

POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIAN POLITICS

DR. CHARLES CHUKWURAH MEZIE-OKOYE

mezie-okoye.charles@nbu.edu.ng

Nigerian British University, Asa, Abia State-Nigeria

ABSTRACT

Nigeria's political system is a violent, harassing, and anti-women election system because it is a male-dominated system that remains a major obstacle to women's political participation. leadership in Nigeria in terms of vying for electoral positions in all the facets of governments. The evidences in the records were that after Nigerian started the democratic governance in 1999, the women who participated in contesting the political positions in all the tiers of governments were minimizing their numbers and percentage as compared with the total women population of Nigeria, therefore, the tendency indicated above could be regarded as the reduction of women in the electioneering industry. Based on secondary data, a theoretical mode of research was used to uncover the truth that ethical difficulties, party intrigues, and political violence have become so prevalent in Nigeria's election process that they must be addressed. In light of this, this paper believes that in order to achieve balanced political participation without gender discrimination, Nigerian women must be more aware of the importance of fully engaging and aspiring to more elective political positions at all levels of government, regardless of the level of harassment and intimidation. Because their desire to get elected to various public posts is a democratic right that cannot be expressed forcibly through the thuggery and violence that are so typical in Nigerian elections. The paper argues that while women's participation and representation in Nigerian politics and governance have improved since the return of democratic governance in 1999, there are still significant obstacles to overcome before women and girls can fully exercise their civic rights. As a result, the report concludes with the following recommendations for combating gender discrimination and violence in Nigerian politics and government.

Keywords: Women participation, violence, Nigerian Politics, electoral Process.

Introduction

Women have always been a subject to political violence when it comes to their political activities. Nigerian women are seen as a junior power in politics hence many civilizations have tolerated it without condemning it. According to the World Bank Report of 2012, female forms 49.36% of the Nigerian population but they are most of the time silenced. To paid and unpaid productive work, women are often paid less than half what men make, thus often bearing more than fifty per cent of the responsibility for the socio-economic development of human communities. But their representation in the official political system and decision-making mechanism that decides on the utilisation of society resources produced by both men and women is minimal. Women had only 15 percent of legislative seat globally before 2005.

Political participation involves participating in elections, contesting for public positions and any other activity of political representation. According to Agbalajobi (2010), the rise of the women's effective votes from 10% in elections 8years ago to 40%, the total votes cast represent

a certain type of growth in population. This, however, changes when the number of women who are appointed to any public office is relatively small compared to the number of men that are appointed. The author stated that the level of women's engagement may differ when rated with certain criteria. For example there may be increased participation coupled with marginalisation, or in other cases there might be relatively high representation but low activity level. While gender inequality has locked women out of active political participation, political violence has discouraged women from joining politics. This becomes worrisome especially for the political party when one considers the status of women in partisan politics.

Women bear the brunt of marginalization in politics whereby their representation in all levels of governance is less than their male counterparts to the tune of 93.6% to 6.4%. In as much as women too have to go an extra mile to have their issues addressed by the politics being provided to them as citizens. Some promise have been made that Nigeria would uphold the right to political for women, but here the principle of gender friendly legislation haven't been well facilitated because of no political will. Since 1995 Nigeria has ratified Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPA) of which far agreed to the equal representation of women in power and decision. The federal government independently determined the percentage of women in any given government by setting what was in 2006 a record 35% minimum.

The allocation of women in Nigeria has come to experience less participation in elective and appointive positions; this is worrying many people. But the government and non-governmental organisations have tried their best to increase number of women as voters and candidates as per the Beijing declaration of fourth World Conference for women which asked 30% quota. However, the present National Gender Policy (NGP) in Nigeria demanded 35 % affirmative action and a better proportion of women in the electoral political and appointed public sector places. The issue of low political participation by women as a result of our society's patriarchal nature which can be seen from our distant past to the present. But democracy has brought the increase of women participation, though little, in the elective and appointive positions in Nigeria.

