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EFFECT OF GENDER POLITICS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN BORNO STATE NIGERIA

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Abstract

Since the arrival of democratic rule in 1999, Nigerian women's have irritated to gain contact to political decisionmaking positions by contesting for elective positions at various levels. Nigeria women constitute 55 percent of the population and 51 percent of voters in elections; consequently, women in Borno are impotent to position themselves to participate efficiently because of the religion and the Islamic teaching of holy Qur'an. Women they will not participate in any Activities that related to any male that is not her husband is (haram) Prohibit, as a result this research I was adopted survey research design for this paper, and data for the paper were derived from both primary and secondary sources. The result and discussions, of this paper revealed that the paper has initiate that rational of political participated of women in Borno is a fundamental prerequisite for genuine and sustainable democracy for them in government generally contribute to solider consideration to women's issues. Although women in Borno state have been marginalized and under-represented, they have recorded some measure political achievement and have contributed to the sustenance of the emerging democracy in Nigeria. Women's in Borno state participation in politics for the improvement of good governance, and democracy, the research recommends the creation of an enabling environment to enhance women's in Borno state to participation in politics. It also recommends an improvement in the constitutional law framework to incorporate the needs of women in politics, recommendations, Based on the findings, the paper recommended that Borno State government should provide of an enabling environment to enhance women's participation in politics of Borno state, the government should encourage Borno women to participation in Democracy, Borno State Government should provide some percent of government and Non-governmental organisation to the women and provide skill acquisition center training for women to enable participation in Government work and to enhance self-employment in state, and free quality education for women

Keyword Gender, politics, and Democracy

Introduction

The participation of women's in politics in Nigeria, is very low because of our culture and believes, Nigeria with the African Nation-states. Has no different and, equally explosions preoccupied from the path and tenets of representative democracy. Representative of democracy is generally agreed, allow the people, both men and women to participate in democracy and ability to control the decision-making process. The reality in Nigeria is that getting a government is truly democratic and inclusive of women at 30% participatory level. Therefore, since the arrival of democratic dispensation in Nigeria, achieving at 30% representation of women in political participation process in Nigerian politics has

remained a figment. It is obvious that Nigerian women are very excited during election campaigns, and supporters, but the political class that is being populated by mostly men who are villains, has made it, do or die affair in participation of the Nigerian democracy.

Nigeria, women constitute 55 percent of the population and 51 percent of voters in elections, from women yet they do not enjoy their occupied political rights as their male counterparts enjoy (Ofong 2002). Available data reveal that women's overall political representation in government is less than seven (7) percent (Agbalajobi, 2010). Women have not still achieved the suggested 30 percent seats in government as arranged by the Beijing

stand of Action to which Nigeria subscribes. It was not until 1979 that women in Northern Nigeria had the permit to exercise their voting rights. This implies that they could not contest for political positions nor participate in choosing their political leaders until late 70s and early of 80s, (Oloyede 2013)

Currently, although the right to democratic governance is a right of debated upon all citizens by law, suggesting that there is no legal elimination of women from governance in Nigeria; other barriers still impede their full participation. The improved participation of women in the democratic process is essential to expansion and expanding the Nigerian government's commitment to democratic governance which by definition allows for diversity and participation of different sets. Women can therefore only make meaningful impact after they have touched the serious procedure required.

Women's participation in politics disagrees throughout the Africa and their participation in politics and the democratic process has become an essential part of contemporary discourse on development and control. In spite of the demand for women's political empowerment by international organizations, study consistently shows that in many parts of the African women still remain on the borders of political empire and their participation in government structures and the democratic process remains low (Vissandjee 2006).

The Borno Emirate council traditional institute formed since before coming to the colonial rulers. Borno is a state in northeast of Nigeria. Borno it has been the epicentre of the organized since it began tran-sahara trade. Borno operations their empire for modern thousands years as a Islamic city, with Islamic culture, ethnic and norms, the traditional Emirate of Borno maintains a ceremonial rule of the Kanuri people, based in kukawa now in Maiduguri, Bornu Empire enjoyed using the name Bornu derived from Bahar-Nuhu for age and they remain proud of the name based on Islamic knowledge and Islamic culture norms, (Koren 2006).

