Gender Stereotyping of Prospective Elective Candidates in Nigerian Politics: Implication for Female Participation

By

Mudiare, Patience Edirin Ukiri, PhD
Department of Sociology,
Ahmadu Bello University. Zaria
+234813 1089288,
pmudiare@yahoo com
&
Daniel Ka'amani Paul
Department of Sociology.
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
+2348033329178
danpk45@gmai1.com

Abstract

Women generally occupy lower status than men and are often portrayed stereotypically in their nurturing roles as caregivers; emotional and weak. Men on the other hand are portrayed in more positive light as strong, aggressive, brave and intelligent and not easily given to emotions. Such gender stereotypes equate women with domestic roles while men are typically considered as breadwinners even though both genders are involved in breadwinning. The division of labour along gender lines discourages women from participating in the political sphere which is considered the preserve of men. This unequal relation between men and women in society contribute to gender stereotypes and the marginalization of women in politics. The paper which is based on secondary sources examined the reasons for the continued marginalization of women in politics despite of the gain's women have made over the year. The paper established that despite female participation in politics, most of the time, their participation ends at the level of campaigns and elections after which they have little or no say as to how they are ruled. The reasons being the patriarchal culture which relegate women to the background as well as gender stereotyping in the electorate. This has implications for women's political careers, as voters often evaluate candidates' performance differently on the basis of the candidates' gender. This can be misleading. The paper recommends increasing exposure of female leaders as this helps to increase voter support for female candidates in the subsequent elections. Also, the quota provided for in the *35%* affirmative action should be upheld.

Keywords: Gender, Women, Politics, Stereotype

Introduction

Women are increasingly participating in politics, but are rarely at the helm of affairs. There is however greater consciousness about women's marginalization in all spheres of life especially in politics and leadership positions. Gender discrimination, it has been argued, can only be fought by a worldwide and collective approach to the problem (Madunagu, 2003: Aliegba, 2005). Globally, men and women have unequal opportunities in life but more so in the political system. Thus, while men are seen to dominate in the political affairs of most countries, women are rarely seen. The resurgence of the women's movements has raised popular consciousness and intense academic discourse on poor participation of women in politics. Although women's low political participation is a universal phenomenon, it is imperative for both men and women to participate in democratic governance and human development. Political participation is a voluntary act which encompasses a wide range of political activities, including voting at election, contesting for political and party offices, attending political rallies, joining political parties and many more. Nwankwo (2009), contends that participation should not end in voting or political campaigns but should cut across other aspects of the political processes, such as giving every member of the society equal opportunity in governance. However, over the years, the Nigerian political scene has been characterized by patriarchal attitudes and behaviours which in the words, of Heywood (2007), generally, connote the 'rule by men." Male domination directs how men and women think and behave in society and influences the type of gender stereotypes that are associated with men and women.

Influence of Gender Stereotypes on Politics

Politically, gender stereotype is defined as the different perceptions of the issues, competences and the ideological position of male and female candidates. Eagly (1987), contends that gender stereotypes are a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people, which are closely linked to traditional social or gender roles. Gender roles here, are the shared expectations about appropriate conduct that apply to individuals solely on the basis of their socially identified sex. And this gender stereotypes reflect perceivers' observations of what people do in daily life and arise when women and men are observed typically to carry out different social roles. Furthermore, people ascribe certain stereotyped traits to women and men. This gender stereotypes generally have implications for women's political careers, as voters evaluate candidates' performance differently on the basis of the candidates' gender.

Herrick and Sapieva (1998), in their study, demonstrated that male candidates are perceived as more competent on a number of policy areas. More recently, Taylor-Robinson, Yarkoney-Sorek, & Geva (2016), found that a candidate's gender affects the

perception of choice of elective candidates and that female candidates are evaluated lower than male candidates.

Gender stereotypes about women and men are deeply internalized. Early in life, in the socialization process, individuals learn and define the types of traits, behaviours, and roles separately assigned to men and to women. Feminine stereotypes lead to the perception that women are more emotional, *nurturing* and caring. These traits are consistent with the social roles traditionally held by women, such as being a homemakers and mothers (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Masculine stereotype on the other hand, reflects the perception that men are best suited for certain roles that are consistent with political or business leadership. Gender stereotypes lead to the perception that men compared to women have more of the traits needed to be successful leaders such as being tough, aggressive, and assertive. These gender divisions can be problematic when women fill such roles because feminine stereotypes are incongruent with these traits that are associated with leadership. The political implications of gender stereotypes for female candidates are that female candidates may and do face bias because feminine stereotypes can mislead voters to see women as ill-suited for leadership roles.