Theoretical Underpinning

This study will utilize pluralist theory and patriarchal theory. Some of the pluralism theorists include: Robert Dahl, David Truman and Seymour Martin Lipset. The pluralists see politics as a game where competing teams or rivals struggle for victory. Groups develop plan of action or game plan to achieve success. They depend on both conflict and co – operation to succeed. Conflict occurs when one team wins and the other loses (Andrain and Apter, 1995). This is typical of Nigerian politics were rival groups exist and during elections each group has expectations. When their expectations are not met it can lead to violent conflict or protests by their supporters. These usually bring about distinct outcomes for women. When violent conflict arises during election or post election violence, women can be molested and raped as a result of their vulnerability. Also, men harass and intimidate women as a game plan to dissuade them from participating in politics especially when they feel that the woman is more popular than them. Patriarchy is a social system were men hold positions of supremacy and privilege. It is promoted by various propositions which are patriarchal ideology, which is used to promote certain beliefs that suggest that men are superior to women. In a patriarchal society, men control all aspects of the society including politics, economics and women. Men see themselves as rational, active and smarter beings. While they see women as only capable

to be care givers and home makers. In a patriarchal system, there is emphasis on the oppression of women. This is one reason women are tactically excluded in politics through various ways including through violent means. They are seen as objects to be controlled and ruled but not to be leaders themselves.

Efforts done to increase female political participation in Nigeria

Nigeria has taken steps to remedy poor female participation in elective and appointed posts, including establishing a Women Political Empowerment Office, Nigeria Women Trust Funds and Women Lobby Group. The others are: an INEC gender policy, a nationwide multi-stakeholder discussion, affirmative action programs, and the Nigeria women strategy conference. nationwide centre for women development in collaboration with the National bureau of statistics is in the process of establishing empirical data on this vice. To date, no set of statistics is standardized and normally distributed, including those of the shareholders' fund. Said data collation is for the year 1999-2015.

It will also be discovered that one of the goals of data collecting is to establish a reference point for the integration of the new Sustainable Development Goals. The data collection exercise is ongoing. As expected, the results are expected to indicate the steady progress toward the positive declaration, as well as how the earlier gap has been bridged, and to compare the level of change between where affirmative action is now and where it is at 35 percent. It will also eliminate any unharmonized data (Daniel and Faith, 2013).

Forms of Violence against Women in Politics in Nigeria

Psychological Violence: This is the most common type of abuse used by men to discourage women from participating in politics. It is the behavior that is meant to threaten and torture perceived opponents and manifest as threats of physical harm and persecution of perceived opponents including candidates, party supporters, election officials and voters. Threats of social exclusion, divorce and rejection by family and friends can discourage women political participation. Psychological violence can happen at home, in the community or online. A close acquaintance, like husband, family members or actors that are not close to a woman such as the State, political parties, can use psychological violence to discourage women from voting. Types of psychological violence include harassment, character assassination, threat of withdrawal of financial support, divorce, threats against family, cyber bullying, blackmail and negative media representation. Other types of psychological violence include husband or parental pressure regarding choice of who to vote, refusal to grant permission to go for voting exercise, ridicule and shaming. Online violence against women politicians can be evident in different forms such as cyber bullying, manipulation of their pictures, sexualisation of their bodies and defamation of their character. According to a 2016 data collated by Inter Parliamentary Union cited in Fadare (2023), about 55 parliamentarians in 39 countries note that 81.8% of them were affected by psychological abuse, which according to them, includes death threat, rape, beatings and abduction.

Online presence through social media can serve as a good medium where female politicians can easily communicate with constituencies and solicit for their support; it also provides a forum where violence can be unleashed with impunity because of its anonymous nature. As at 2022, about more than 108 million Nigerians was using internet making it a widely used device in Nigeria (Tursia and Folorunso, 2023). According to Eniola (2016), during an

interview with female Northern politicians, they recounted their experiences in the hands of men, how they were constantly abused and humiliated by men. Mrs Lati Watila, who is an indigene of Hawul Local Government Area of Borno State, contested House of Representative seat in 2015 under All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), recounted how she was humiliated and called names by male politicians. According to her, she was labeled a prostitute and they queried what she is doing there, when she was supposed to be in her husband's house cooking and taking care of the children. In the same vein, Tagwai – Aji, a female politician, who contested primary election to represent Kano Central at the Senate in 2003, also complained that her posters were torn and they complained that they don't want a woman and that she also experienced threats of physical attack. According to her also, they called her unprintable names and queried why a woman will want to rule them. Also, Mrs Najatu Muhammad, the first female Senator in the North narrated her experiences in politics, she maintains that she has been beaten at a conference centre, her clothes were torn and she was left with only her underwear because she is a female politician. According to her also, she has been threatened, she has narrowly escaped death on many occasions and she has also been poisoned many times; all because she ventured into politics which they feel should be left for men alone (Eniola, 2016).