Therefore, women in Borno are unable to position themselves to participate effectively because of the religion and the Islamic teaching of holy Qur'an. Women they will not participate in any Activities that related to male that is not her husband is (haram) Prohibit, Women only to be as a house wife. In some decade back, the decisions affect them and in entrenching themselves in the democratic process because they are denied access. This has permeated the political scene and has given rise to the masculine model of politics in Nigeria, (Koren 2006).

Borno has many Culture, norms and ethnic groups, Kanuri formed 6 % of its total population, other ethnic groups of Borno includes the following Shuwa-Arab, Mandara, Marghi, Babur, Gwoza, Chibok, Wula, Hausa, Fulani, Tuwo, Bulala, Zakawa, and some few others, All this ethnic groups there remain across the state located in 27 local government area including the following Abadam, Askira-uba, Bama, Bayo, Biu, Chibok, Damboa, Dikwa, Gubiyo, Guzamala, Gwoza, Hawul, Jere, Kaga, Kalabalge, Konduga, Kukawa, Kwayakusar, Maiduguri, Mafa, Magumeri, Marte, Mobbar, Monguno, Ngala, Nganzai, and Shani.

Statement of the Problem

In spite of the efforts to ensuring Effect of Gender politics for Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria a study of Borno state. Through the implementation of several effort such as planning, Nigeria has been able to cover the assumption of anxiety of control always prompt by its Women's participation in politics disagrees throughout the Africa and their participation in politics and the democratic process has become an essential part of contemporary discourse on development and control in Nigeria, with the particular emphases of women participation in politics in Borno state.

There are several studies on Such as (Christiana 2012), who studied on The Role of Women in Politics and in the Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria. (Oloyede 2013) entitled the Monitoring participation of women in politics in Nigeria. (Fayomi 2012) who study on An Empirical Study of Women and Politics: Towards Participatory Democracy in Ogun State, South - Western Nigeria. Most of these studies have not explored extensively on Effect of Gender politics for Sustainable

Democracy in Nigeria a study of Borno state. These stand as the research gap for this study to cover and contribute to the scholarly discourse. It is against this research gap that this study assessed the Effect of Gender politics for Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria a Study of Borno state.

Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to emphasize the Effect of Gender politics for Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria a Study of Borno state, the specific objectives are to:

- i. Examine participation of women in politics of Borno State,
- ii. Assess Gender politics in Democracy participation of Borno State,
- **iii.** Examine women participation in Government of Borno State,

Literature Review

Concept of Gender: Acceding to the international standards, both men and women should have equal rights and equal opportunities to all in the world, most especially to participate fully in all aspects social life and at all levels of governance and political processes Worldwide, women constitute over half of the world's populace and contribute in vital ways to socio- economic development mostly. In most societies, women adopt some key roles, which are mothers, as a home-manager, and community services, socio-cultural and political activists, of these many roles mentioned, the last has been engendered by women movement (Oyelaran 2014).

In line of international development, Nigerian women constitute half of the population of the nation. But despite the major roles they play with their population, women roles in the society are yet to be given respect. This is due to some cultural restricts, misappropriation of religion, traditional practices and male-controlled societal. In Nigeria the awareness about the role of women in development of a nation arose from 1980s. The International Conference on women in Beijing in 1995 enhanced the effective participation of women in politics in Nigeria (Kazeem & Darrell, 2012).

Nigeria has been recording low-slung participation of women in both elective and appointive positions this is a growing concern to many Nigerians. However, concerted efforts have been made by government and non-governmental organizations to increase the level of participation of women in politics, in line, with the declaration made at the fourth World Conference on women in Beijing, which advocated 30% affirmative action. However, in Nigeria, the extant National Gender Policy (NGP) recommended 35% affirmative action instead and sought for more inclusive representation of women with at least 35% of both elective political and appointive public service positions respectively. The under representation of women in political participation gained root due to the male-controlled practice inherent in our society, much of which were obvious from precolonial period till date. However, the re-introduction of democratic governance has witnessed once again an increase in women political participation both in elective and appointive offices in Nigeria (Kerlinger 2000).

Constitutionally, in the pre-colonial period, Nigerian women were a fundamental part of the political set up of their societies. For instance, in pre-colonial, women played active roles in the administration of the state, complementing the roles played by male counterparts. Women also played a very significant role in the political history of ancient Zaria. The modern city of Zaria was founded in the first half of the 16th century by a woman called Queen Bakwa Turuku. She had a daughter called Amina who later succeeded her as Queen. Amina was a Queen great and powerful fighter. She built a high fence around Zaria in order to protect the city from incursion and extended the boundaries of her territory beyond Bauchi and she made Zaria protracted Marketable (Centre USAID Nigeria Mission 2004).

