



**UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA**

***POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS  
IN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE THROUGH LEGISLATIVE ADVOCACY  
FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON PROHIBITION ACT IN NIGERIA***

**GAMBO MAIMUNA HAMMAWA**

**FEM 2018 32**



**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS  
IN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE THROUGH LEGISLATIVE ADVOCACY  
FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON PROHIBITION ACT IN NIGERIA**

By

**GAMBO MAIMUNA HAMMAWA**

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,  
in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**May 2018**

## **COPYRIGHT**

All material contained within the thesis, including without limitation text, logos, icons, photographs, and all other artwork, is copyright material of Universiti Putra Malaysia unless otherwise stated. Use may be made of any material contained within the thesis for non-commercial purposes from the copyright holder. Commercial use of material may only be made with the express, prior, written permission of Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Copyright © Universiti Putra Malaysia



## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents for their wisdom and optimism and to all other members of my family for their generosity and vigour.



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS  
IN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE THROUGH LEGISLATIVE ADVOCACY  
FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON PROHIBITION ACT IN NIGERIA**

By

**GAMBO MAIMUNA HAMMAWA**

**May 2018**

**Chairman : Murni Wan Mohd Nor, PhD**  
**Faculty : Human Ecology**

The evolvement of democracy in Nigeria encouraged political participation in Nigeria. Women right organisations (WROs) have exploited such opportunity to get their voice heard, but their freedom of expression remain repressed. This study explored the political participation of Women right organisations (WROs) in the democratic practice through legislative advocacy of Violence against Persons Prohibition (VAPP) Act in Nigeria. Specifically, the study explored reasons that prompted the participation of WROs and identified WROs activities . It also explored the strategies employed and efforts to overcome challenges in the legislative advocacy. The study utilised a qualitative case study approach and data were retrieved through in-depth interviews, photo elicitation, document reviews and observation methods. The findings of the study revealed among others prevalence in women right abuse, poor legal response and inconformity to international ratified protocols on women's rights protection as reasons for WROs participation. The result of the study also showed that WROs engaged in information enquiry and dissemination geared towards sensitisation of the general public on the issue of violence against women and by extension influence the government. These were accompanied with strategies such as unified coalition, maximising media opportunities and utilising policy moments employed to influence the policy makers and gain support from the populace. WROs made efforts to overcome challenges through incorporating development partners and collaboration with male champions and National Assembly administrators. However, the outcome of the political participation was unfavourable as WROs were challenged by patriarchal values of the policy makers. The study concluded that WROs were able to utilise their freedom of expression and association to influence the promulgation of the VAPP Act which is a considerable progress in Nigeria's political and legal development. Yet, they were faced with biases that deterred the VAPP Act from reflecting their complete goal. The findings offered theoretical and policy implications central to understanding the political participation of WROs in legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act in Nigeria.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**PENYERTAAN POLITIK ORGANISASI HAK ASASI WANITA DALAM  
AMALAN DEMOKRASI MELALUI PENYOKONGAN PERUNDANGAN  
TERHADAP AKTA LARANGAN KEGANASAN KE ATAS MANUSIA DI  
NIGERIA**

Oleh

**MAIMUNA GAMBO HAMMAWA**

**Mei 2018**

**Pengerusi : Murni Wan Mohd Nor, PhD**  
**Fakulti : Human Ecology**

Pengembangan demokrasi di Nigeria telah menggalakkan penyertaan politik di Nigeria. Justeru itu, Pertubuhan Hak Asasi Wanita (WROs) telah mengeksploitasi peluang tersebut bagi suara mereka didengari. Namun demikian kebebasan bersuara mereka terus ditindas. Kajian ini meneliti penyertaan politik organisasi hak wanita (WROs) di dalam amalan demokratik melalui advokasi undang-undang khususnya Akta Keganasan Terhadap Manusia (VAPP) di Nigeria. Kajian ini meneliti isu-isu yang mendorong penyertaan WROs dan mengenal pasti penglibatan WROs. Ia juga meneroka strategi dan usaha yang digunakan untuk mengatasi cabaran di dalam advokasi perundangan. Pendekatan yang di ambil di dalam kajian ini bersifat kualitatif dan data diperolehi melalui wawancara mendalam, penggunaan foto, ulasan dokumen dan kaedah pemerhatian. Penemuan kajian mendedahkan bahawa kelaziman pencabulan hak wanita, tindak balas undang-undang yang lemah dan ketidakpatuhan kepada protokol yang disahkan oleh pihak antarabangsa terhadap perlindungan hak wanita adalah sebagai sebab-sebab penyertaan ke dalam WROs. Hasil kajian juga menunjukkan bahawa WROs terlibat di dalam penyelidikan dan penyebaran maklumat yang disasarkan terhadap kepekaan masyarakat mengenai isu keganasan terhadap wanita dan pengaruh pemerintah ke atas isu tersebut. Ini disertai dengan strategi seperti penggabungan, memaksimumkan peluang media, penggunaan momen dasar bagi mempengaruhi pengubal dasar dan meraih sokongan dari penduduk. WROs berusaha untuk mengatasi cabaran melalui penglibatan rakan pembangunan, kerjasama daripada figura lelaki yang berpengaruh dan pentadbir Dewan Undangan Nasional. Namun demikian, hasil dari penyertaan politik ini tidak menyebelahi WROs kerana ia ditentang oleh nilai-nilai patriakal pengubal dasar. Kajian itu menyimpulkan bahawa WROs telah dapat memanfaatkan kebebasan bersuara dan kebersamaan bagi mempengaruhi penyebaran luas Akta VAPP. Ia merupakan