Objective of the Study

The study seeks primarily to examine the implication of gender stereotyping for female candidates into elective positions in Nigerian politics. The core goal is to examine whether gender stereotypes influence assessment and voting for female candidates in Nigerian politics.

Methodology

The paper is based on literature review and analysis of secondary sources of data.

Gender and Political Participation in Nigeria

Political participation by both genders is not a new phenomenon, the issue rather, as Stone (2004), observed, 'has always been how to enhance meaningful participation of citizens in a changing democratic society." Scholars have documented men and women's participation as individuals and organized groups in the development process. Arguing from a feminist standpoint, Mugo (2005), demonstrates how women, though not formally organized as they are today, were the initiators of the nationalist struggles of liberation. Not only did they function as reliable channels of communication and political mobilization but also coordinated centers of recruiting fighters. Working as loosely organized groups, women effectively participated in political struggles and played equally significant roles as the men in liberation struggles but more often than not, it was the men

who got the credit and who were rewarded with political appointments. Historical, women were rarely considered equals with their male counterparts and have continued to be defined often in relation to men as daughters, wives and mothers but rarely in their individual rights. Patriarchal structures ensure male domination over their female folks in many spheres of human endeavour in virtually all cultures. Consequently, such sexist attitudes and behaviours contribute to their marginalization both in the public and private spheres through a comb2sination of gender based stereotypes as well as the cultural norms and practices which are tilted in favour of men. Such scenario is mirrored in the political arena. For instance, the global average of women's political participation is 22.6%; in Africa, it is *23.4%t* and West African sub regional average is 15 percent, yet Nigeria's national average has remained at 6.7% in elective and appointive positions (Oluyemi, 2016). It was estimated that the percentage of women's representation in the legislature ranges from 16.8% in the European parliaments to 4.6% in the Arab States (Juru. 2002), and in Africa, women constitute less than 7% (Chen and Li, 2005). On regional averages for 2012, in Sub-Saharan Africa, for in Senegal, women accounted for 42.7% but Ghana and Tanzania had the highest electoral gains. In Asia, women were at the center of election when Park Geun-Hye was elected the first ever female President of the Republic of Korea. In the Arab states, change was sluggish in Libya and Egypt, but Algeria reached the 30percent mark in the region (Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2017). Globally, a few women have succeeded in ascending to the zenith of the political ladder. Some of the countries that have produced women leaders include: Germany, the United Kingdom, Israel, India, and even Islamic countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh; African countries like Liberia, Malawi and the Central African Republic had produced female heads of States. And despite these impressive achievements, women's underrepresentation in political participation and leadership roles remain a major challenge. Moreover, once such women complete their tenures, there seems to be difficulty in sustaining the political gains and women seem either unable to, or unwilling to fill the leadership vacuum left by these role models. Thus, while it is very easy for a man to succeed another man, it is almost unheard of that a female President or Head of State is succeeded by another female. The "giant of Africa" (Nigeria) unfortunately like the "Police of the world" (U.S.A.) which in the words of Ronald Reagan, (former U.S. president), claims to be "standing tall," is yet to produce a female president! The only courageous woman in Nigeria to attempt this feat (Mrs. Sarah Jibrin), had her ambition of becoming the first female president of Nigeria thwarted at the level of party nomination when she got only one vote, her own nomination! This is a betrayal by even the women in the party who beclouded by patriarchal sentiments, nipped Nigeria's chance of getting a female president in the bud. This explains why despite women's involvement in political campaigns and elections, they remain marginalized politically.

In Nigeria, although women are involved in voting during elections there are gender gaps in political participation and women are still under represented in both elective and appointive positions. Available statistics revealed that women's overall political representation in government of Nigeria is less than 7 percent (Agbalajobi, 2010). This shows that Nigeria has not attained 35 percent affirmative action as prescribed by the Beijing Platform of Action. Available statistics from the election conducted in Nigeria from 2007 show that the National Assembly had *9(8.3%)* female Senators and 26(7.2%) female members of House of Representatives. In 2011, the National Assembly had 7(6.4%) female members and 25(6.9%) female members in the lower House, hence former President Jonathan's administration, women enjoyed better representation with about *33%*of women in his Cabinet (www.inecnigeria.org, 2018).