The aim of this paper is to identify the major problems on gender political concepts of present politics and gender on gender politics in Borno, in the ideas on which they have spent a good portion of their careers working to achieve in politics. Whereas by no resources making the claim to cover all concepts, some of the most central concepts in political science and gender politics research are treated, democracy representation the welfare of the state governance, people and development, gender ideology, inter sectionalist, women's movements/feminism, and state Feminism, it is important to take note of this paper use of the concept of gender itself. In some of the research covered, gender is used as a substitute for biological sex.

Participation of rural women in politics of Borno State,

Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, Nigerian women have tried to gain contact to political positions by contesting for elective positions at various levels. Their efforts however have not translated to appreciative gains as subsequent elections since 1999 revealed. That it has been marginalize gain over the years, which in itself is not actual encouraging, but a decline in the number of elected woman politicians in the 2015 General Elections shows a manifestation of female political disempowerment and this is more worrisome. Given the ground swell and campaign for popular participation by women in the general elections, the poor performance is indeed very concerning. In the 2015 General Elections, Nigerian women as usual came out and participated in all aspects of the electoral processes from the federal level to state and local government in all aspects of political participation at all level.

At this republic woman existence representatives in the elected position from state Assemble, to the National, in 2019 General Election there are 351 woman Across the Nation, now women contribute to the feminization of the political agenda that is the pronunciation of women's concerns and perspectives in public debates as well as "the feminization of legislation" that is public policies are desired to take into account their effect on women. Most gender issues in a male dominated parliament are either overlooked or get predominantly the male gender perspectives to addressing them. In most cases, the female law architect had to lobby their male counterparts to see reasons why a particular gender bill should be passed (Akasike, 2015).

Political participation as one of the significant features of democracy provides the justification for inclusion of marginalised such as women and groups in electoral competition. Involvement of women in politics will be meaningful only if the process is just, reasonable, permissive and level playing ground is guaranteed for possible rise of women politically, Politics has strategic importance for women as the ultimate success of women's effort will rest deeply on effective use of the political process. Women's ability to effectively use the political process to get to political positions may increase their representation in elective positions and effect public policies. But, it is very clear from Nigeria's experience that the political process is male dominated and men influence the process more than women (Lynn, 1978).

Momodu (2003) encouraged that the issues of women's political participation and representation in politics and governance should be seen from four angles. Entrance, Participation, Representation and Revolution. Access to political institutions, participation which includes governor of power within such institutions, quantifiable and qualitative representation and the conclusion result will be social and political transformation in the community. Women's political empowerment can be enhanced when these four conditions are fulfilled.

The revelation of the women in politics substance is sustained by three reasons: first politics is an important field for decision making. Individuals who hold official positions in government get to decide how to allocate scarce resources; Politicians make political decisions that may help some people at the expense of others. Decisions by politicians often affect people's individual choices by encouraging some behaviors and prohibition. Secondly, political power is a valued good. Politicians hold power over other social institutions, such as the family, thirdly, holding a political position is to hold a position of power Women in positions of authority of power can reassurance decisions on issues that inconvenience on women and impact positively on the lives of female gender (Paxton, 2007).

From the research Percentage distribution of female Seats Held in Borno State House of Assembly and National of Assembly Representing Borno state from 1993 – Date. Honorable Member, Hajjiya Dodo Gobe representing Gwoza constituency in Borno State Houses of Assembly 1999. Dr. Asabe Balita representing Chibok, Damboa, and Gwoza federal constituency local Government in Borno state house Assembly in 2003 and Also in 2007 she Representing south Borno in the lower house, in the year 2011 honorable Fanta Baba shehu Representing 3 Local Government North Borno, Magumeri, kaga, and Gubiyo, federal constituency in the lower house, Another women honorable Amuna Ibrahim khadi Representing Jere Local Government area federal constituency in Borno in the lower house in 2015, and the last But Not the list honorable Dr. Zainab Gimba Representing 3 local government Bama, kalaBalgi and Ngala federal constituency Borno central in the lower house from 2019 – Date (Field study 2021).

