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights. Good governance accomplishes this in a manner essentially free from abuses and corruption and with regards to the rule of law. This means that the true test of democracy and good governance is the degree to which it delivers on the promises of human rights, civil, cultural, economic, political, religious and social rights. Furthermore, Connable (1999)

was of the view that good governance is the exercise of power or authority, political, economic, administrative or otherwise to manage a country's processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise legal rights irrespective of gender and harmonizes their differences irrespective of culture and religion.

United Nations Human Development Report (2004) pointed out that governance has two faces: first the leadership which has responsibilities derived from the principles of effective governmental organizations. Second, the governed, that is the citizens, who are responsible for making relevant inputs to the socio-economic and political affairs of the society. In other words, it is the relationship between rulers and the ruled, the state and the society, the governors and the governed. It is therefore important the two principal actors be as close as possible to ensure the legitimacy, accountability, credibility, and responsiveness of rulers and effective participation of the people.

Jega (1999) analyzed the concept of governance in relation to the "person entrusted with political power and authority." In this regards, governance according to him, involves the following:

1. Responsibility and responsiveness in leadership and in public service.
2. Accountability in the mobilization as well as in the utilization of resources.
3. Discipline, effectiveness and efficiency in handling public (as well as personal) affairs.
4. Selflessness and impartial service to the people and
5. Popular participation and empowerment of the people in the conduct and management of their common affairs.

Obadan (1998) posited that “it is the responsibility of the citizens to demand for good governance” because it may not be forthcoming from the leaders without prodding.” Esman (1997) argued that: before governance can be considered good, government has got to be effective. It must command the respect and allegiance of the people over whom it exercises governance and, must satisfy certain basic needs. This line of argument tallies with those of Obadan 1998 and Amoako (1997) who posited that good governance implies efficient and effective public administration, good policies and sound management of human and natural resources. It calls for the ability of the state to anticipate challenges to its well being, provide core services, act as a catalyst of change, and guide the various forces in a society towards harmony.

2.4.2 Elements of good governance

According to Obadan (1998) good governance consists of five fundamental elements:

1. Accountability of government officials (political leaders and bureaucrats) for public funds and resources.
2. Transparency in government procedures, processes, investment decisions, contracts, and appointments. Transparency is a means of preventing corruption and enhancing economic efficiency.
3. Predictability in government behaviour. This is particularly critical to the carrying out of economic transactions between individuals and in taking investment decisions: government and public institutions should not be capricious in their behavior and actions.

4. Openness in government transactions and a reliable flow of the information necessary for economic activity and development to take place. Without information, rules will not be known, accountability is low, and risks and uncertainties are many. With this, the cost of committing capital is also huge. An open system should, thus, be encouraged to release information to stakeholders and promote dialogue among the people as well as ensure their active participation in the socio-economic development of the country.
5. Observance of the rule of law must be adhered to by government and its citizens, this means that governments and institutions should be subject to rules and regulations, which are understood by everyone in the society.

The foregoing put together, points to the fact that, there is a relationship between democracy and governance.

2.5 History of Women involvement in Nigerian Politics

Women have played a major role in socio-political developments in Nigeria. However, their contributions have largely been overlooked. As Tamale (2000) has observed,

“Male-based history tests have rarely acknowledged the past contributions of women to political leadership in Nigeria. Nevertheless, available historical writings (Staudt, 1989; Agorah, 1990) support the argument that African women played very crucial roles as political actors long before the colonization of African societies. Although there were still inequalities in social status between men and women, women played very important and wide-ranging social roles, and wielded significant economic and political powers in most societies of Africa.”

Schmidt (1991) has pointed out that division of labour alone based on sexual differences in pre-colonial Africa was not bifurcated productive and reproductive lines as women were fully engaged in both reproductive and productive activities. Similarly, Okonjo

(1976), contrasting the dual-sex political structure found among the traditional societies of West Africa with the single-sex system in much of the north, shows that women were not marginalized in the patriarchal societies of much pre-colonial societies. In Nigeria, oral traditions surviving religious cults, relics and indigenous political cultures in different parts of the country support the view that women were major players in the political system in the past (Izugbara and Onuoha, 2003). Study reveals that among the Igbo of southern part of Nigeria, the function of the Obi (male monarch) were parallel to and complementary with those of the Omu (female monarch). She argues that “within this system, each sex manages its own affairs, and women’s interests were represented at all levels.” (Okonjo, 1976). In Yoruba land, women occupied positions of great influence, both by merit and aristocratic connections, and served as priests of local deities, a position which imbued them with considerable spiritual; and political powers (Mba, 1982).

Similarly, many of the tribal groups that were incorporated by the colonial administrators into the geographical entity called Nigeria were founded by women. Among the women-founded communities in Nigerian history were Inikpi of Igala-land, Moremi (Yoruba in the southwest) and Daura (Hausa northern Nigeria). Furthermore, Cambauseis said to have been in charge of the Bonny in the 13th century while Queen Amina held the reins of political leadership in Zazzau Emirate of the 14th century. In other places, women, such as Omuokwei Nana Asma’u and Iyalode Efausetan were notable political figures who advised and supported male leaders. All these suggest that women were not passive subjects in pre-colonial politics; instead they were active

participants who made meaningful and enduring contributions just like their male counterparts.

Women's marginalization in Nigerian politics began effectively during the colonial period. Colonialism had a decisively negative impact on indigenous political systems, and the gender dimension of politics was certainly not an exemption. Izugbara and Onuoha (2005) have posited that:

...it was during the period of colonization that (Europe) infected Africa (including Nigeria) with her overly made-privileging political ideologies and values. To be sure, European nations of 'activity', 'rulership', 'governance', 'work', 'militancy', 'power', and leadership as male and 'home', 'passivity', 'fellowship', 'submission', idleness' as female gave the colonial politics a patriarchal bearing.

British colonialists transplanted to Nigeria a male-based political system development in the metropolis of Europe, which was predicated on a Victorian conception of womanhood. This political system and associated ideology were ill-fitted to the Nigerian social structure. The result was that it deepened the features of gender inequalities by eroding women's power and autonomy and pushing them to the limits of the social structure. In Igbo land, for instance, Tamale (2000) shows that the colonialists recognized only male Obi, and even paid him monthly stipend, but completely ignored the female Omu. Therefore, we can only agree with Okonjo (1976) that, "the absence of women from meaningful political representation in dependent Nigerian can be viewed as showing the strength of the legacy of single-sex politics that the British colonial masters left behind."

A deliberate colonial policy attempted to masculinize politics in Nigeria and to distance women from decision making, in accordance with western ideas about the "proper" place of men and women in societies (Staudt, 1981). It was partly in reaction to

these discriminatory policies that Nigerian women, mainly of the Igbo and Ibibio extractions, rose against the colonial authorities in the famous ‘women’s war or ‘Aba women’s riot’. These riots witnessed the uprising of women in defiant challenge of their systematic oppression through taxation, forced labour and political marginalization. The intensity and momentum of these riots revealed the severity of injustices to which the women were subjected. In challenging their oppression by foreign powers, women were attempting to negotiate their position in local socio-political structures. Formal independence from colonial rule did not bring any meaningful change in the situation of things because it was only a change in the composition of the office holders and not the character of the political system (Staudt, 1981).

Attempts were made to accord full political suffrage, including the right to vote and be voted for. Such gestures were encouraged because it was in the interest of the new national leaders to present themselves as “enlightened proponents of democracy and equality (Geiger, 1990). But this was mere lip service because at independence (Nigeria) inherited political and ideological structures designed to consolidate male privilege and power, and women’s subordination” (Tamale, 2000).

In the first republic, only Beatrice Kwangi and Wurola Esen, won senatorial seats, and Franca Afegbua was the only woman elected out of 91 senators in the second republic election. Also during the second republic, Mrs. Phyllis Alheri formed a political party (National Democratic Party) which was denied registration. While Mrs. Bola Ogunbo, the only female vice presidential aspirant lost out at the polls. The militarization of the Nigerian State, which lasted for almost three decades, reinforced the image of politics as men’s business, and undermines women’s visibility in governance. Although

military government declared their commitment to women issues and encouraged programmes that sought to better their (women's) condition, women were markedly excluded from governance. Throughout the period of military rule in Nigeria only three women were appointed ministers, eleven (11) were appointed commissioners at the state level and two (2) sole administrators of local governments.

During the regimes of General Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha for example, no woman was appointed state governor or a member of the ruling council. Military regimes represented the apogee of women's political marginalization in the history of Nigeria (Nelson, 2006). The absence of women during the military interregnum was also evident during the foiled attempt at a transition to civil rule. For example, during the election organized in 1992 by President Ibrahim Babangida-led military regime, only a woman won a seat in the 90 member Senate, while 12 were elected into the 338 member House of Representatives. This trend continued in the 1999 general elections, where only 3 women were among the 109 member Senate, 12 were elected to the 360 member House of Representatives, 1 was elected deputy governor out of 36, 1 speaker of State House of Assembly out of 36 and 12 out of the 990 members of State House of Assembly throughout the country.

The 2003 general elections witnessed increase in women's participation in politics all over the country. More women contested for elective positions than at any time in the history of Nigeria. This partly explains the increase in women's share of elective position at the state and federal levels during this period. There were 3 women senators, 21 House of Representative members, 2 female deputy governors and 2 female speakers of State House of Assembly. There was also some improvement in the performance of women in

the 2007 general elections. Nine women were elected as senators, 28 were elected House of Representative members, 42 made it to state Houses of Assembly, and 6 became Deputy Governors. But while such improvements are noteworthy, they pale before the enormity of challenges still dogging women's success in politics. Indeed, results of the recent (2011) general elections suggest a decline in women's total share of elective positions, thus making women's success a tenuous and transient one.

2.6 Women as Vanguard of Democracy and Good Governance

It is important to note that in many societies, democracy and good governance cannot be separated. When women enter politics within this patriarchal context of modern democracies, they are unable to play a role to radically change the sexual politics rather they largely play political roles on male's terms. The fundamental assumption in liberal democracies needs to be changed in order to create genuine political space for women within.