At the 2015 General elections, election analysis by the Department for International Development (DFID, 2015) indicated that only 8 of the 109 senators were women, 24(7%) of the 362 members of House of Representatives were women. These figures are in contrast with the situation in countries like Rwanda, where women make up 61 of 106 parliamentarians *(58%)* and Senegal where women occupy 65(58%) of the 150 parliamentary seats. Within the same period, 1.6% of women were councilors; 1 .2% was Local Government Chairpersons. What this translates into is that only 9 out of 774 Local Government Chairpersons were women and 143 female Councilors out of 8,810.

Reasons for the abysmal performance of Women at Elections

Over the years, there have been efforts globally to raise awareness on the status of women and the girl child so as to achieve gender equality and equity in political participation, among which is the establishment of the Commission for the Status of Women. This eventually led to the declaration of the Decade for Women (1976-1985) by the UN General Assembly, during which four World Conferences for Women were organized with the first a Mexico City, Mexico in 1975; Copenhagen, Denmark, in Nairobi. Kenya, Cairo, Egypt and the most popular- the Beijing Conference in China, which emphasized twelve critical areas of concern for women, one of which addresses women's participation in the political process of member States. With Equality, Development and Peace" as the theme, member States were required to attain a *30%* benchmark for women's representation in all public decision making positions. Nigeria, like other developing countries is a signatory and has been engaged in efforts to develop participatory governance at all levels (Akinboye. 2004). The National Policy on Women of 2000 and later the 2007 Gender Policy are efforts by the Nigerian government to address gender inequality.

Despite these policies underway to gender equality, women are still under represented across political lines. According to Dimandja (2008), women in Africa are normally not recognized in the public spheres of authority and are least represented in high administrative powers of the state and positions in decision making in government. Political participation therefore, a key feature in a democracy allows marginalized groups including women a voice in electoral process.

Gender Stereotype and Choice of Candidacy in Nigerian Political System

Women's subjection to inequality in society cannot be divorced from gender stereotype. Sambomatsu (2002), defines Gender stereotyping is an attitude or belief that an individual holds regarding a specific gender, considering one gender to be less competent or inferior to the other. The term is more suitable than 'voter discrimination" because it may provide positive or negative information regarding a voter's view of candidates based on the ideology of the party, the media (Khan. 1993) and politics in party primaries (Lawless, 2004). In Nigeria, the stereotype manifests in the cultural perception of women in relation to men, labelling women as cultural deviants. Here, political parties deliberately manipulate the electoral process so as to discourage or eliminate female aspirants, through ideology, portrayal of women in the mass media, anti-religious doctrines, among others (Akiyode-Afolabi, 2008). Cultural factors appear to be more damningand highly entrenched in Nigerian politics than other factors as they reinforce the perception ofthat a woman's place isin the home where she is expected to care for her husband and children and not to be "rubbing shoulders with the male gender in politics"(Akiyode-Afolabi, 2008). Such mindset explains why political meetings are fixed at odd hours-at night when they know that it is not convenient for women and those women who do attend such meetings are perceived as having loose morals and in some cases, their marriages are disrupted

In a society with very strong traditional division of labour, asymmetric gender roles are upheld and gender stereotypes tends to be shared by both men and women and have a profound effect on attitudes and behaviours. A case in point was reported by Mudiare and Abdulkarim (2000) in their study of political participation in Bauchi State, Nigeria. In a village where they conducted some interviews, men were asked how women in their community were carried along in the decision making processes and the leader said they had no direct business with the women except their husbands. According to him, "women should concern themselves with their trade of ground nut oil and fermented locust beans (Daddawa) processing. And if women needed to air their views, they should mute them through their husbands also." This view is buttressed by the wife of one of the titled men who attended a political rally at the state capital without her husband's knowledge. Someone recognized her and promptly reported it to her husband who threatened her with

divorce should she ever be involved in political campaigns. Although this elderly woman was illiterate, she had passion for politics but had to sacrifice her interest at the altar of the family. In an Islamic setup, women can easily be divorced by the mere pronouncement of the talaq and for an illiterate woman who is not economically endowed, the risk is much higher. In another study by Mudiare and Onoberhie (2002), respondents had no problem with women engaging in political process but were concerned that women "could neglect their basic duties if they become politically active," the reason being that "it is outside a woman's domain of activities." Asked if they would vote for a female to be President of Nigeria; *95%* of the respondents categorically said "No" because Islam does not allow a woman to head men. And even those who were favourably disposed to female leadership said if women were given any political appointment, it must be to "head other women." This may explain why most of the time, the Ministry of Women Affairs is headed by a woman but rarely Defence or External Affairs Ministries.