Challenges of rural women participation politics in Borno state:

The challenges facing women are enormous, but, researcher, revealed that the under listed are responsible for marginalization of women in politics in Borno state Nigeria.

- 1. Religious and Cultural: Both Islam and Christianity do not consensus women considerable role in public life, and same is attainable in most cultural values, where women are seen culturally as reasonably compliant and double of benefit. However, they are not to be seen in public domain. And so it is a challenge to women participation in politics in Borno, subsequently women found in the corridor of politics are not often religious in practice in there Believe.
- **2. Funding:** Competing for political positions in Borno requires huge financial support. Most of the Borno women who seek these positions could not afford meeting the financial obligations, despite the wavers giving to women aspirants by some of the political parties.

- **3. Monarch:** It refers to a society ruled and dominated by men king over women, which in turn has agreed intensification to women being looked upon as mere household wives and non- partisans in decision making process by men, women should be in households not to talk of coming out to vie for political positions in Borno.
- **4. Political Violence:** Nigerian elections have always been characterized by the form of violence, Female aspirants of various political parties cannot withstand political violence; therefore, women participation in politics in Borno is drastically reduced because of the problems of violence in the Nigerian politics.
- **5. Low level of education:** One of the major issued is the low participation of women in politics is the low level of education, is also a part of the shortcomings in Borno. This explains why most women are least qualified for political offices due to low educational attainment. This is also an effect of colonialism, where men were more favored than women.

Gender politics in Democracy participation in Borno State,

Over the years women in Nigeria have been relegated to the background are circumscribed within the political arenas by structures, procedures and ideologies that favour men, as well as the existence of an invisible 'glass ceiling' that block their upward mobility and full participation. Despite the difficulties faced by women, they continue with their political ambition, contributing enormously to politics and the democratic process with a view to advancing national development.

The respondents indicated that as far back as the colonial and early post-colonial era, a couple of female political activist such as Margaret Ekpo worked for equal civil rights between the colonial masters and the ruled, while some others emerged as members of the Eastern House of Assembly. Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti was a representation in the politics of the old Western region of Nigeria, while Hajiaya Gambo Sawaba struggled for the political and cultural freedom of women in Northern Nigeria.

Gender and politics researchers have been developing new and exciting concepts and transforming existing concepts since the late 1980s. Their goal has been to make research on politics better explanation for the realities of gender as a complex process and in doing so to make our theories and studies more accurate and scientifically meaningful; or as we say in the trade, gendering political science. Gender scholars have identified the analytical openings in existing social science concepts, have suggested how to better incorporate gender into those concepts, and have developed new gender, (Quadri, 2013)

The guidelines are presented in Research, and the authors in this work follow them in their specific concept discussions. The guidelines were developed in the context of their application by the authors in this volume. In other words, the lessons learned from the complexities and challenges of conceptualizing gender and politics concepts are used to create better approaches to concept construction more generally speaking. The guidelines presented in chapter, therefore, reflect how the intersection between feminist and no feminist analysis, embodied by this book more generally, can strengthen our tools for the analysis of any and all political science concepts.

Thus, this work represents a marriage between systematic concerns for concept formation found in much political science research outside of gender. (Sartori 1970), and Mahon (1993 Adcock) and (Collier 2001) and the feminist-oriented study of gender and politics that has as its goal to identify the gender/sexspecific patterns of politics and the often inherently gender-biased nature of political science analysis. The editors themselves reflect this marriage. Gary Goertz does not work on gender, but he has done extensive work on qualitative methods in general and the methodology of concepts in particular. Amy Mazur has worked extensively in the gender and politics field in general, and has devoted special attention to conceptual developments in this area. We believe that the confrontation of the general methodology of concepts with the specific concerns of gender and politics scholars will provide benefits and insights to both sides.

The collective outcome of this volume, we hope, is to move gender and politics research and the field of political science forward toward better analysis and science. In other words, the systematic treatment of gender and politics concepts that follows has the potential to improve the practice of political analysis itself. In this chapter, we first provide the rationale for a book on gender and politics concepts, discussing why it is important to take a systematic and international approach to mapping concepts. Next, we discuss the two major strategies that have been pursued by gender and politics researchers to address gender issues in the development and application of concepts. In the last section, we present our plan and approach by showing how these two strategies structure the book as well as different ways of grouping the chapters with regard to methodological approaches and theory-building.