Sexual Violence

It is non consensual sexual acts or undesired sexual comments or advances which is targeted at a person by any person. It can be in form of sexual assault, rape, sexual threats and harassment. Sexual violence can occur as a result of breakdown of law and order that can occur due to announcement of election result. Sexual violence can be perpetrated in political meetings or events, polling stations or during political rallies. Joyce Fatai, a one time Nasarawa State Commissioner for Women Affairs and Social Development maintains that it is difficult to document cases of sexual violence due to a culture of silence surrounding it. Orji and Uzodi (2012) observe that the post –election violence of 2011 resulted in rape, gang rape and defilement of some female corp members. Lagos – based NGO, Stand to End Rape while interviewing 1000 women aged between 18-35 years between October 2021 and April 2022, our female pollster states 20% affirm that they have to agree to provide sexual favours as players in the political market (Jimoh, 2023). It was said that during the post – election violence of 2011 that some hoodlums raped and murdered indefinite number of female corp members. Whenever there is political violence, some miscreants will hide under the guise of confusion in the system and rape ladies because of their vulnerable nature. Uduh (2019) rightly observes that men and women face harassment during campaigns but for women the harassment is usually pervasive and sexualized. Ogbonnaya and Okenyodo (2022) aver that During 2019, two political women leaders were assassinated, while some female election officials including female security personnel were raped.

The Challenges that hinder Women participation in Politics in Nigeria

Despite the numerous problems women face, scholars have identified factors that contribute to their marginalization in politics in Nigeria.

1. Patriarchy: Male chauvinism in a society has meant that women are seen as house wives and non players in politics or more appropriately, women are seen as people to be given political posts.

2. Stigmatization: In Nigeria, politics is often associated with persons who disregard human rights and sacrifice virtue for personal gain. As for women who decide to have a political career: they are considered to be shameless wenches.

3. Women's poor educational involvement contributes to the deficiencies. Looking at the 2010 National Adult Literacy Survey by the National Bureau of Statistics Nigeria's literacy rate is 50.6% in English and 63.7% in other languages among female adults aged 15 and up. Low educational attainment explains why women are underrepresented in political roles. Colonialism favoured men over women, contributing to this trend.

4. Meeting Schedules: Assemblies in private to plan political campaigns are not appropriate especially for responsible and family women during pre or post election campaigns. It is common to find women being required to come and cater for their children and families during set time. It should also be noted that schedules are considered to be a threat to women participating in political processes.

5. Financing: Running for political office in Nigeria requires substantial financial resources. Despite financial waivers granted by some political parties, many Nigerian women seeking these positions are unable to meet their obligations. As a result, they were unable to outweigh their male counterparts significantly.

6. Political Violence: Nigerian elections since the country's return to democracy have been characterised by one form of violence or the other. This situation means that women are less engaged in politics than men because they easily become victims of political violence.

7. Religious and cultural barriers: Culturally and in both Christianity and Islam women are seen as coy and passive in the public sphere. Nevertheless, such databases are not publicly accessible. The female participation in politics is somewhat difficult, considering that majority of the females in this country do not go to religion.

Causes of violence against women in politics: Gender stereotypes are one of the reasons why women are becoming less willing to care for the elderly in their home – they can no longer rely on the amount criticized and even worked against any time they are involved in politics. The society see politics as a domain for men which women should not even dare to enter. For instance, women seeking political offices, according to Safir and Alam (2015) are subjected to harassment, intimidation and assault to hinder them from participating in politics. Women who find it difficult to endure the unpleasant treatment may be put off permanently from political participation.