Saibonmatsu (2002), conducted an experiment to analyze gender stereotypes. Participants in the experiment were asked to evaluate a single candidate based on biographical information or a short speech, and the stimuli are the same across all subjects, except that one candidate was a male and the other, female. The study established that people do evaluate performance differently and solely on the basis of the candidate's gender. Some issues, such as crime, defense and foreign policy issues, were typically perceived to be handled better by men, whereas women are more able to deal with social and feminine issues. These stereotypes may come from stereotypes about men and women in general or knowledge of the behaviour of men and women in politics. Female candidates and office holders are generally viewed as more compassionate, expressive, honest and better able to deal with constituents than men. Men are viewed as more competent, decisive, stronger leaders, and possessing a greater ability to handle a crisis (Paul and Smith, 2008).

Perhaps the most important aspect of stereotypes of *women* candidates is that ideas about the abilities and competencies of female and male candidates may serve as a basis for voters to choose or reject a particular candidate. Much of the literature on stereotypes and candidate's gender, raise concerns that the presence of gender stereotypes could mean that people would fail to see women candidates as having the right set of skills or policy interests to be viable leaders (Lawless, 2004). Indeed, the role of gender stereotypes in the choice of candidates is what Sanbonmatsu (2002), refers to as "baseline gender preference." Her evidence suggests that many people have an underlying preference to be represented by a woman or a man and that this predisposition is determined, in part, by gender stereotypes. According to the trait approach, male and female candidates are viewed as having different issue competencies. Because men are seen as competitive and assertive

and women as communal and social. In the same vein, Alexander and Andersen (1993) in their study confirmed that people expect male politicians to be better at competitive issues in which the primary aim is to defeat the opposition in a competition, while female politicians are expected to be better in communal issues, in which the primary aim is to help people. Ruddy and Terkildsen (1993), further argued that female candidates are generally perceived as more liberal than male candidates of the same party.

More specifically, gender stereotyping in Nigerian political system is more engrained in cultural norms and customary practices and have great influence on political participation. Babatunde (2003) defines culture as a socially created phenomenon that is influenced by the history, social experiences and material circumstances of the people. Agbalajobi (2010), postulates that the cultures of many societies are based by subjugating women to men, and undermining their self-esteems. Women according to Lanre *(2003),* are typically associated with domesticity. In Nigeria, this is even enough grounds to prevent the girl child from accessing western education as educating a girl- child in an Idoma adage, is synonymous with 'planting a mango tree in another man's compound." Thus, investing in a female child is a waste and a loss to her family of orientation but a gain to her family of procreation and in-laws. Invariably, women continue to suffer discrimination in both of their families. Consistently, men are trained not to partake in most domestic chores such as cooking, sweeping, fetching water and firewood, which are exclusively left for women. Anya (2003), believes that the greatest threat to women is the internationalization of these belief system which make women see politics as something out of their spheres and so women who break through such glass ceiling are perceived to be rebels. A case in point is the humiliation, abuse and torture which the late I-lajiya Gambo Sawaba of Zaria, a female political activist, suffered in the hands of men when she was imprisoned and sexually violated. She reported in how men inserted a stick into her vagina, all because she dared to be vocal and encouraged other women to engage in politics at a time when northern women were disenfranchised and were expected only to be seen and not heard. Indeed, such negative stereotypes of women who venture into politics persist in society even today. Such women are perceived as prostitutes, irresponsible, irreligious (for religious fanatics) and unmarriageable.

Culture has a major influence on a person's identity and perception of the world, and consequently is one of the main factors listed as an impediment to gender relations in Nigerian politics. According to Iwobi (2008), no group has been deprived of its human rights under the disguise of culture as much as women have been. This is true in all societies, in Nigeria, where the harmful effects of the indigenous culture have been documented by the academia. The inferior status and unequal treatment of women in

Nigeria could be said to be derived from the cultural belief systems that perpetuate women's inferiority physically and psychologically; these systems are also reinforced by the nation's customary legal system. Such cultural prejudices that underpin discriminatory practices are not only endemic with traditional Nigerian societies, but are also a legitimate, institutional part of the state (Iwobi, 2008).