Women leadership style all over the world has shown that indeed if given the opportunity at any given time they will excel. According to Nkom (2000), "the concept of governance refers to the use of political power to manage a nation's public affairs and to shape its economic and social environment in line with perceived notions of public interest and societal progress." It is precisely from the great impact which the use of political power either positively or negatively leaves on a society that arise both development and progress or stagnation and underdevelopment in the community or state.

Landell – Mills and Serageld (1992) stated that good governance depends on the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimately committed to

improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its people or citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver public services, able to create enabling environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct.

The observations of Nkom and Landell on the concept women as vanguards of democracy and governance seemed same. Similarly, the researcher is of the same opinion based on the few women who have shown their potentials in that aspect.

2.7 Civic Rights of Citizens

Nigeria is a federal republic. It is governed by a set of rules enshrined in a constitution. The 1999 Constitution guarantees the rights of women to participate in active politics. Consequently, there has been a remarkable increase in women participation in politics in Nigeria since then although with a pronounced level of under representation in comparison to the men. The 1999 Nigerian Constitution by the virtue of Section 40 states the right of citizens, where it states that;

Every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons, and in particular he may form or belong to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interest: Provided that the provisions of this section shall not derogate from the powers conferred by this constitution on the Independent National Electoral Commission with respect to political parties to which that Commission does not accord recognition.

And Section 42 (1) of the same constitution states further that a woman has right to vote or to be voted. It states ...

A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person be subjected to any form of discrimination. This further confirms that you can go to seek redress if as a woman your franchise is violated and that the constitution as a whole prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex.

Who is a voter and right of a voter

A voter is a person who has a right to participate in an election. In Nigeria, a voter is a citizen who is 18 years and above, and is duly registered to elect political office holders. It is the right of every qualified citizen to register to vote and be voted for. This right is guaranteed by the constitution and cannot be denied anyone. To register, one must be a Nigerian citizen, which could be conferred in various forms;

By birth, Section 25(1) and (2), by registration, Section 26(1) and (2) and by naturalization. Section 27(1) and (2) of the constitution. Every qualified citizen is expected to go to the designated location to register his or her name as a voter. That is why a voter has the right to vote and be voted for when registered.

To be voted for, a person has to put himself forward as a candidate for an elective office. He can only do that through a political party. He therefore plays a dual role at the time he is standing for an election.

The voters' card issued to every voter qualifies him or her to vote in an election. This card must be properly guarded. It is not transferable. It must not be sold to any or given to another person, as that would mean selling or giving away one's voting right.

The issue of voter's rights and responsibilities are very crucial in any democratic dispensation. They contribute to the very foundation upon which democracy survives and thrives. Voter's right if properly safe guarded and protected will facilitate and ensure that the right caliber of men and women are elected to hold public offices. It must be mentioned that denial of citizens of their voting rights will only lead to the election and appointment of people of questionable character into public offices. Voting rights are not privileges, but fundamental human attributes that should not be denied any bona fide

citizen in a democratic society. Democracy is all about rights and responsibilities. Rights and responsibilities help good citizens to respect and be loyal to his country.

The researcher is of the view that if all these pre-requisite conditions are followed it can foster democratic process and good governance which may result in more women participating in the political process in Niger State in particular and Nigeria in general.

2.8 Women and Politics

Women all over the world, Nigeria inclusive, often face daunting social, economic and political challenges and for democratic government to deliver to their constituents, they must be truly representative, which means that women must be equal partners in the process of political development. It is also observed that their contributions aim at building a strong and vibrant society. Women in Nigeria need to be supported for the following reasons:

- i. Women are highly committed to promoting the socio-economic and political challenges facing women, children and disadvantaged groups.
- ii. Women are particularly effective in promoting honest government. It is evident that countries where women are supported as leaders and at the ballot box have a corresponding low level of corruption.
- iii. Women are strongly committed to peace-building, as they often disproportionately suffer the consequences of armed conflict. Reconstruction and reconciliation efforts take root more quickly and are more sustainable when women are involved. By helping women become participatory in partisan politics one can look to mitigate conflict or stop conflicts before they begin.

- iv. Women are strongly linked to positive developments in education, infrastructure, and health standards at the local level. Where rates of gender development and empowerment are higher, human rates of development and standards of living are also higher (Griffen, 2007).

This view is supported by (Illafuye, 2010) who observed that every country deserves to have the best possible leader and that means that women have to be given a chance to compete. If they are never allowed to compete in the electoral process then the country is robbing itself of a great deal of talent. The researcher is in support of the view taking into cognizance the performance of the few women who have excelled in their political positions.

2.8.1 Women participation in politics

Okolie (2004) perceives participation as “freedom of expression, association, right to free flow of communication, right to influence decision process and the right to social justice, health services, better working condition and opportunity for franchise.” Agunyai (2014) argued that political participation is one of the key ingredients of democracy.

The essence of political participation in any society, either civilized or primitive, is to seek control of power, acquisition of power and dispensing power to organize society, harness and distribute resources and to influence decision making in line with organized or individual interests (Arowolo and Abe, 2008). All groups (including those of women) seek to influence the dispensation of power in line with their articulated interests as fundamental motive of democratic participation. Women, in their gradual consciousness of state of mind also, in recent times, increasingly seek power equation

and distribution and redistribution of resources in their favour. Although careful observations have indicated that the involvement of women in Nigerian politics is largely noticeable at the level of voting and latent support, Adeniyi (2003) has identified violence and other forms of electoral conflicts perpetrated and perpetuated by men and male youths as the major barriers confronting and inhibiting women's active participation in Nigerian politics.

A survey data suggests that there is a high level of support for women becoming involved in democracy as candidates for office. Literate women in formal work settings, semi-literate women in informal economy and female apprentices were asked whether they voted during the 2003 general/local government elections and why they voted. It shows that seventy six point two (76.2) and 76.8 per cent of women in formal and informal economy, and 53.9 per cent of female apprentices said they voted. The reasons that women in the formal economy gave for voting ranged from: exercise of their civic rights; to hopes that politicians would deliver dividends of democracy; and the thinking that a vote may be important and the country will be the better for it. Ololade (2009) observed that anyone who has refused to vote and is complaining about the government of the day, should have himself to blame for not participating during the exercise.

Literate women in formal work who voted during the general elections but did not vote during the local government elections said they did not know any of the candidates and they were of the opinion that people were not being sincere. Aiyede (2006) also observed that 'The average Nigerian was raped during the general election; so, I did not see the need to waste my time during the latter. Different reasons were given by women in formal work who did not vote: some opined that there would not be a conducive

atmosphere for free and fair elections and women do not want to risk their own lives; either lost their voter's card or name did not appear on the final voters' register; and could not see the essence of voting in Nigeria where, after the exercise, the ones voted in would fail to provide for the needs of citizens. One woman said she could not register in her place of domicile as there were no voters' cards, and she could not travel to the place where she had registered on Election Day, since traveling was prohibited that day.

Aanwo (2002) said she did not vote because, 'I had and still do not have any believe in the PDP government, and I also knew the election would be rigged'. Semi-literate women in the informal economy typically voted because they wanted peace and progress for Nigeria. Some wanted a change, others, a better future, while yet others wanted good leadership, good government and a government that would favour the masses. The responses were mostly optimistic, although some were opportunistic. While some were about security, others were about going through the motion. A few women indicated that they were asked to vote, so they did, hoping that things would get better in the future and their children could go to school. Two women said they voted in case government asked that citizens should produce their voters' cards before they could access social services. One woman said she voted because she is a member of a political party; another said she wanted to vote for her favourite candidate; yet another said she thought she should play her part, while another said she voted because others were voting. For those who did not vote, it was either because they could not locate their names on the voters' register, even though they each had a voter's card, or they had lost their voter's card. Most, however, said they did not vote because voting was a waste of time, as politicians would rig anyway and they did not have the time to waste, and they

could better spend their time in search of their daily bread. One woman said they harassed them when they went to vote. This was an apparent reference to political thuggery. Adunola (2003) in Ibadan said: 'I don't have the time; the queue was even long and I needed to go and look for my daily bread. After all, we do not gain anything from voting.' According to Niniola (2006) in Lokoja: "I don't like voting. I will support anyone that will do well. The problem is that we vote for people who get there and start doing what they like. I believe say we use our hand find trouble for ourselves." Female apprentices voted: so as to move the nation forward; because they wanted peace to reign; because everyone was voting; and, because 'I just like to vote.' One woman said she voted because of the future of her children. Other responses were that: 'it's a right'; 'it's compulsory'; 'to effect change of government because incumbents were not doing well.'

One woman said she wanted a particular candidate to win, while Towoju, a 16-year old girl, obviously under-age, said: 'They said I should vote.' The position of Adeniyi, Omolade, Adetutu, Aanwo and Adunola concurred with each other on the real picture they portrayed on women participation in the voting process which gears through true democratic process. The researcher is not lagging behind on such view too.

2.8.2 Nigerian women in politics

The Fourth Republic started on May 29, 1999 and as can be expected, the new spirit of democracy, return of civilian rule and advancement of women in many areas of life led to an increase in the number of women in the political scene. However, it is still obvious that women have a long way to go in attaining equality alongside their male counterparts. Many news media reports and studies attest to the continued marginalization of women in democracy especially in elective offices. In a public lecture

by the Governor of Lagos State, Babatunde Fashola, on the 29th of April 2009, a comprehensive statistical record on women political participation and representation was made available. This report showcased the journey of women in politics since the return of civilian and democratic rule.

The record as presented by the governor (April, 2009) shows that in 1999, there were only 12 women elected into the state assemblies against 978 men. In the senate, there were 3 female senators out of 109 senators selected that year. Also, 13 women were selected into the House of Representatives. By 2003, after the elections, the number of female parliamentarians had increased slightly. The number of women elected into the House of Assembly of various states increased to 39 against 951 men while 21 women won seats into the House of Representatives against 339 men. Also, four women won seats in the senate from a total of 109 senators, making 105 men. According to the statistical record, appointments into elective offices from 1999 shows that 833 persons were appointed with 86 of them women, indicating an average of about 11.9% women's participation and representation so far. Unfortunately, a concrete record for the 2007 election cannot be collated from the Independent National Electoral Commission due to the fact that some election results are still being contested till date before the various electoral tribunals in the various states.