Rural women participation in Government in Borno State,

The Nigerian Civil Service is essentially a creation of the colonial past; until the attainment of independence in 1960, it largely served British colonial interests. In keeping with the traditional conception of empire, British territories in West Africa were largely viable military and economic outposts for the economic and social well-being of the imperial power, it must be pointed out, however, that the British presence was not entirely without rewards for the various peoples of the colonial territories. Colonialism not only brought an end to internecine wars among the disparate entities of the colonial territories, it also opened the way to widespread developments in communications, including the building of roads and railways. The order and stability that prevailed in the wake of the, Britannica" is generally perceived in current historical studies to have been of immense value, both to Britain and to her overseas colonies.

Women have performed noble roles in government and have served as agents of change" Also, they unanimously affirmed that "the few women in government have been accountable and have promoted transparency and good governance." One of the

interviewee cited the examples of women who have made such impact in Nigeria. According to her, Dora Akunyili who was formerly the boss of National Agency for Food Drug and Administration Control (NAFDAC) performed credibly by leading the fight against the infiltration of adulterated pharmaceutical drugs into the Nigerian pharmaceutical markets. Also, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala who was the former Minister of Finance worked very hard and used her expertise in ensuring that some of the nation's debts with international financial institutions were offset, thereby saving the nation records of billions of naira.

Literature Gap

From the Available literature at the time of this research, there are no relevant literatures on Effect of Gender politics for Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria a Study of Borno state,

Theoretical Framework:

Since the purpose of theory is to help predict and understand phenomenal and to identify the important variable that may be related to theory Feminism Theory shall be examined.

Theory Liberal Feminism:

Feminism theory mostly been developed to clarify claims that gender differences are not based in biology, and therefore that women and men are not all that different their common humanity supersedes their procreative differentiation. If women and men are not different, then they should not be treated differently under the law. Women should have the same rights as men and the same educational and work opportunities. The goal of liberal feminism in the United States was embodies in the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which was never ratified. It said, "Equality of Rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex, politically

Liberal feminists formed slightly bureaucratic organizations, which invited men members. Their activist focus has been concerned with visible sources of gender discrimination, such as gendered job markets and inequitable wage scales, and with getting women into

positions of authority in the professions, government, and cultural institutions.

Liberal feminist politics took important weapons of the civil rights movement antidiscrimination legislation and affirmative action and used them to fight gender inequality, especially in the job market. Affirmative action calls for aggressively seeking out qualified people to redress the gender and ethnic imbalance in work places. That means encouraging men to train for such jobs as nursing, teaching, and secretary, and women for fields like engineering, construction, and police work. With a diverse pool of qualified applicants, employers can be legally mandated to hire enough different workers to achieve a reasonable balance in their workforce, and to pay them the same and also give an equal chance to advance in their careers.

The main contribution of liberal feminism is showing how much modern society discriminates against women. In the United States, it was successful in breaking down many barriers to women's entry into formerly maledominated jobs and professions, helped to equalize wage scales, and got abortion and other reproductive rights legalized. But liberal feminism could not overcome the prevailing belief that women and men are intrinsically different. It was fairly more successful in proving that even if women are different from men, they are not inferior.

Marxist and Socialist Feminisms Marx's analysis of the social structure of capitalism was supposed to apply to people of any social characteristics. If you owned the means of production, you were a member of the capitalist class; if you sold your labor for a wage, you were a member of the proletariat. That would be true of women as well, except that until the end of the 19th century, married women in capitalist countries were not allowed to own property in their own name; their profits from any businesses they ran and their wages belonged to their husband. Although Marx recognized that workers and capitalists had wives who worked in the home and took care of the children, he had no place for housewives in his analysis of capitalism.

It was Marxist feminism that put housewives into the structure of capitalism. Housewives are vital to capitalism, indeed to any industrial economy, because their unpaid work in the home maintains bosses and workers and reproduces the next generation of bosses and workers and their future wives. Furthermore, if a bourgeois husband falls on hard times, his wife can do genteel work in the home, such as dressmaking, to earn extra money, or take a temporary or part-time job, usually white collar. And when a worker's wages fall below the level needed to feed his family, as it often does, his wife can go out to work for wages in factories or shops or other people's homes, or turn the home into a small factory and put everyone, sometimes including the children, to work. The housewife's labor, paid and unpaid, is for her family.