Lack of Access to Resources: this is one of the secondary causes of violence against women in politics. Women lack critical resources like education and finance which are highly needed in politics. In Nigeria, politics is highly expensive, cost of nomination forms and campaign cost is very high and far above what most women can afford. For instance, according to Anyaele cited in Edeme (2022), in preparation for the 2023 elections, the two major political parties, All Progressive Congress(APC) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) sold their presidential nomination forms at 100 million and 40 million respectively. Men introduce monetized politics to discourage women from participating in politics and thereby perpetuating violence

against women. Right of inheritance in most culture in Nigeria also give men superiority above women in property ownership with the consequence of women finance.

Time Poverty: Domestic duties are usually combined with formal jobs by women thus limiting the time available for them to engage in politics. According to the World's Women (2015), women in developed and developing world spend on average as much as 2 and 3.4 times hours a day on unpaid work more than men. Arguing in the same vein, Hyde, Greene and Darmstadt (2020) submit that even as female participation in paid jobs increase, majority of women across the world continue to render majority of unpaid work. They further contend that unequal gender - based allocation of unremunerated domestic work, represents 'double duty' for women who are in the work force and it frequently leaves them with little or no discretionary time. Kelly (2019) points out that political meetings are usually held at night and that due to the fact that women are disproportionately burdened with house chores, this makes it difficult for them to attend. Women are made to believe that they are not made to lead anywhere and that they are created to be subordinates to men.

Nigerian Women and Politics: An Overview

In West Africa, women from Nigeria are leading of the campaign for the government to fill 30% of the political post with female candidates. In any society and regardless of the political and social progress achieved, women are still exploited all over the world. Agbalajobi (2009) stated that the Commonwealth People's Forum that took place in Nigeria in 2008 devoted much of its discussion to the question of what concrete steps both the government and civil society organizations could increasingly making use of the required openings to support Women's quota in any level of leadership in government.

Women are at least half of the over 170 million people live in Nigeria, if not more, yet despite this numerical strength, women's representation in administration does not rise. Nigeria cannot claim to be a true democracy until there is tangible evidence of a change in the circumstances for the benefit of women in general. They should be able to participate fully in all aspects of government, with similar rights as male partners. Agbalajobi (2010) went on to say that because females were barred from strategic decision-making roles in party organizations and public government, the tradition of women as housewives, which naturally places them in the kitchen rather than the political arena, has been portrayed and maintained.

In the past women were locked out from politics in terms of either voting for political leaders or coming up with political leaders. The politics has a problem with gender imbalance particularly when it comes to leadership. For example, prior to independence, the Clifford constitution of 1922 limited the suffrage to adult males in Calabar and Lagos who had lived in the city for one year and had a gross yearly income of no more than N100.00. In Nigeria, the Richard constitution of 1946 merely removed the property qualification at N50.00. While the Macpherson constitution eliminated property qualification, the electorate remained limited to all male adults who paid taxes. Furthermore, it took nearly a decade longer for Nigerian women to exercise their franchise rights, which were only granted in 1979. Men began voting in Nigeria in 1922, whereas women in all regions began voting in 1979, a fifty-seven-year disparity.

The data available in the Fourth Republic also showed that Nigerian women have a similar level of political participation at a lower ebb, despite civil society organizations raising awareness and some political parties offering waivers for women to pay nomination fees in order to run for political office in Nigeria. Nonetheless, the end of the *je ne sais quoi* is that many women's representation in political leadership remains minimal and uninspiring, as shown in the table below.

Table 1: Number of Women in Nigeria's Politics between 1999 to 2023

S/N o	Position	No of Availab le Seats	No of Wome n in 1999	No of Women in 2003	No of Wome n in 2007	No of Wome n in 2011	No of Wome n in 2015	No of Women in 2023
1.	Presidential	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Senate	109	3	4	8	8	7	3
3.	House of Representativ es	360	12	23	26	26	19	14
4.	Governorshi p	36	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Deputy Governor	36	1	2	6	3	4	7
6.	States Houses of Assembly	990	12	38	44	62	7	48
	Total	1533	28	67	94	99	37	72

Source: INEC Data Base

Moreover, in the 2007 elections, 11% of the total candidates were women of whom only one vied for the Presidency, 33.9% for Governor, 13.5% for Senators, 15.6% for Federal House members, and 15.8% for State House members. For example, following the elections, women were only able to secure only 7.5% of leadership positions in Nigeria, and when the Yar'Adua administration took office, it gave 30% political appointments to women (lower than the 35% in the National Gender Policy). However, an Action Aid assessment after one year found that women's appointments were just 11% (Ogazi, 2017).