Despite the above, available records show that a total of 7,160 candidates contested in the April, 2007 general elections. Out of the 25 candidates for the office of the president only one was a woman while five vied for the office of the vice president. 474 contested for the office of governor in the 36 states; 14 of them were women and 21 on the other hand contested for the deputy governor's seat. In the senate, of the 799

candidates only 59 were women. Also of the 2,343 contestants for seats in the House of Representatives, 150 were women while 358 women out of 5, 647 candidates contested for seats in the states House of Assembly. After the election, available records showed that 9 female senators won out of 109. There were no winner for the post of the governor; however, there were 5 deputy governors in Lagos, Ogun, Imo, Osun and Plateau States and the House of Representatives once had a female speaker. The Speaker of the Ogun House of Assembly was once a woman (who was later impeached) and Lagos State has a woman as the deputy speaker. All together, there were 34 women members of the state Assemblies. According to the governor this result shows a mere 2% increase from the 2003 elections.

Statistical analysis adapted from the first memorial lecture in honor of Prof. Jadesola Akande OFR, by Gov. Babatunde Fashola (2009) showed that to him, the 1979 Nigerian Constitution guaranteed the rights of women to participate in democratic process; however, the last decade has witnessed a relative increase in women's participation. This is only when we measure increase in participation with certain standards like the number of women who vote in elections; the number of public offices held by women; number of women-related democracy implemented by government etc. Over the years, there has been a remarkable increase in women's participation in politics in Nigeria considering these standards, yet there is inherently a pronounced level of under representation of women in democracy when compared with their male counterparts. Women's aspiration to participate in governance is premised on the following ground: that women in Nigeria represent half of the population and hence should be allowed a fair share in decision-making and the governance of the country. Secondly that all human

beings are equal and women possess the same rights as men to participate in governance and public life. The right to democratic governance is an entitlement conferred upon all citizens by law. The 1999 Nigerian constitution by virtue of Section 40 states the following:

Every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons, and in particular he may form or belong to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interests: Provided that the provisions of this section shall not derogate from the powers conferred by this constitution on the Independent National Electoral Commission with respect to political parties to which that Commission does not accord recognition.

Section 42(1) of the same constitution states further that:

A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person be subjected to any form of discrimination. This further confirms that you can go to court to seek redress if as a woman your franchise is violated and that the constitution as a whole prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex.

Section 77 of the Constitution also states:

(1) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, every Senatorial district or Federal constituency established in accordance with the provisions of this Part of this Chapter shall return a member who shall be directly elected to the Senate or the House of Representatives in such manner as

may be prescribed by an act of the National Assembly. (2) Every citizen of Nigeria, who has attained the age of eighteen years residing in Nigeria at the time of the registration of voters for purposes of election to a legislative house, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter for that election.

From the foregoing, it appears that there is nothing in the constitution, which excludes the participation of women in politics in Nigeria. Yet when it comes to actual practice, there is extensive discrimination. Few and almost insignificant number of women were elected into various posts in the 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections held in the country. Men have dominated most public offices till date. Female gubernatorial candidates have emerged but none has ever won and same goes for the presidency.

Legislative representation has witnessed the presence of women yet they remain under-represented when compared to their male counterparts. Following two decades of military rule, statistics reveal that women only secured 3% representation in contested positions in 1999, 4% in 2003, while in 2007 they made with only 6%. Few and almost insignificant number of women were elected into various posts in the past three general elections held in the country between 1999 and 2007. The result of the survey shows that no woman was elected as governor of any state in the federation. We only had few women as members of Houses of Assembly across the country and as members of the upper house (Senate) and lower house (House of Representative) of the National Assembly. This survey shows a poor representation of women in the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections. In 2003 in States like Adamawa, Cross-River, Ebonyi, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Nasarawa, Oyo, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara, no woman was elected as

member of the State House of Assembly. In states where women were elected as members of House of Assembly, they were very few.

According to the figures collated from the database of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), record shows that a total 7160 candidates (men and women) contested in the April elections. Of this number, only 628 women participated. Out of the 25 candidates that participated for the office of the president, only 1 was a woman while 5 women contested for the office of the vice president. There are 9 female senators out of 109 senators and 25 women in the House of Representatives of 360 members. There are 54 female members of the State Assemblies. This is two percent improvement over the 2003 general elections.

The statistical records of women seem too low in the democratic process in Nigeria as a whole. The researcher observes that more women are needed to participate in politics since the few ones with the opportunity have proven good in their respective political offices.

2.8.3 The role of women in politics

The key role women play in politics is to participate in public life. Women, like every citizen, have an obligation to become informed about public issues, to watch carefully how their political leaders and representatives use their powers, and to express their own opinions and interests. Voting in elections is an important civic duty of all citizens including women. Participation can also involve campaigning for political party or candidates, or as well as standing as a candidate for political office, debating public issues, attending community meetings, petitioning the government when the need be and

to some extent, protesting. Another vital form of women participation comes through active membership in independent, non-governmental organizations or civil society.

These organizations represent a variety of interests and beliefs: Farmers, workers, doctors, teachers, and business owners, religious groups e.g. Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA) Women Fellowship International, students, etc. It is important to note that women have actively participated both in politics and other ways.

In a democracy, participation in civic groups should be voluntary. No one should be forced to join an organization against their will, this is because citizens have their freedom of choice. Democracy depends on women participation in all these ways. But participation must be peaceful, respectful of the law, and tolerant of the different views of other groups and individuals. According to Albright (2012):

Every country deserves to have the best possible leader and that means that women have to be given a chance to compete. If they are never allowed to compete in the electoral process, then the societies are really robbing themselves of a great deal of talent. Equitable participation of women in democracy and government is essential to building and sustaining democracy in every society.

Women who form over 50 per cent of the world's population have, however, continued to be under – represented as voters, political leaders and elected officials. Therefore, democracy cannot truly deliver for all of its citizens if half of its population remains under-represented in the democratic arena.

Nigeria is very rich in human resources. We are blessed with Christian women who are pious, intelligent, outstanding professionals, administrators, and very successful in different fields. Notably, female Christian organizations have such women in their fold with sound Western and Bible education. Individually, these women are very successful and collectively could constitute a strong force. It is common knowledge that the sheer

numerical strength of women determines the outcome of elections in most areas. Despite the educational background, and the permissibility of the church to participate in politics, why the fading interest? It is obvious that the Christian woman is faced with a number of challenges which serve as a source of impediment to her visibility in the political arena.

The statistical records of women's participation in politics in Niger State seem low; the researcher too is in total agreement with such, bearing in mind the available seats in political positions and the few number of females occupying such positions compared to their male counterpart.

2.9 National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Women's Political Participation Programmes

Since 1985, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) has been organizing innovative and targeted programmes across the globe to increase the number, effectiveness and popular support of women civic leaders, voters, candidates, political party representatives and elected leaders in the belief that as more women become politically involved, institutions will become more responsive to the needs of all citizens.

The NDI currently works in more than 70 countries, creating programme that are specifically tailored to women and ensuring that women are a part of every existing NDI programme. At any given time, nearly 75 per cent of NDI country programmes have a dedicated component addressing women's political participation – in legislature, political parties and civil society as leaders, activists and informed citizens. The Institute has also introduced several global initiatives that aim to connect politically active women and help them network freely across time and place.

The United Nations has highlighted working with women as a Millennium Development Goal, and NDI is a leader in linking women's political participation with good democratic governance. To continue this tradition of excellence, NDI seeks to expand its impact by deepening its work with women at the local and executive levels and working with men to promote women's full participation in political life.

Through innovative programmes that strengthen women's political skills, emphasize how women are impacted by public policy, and improve the perception of women in political life, NDI has demonstrated its commitment to making democracy deliver, even in challenging environments. The Institute leverages its high-level political relationships to encourage leaders to understand and actively promote the benefits of gender-balanced politics. NDI focuses on training women as well as on the inclusion of a gender perspective in every NDI programme. This dual approach has strengthened the Institute's ability to build women's skills and organize women across ethnic and political lines, as well as create the opportunity for women from diverse backgrounds to converge around shared goals to solve problems in ways that contribute to the development and well-being of their societies.

To reach the widest range of women leaders and activists, NDI uses a broad spectrum of inventive and inclusive strategies and techniques that are uniquely adapted to best fit the local cultural and political contexts of the communities in which we work.

2.9.1 Working with women at the local level

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) trains, supports and encourages women at various stages of engagement in the political process, including the local level.

Through its women's political participation programmes, NDI helps women develop political skills and strengthen constituent relations at the community level.

In Burkina Faso, NDI provided assistance to over 100 women mayors, deputy mayors and municipal council chairs and distributed the *Cahier de la Conseillere*, a manual and resource to each of Burkina Faso's 5,000 women local councillors. This manual contains concrete information on municipal council administration, the decentralization process, and the roles and responsibilities of local councillors. NDI's local women's programme in *Azerbaijan* focused on a group of concerned women citizens and activists looking to make a difference in their communities. The programme, which strengthened advocacy skills and engaged women in civic life, resulted in the creation of a new Internet centre for women, repair of crumbling roads, the establishment of regular constituent office hours with local politicians, and a hotline for questions about marriage contracts and early marriages. Several of the women activists trained by NDI were even elected to chair their neighbourhood action committees.

Gender disparity in political participation is a global phenomenon. Literature abounds showing that the low level of women's participation at the highest (gladiatorial) levels of political activity accounts for their invisibility in the top positions of power locally and internationally. Such low representation cuts across countries with different political systems and at different stages of economic development. Notable exceptions include the Nordic countries, Costa Rica, South Africa and Uganda, where proportional representation is practised. The global male monopoly of power is exemplified by the fact that for every one hundred (100) ministerial appointments in the various governments of

the world, only four are women. Even in the established liberal democracies of the world like the USA and Britain, the political powerlessness of women is a reality.

Women's involvement in politics varies throughout the world and their participation in politics and the democratic process has become an integral part of contemporary discourse on development and governance. In spite of the clamour for women's political empowerment by international organizations, research consistently shows that in many parts of the world women still linger on the fringes of political realm and their participation in government structures and the democratic process remains low (Vissandjee *et al.*, 2006).