Marxist and socialist feminisms severely criticize the family as a source of women's oppression and exploitation. If a woman works for her family in the home, she has to be supported, and so she is economically dependent on the man of the house," like her children. If she works outside the home, she is still expected to fulfill her domestic duties, and so she ends up working twice as hard as a man, and usually for a lot less pay. This source of gender inequality has been somewhat redressed in countries that give all mothers paid leave before and after the birth of a child and that provide affordable child care.

But that solution puts the burden of children totally on the mother, and encourages men to opt out of family responsibilities altogether. To counteract that trend, feminists in the government of Norway allocated a certain portion of paid child care leave to fathers specifically, Women in the former communist countries had what liberal feminism in capitalist economies always wanted for women full-time jobs with state-supported maternity leave and childcare services. But Marxist and socialist feminists claim that the welfare state can be paternalistic, substituting public patriarchy for private patriarchy. They argue that male-dominated government policies put the state's interests before those of women: When the economy needs workers, the state pays for child-care leave; with a down-turn in the

economy, the state reduces the benefits. Similarly, when the state needs women to have more children, it cuts back on abortions and contraceptive services. Women's status as a reserve army of labor and as a child producer is thus no different under socialism than under capitalism.

The solution of women's economic dependence on men thus cannot simply be waged work, especially if jobs continue to be gender segregated and women's work is paid less than men's. Socialist feminism had a different solution to the gendered workforce than liberal feminism's program of affirmative action. It was comparable worth. In examining the reasons why women and men workers' salaries are so discrepant, proponents of comparable worth found that wage scales are not set by the market for labor, by what a worker is worth to an employer, or by the worker's education or other credentials. Salaries are set by conventional "worth, which is rooted in gender and ethnic and other forms of discrimination.

Comparable worth programs compare jobs in traditional women's occupations, such as secretary, with traditional men's jobs, such as automobile mechanic. They give a point values for qualifications needed, skills used, extent of responsibility and authority over other workers, and dangerousness. Salaries are then equalized for jobs with a similar number of points which represent the "worth" of the job. Although comparable worth programs do not do away with gendered job segregation, feminist proponents argue that raising the salaries of women doing traditional women's jobs could give the majority of women economic resources that would make them less dependent on marriage or state benefits as a means of survival.

Development Feminism

Addressing the economic exploitation of women in postcolonial countries on the way to industrialization, development feminism has done extensive gender analyses of the global economy. Women workers in developing countries in Central and Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa are paid less than men workers, whether they work in factories or do piece work at home. To survive in rural communities, women grow food, keep house, and earn money any way they can to supplement what their migrating husbands send them. The gendered division of labor in developing countries is the outcome of a long history of colonialism. Under colonialism, women's traditional contributions to food production were undermined in favor of exportable crops, such as coffee, and the extraction of raw materials, such as minerals. Men workers were favored in this work, but they were paid barely enough for their own subsistence. Women family members had to provide food for themselves and their children, but with good land confiscated for plantations, they also lived at a bare survival level.

Development feminism made an important theoretical contribution in equating women's status with control of economic resources. In some societies, women control significant economic resources and so have a high status. In contrast, in societies with patriarchal family structures where anything women produce, including children, belongs to the husband, women and girls have a low value. Development feminism's theory is that in any society, if the food women produce is the main way the group is fed, and women also control the distribution of any surplus they produce, women have power and prestige. If men provide most of the food and distribute the surplus, women's status is low. Whether women or men produce most of the food depends on the kind of technology used. Thus, the mode of production and the kinship rules that controls the distribution of any surplus are the significant determinants of the relative status of women and men in any society. Each of the gender reform feminisms faces contradictions in their theories and their practical solutions.

Liberal feminism argues that women and men are essentially similar, and therefore women should be equally represented in public arenas dominated by men work, government, the professions, and the sciences. But if women and men are so interchangeable, what difference does it make if a woman or a man does a particular job? Marxist and socialist feminisms argue that the source of women's oppression is their economic dependence on a husband. Their solution is full-time

jobs for women, with the state providing paid maternity leave and child-care. But, what the state gives, the state can take away. State policies reflect state interests, not women's. Women are worker-mothers or just others, depending on the state's economic needs. For development feminism, the theoretical emphasis on universal human rights is reflected in pressure for the education of girls, maternity and child health care, and economic resources for women who contribute heavily to the support of their families. However, when gender politics calls for marital rights and sexual autonomy, development feminism frequently has to confront traditional cultural values and practices that give men power over their daughters and wives.