Among the cultural ideological factors that affect women's political participation is patriarchy, Fayomi and Igbelina-Igbokwe (2006), noted that patriarchal structures ensure that women's social status remains inferior to that of men. Cain, Khan & Nahar (2009), define patriarchy as a set of social relations with a material base that enables men to dominate women. Here, the central focus of power is the father. In other words, patriarchy describes a distribution of power and resources within the family in a manner that men maintain power and control of resources, while women are powerless and dependent on men.

This greatest psychological weapon available to men is the length of time they have enjoyed dominance over women and often continue to stereotype women and justify their subordination both in the home front and politics. These negative factors entrench feelings of inferiority complex and other vices that perpetually put women at a disadvantaged position in society. Thus, the traits associated with women are linked to the traditional domain of the family, whereas those linked to men such as politics more visible as they belong to the public domain.

On a more positive note however, Matland (1994), suggested that this gender stereotype might not necessarily harm the chances of female candidates, as it merely reflects that women are perceived to have different areas of expertise, not that these areas are less important. Therefore, male and female politicians are stereotyped as holding different ideological positions and social and political attitudes with one no less important than the other. This position can be incorporated even as the political process undergoes restructuring. And as the youths are clamouring for political space and have received positive attention, the whole political process needs to be overhauled. Thus, the nocturnal political meetings which inhibit women's participation should be conducted in the daytime when it will be convenient for women to participate. The *35%* affirmative action, the women's quota in political positions should be filled. This is nothing new since Quota system or Federal character is practiced in the recruitment of staff in the civil service and admission of students into tertiary institutions in Nigeria, therefore, government should not hesitate when it applies to women's issues. Career in politics is expensive, and most

women cannot afford it and so long as money can buy votes and get the party ticket, women will continue to play the second fiddle if they continue to maintain the status quo.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Gender stereotypes in politics are not only strong, but they have a profound impact on attitudes and behaviours. Women's participation in politics is one of the contending issues Nigeria's democratic developments. This is because sexism persists all over the world even when women have proved themselves competent in their various professions and even in leadership positions as exemplified by past and current female heads of States or Presidents of countries. Characteristics such as toughness, assertiveness, decisiveness, etc. are often associated with men and portrayed in positive light whereas, those associated with females are least preferred. Such gender stereotypes have negative implications for female politicians in their bid to occupy political positions whether by election or appointment. While gender equality and equity in political representation and decision-making should be encouraged, gender issues should be mainstreamed in the political process right from the grass root level. Political parties should adopt the policy of *35%* affirmative action which the United Nations stipulate be reserved for women in political offices. As a matter of urgency, political parties should ensure that a number of spaces be reserved for female candidates and preferably, this practice should be given legal backing. As we prepare for elections, women too should intensify their efforts in public enlightenment campaigns to eradicate misperceptions about gender roles and stereotypes that have been so deeply engrained in people's psyches, culture, religious and political institutions. By so doing, women will be able to counter the saying that, "women are their own worst enemies." Women are not at war with themselves; rather, this is a ploy to distract them from focusing on the real issue- sexism. And in any case, they have only imbibed what the patriarchal culture taught them which they internalized in the process of socialization. Women too must stand up, confident, assertive and unite in sisterhood to support female candidates. Nigerian women have the numerical strength, the expertise and leadership qualities to be at the helm of the political affairs. If only they harness their talents and treasures, they can reach the Promised Land.

References

Agbalajobi, D. T. (2010). Women's Participation and the Political Process in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects" *African Journal of Pol. Sci. mt. Relations. 4(2): 075 — 082.*

Akiyode-Afolabi, A. (2008). Examining the Political Space for Women in 2007 Elections and Beyond. In: Akiyode-Afolabi, A. and Odemwingie, 0. (Eds.), Gender Audit 2007

Election and Issues in Women's Political Participation in Nigeria (11). Lagos: WARDC and Heinrich Boell Foundation.

Alexander, D. & Kristi, A. *(1993)* Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits, *Political Research Quarterly 46: 527-545.*

Aliegba, E. T. (2005). Violence Against Women: Its Nature and Manifestations. In: Angya, C. A. (Ed.) Perspectives on Violence Against Women in Nigeria, Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.