According to INEC data, 809 women ran as political party candidates in the 2011 elections. This is 17% higher than the 692 women who emerged in the process of producing candidates for the 2007 elections. After the results were revealed, women's representation at the national level decreased from 7.5% in 2007 to 7.1% in 2011. Afar during the 2015 elections it reduce to 7 in Senate representing 6.4percent and 19 in house of representatives representing 5.2percent while in president Jonathan women comprise 33percent of cabinet positions.

Only 48 of the 1,019 female candidates in Nigeria's 2023 state assembly elections won. This equates into a 4.7% success rate for women. Compared to the 2019 election, when 45 women

were elected to state legislatures, the number of females elected to state parliament in 2023 grew by three. Nonetheless, it is far from an accurate picture. On March 18, Nigeria held elections for 28 governors and 36 houses of assembly. There were 10,240 candidates running for 990 state assembly seats in 36 states, according to available data. Of these participants, 9,221 were male and 1,019 were female.

The results of the March 18 state parliamentary elections show that 48 females won out of 1,019 contested seats, accounting for only 4.7% of the total. When compared to the number of female lawmakers elected to leaving state assemblies, this represents less than a 1% increase. In the 2019 election, female representation in the 36 state houses of assembly was 4.41%. A breakdown of the 48 females elected to state legislatures in 2023 by state indicated that Ekiti State had the most. Women will occupy six of the state's 26 legislative seats. In 2019, just four females were elected to Ekiti State House of Assembly.

Kwara and Akwa Ibom states had the second-highest number of elected female lawmakers in 2023. Both states have five and four female members of parliament, respectively. Akwa Ibom's departing assembly had only two female MPs out of 26 seats. This has now risen to four. Despite having the second highest number of female lawmakers in the most recent state house of assembly election, Kwara State had no female lawmakers in its legislature in 2019. In Lagos State, only three female candidates were elected. This is the same as Ondo State. Ondo State added one female legislator, while Lagos State maintained the same number as in 2019. Further inquiry found that 15 states did not elect a single female representative in the recently concluded state house of assembly elections.

Of the thirty-six states, fifteen have no female representation in their Houses of Assembly for the upcoming legislative session. The following states have no female legislators in their houses of assembly: Abia, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Imo, Jigawa, Kano, Kebbi, Katsina, Niger, Ogun, Rivers, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara. A similar number of states lack female representation during the current period of 2019-2023. They are: Abia, Bauchi, Borno, Edo, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe, and Zamfara. Undoubtedly, women's electoral fortunes are declining overall in terms of representation. The overall number of women in both legislatures in 2019 and 2023 demonstrates this point. In 2019, there were 62 women (4.3%) in the joint federal and state legislatures with 1,460 seats; by 2023, only 65 women (4.5%) will be in the federal and state legislatures. Overall, the number of women in public decision-making increased just somewhat between 2019 and 2023. The narrow victories and devastating losses at the polls demonstrate that much more work remains to be done to solve the challenges that female politicians face.

Nigeria is behind the rest of the continent in terms of female parliamentarians. Rwanda has the largest proportion of seats held by women, with 61.25%, which is also the highest figure in the world. South Africa, Namibia, and Uganda had 46%, 44%, and 34% of female lawmakers, respectively. Senegal has the greatest proportion of women in its national parliament, accounting for 42.4% of total seats. Guinea and Mali have 29.63% and 26.45%, respectively. Republic of Niger has 26%, Benin Republic, 25%, and Togo, 18.7%. Ghana has 14.5%; Sierra Leone has 12.33%; Cote d'Ivoire has 12.5%; Liberia has 10.96%; Gambia has 8.6%; and Burkina Faso has 6.3%. Nigeria, the largest country in the sub-region, has the lowest proportion of women in parliament, at 3.6%.

Conclusion

The issues limiting women's political engagement in Nigeria have been investigated. The essay highlighted that political thuggery and violence committed by politicians in order to retain long-term political relevance drives them to invent a range of techniques for staying in office. The investigation discovered that Nigerian politicians will go to any length to achieve their political objectives, which has resulted in thuggery, harassment, and intimidation of political opponents, especially women. This eventually led to a low level of participation by women in political activities in Nigeria due to the intimidation and harassment that can come with such participation.