Women in decision making in Nigeria

Today, an enabling environment had been created which allows women to play active part in the Nigerian politics and policy. It should be noted that women today are not holding positions in government because of the active part they had played at political rallies, they are holding the position because they earned and merited the posts because they are well educated, experienced and competent in their various fields and profession. These experiences and expertise coupled with the determination to create a better nation are the reasons women who hold different ministerial and various appointments are excelling today.

It should also be noted that the majority of these women were given ministerial portfolios; because over the years, women are known to be prudent, careful and thorough in all they do, to get the best and they get results.

The likes of Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, headed the Ministry of Finance; Stella Oduah-Ogiewwonyi headed ministry of Aviation, Diezani Alison-Madueke; Minister of

Petroleum Resources, Mrs. Omobola Olubusola Johnson, who had a new ministry created for her – Ministry of Communication Technology, and Hajiya Zainab; Minister for Women affairs.

Others include; Olajumoke Akinjide, Prof. Viola Onwuliri, among others worked hard to excel in their duties. It is also worthy of note that, a woman would always be fair in dispensing justice and issues related to it. This was proven in the appointment of a female Chief Justice of the Federation in 2012, in the person of Justice Aloma Mukhtar. Though encouraging, there is still room for representation of more women at the helm of affairs of our great nation (Nigerian Tribune, 4th Oct. 2013).

2.10 Empirical Studies

Ogbogu (2012) conducted a research on “The role of women in politics and sustenance of democracy in Nigeria.” The purpose of her study was to examine the role of women in politics and the sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. The study elicited women challenges, experiences and contributions to the democratic process. She stressed the strategies that could assist women realize their political leadership potential. She adopted descriptive survey research design, sampled seven hundred (700) population randomly selected among the female politicians, and professionals in government and dominant parties across the six (6) geo-political zones of Nigeria. Interview procedures were also employed with ten (10) of the randomly selected respondents. She also used the questionnaire which she personally administered to the respondents and collected back immediately for data analysis. Data collected were analyzed using demographic tables, frequency counts and percentage methods.

Her results revealed that women are marginalized and feature minimally in government because Nigeria lacks a legislative framework that secures quotas for women in political parties. The research also revealed the intricacies in the Nigerian political scene, as well as what they have done and are still doing to sustain the democratic process in Nigeria. Her work also identified the following factors that are affecting women participation in politics and the democratic process. They are: multiple roles of women, religion, finance, lack of mentors, lack of adequate mechanism for monitoring, electoral outcomes and protecting women's mandate, patriarchy/cultural barriers, exclusion from informal political party network, education and training and the biologically-inherited weakness of women.

In her studies, she suggested the following strategies for women break the barriers in political participation. They include; women in political parties build networks and partnership among themselves, women mobilization and build agenda for change through alliance, negotiate gender priority through intensifying campaigns for balanced and organized awareness programmes that attract women to government through various groups, example of such is the Forum of Nigerian Women in Politics.

This research is related to this study because it deals with women participation in sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. While this study deals with the assessment of the participation of Christian women in politics. The difference is that while her study deals with the whole of Nigeria, this research is concerned with the Christian women in Niger State.

Lewu (2004) conducted a study on the role of women in President Obasanjo's administration, 1999-2003. The author observed from the narrative that Nigerian women

who had participated in the political party primaries preceding the 2003 elections in Nigeria, support women with inferiority complex when it comes to participation in politics. The author also observed that it has become clear that there was a near systematic process of the exclusion of women from, and indeed subordination of women in the party political process. It elicited their challenges, experiences and contributions to the democratic process. Strategies that can assist women realize their political leadership potentials were suggested. Questionnaires were administered on 300 randomly selected female aspirants and voters, across the six local governments areas of Kwara State. Also, interview schedules were conducted with 10 of the randomly selected respondents. Results revealed that women are marginalized and feature minimally in government because Nigeria lacks a legislative framework that secures quotas for women in political parties.

The report noted major recurring issues in the narratives of the women, and they were all directed at the exclusion of women. A few of the issues cited included: male-centred interpretations of culture and religion such as perceptions that only men can aspire to public office-organize campaigns to slander unmarried aspirants as lacking in morals; high level of violence which characterized the electoral process, including the use of security forces to intimidate women aspirants and their supporters; and claims that some female aspirants were too assertive and independent, and therefore could not be team players. These patriarchal attitudes, poor informal network/mentoring; finance, religion and educational status were found to militate against women's participation in politics and governance.

Given the observations above, we sought to gain insight into: the nature of women's participation in politics and community life' group activities; why women participate in politics and civic life the way they do; and the possibilities for women's increased participation in, especially, politics. Specifically, we reckoned their participation as: candidates in elections: voters, both in recent times and in the past; supporters of female political aspirants, and elected/appointed leaders. We also wanted to know whether women and men would vote for a female politician/leader in future.

To overcome these problems, the study recommended amongst others, the development of electoral reforms that promote equitable representation of women and respect for due process. Empowerment of women by ensuring their access to credit facilities was proffered. The study concluded that the institutionalization of varieties of special mechanisms is most needed in increasing women's participation in governance. This relates to this research since it has to do with women participation in politics. Consequently, it is also different from this study in that their study involved the generality of women and was carried out in Kwara State of Nigeria while this research narrows its focus on Christian women participation in Niger State only.

Shalmak (2014) conducted a research on women participation in politics in Nigeria: A case study of Langtang North Local Government Area of Plateau State, Nigeria. The study examined the nature of women participation and the hindrances to their participation. It discussed the role of women in the community and women development problem affecting women participation which includes entrenched cultural attitudes which put women at a disadvantage, lack of education, early marriage and teenage pregnancies, too much stress suffered by women in the rural area, lack of

employment, finances, family responsibilities, lack of support from the husbands, widowhood and non-inclusion of women in decision making in the family and community.

Survey research method was adopted. One hundred and fifty (150) respondents were randomly selected from the five (5) units that make up Gazum Community of Langtang North Local Government Area to determine their level of participation in politics. The results revealed that women suffer domination by the men folk and this has adversely affected the participation of women in politics. The researcher recommended that women should be given thirty (30%) - (40%) quota to be filled by women from local government and state levels. Government should empower women who are willing to participate in elective positions but are handicapped. The community should see the need to involve women in decision making body to enhance political awareness. Husbands should encourage their wives to participate in decision making and politics for societal development.

The work is related to this research in that they both deal with women participation in politics. They differ in the area of coverage, while this research deals with the whole of Niger State, the other is concerned with Guzam community. It also deals with the generality of women in the community while this research is concerned with assessment of Christian women participation in politics in Niger State, Nigeria. The aspect is also concerned with hindrances to women participation while this research is dealing with the level of Christian women' participation in the politics of Niger State.

Gambo (2008) carried out a research on women participation in politics: A case study of Bassa Local Government Area of Kogi State. The objectives of the study was to

examine the factors responsible for low participation of women in politics in Bassa Local Government Area of Kogi State and to identify institutions that had contributed to the low level of participation by the women folk. The study examined the position of women during the colonial and post-colonial era, the role played by the military regimes whereby women were not given recognition politically. The civilian government of 1999 – 2003 had less than thirty (30%) women in electoral positions.

Survey research was adopted for the study. Oral interview and questionnaire were used to collect information from the respondents. One hundred and twenty (120) respondents were randomly sampled. Frequencies and percentages were used to analyze the data. The result revealed that religion stands as a hindrance to women participation, religious organizations look at women who participate in politics as being wayward and lack moral discipline. The socio-cultural values are also a hindrance. Women are supposed to be house – wives keeping the home and taking care of children and not roaming the streets campaigning for elections. Others hindrances are cost of financing political campaigns and so they believe the game of politics is for the “movers and shakers” of the society. The following recommendations were made: that religious institution should encourage women participation rather than castigate them or stand as hindrance. Women should be empowered economically so that they can contribute their quota in the politics of Bassa Local Government Area. Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) especially those involved in women programmes should discourage some of these socio-cultural hindrances to women participation. They should also educate women on the need for effective participation. Religious institutions, traditional rulers who are the custodians of our culture should be sensitized on the need to make our culture more

women friendly. There is the need for proper enlightenment of our traditional and religious leaders on the need to encourage gender equality in politics.

The work is related to this research in that it deals with Christian women participation in politics. While the other is restricted to Bassa Local Government Area and the generality of the women, this research is on Christian women participation in politics in Niger State. The research also delves into areas where institution like the religious body, traditional institutions serves as hindrance which this work did not mention.

2.11 Summary

The research reviewed related literature on Christian women' participation in politics. This includes the concept of politics, brief political history of Niger State governance and elements of governance were reviewed. History of women participation, civic rights of citizens, Nigerian women in politics, role of women in politics and analysis of women in democracy today. A review of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) was done and how it has helped to strengthen women's political skills and improve the perception of women in political life. Empirical studies were also done on women participation in politics.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the overall design including the methodology that was used. For clarity, the chapter is discussed under the following sub-headings: Research design, population of study, sample and sampling technique, instrumentation, validity of instrument, pilot study, reliability, procedure for data administration, collection, and procedure for data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is the plan structure and strategy of investigation which guides the collection and analysis of data in any piece of research (Olomolaiye, 1986). The research design for this study is the survey type. A survey research was chosen because it is interested in the accurate assessment of the characteristics of the whole population of people. It considers the beliefs, opinions, attitudes and behaviours of the population. Osuala (2005) explained that a survey research studies both large and small populations by selecting and studying samples drawn from the population to discover the relative incidences, distribution and interrelation of sociological and psychological variables. The choice of survey design was based on the fact that the entire population could not be covered and also due to the geographical coverage of the local government areas. Furthermore, factors of time and cost make the design a better option.