Anya, 0. *(2003).* "Women and Politics in Nigeria's Fourth Republic." The Constitution; A *Journal of Constitutional Development. Vol. .3 No. 4.*

Babatunde, 0. S. *(2003).* Gender, Culture, Poverty and the Emergence of Women as Political Leaders. A paper presented at the National Workshop on Gender, Politics and Overcoming Barriers to the Emergence of Women Political Leaders.

Cain, M., Sheda Rokeya Khan and Shamsun Nahar (2009). Class, Patriarchy, and Women's work in Bangladesh' Population and Development Review 5, Pg. *405 — 438*

Chen, Z. and Li, M. *(2005).* Unit for the Promotion of the Status of Women and Gender Equality, Passport to Equality. Paris, p.6.

Dimandje D. (1996) Women changing Governance: Gender in Development Monograph Series No. *5.* New York: UNDP.

Eagly, A. H. (1987). Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation. Erlbaum, Hillsdale: Lawrence Eribaum.

Eagly, A. H & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice toward Female Leaders. *Psychological Review, 109: 573—598.*

Herrick, R., & Sapieva, A. (1998). Perceptions of women politicians in Kazakhstan. Women & Politics, 1 8(4), 27-40.

Heywood A (2007). *Politics* New York. Palgrave McMillan.

Ruddy, L., & Terkildsen, N. *(1993).* Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates. *American Journal of Political Science, 3 119-147.*

Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2017). Women in Politics: World classification. Situation as of 1st March 2017. Retrieved from http://www.ipu:org/wmn-e/classifhtm

Iwobi, A. U, (2008). No Cause for Merriment: The Position of Widows under Nigeria law. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law, 20(1), 37-86.* Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com (AN 34072284)

Juru, E. (2002). Women in Governance and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria, *Economics & Sociology, Vol. 6(1), 89-10 7*

Khan, NA. *(1993).* Towards an understanding of 'participation'. The Conceptual Labyrinth Revisited *inAdniinistrative Change.* Vol. 20(1-2), 106-120. *Sociological Theory.* Sage Publication: London. 264-266.

Lanre, A. (2003). Gender Audit 2003 Election and Issues in Women's Political Participation in Nigeria, A publication of Women Advocates Research and Documentation Center (WARDC).

Lawless, J. (2004). "Women, War, and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the post-September 11th Era." *Political Research Quarterly 57:* 479-490.

Madunagu, B. E. (ed.) (2003). Social and Gender Justice. Calabar: Cleanliness Publications and Dawn-Anglophone Africa.

Matland, Richard E. (1994). 'Putting Scandinavian Equality to the Test: An Experimental Evaluation of Gender Stereotyping of Political Candidates in a Sample of Norwegian Voters'. British Journal of Political Science 24: 273-292.

Mudiare, P.E.U. and Abdulkarim. B. (2000). Report on Assessment of Women's Sensitization in Democracy and Political Project in Kaduna, Katsina, Plateau and Bauchi States. A Project of the CDP/CBN-NGO Forum: CRUDAN. Jos.

Mudiare, P.E.U. and Onoberhie (2002) Women in decision making process at the grass root level in northern Nigeria. Being a paper presented at the National Conference on Politics and Political Relations in Nigeria. organized by the Institute for Development Research (TDR). Ahmadu Bello University. Zaria.

Mugo, M. (2005). 'The Role of Women in the Struggle for Freedom".Unpublished Paper Presented at the National Council of Women in Kenya, 23 February, 2000, Nairobi.

Nwankwo, G. (2009) Issues in Nigerian Government, Enugu: HRV Publishers.

Oluyemi, O. (2016). Monitoring Participation of Women in Politics in Nigeria. National Bureau of Statistics (NB S. Abuja, Nigeria)

Paul, D. and Smith, J, (2008). Subtle Sexism? Examining Vote Preferences When Women Run Against Men for the Presidency. *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy* 29: 451-476.

Sanbonmatsu, K. (2002). 'Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice', *American Journal of Political Science.* 46: 20-34.

Shvedova, N. *(2005).* Obstacles to women's participation in parliament. In: Ballington, J. A. Karam (Eds.). *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 33). Stockholm: IDEA.

Stone, P. T. (2004). Feminist Consciousness and Black Women. In: Jo Freeman (Ed). Women,
pp. 46. Palo Alto, CA: Hayfield Publishing Co.