The study stated that Nigerian women have been intimidated in political competitions due to thuggery and political violence, and this act requires immediate redress. Indeed, the Nigerian government should put an end to All acts of thuggery and violence linked with Nigerian politics must be stopped in order to allow for free, fair, and genuine elections that may inspire women to participate in politics. To increase Nigerian women's participation in political activities, programme such as the Women for Change Initiative, the Women's Empowerment Programme, and other appropriate political education programs should be vigorously implemented.

Recommendations

Security agencies should be adequately trained on how to handle gender – based violence and they should also be equipped to encourage women's safety and security. Women should also learn the acts of self defence in case of any attack. Such act would send signals to men who nurse the intention to scare women with threats of attacks. Early warning signs of violence should be worked and acted upon to avert electoral violence, as this can have distinct impacts on women.

There is need to punish perpetrators of political violence against women so as to serve as a deterrent to those who might want to engage in the same act. Failure to bring perpetrators to book is a major reason for assaults and attacks on women. Stricter punishment, such as life imprisonment, should be made the penalty for assaulting women who show interest in politics.

The mass media should advocate for peace and equality and also speak out against all forms of gender – based political violence through their various channels. Intense awareness of women place in development should be emphasized by INEC, government and non-governmental organisations. Men in politics should also shun selfish interest and join to publicise the role of women in politics and development.

Women should build solidarity and learn to support themselves by forming coalitions Government should come up with policies to fight against violence against women in politics. They should also develop the political will to implement the policies. Political scientist and gender specialist, Damilola Agbalojobi, shared similar thoughts with Professor Sonaiya Oluremi. She believed that the high cost of politics in Nigeria did not give room for many women to throw their hats into the political ring, which ultimately affected the number of women who eventually emerged. Suggesting the way forward, she noted that, in the immediate, political parties should develop policies that would make it mandatory for certain

seats – a minimum of 35 percent – to be reserved for women, just as it was practiced in many countries. According to her, this approach had the potential to increase women's representation in parliament because more women would clinch political party tickets and eventually contest as candidates. She said this would increase the chances of more women emerging as winners. This is actually the way out. Also women should also try to vote fellow women when contesting.

REFERENCES

- Ademiluka, S. O (2017) 1 Corinthians 14: 33b – 36 in Light of Women and Church Leadership in Nigeria. *Verbum et Ecclesia*, Vol. 38(1)
- Adeyemo DO (2000). Traditional versus change or what is the new Conceptual and scientific explanation of politic all about. *J. Policy Initiatives* 2:25-40.
- Agbalajobi, D.T. (2009). Women's participation and the political process in Nigeria: Problems and prospects. A publication of *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 4(2), Pp. 075-082, February 2010
- Akeem M, Soyinka A (2011). Your life or your life. *Tell Mag*. February 21:44-46.
- Amata, Dennis (2023). 2023 Election: Only 48 women elected into state houses of assembly
- Andrain, C. F., & Apter, D. E. (1995). "Pluralist Theories and Social Groups" in *Political Protest and Social Change*. Palgrave Macmillian, London
- Anifowose R (1982). Violence and politics in Nigeria. The Tiv and Yorubaexperience. New York: Nok Pullers International.
- Daniel, E.G. & Faith, O.O. (2013). Women in Governance and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria, 1999-2012, *Economics & Sociology*, Vol. 6(1), 89-107.
- Diamond, L (1994). The military, militarization and democratization in Africa: A survey of literature and issues. *Afr. Stud. Rev.* 37(2).
- Dudley, B.J (1973). Instability and political order: Politics and crises in Nigeria. Ibadan: Ibadan University, Press.
- Ebigbola, et al (ed.) Progressand prospects for the future in Nigeria In *Population and development Issues*, Ibadan: Africa Book Builder.
- Edeme, V. (2022). 2023: APC, PDP Nomination Forms Fees, Invitation for Corruption – Activist. *The Punch*, April 28th
- Eniola, T. (2016). "Northern Female Politicians Share Heart Trending Tales, We Get Beaten, Cheated, Threatened and called Prostitutes, *The Punch*, 14th August
- Fadare, T. (2023). "How Online Violence against Female Politicians Can Be Stopped" *Premium Times*, January 19th
- Folorunso – Francis, A. (2023) "APC Hails Lady Stabbed on Election Day" *The Punch*, 2nd March
- Greng, A (2002) "Political Connections: Men, Gender and Violence. *Research Gate*.
- Gurr, T. (1970). *Why men rebel*, Princeton, Princeton University press.
- Hyde, E., Greene, M & Darmstadt, G (2020) Time Poverty: Obstacles to Women's Human Rights, Health and Sustainable Development. *Journal of Global Health*, Vol.10 (2).
- Ifamose, F.O. (2000). W0men participation in political process: A comprehensive analysis of American and Nigerian experiences in Ogungba O (ed.) *The employment of civil society in democracy*, Ile-Ife: Anchor Print Ltd.
- Jimoh, R. (2023). "Nigeria Election: Women Denounce Poor Political Representation" *Aljazeera* 16th February