3.3 Population of the Study

The target population for this study comprised all Christian women in Niger State totaling 518,000. Though this figure and the one on table 3.1 looks more of round figures this was the figure available to the researcher as gotten from the Christian Association of

Nigeria (CAN) office in Niger state. There are twenty-five (25) local government areas in Niger State. These local governments are classified into three (3) senatorial zones. Niger-North (Zone A) is made up of eight (8) local governments areas; Niger-East (Zone B) is made up of nine (9) local government areas while Niger-West (Zone C) is made up of eight (8) local governments areas (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Population of Christian women in Niger State

S/N	Niger-North (Zone A)	Total population of Christian women	
1	Mokwa LGA	50,000	
2	Edat LGA	22,500	
3	Lavun LGA	22,500	
4	Gbako LGA	19,750	
5	Lapai LGA	15,000	
6	Agaié LGA	10,000	
7	Kacha LGA	10,250	
8	Bida LGA	30,000	
	Total	180,000	180,000
S/N	Niger-East (Zone B)	Total population of Christian women	
1	Suleja LGA	30,000	
2	Tafa LGA	25,500	
3	Gurara LGA	25,000	
4	Paiko LGA	10,200	
5	Munya LGA	24,400	
6	Bosso LGA	20,000	
7	Chanchaga LGA	50,000	
8	Shiroro LGA	25,000	
9	Rafi LGA	9,900	
	Total	220,000	220,000
S/N	Niger-West (Zone C)	Total population of Christian women	
1	Kontagora LGA	20,750	
2	Mariga LGA	6,850	
3	Magama LGA	25,750	
4	Mashegu LGA	5,150	
5	Wushishi LGA	10,000	
6	Rijau LGA	25,000	
7	Borgu LGA	6,000	
8	Agwara LGA	18,500	
	Total	118,000	118,000

Source: Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Niger State (2013)

3.4 Sample and Sampling Technique

In order to select an appropriate sample size for this study, the researcher made use of multi-stage sampling technique, through the following procedure:

The state was divided into three (3) zones. In each zone three local government areas were randomly selected, making a total of nine (9) local government areas selected. The names of these local government areas from each zone were written on pieces of papers folded and mixed together. The folded papers from each zone were kept separately, after which the hat and drawn method was used in the selection of local government areas for the study. The assistance of three (3) independent persons was sought to pick one local government area from each zone from the container, and this was repeated for each zone. At the end, pieces of papers picked from each zone were unfolded and the following local government areas (LGAs) shown in Table 3.2 were picked for the study.

Table 3.2: The sampled local government areas

S/N	Senatorial Zones	Selected LGA	Population of Women
1	Niger-North (Zone A)	Bida	30,000
		Lapai	15,000
		Mokwa	50,000
2	Niger-East (Zone B)	Chanchaga	50,000
		Shiroro	25,000
		Tafa	25,500
3	Niger-West (Zone C)	Kontagora	20,750
		Mariga	6,850
		Wushishi	10,000

Using the research advisor revised for sample size (2013), 700 women were proposed for the study. This sample size (700) was based on proportionate sampling from the respective local governments in which the churches are located. The selection of the

respondents was, however, based on random sampling to enable equal representation of the women in the respective churches for the study. Table 3.3 shows the selected local government areas, the total number of women and the number selected for the study.

Table 3.3: Number of women selected from the local government areas used for study

S/N	Senatorial Zones	Selected LGAs	Total	No selected	Percentage
1	Niger-North (Zone A)	Bida	30,000	90	0.3
		Lapai	15,000	45	0.3
		Mokwa	50,000	150	0.3
2	Niger-East (Zone B)	Chanchaga	50,000	150	0.3
		Shiroro	25,000	75	0.3
		Tafa	25,500	77	0.3
3	Niger-West (Zone C)	Kontagora	20,750	62	0.3
		Mariga	6,850	21	0.3
		Wushishi	10,000	30	0.3
	Total		233,100	700	0.3

3.4.1 Sampling of churches

Four (4) churches with not less than 30 members, two (2) orthodox and two (2) Pentecostal were used for the study in each of the local government areas sampled. Names of all the Pentecostal and orthodox churches were written on pieces of papers folded and kept in separate containers. The assistance of two independent persons was sought to pick from the containers. This was repeated for all the local government areas. This made it a total of eighteen Pentecostal and eighteen orthodox churches; making a total of thirty-six churches, (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Table showing the selection of orthodox and pentecostal churches used for study

S/N	Zone	LGA	Orthodox churches	Pentecostal churches
1	A	Bida	1. St. John's Anglican, Bida 2. ECWA Church, Poly Rd	1. Nupe Calvary 2. Christian Fellowship Gospel Church
2.		Lapai	1. 1 st Baptist Church, Lapai 2. ECWA, Sabon Orehi	1. Redeemed Christian Church of God, Lapai 2. Winners Chapel, Dodo Barrack
3.		Mokwa	1. UMCA, Mokwa 2. Anglican Church	1. Peculiar People's Chapel 2. Believers Assembly
4.	B	Chanchaga	1. 1 st ECWA Church, Minna 2. Sihoyona Baptist Church, Sayako	1. Mountain of Fire Ministries, Minna 2. Deeper Life Bible Church, Chanchaga
5.		Shiroro	1. St. John's Catholic Church, T/Kuta 2. Albarka Baptist Church, Kuta	1. New Life Bible Church, Gwada 2. Overcomer's Church, Kuta
6.		Tafa	1. St Benard Catholic Church, Garam 2. EYN, Kuduru	1. Kingdom Church of God, Wuse 2. Body of Christ, S/Wuse
7.	C	Kontagora	1. Albarka Baptist Church, K/Gora 2. UMCA, K/Gora	1. Living Faith Church, K/Gora 2. New Life for All Bible Church, Lowcost
8.		Mariga	1. Assemblies of God Church, Mariga 2. Baptist Church, Kwanan Mariga	1. Ag ape Love Chapel, Mariga 2. Occupy Church, Mariga
9.		Wushishi	1. St Stephen's Catholic Church, Zungeru 2. ECWA Church, Wushishi	1. Redeemed Christian Church of God, Wushishi Christ Embassy, Zungeru

3.4.2 Sampling of respondents

In each of the churches sampled, women were given the questionnaire to fill as they came into the church. The first single and married women that attended the church service at the time of visitation were given the instruments. This was retrieved two days later with the help of two trained assistants and pastor in-charge of the church.

3.5 Instrumentation

The instrument for data collection for this study was questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of three sections. The first section consists of bio-data/personal variables which indicate level of education, marital status, denomination and name of the church. The other sections contain a 4-point Modified Likert Scale (MLS) questions of Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree, carrying points of 4,3,2 and 1 respectively. Each of these sections containing structured questions ordered in line with the three research objectives, corresponding research questions and research hypotheses.

3.6 Validity of the Instrument

Validity, according to Olayiwola (2007:74-76) “is the extent which an instrument or test measures what it purports to measure. Essentially, validity is a measure of the dependability of the instrument to yield correct and appropriate information from respondent.” The instrument (questionnaire) was validated by my supervisors and senior lecturers from the Christian Religious Studies Section of Department of Arts and Social Science Education. Both face and content validities of the instrument were carried/performed. The experts’ comment and advice helped the researcher to restructure the instrument that was used for the study.

3.7 Pilot Study/Reliability

In order to make sure that the final copy of the questionnaire was valid for the study, fifty (50) copies of the questionnaire were administered to Christian women in Bosso Local Government Area of Niger State. They are not part of the sampled respondents but share similar characteristics in almost all respects. These questionnaires were distributed and personally retrieved by the researcher. The data thus collected from the pilot study were statistically analyzed for the purpose of reliability co-efficient. The Guttman Split Half method was adopted using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The reliability index obtained was 0.799 with an internal consistency coefficient of 0.831. These coefficients obtained for the instrument were considered adequate and are in line with Spiegel (1992) and Stevens (1986). According to them, an instrument is considered reliable if it lies between 0 and 1, and that the closer the calculated reliability coefficient is to zero, the less reliable is the instrument, and the closer the calculated reliability co-efficient is to 1, the more reliable is the instrument. This, therefore, confirms the reliability of the data collection instrument used as fit for the main work.

3.8 Procedure for Data Administration/Collection

In order to collect data from the sampled Christian women respondents, the researcher with the help of trained research assistants distributed the instrument (questionnaires). To achieve this, the Christian women were given the questionnaire in their churches during Sunday worship as they came into the church. The completed questionnaire was collected two days after. This process of administration was done in all the churches in the selected local government areas. The collected questionnaire after

administration was scrutinized for wrong or unanswered items among the questions. Invalid copies of the questionnaire were discarded.

3.9 Procedure for Data Analysis

The data collected was computed and analyzed with the aid of Social Science Statistical Package (SSSP). Frequencies and percentage were used for bio-data variables. Frequencies mean and standard deviations were used to answer research questions. Inferential statistics were used for the test of the hypotheses. Specifically, the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used for hypothesis I. This was necessary because of the multiple levels of the independent variable (level of education). The two sample t-test was used for hypothesis II because of the two groups (married and single women). Hypothesis III was tested with the Chi-square procedure because of the measurement of choice elective political offices. All the hypotheses were tested at 0.05 alpha level of significance

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the statistical analysis of the data collected from the women respondents on the assessment of Christian women' participation in politics in Niger State. The respondents' demographic characteristics selected along their opinions are presented in the first part of the chapter. The rest of the chapter is made up of the analysis of the variables along the research questions and test of the hypothesis with a discussion of the findings from the data at the end.

4.2 Descriptive Analysis of the Socio-demographic Characteristics

Of the total questionnaire (700) administered in the selected churches of the sampled local government areas, 627 were found to be successfully filled with the correct information required. This constituted 89.6% of the total number administered. The remaining 63 or 10.4% were found to be invalid and were therefore discarded. Thus 627 respondents were, therefore, used for the study. The demographic variables selected for analysis along the expressed opinions were levels of educational attainment, marital status, denomination (orthodox or pentecostal) and name of church. Table 4.1 shows the classifications of the respondents by their levels of educational attainment.