Methodology

Research Design: The survey research design was adopted for this study. Data for the study were derived from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were generated through the administration of structured questionnaires on local government area of Borno state randomly selected female politicians, activists and professionals in government and dominant political parties across the Borno state. This was done in order to capture and document a cross-cutting opinion of the targeted groups in the respective on the situation regarding women's role in politics and the democratic process in Nigeria with the particular emphases of women in Borno state.

The questionnaire was structured to elicit from respondents, the contributions of women to politics and the democratic process as well as their experiences, challenges and the barriers that hinder them from competing effectively with their male counterparts. The questionnaire also made provision for capturing the actions which women are taking to empower themselves and to dismantle the glass ceiling. Furthermore, it enabled the respondents identify the proactive strategies that can be adopted to enable women realize their political leadership potentials in Nigeria. In addition to the questionnaires, interview schedules were conducted with purposively selected respondents occupying key political leadership positions and whose experiences facilitated the documentation of women's involvement

and experiences in politics and the democratic process in Borno state Nigeria.

Technique of Data Collection: The study adopted focus group discussion with survey research design was adopted for this study. Data for the study were derived from both primary and secondary sources.

Technique of Data Analysis: The study adopted explanatory analysis by transcription of the oral interview data obtained from the focus group discussion into text.

Data Presentation

In presenting the data, a descriptive statistic was used, and this includes the use of frequency and percentage. Five frequency tables were used for analyses of data generated. The study utilized 150 questionnaires out 165 questionnaires administered, 15 questionnaires were discarded because of errors made during completing the questionnaires.

Table: Socio-Demographic Information of the Respondents

S/N			Frequency	Percentage %
1.	Age Distribution of the	15-20	18	12
	Respondents	21-25	34	22.67
		26-30	38	25.33
		31-35	21	14
		36-40	18	12
		40 and above	21	14
		Total	150	100
2.	Sex	Female	150	150
		Total	150	100
3.	Name of the place	Borno North	75	50
	three senatorial Zone	Borno central	37	24.67
	in Borno	Borno south	38	25.33
		Total	150	100
4.	Position	Women leaders	3	2
		Party secretary	6	4
		Party chairlady	8	5.33
		House wife	58	38.67
		Youth women	75	50
		leaders		
		Total	150	100

Source: Field Survey, 2021.

Result and Discussions: The result of this study revealed that in order to this study has initiate that reasonable political participation of women in Borno is a fundamental prerequisite for genuine and sustainable democracy and that a higher number of them in government generally contribute to stronger consideration to women's issues. Although women in Borno state have been marginalized and underrepresented, they have recorded some measure of political achievement and have contributed to the

sustenance of the emerging democracy in Nigeria. Since women's in Borno state participation in politics is critical for good governance, this research recommends the creation of an enabling environment to enhance women's in Borno state to participation in politics. It also recommends an improvement in the constitutional law framework to incorporate the needs of women in politics. This is particularly important because the Federal character code in the Nigerian Constitution is inadequate in addressing women's concerns. The study

further suggests the need to intensify campaigns to promote women's participation of political in Borno state. In addition, women should be economically empowered through access to quality education, employment and credit facilities. The creation of gender awareness campaign for political party members and leadership training for prospective women leaders is also recommended. Gender sensitive and equitable policies in the agenda and operations of political parties should be disseminated and their implementation supervised.

Conclusion

The study deduced that the Borno State government tried to fully implement Effect of Gender politics for Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria a Study of Borno state, , organizing training for skill acquisition to women for the purpose of improving standard of living, to exercise their rights and afford their voice in decision-making process. Hence, the result of this research reveals that in spite of the Borno government policies, gender disparity exists in the state, all the local

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governments. Efforts should be made to ensure equal access of women and men, both formal and informal education so as to bridge the gender gap and entrench evenhandedness.

Recommendations: Based on the findings, the study recommended that:

- i. Borno State government should provide of an enabling environment to enhance women's participation in politics of Borno state.
- ii. Borno State government should encourage women to participation in Democracy.
- iii. Borno State Government should provide some percent of government and Non-governmental organisation to provide skill acquisition training for women to enable participation in Government work and to enhance self-employment in state.
- iv. Borno State government should provide free quality education for women.
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