- Jimoh A, & Ogunmola, O. (2010). Tight security in Ekiti for Oni, Fayemiverdict today. Nation Friday 15:5:1-2.
- Karl, S. (1968). The Politics of violence, Engle wood Cliffs NJ Prentice HallInc.
- Kelly, L. (2019) Barriers and Enablers for Women's Participation in Governance in Nigeria, KD4 Helpdesk Report. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies O'Connell, S & Ramshaw, G. (2018) Violence Against Women in Politics: Global Perspectives of a Global Issue, UK
- Lawal, T. (2005). Political thuggery and violence in Nigeria: The Base of women participation in Politics. Free ArticlesBase.com, assessed 7th July, 2012.
- Markowitz, L. (2006). Political Violence: Lecture note on political violence. King 237, Fall 2006. Plot 217. Rice 17A.
- Miranda, R. L. (2005). Impact of Women's Participation in Decision-Making EGM/EPWD/2005/EP.7. 12 December, United Nations.
- Ogbonnaya, M. & Okenyodo, K (2022) "Gender – Based Pre – 2023 Election Security Threat Assessment in Nigeria" Partners West Africa Nigeria (PWAN)
- Okoigun, R. (2000). Role of Nigerian police in elections. London: Slough University Tutorial Press Limited. Okoroma J (2005). Omoboriowo Storm Rider. Abuja: Premier Press Limited.
- Olawale, O. (2003). "Trial of Blood". Tell Magazine.
- Olugbemi, K. (2004). Women political development in Nigeria since 1960 in Agagu, A. and Ola, R. (eds.) Development agenda of the Nigerian State, Ibadan: Fiag (Nigeria) Publishers.
- Olukorede, Y. (2002). 2003: A do - or - die affairs? The Source Magazine, June 3, p.23 Punch Editorial (2003). Again, Political Violence". The Punch, February 17, p. 14.
- Rasak, B. & Garuba, R.O. (2017). Political Thuggery and Women Participation in Politics in Nigeria. Vol. 8(1):63-76. Political Science Review. psrunilorin@gmail.com
- Safir, A. Z. & Alam, M. (2015). The 2015 Nigeria Elections & Violence against Women in Safir, Politics. Georgetown Women Peace, Special Report. Retrieved on 02/10/2023
- Shafritz, J.M. (1998). The Dorsey Dictionary of American Government and politics. Chicago: The Dorsey Press.
- Sowore, O. (2006). A broadcast report on Fayose's administration: A dilemma of fate. www.naijabog.com.
- Tamuno, T.N. (1972). The evolution of the Nigerian States. London: Longman.
- Tilly, C. (1978). From mobilization to revolution. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing, Co.
- United Nations Development, Human Development Report (2005). Women's political participation: Issues and challenges. EGM/WPD-EE/2005/EP.12.
- Tsuria, R. & Folorunso, F. (2023) "An Analysis of Cyberbullying Against Nigerian Women: A Study of Ahmadu Bello University Students" Research Gate, January
- Uduh, C. I (2019) "Women in Nigerian Politics – Are Female Candidates Facing Cyber bullying? Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 30th January
- Wolf, R. (1969). On the violence. Journal of Philosophy (October 2).
- World Bank Report (2012). Population (female % of total) in Nigeria: www.tradingeconomics.com.