Table 4.1: Classification of the respondents by their levels of educational attainment

Educational attainment	Frequency	Per cent
No formal education	104	16.59
Primary	223	35.57
Secondary	149	23.76
Tertiary	151	24.08
Total	627	100.0

From the table, respondents who had no formal education were 104 or 16.6% of the total (627). Those with primary school education were 223 or 35.6% while those with secondary school certificates were 149 or 23.8%. Respondents with tertiary education were 151 or 24.1% of the total. This distribution clearly shows that all categories of Christian women of different educational background in the state could be said to be covered in the study and would, therefore, allow for assessment in respect to their views and participation in politics within the state. Table 4.2 shows the classification, of the respondents by their marital status. For this classification all respondents without husbands (divorced and widowed) were classified as single. This is necessary to determine the role played by marital status in the participation of the women in the politics of the state.

Table 4.2: Classification of the respondents by their marital status

Marital Status	Frequency	Per cent
Married	422	67.3
Single	205	32.7
Total	627	100.0

The Table 4.2 shows that 422 or 67.3% of the respondents were married while 205 or 32.7% were single. This means that the opinion of married women and those not

currently married would be assessed to give a balanced assessment of the role of marital status of women in the perception and participation in politics of the state. In Table 4.3, the different Christian church orientation, of the respondents are presented in frequencies and percentages. In the table, both evangelical, Pentecostal and other such associated offshoot denominations are classified as Pentecostals.

Table 4.3: Classification of the respondents by their denominations

Church denomination	Frequency	Per cent
Orthodox	215	34.3
Pentecostal	412	65.7
Total	627	100.0

Respondents belonging to the Pentecostal groups were more and accounted for 412 or 65.7% of the total. But respondents of orthodox orientation were relatively many and accounted for 215 or 34.3%. This classification implies that the opinion of the different Christians denominations could be said to be adequately represented in the study.

4.3 Solutions to Research questions

In furtherance of the main objective of the research assessing the level of Christian women participation in politics in Niger State, it was divided into three and investigated with three research questions as follows:

Research Question one: What is the understanding of Christian women on women participation in politics according to their educational attainment? The specific objective here is to investigate Christian women with different levels of educational attainment understanding of participation in politics within the state. This examination looked at the role of education of women on their perception of politics and participation in the state.

In Table 4.4, the opinions of the women along the different educational levels on the selected items are tabulated on the four-point scale used in the assessment. Decision on each of the items and the entire variable is based on the mean scores. Mean scores of 2.5 and above implied agreement while mean lower than 2.5 indicate disagreement with the expressed notion.

Table 4.4: Opinions of the respondents' understanding of political participation

	Levels of education	Agree		Disagree		Mean
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
1. Politics is better left to the non-Christian as it is a dirty game and full of dishonesty.	No formal education	3	2.9	101	97.1	1.2
	Primary	15	6.7	208	93.3	2.0
	Secondary	113	75.8	36	24.2	2.7
	Tertiary	63	41.7	88	58.3	3.1
2. Politics is a dirty and dangerous game, only males should be engaged in it.	No formal education	37	35.6	67	64.4	2.0
	Primary	52	23.3	171	76.7	1.9
	Secondary	27	18.1	122	81.9	1.9
	Tertiary	32	21.2	119	78.8	2.5
3. Females who go into politics are seen as wayward.	No formal education	77	74.0	27	26.0	2.8
	Primary	144	64.6	79	35.4	2.7
	Secondary	98	65.8	51	34.2	2.8
	Tertiary	85	56.3	66	43.7	3.0
4. Equal opportunities should be accorded to females in politics.	No formal education	65	62.5	39	37.5	2.9
	Primary	132	59.2	91	40.8	2.9
	Secondary	86	57.7	63	42.3	2.9
	Tertiary	76	50.3	75	49.7	3.1
5. Politics is a means of exposing women to social economic wellbeing.	No formal education	67	64.4	37	35.6	3.0
	Primary	132	59.2	91	40.8	2.9
	Secondary	91	61.1	58	38.9	2.9
	Tertiary	84	55.6	67	44.4	3.2
6. Participating in politics enriches women.	No formal education	86	82.7	18	17.3	3.4
	Primary	172	77.1	51	22.9	3.3
	Secondary	115	77.2	34	22.8	3.3
	Tertiary	122	80.8	29	19.2	3.5
7. Participating in politics enhances women's families economically.	No formal education	31	29.8	73	70.2	2.2
	Primary	64	28.7	159	71.3	2.2
	Secondary	40	26.8	109	73.2	2.1
	Tertiary	39	25.8	112	74.2	2.6
8. Politics exposes women to immoral behaviours and should be avoided.	No formal education	58	55.8	46	44.2	2.8
	Primary	116	52.0	107	48.0	2.7
	Secondary	86	57.7	63	42.3	3.0
	Tertiary	74	49.0	77	51.0	3.2
9. Christian women who are honest cannot go into politics because it is unholy.	No formal education	47	45.2	57	54.8	2.5
	Primary	87	39.0	136	61.0	2.3
	Secondary	52	34.9	97	65.1	2.2
	Tertiary	62	41.1	89	58.9	2.7
Aggregate scores for the different levels	No formal education					2.5
	Primary					2.5
	Secondary					2.6
	Tertiary					3.0
Total						2.7

Education tends to play a major role in the way the women understand participation in politics as indicated by the responses of their different levels in the table. From the first item in the table for instance, the women who have no formal education tend to agree that politics is better left to the non-Christian because they perceived it is a dirty game and that it is full of dishonesty. This understanding is again reflected in the second item where they agreed that politics is a dirty and dangerous game which only males should engage in. Christian women with some level of education tend to have different opinion from this group. For example, those with tertiary education completely disagreed that politics is better left to the non-Christian because it is a dirty game and full of dishonesty or that it is a dangerous game which only males should engage in.

Though all the respondents agreed that participating in politics makes them look wayward but they equally agreed that such participation enriches women. However, there was apathy on the part of the less or uneducated women. On the other hand, more educated Christian women as indicated in the table have positive understanding of politics and political participation. This is demonstrated in some of the items in the table like 4, 5 and 7 where Christian women with tertiary education were of the positive view that political participation broaden the scope of Christian women economically and socially. The respondents agreed that participating in politics exposes Christian women to immoral activities. Even the Christian women who have no formal education and those with higher educational level agreed that Christian women who are honest cannot go into politics because it is unholy. From the aggregate mean scores of the individual groups with the different levels of education in the table, the understanding is that Christian women could participate in politics. However, the perception of those with higher

education level, tend to be higher than those with no formal and lower levels of education. In other words, levels of educational attainment could be a major determinant in the understanding of the Christian women in relation to politics and political participation in the state.

Research Question two: To what extent do married and single Christian women engage in partisan politics in Niger state? The specific objective here is to determine the role of marital status by examining the extent to which single and married Christian women participate in partisan politics in Niger State. In Table 4.5, the opinions of the respondents on the items used for the assessment are tabulated in frequencies and percentages with mean scores for the respective items. The presentation in the table was conducted on dichotomous basis by combining the responses for strongly agreed and agreed for agreement and strongly disagreed and disagreed for disagreement. The percentages and the corresponding mean scores were, however, based on the four-point scale used in the measurement of the respondent opinions.

Table 4.5: Opinions of the respondents on the role of marital status on political participation

	Marital status	Agree		Disagree		Mean
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Most married women are prevented by their husbands to fully participate in politics.	Married	252	59.7	170	40.3	2.8
	Single	112	54.6	93	45.4	2.9
	Total	364	58.1	263	41.9	2.9
The low education of most women hampers their participation in politics.	Married	267	63.3	155	36.7	2.8
	Single	125	61.0	80	39.0	2.9
	Total	392	62.5	235	37.5	2.9
Cultural and religious reasons hinder Christian women participation in politics.	Married	236	55.9	186	44.1	2.9
	Single	105	51.2	100	48.8	2.9
	Total	341	54.4	286	45.6	2.9
Christian women are motivated through money, gifts, food items, and the likes to vote during election.	Married	232	55.0	190	45.0	2.8
	Single	106	51.7	99	48.3	2.8
	Total	338	53.9	289	46.1	2.8
Christian women are better organized through meetings and easy communication among themselves and enhance better participation in politics.	Married	299	70.9	123	29.1	3.2
	Single	143	69.8	62	30.2	3.2
	Total	442	70.5	185	29.5	3.2
Christian women are not interested in politics of the state because many political parties do not involve women in their campaigns.	Married	200	47.4	222	52.6	2.7
	Single	95	46.3	110	53.7	2.8
	Total	295	47.0	332	53.0	2.7
The uneducated Christian women do not realize the importance of participating in politics.	Married	253	60.0	169	40.0	3.0
	Single	116	56.6	89	43.4	3.1
	Total	369	58.9	258	41.1	3.1
The educated Christian women are more abreast and knowledgeable about notable women leaders than uneducated women, hence, participate more in politics than their uneducated counterparts.	Married	332	78.7	90	21.3	3.3
	Single	160	78.0	45	22.0	3.4
	Total	492	78.5	135	21.5	3.3
The uneducated Christian women are more devoted to their business, farming and full housewife activities than indulging in politics.	Married	263	62.3	159	37.7	3.1
	Single	123	60.0	82	40.0	3.0
	Total	386	61.6	241	38.4	3.0
The uneducated Christian women hardly have time to participate or indulge in politics.	Married	346	82.0	76	18.0	3.4
	Single	165	80.5	40	19.5	3.4
	Total	511	81.5	116	18.5	3.4
Aggregate mean score.	Married					3.0
	Single					3.0
Total						3.0

The opinions of the respondents in the table generally revealed that gender plays a role in the participation of women in politics of the state. Both married and single respondents agreed that most married women are prevented by their husbands to fully participate in politics and that the education of women is a major factor in this dimension. In the table, the respondents agreed that the low level of education of most Christian women hampers their participation in politics and that this is coupled with the cultural and religious reasons hinder Christian women participation in politics. They agreed that women are motivated through money, gifts, food items, and the likes to vote during election. The irony here is that this aspect of participation could not be said to be motivated by personal interest but rather economic exigencies.

The respondents, however, agreed that Christian women are better organized through meetings and easy communication among themselves and enhance better participation in politics. But they were of the opinion that women are interested in politics of the state, only that many political parties do not involve women in their campaigns and in what could be seen as the educational factor, they agreed that the uneducated Christian women do not realize the importance of participating in politics in the state. They were, therefore, of the opinion that the educated Christian women were more abreast and knowledgeable about notable Christian women leaders than uneducated women. This helps to make them participate more in politics than their uneducated counterparts. And that the uneducated Christian women are more devoted to their business, farming and full housewife activities than indulging in politics. They were, therefore, of the opinion that the uneducated Christian women hardly have time to participate or indulge in politics. From these observations, and the mean scores for the

groups in the table, it could be concluded that marital status could be a major factor in the participation of Christian women in politics within the state.

Research Question three: Which political offices do Christian women from orthodox and Pentecostal churches in Niger State contest for? The aim here is to assess the political offices that Christian women from orthodox and Pentecostal churches in Niger State contest for as a direct association of their denominations. The available elective positions were ranked by the different groups as indicated in Table 4.3. The observed frequencies and percentages for the respective political offices are indicated Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Opinions of the respondents on choice of the elective political offices

Political office you think is more suitable for you and would like to contest for	Orthodox		Pentecostal		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Loc. Gov. Counsellor	30	14.0	44	10.7	74	11.8
Local Gov. Chairman	16	7.4	24	5.8	40	6.4
State House of Assembly	11	5.1	30	7.3	41	6.5
State Governorship	64	29.8	142	34.5	206	32.9
Nat. House of Reps	75	34.9	134	32.5	209	33.3
Senate	4	1.9	12	2.9	16	2.6
Presidency	3	1.4	5	1.2	8	1.3
Not interested	12	5.6	21	5.1	33	5.3
Total	215	100.0	412	100.0	627	100.0

By far the state governorship office and national house of representatives were the most popular by the groups. Even in these two offices, preference of orthodox members was higher for the national house, of representatives which was expressed by 34.9% compared with 32.5% by members of the Pentecostal group. For governorship office, members of the Pentecostal group had a higher preference of 34.5% compared to 29.8% by members of the orthodox group. Other offices with relative preference by the respondents were local government counselor with 14.0% for orthodox and 10.7% for Pentecostal. Preference for local government chairman, senate and presidency were

relatively low as members of the two groups did not express their choice for them. One thing is, however, clear from the expressed choice, the women have at least some interest in the elective offices no matter how limited such interest is expressed.

4.4 Test of Hypotheses

The null hypotheses formulated to determine the significance of the investigated variables on the understanding and participation in politics by the Christian women in the state are tested in this section. The hypotheses were tested as follows:

Hypotheses I: There is no significant difference in the understanding of Christian women participation in politics according to their educational attainment.

This hypothesis was tested with the scores of the different levels of educational groupings of the respondents as indicated in Table 4.1 and scores in Table 4.4. The aim here was to test the significance of the variability obtained in the mean responses of the groups. The one-way analysis of variance was used for this hypothesis because of the multiple levels of the independent variable (Educational Qualifications). The summary of the analysis of variance model is presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: One-way analysis of variance on understanding of political participation by level of educational attainment of the women

Source	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	22.67448	3	7.558161	21.32458	0.000
Within Groups	220.8125	623	0.354434		
Total	243.487	626			

(F-critical (DF = 3, 623) = 3.00, P < 0.05)

The result in the table reveals that the women differed significantly by their levels of educational qualifications. This is indicated with an observed F-value of 21.325 with a probability level of significance of 0.000 ($P < 0.05$) in the table. The critical value at the same degree of freedom (DF 3, 623) is 3.00. With these observations, there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the understanding of Christian women participation in politics according to their educational attainment. The mean scores for the respondents at different levels of education are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Mean scores on understanding of respondents on politics and political participation by level of educational attainment of the women

Levels of educational attainment	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
No formal education	104	2.5356	.47662	.04674
Primary	223	2.5233	.50599	.03388
Secondary	149	2.5826	.58468	.04790
Tertiary	151	2.9861	.77451	.06303
Total	627	2.6509	.62366	.02491

The table shows that women with relatively higher educational attainment have higher understanding of politics and political participation than their counterparts who have no formal education and those with low educational attainment. To determine the group of educational qualifications that were significantly different from the others, the means were subjected to a post-hoc test using the Scheffe procedure as summarized in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Result of Scheffe test on the mean scores of the levels of education

(I) Educational attainment	(J) Educational attainment	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
No formal education	Primary	.01226	.07069	.999
	Secondary	-.04697	.07607	.944
	Tertiary	-.45052(*)	.07586	.000
Primary	No formal education	-.01226	.07069	.999
	Secondary	-.05923	.06299	.829
	Tertiary	-.46277(*)	.06274	.000
Secondary	No formal education	.04697	.07607	.944
	Primary	.05923	.06299	.829
	Tertiary	-.40354(*)	.06875	.000
Tertiary	No formal education	.45052(*)	.07586	.000
	Primary	.46277(*)	.06274	.000
	Secondary	.40354(*)	.06875	.000

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

From the result of the test in the table, the only significant difference between the groups was obtained between women with tertiary education and the rest groups of women. Between women with secondary, primary and no formal education, no significant difference was observed. Those with secondary education were not significantly different from those with primary education.

Hypotheses II: There is no significant difference in the extent to which single and married Christian women engage in partisan politics in Niger State.

The aggregate mean score for all the items in Table 4.5 where the opinions of the married and single women were examined in relation to their participation in politics was used in the test. The hypothesis was tested with the two sample t-test because of the two independent groups (Married and single) involved in the test. The result of the test is summarized in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Two sample t-test on partisan politics in Niger State by married and single women

Variable	N	Mean	SD	SE	t-value	DF	P	Remarks
Married	422	3.01	0.759	0.038	0.100	625	.920	NS
Single	205	3.00	0.803	0.054				

(t-critical = 1.96, $P > 0.05$)

The result of the test revealed that the respondents were not significantly different in their partisan politics in the state based on their marital status. This is deduced from the observed 0.100 t-value obtained at 625 degree of freedom (dF) and a probability level of significance of 0.920 ($P > 0.05$). With these observations, there is no sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, the null hypothesis that: There is no significant difference in the extent to which single and married Christian women engage in partisan politics in Niger State is thus retained. From related data, the marital status play a role in the Christian women's participation in politics but the influence of such a role is not significant. In other words, whether a Christian woman is married or single may not be a major determinant of her participation in politics within the state.

Hypotheses III: There is no significant difference in the choice of political offices Christian women from orthodox and pentecostal churches in Niger State contest for.

The choice of preferred elective offices examined in Table 4.6 was subjected to a chi-square test for this hypothesis to determine the significance of the preference by the women of different Christian denominations as classified into orthodox and pentecostal groupings. The Chi-square procedure would enables the establishment of significances in the preferred offices by the two groups. The result of the test is summarized in Table 4.11. In the table, the expected counts are enclosed in brackets along observed counts.

Table 4.11: Chi-square test on choice of elective political offices by orthodox and pentecostal women in Niger State

Elective political positions	Orthodox	Pentecostal	Total
Loc. Gov. Counsellor	30(25.4)	44(48.6)	74
Local Gov. Chairman	16(13.7)	24(26.3)	40
State House of Assembly	11(14.1)	30(26.9)	41
State Governorship	64(70.6)	142(135.4)	206
Nat. House of Reps	75(71.7)	134(137.3)	209
Senate	4(5.5)	12(10.5)	16
Presidency	3(2.7)	5(5.3)	8
Not interested	12(11.3)	21(21.7)	33
Total	215(215.0)	412(412.0)	627
Chi-Square = 4.772, DF = 7, P-value = 0.688			
(Critical value at 7 dF = 14.1)			

The result of the test revealed that the respondents did not differ significantly in the choice of elective political offices on the basis of their church denominations. This is deduced from the observed chi-square value of 4.772 obtained in the test at the 7 degree of freedom. The observed probability level of significance for the test is 0.688 ($P > 0.05$). With these observations, there is no enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, the null hypothesis that: there is no significant difference in the number of political offices Christian women from orthodox and pentecostal churches in Niger State contested for is thus retained. From related data, the church denomination did not really play a significant role in the choice of political offices by Christian women in the state.

4.5 Summary of the Findings

From the result of the data analyzed in this chapter and the test of the study's hypotheses, the major findings could be summarized as follows:

1. The level of educational attainment is a significant factor in the understanding of Christian women participation in politics in Niger State.
2. Christian women participation in partisan politics in Niger State is not significantly affected by their marital status.
3. The choice of elective political positions by Christian women in Niger State is not significantly influenced by their church denomination.

4.6 Discussion of the Findings

This study assessed Christian women participation in politics in Niger State Nigeria. The study examined the influence of certain demographic variables on the Christian women's understanding of political participation in Niger State. The variables were educational qualification, marital status and church major denomination. For the denomination, churches were classified into two major groups of orthodox and pentecostal. Marital status was considered in two categories of married and single. Three research questions and null hypotheses were investigated and tested respectively in the study in relation to the three variables and understanding of political participation by Christian women in Niger State.

The first research question and hypothesis investigated the role of educational attainment on the understanding of the Christian women on political participation. From the test of the hypothesis, levels of educational attainment play a significant role in the Christian women's understanding of political participation in the state. This null hypothesis was, therefore, rejected. From the analysis of the data in relation to the research question and the result of the post-hoc test, it was observed that women with no formal education tend to agree that politics should be the exclusive reserve of men and

people who do not value honesty and holiness. But the women with higher education especially those with tertiary certificates have contrary view. Which indicated a significant difference. This observation points out that education could be a major role in the understanding and participation in politics by Christian women in the state. The finding is consistent with Albright (2012) who posited that every country deserves to have the best possible leader and that means that women have to be given a chance to compete. If they are never allowed to compete in the electoral process, then the societies are really robbing themselves of a great deal of talent. Equitable participation of women in politics and governance is essential to building and sustaining democracy in every society.

Women who have appetite for politics need to be educated (politically and socially) and be exposed to their rights to participate in politics. The only means through which they can compete in an election with their male counterparts is when they are well informed and possess the necessary skills for the political positions they seek. As Luka, (2011) suggests, this will require the government/church setting up civic education programmes especially for girls and women in order to create awareness for the equal rights, and responsibilities of women.

Studies such as that of Luka (2011) and Fapohunda, (2012) suggest that women need to be empowered and be aware of their rights to participate in politics. This is because a woman, who does not know how to read and write cannot represent the people and as such women need to be educated and equipped with political skills. Also, there should be the inclusion of gender-sensitive provisions in parties' constitution and manifestoes as this will serve the purpose of streamlining gender into its activities.

Research question two and hypothesis II investigated the role of marital status of Christian women in their participation in partisan politics within the state. It was observed from the test that the two groups of married and single women did not differ significantly in their participation in politics of the state. The null hypothesis was therefore retained. From the analysis of the related data it was observed that marital status plays a role in association with the cultural and religious factors but in terms of participation, this role was not found to be statistically significant. The findings here are consistent with the report of Lewu (2004) where it was reported that women are marginalized and feature minimally in government because Nigeria lacks a legislative framework that secures quotas for women in political parties. The report noted major recurring issues in the narratives of the women, and they were all directed at the exclusion of women. A few of the issues cited included: male-centred interpretations of culture and religion such as perceptions that only men can aspire to public office-organized campaigns to slander unmarried aspirants as lacking in morals; high level of violence which characterized the electoral process, including the use of security forces to intimidate women aspirants and their supporters; and claims that some female aspirants were too assertive and independent, and therefore, could not be team players. These patriarchal attitudes, poor informal network/mentoring; finance, religion and educational status were found to militate against women's participation in politics and governance.

In research question three and the tested associated hypothesis III, it was found that the choice of elective political offices could not be significantly associated with the church denomination of the Christian women. Most of them irrespective of the denominational bearing preferred the offices of governorship and National House of

Representatives. Others of relatively fewer numbers have preference for counselors, and senate. Only very few of the women expressed desire for presidential office. In the test, these expressed choices were not found to be significantly different or associated with the church denominations of the women. The null hypothesis was, therefore, retained. This is a reflection of Mamman (2013) in which it was pointed that Christian women should improve their awareness for effective participation in the politics of the state. A slight rise in women political participation in recent times was largely due to continuous campaigns, declarations and conventions of the UN (United Nations). Women all over the world have had meetings and conferences in places like Copenhagen, Nairobi, Vienna, Cairo and Beijing, where they were exposed to knowing their rights in public life and discuss the way out of discrimination meted against them in public life, and since then, the fight against women exclusion in politics has been a recurrent thing, and this has helped to re-awaken the interests and spirit of women in politics all over the world. The point being made here is that, governments at all levels in Nigeria should pay attention to the UN recommendation of 30% seats for women; this will help consolidate democracy in Niger State and Nigeria as a whole. It is in this light that Irabor (2011) recommends that government should implement the policy and not pay lip service to it, because this borders on fairness and equity in politics. This is confirmed by Bent (2008), a former senator in an interview granted Saturday Vanguard said “The problem, I think starts with the political parties. They have a lot to do if they want to take the issue of female representation seriously in this country. But right now, we are just playing lip service to female representation; there is no enough conscious effort by the parties.”

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The study was set against the background of certain constraints that inhibit Christian women in effective political participation in Niger State. The misleading belief among Christians that politics is dirty and immoral tends to be shaping the disposition of a considerable number of Christians towards participation in politics especially among women in Niger State. In view of the fact that gender has come to be a very crucial instrument for shaping the society, the participation of women in politics cannot be overemphasized. Among the assumptions are that women have not summoned enough courage to participate in politics; that men have not given the women the opportunity to participate in politics; that Christianity does not encourage women participation in politics; that political parties have not done enough to allow women participation fully in politics and that traditional beliefs serve as impediments to women participation in politics. The study was therefore, set to assess the role of education, marital status and church denomination on the understanding of politics by Christian women and their participation in partisan politics of the state. The study was organized into five chapters.

Chapter one consisted of the background to the study, statement of the problem, the objectives, research question and the hypotheses formulated to establish the significance of the impact on the development indices. Other parts of the chapter included the study assumptions, scope and limitations. Chapter two presented the review of the related literature, consisting of the concept of politics, history of women participation in Nigerian politics and others along with the empirical studies.

Chapter three discussed the methodology used in the research. This included the research design, population of the study and the sampling technique used in selecting the sample size used. Other aspects of the chapter were a description of the test instrument used for data collection, procedure for data collection and method of data analysis.

In chapter four, the statistical analysis of the data was carried out in relation with the objectives, research questions and hypotheses of the study. These included analysis of the respondents' demographic variables. From the analysis of the data and tests of the hypotheses, the major findings are summarized as follows:

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher concluded that:

- i. The level of understanding and participation of Christian women in politics in Niger State rest on the function of their level of educational attainment.
- ii. The marital status of the Christian women in Niger State does not affect their participation in partisan politics.
- iii. The choice of elective positions for Christian women in Niger State is not influenced by their church denomination.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations were made:

- 1) The church should continue to encourage the education of women not only to acquire the basic education but attain higher level of education as the basis for political understanding and participation.

- 2) Women should be advised to participate in politics irrespective of their marital status. Therefore, all constraints on the part of participation should be eliminated through church encouragement.
- 3) Women should be encouraged by the church to aspire for any elective position in the state and the country.

5.4 Suggestion for Further Study

This study focused on Christian women in Niger State. The study could be replicated to cover all the women (Christians and non-Christians) in the state and could be extended to other states of the federation.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of Arts and Social Sciences
(Christian Religious Studies Section)
Faculty of Education
Ahmadu Bello University
Zaria
July 2014.

Dear Respondent,

I am a post graduate student of the aforementioned institution. Currently, I am undertaking a research on the topic: Assessment of Christian Women Participation in Politics in Niger State, Nigeria. Please fill in the information as truthfully as you can. Your answers will be kept secret and only be used for educational purpose.

I am thanking you in advance for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Florence .O. Dada (Mrs.)
(M.Ed/Educ/8535/2011-2012)

SECTION A: Personal Information

Instruction:

Please below is a list of questions, tick the options that best apply to you and do not tick more than one option.

1. Level of Education: No formal Education () Primary () Secondary () Tertiary ()
2. Marital Status: Married () single () divorced () Widowed ()
3. Church denomination (a) orthodox / / (b) Pentecostal / _____

SECTION B: Christian Women’s Understanding of Politics

S/N	Christian Women’s Understanding of Politics	SA	A	D	SD
1.	Politics is better left to the non -Christian as it is a dirty game and full of dishonesty.				
2.	Politics is a dirty and dangerous game; only males should engage in all political activities.				
3.	Females who go into politics are seen as wayward.				
4.	Equal opportunities should be accorded to females in politics.				
5.	Participating in politics is a means of exposing women to social economic wellbeing.				
6.	Participating in politics enriches women.				
7.	Participating in politics enhances women economically.				
8.	Politics exposes women to immoral behaviours and should be avoided.				
9.	Christian women who are honest cannot go into politics because it is unholy.				

	Christian women participation in partisan politics	SA	A	D	SD
10	Most married women are prevented by their husbands to fully participate in politics.				
11	The low education of most women hampers their participation in politics.				
12	Cultural and religious reasons hinder women participation in politics.				
13	Women are motivated through money, gifts, food items, and the likes to vote during election.				
14	Women are better organized through meetings and easy communication among themselves and enhance better participation in politics.				
15	Women are not interested in politics of the state because many political parties do not involve women in their campaigns.				
16	The uneducated Christian women do not realize the importance of participating in politics.				
17	The educated Christian women are more abreast and knowledgeable about notable women leaders than uneducated women, hence, participate more in politics than their uneducated counterparts.				
18	The uneducated Christian women are more devoted to their business, farming and full housewife activities than indulging in politics.				
19	The uneducated Christian women hardly have time to participate or indulge in politics.				

SECTION C: Please tick the political office you think is more suitable for you and would like to contest for below

- 1) Loc. Gov. Counsellor []
- 2) Local Gov. Chairman []
- 3) State House of Reps []
- 4) State Governorship []
- 5) Nat. House of Reps []
- 6) Senate []
- 7) Presidency []
- 8) Not interested []

APPENDIX II

Reliability OUTPUT

Reliability Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded(a)	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Part 1	Value	.545
		N of Items	10(a)
	Part 2	Value	.809
		N of Items	10(b)
Total N of Items			20
Correlation Between Forms			.707
Spearman-Brown Coefficient	Equal Length		.828
	Unequal Length		.828
Guttman Split-Half Coefficient			.799

- a) The items are: Politics is better left to the non-Christian as it is a dirty game and full of dishonesty., Politics is a dirty and dangerous game Only males should engage in all political activities, Females who go into politics are seen as being wayward. Equal opportunities should be accorded to females in politics. Participating in politics is a means of exposing women to socio-economic wellbeing, Participating in politics enriches women, Participating in politics enhances women family's economically, Politics exposes women to immoral behaviours and should be avoided, Politics is a dirty and dangerous game that

should be avoided by women especially Christians, Christian women who are honest cannot go into politics because it is unholy.

b) The items are: Most married women are prevented by their husbands to participate fully in politics, The low education of most women hampers their participation in politics. Cultural and religious reasons hinder women participation in politics. Women are motivated through money, gifts, food items, and the likes to vote during election, Women are better organized through meetings and easy communication among themselves and enhance better participation in politics, Women are not interested in politics of the state because many political parties do not involve women in their campaigns, The uneducated Christian women do not realize the importance of participating in politics, The educated Christian women are more abreast and knowledgeable about notable women leaders than uneducated women, hence, participate more in politics than their uneducated counterparts., The uneducated Christian women are more devoted to their business, farming and full housewife activities than indulging in politics, The uneducated Christian women hardly have time to participate or indulge in politics.

Intra-class Correlation Coefficient

	Intra-class Correlation (a)	95% Confidence Interval		F Test with True Value 0			
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Value	df1	df2	Sig
Single Measures	.198(b)	.134	.293	5.927	49.0	931	.000
Average Measures	.831(c)	.755	.892	5.927	49.0	931	.000

Two-way mixed effects model where people effects are random and measures effects are fixed.

- a) Type C intraclass correlation coefficients using a consistency definition-the between-measure variance is excluded from the denominator variance.
- b) The estimator is the same, whether the interaction effect is present or not.
- c) This estimate is computed assuming the interaction effect is absent, because it is not estimable otherwise.