kemajuan yang besar di dalam pembangunan politik dan undang-undang Nigeria. Namun, mereka masih berhadapan dengan masalah berat sebelah yang menghalang Akta VAPP dari mencerminkan matlamat mereka. Penemuan ini menawarkan implikasi teoritikal dan dasar yang penting bagi memahami penyertaan politik WROs di dalam advokasi perundangan Akta VAPP di Nigeria.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

All praises belongs to Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful. Praise be to Allah for granting me physical and intellectual health to triumph over fears and trials, throughout the period of this studies. Indeed the greatest asset in life is patience. May Allah accept our *dua* and all efforts as *Ibadah*. May Allah's peace and blessing be upon our Beloved Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

I express sincere gratitude to my supervisory committee Dr. Murni Wan Mohd, Dr. Zatul Himmah Adnan and Dr. Mohd Mahadee Bin Ismail for their patience, motivations, superb scholarship and research skills generously applied to my work. Their encouragement and tolerance steered me on the right course and their guidance meant a lot to the completion of this thesis. My appreciation also goes Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ismi Arif Ismail; Assoc. Prof. Dr. Abdul Lateef Abdullah, Dr. Arif Aris Arif and Prof Liamputtong Pranee for consistent sharing of knowledge and experiences on qualitative research. I would like to acknowledge Assoc Prof. Dr. Nobaya Ahmad; Assoc.Prof. Zaid Ahmad and Prof. Dr.Ahmad Hariza Hashim for their moral support during the programme. I would like to thank the entire academic and non-academic staffs of Universiti Putra Malaysia especially those of Faculty of Human Ecology for their contribution, assistance and support.

Funding has played a crucial role in this academic pursue. I express my deepest thanks to TETFund for granting me scholarship to further my studies. I equally express my appreciation to the Provost of Federal College of Education (F.C.E), Yola- Adamawa, Nigeria (Prof, Abu-Bakr Sa'ad), other Principal Officers of the College, the Directorate for Academic programme under the leadership of Mrs. Jiddere Musa and the Planning Research and Statistics Department for their support and prompt concern over this pursue.

I would like to thank my parents for showing me through their own example to value education, hard work and to be passionate about my beliefs. They inspire me to want to make a difference in the lives of others and mine, I never hesitated to believe that I am on the right track. I would like to acknowledge and thank my siblings (Mrs. Musa Kaibo, Lt. Col Mohammed Gambo, Fatima Gambo, Hauwa Gambo, Abdulkadir and Zainab Gambo) for being my biggest drivers throughout this process. I especially thank Alhaji and Mrs. Musa Kaibo, Hauwa and Zainab Gambo for encouraging me to take this rewarding risk, made sure I did not put it down, shared my disappointments and cheered on my renewed efforts. It took a great deal of caring-support to see the end of the tunnel. I was immensely privileged to get free accommodation and feeding from Ummy, Kaka and Sspe anytime I arrived “luxurious” Abuja in all my journeys from Yola to Malaysia via Abuja. Scholarship is to some extent a solitary activity, I



was neither lonely nor alone in my case. I am profoundly grateful, Jazakumullahu khairan.

There are those who have always believed in me, whose loving support underpin my life, my husband (Alhaji Idris Sallau) and kids (Aisha, Amina, Amra, Abdul Hamid and Al-Mustapha) have provided the practical and emotional base which makes life and work a joy. My confidence is endlessly revived and understood why the thesis was a companion. My gratitude are immeasurable. Many good friends have also urged me on my way and kept my spirits up. I especially thank Dr. Mnyero Janja Ibn Sheikh Gunda for his assistance, time, support and motivation, as he has always said to me in Swahili HII NI KAZI YANGU (This is my work), you are indeed a brother and a good companion in the journey. I particularly acknowledge my gratitude for the mature friendship I found in my ever-loyal colleagues Dr Samah Almaki, Dr Salim Salim, Dr Idris Yakubu Haliru, Dr Sani Sani Mohammed, Dr Abdul Aziz Shehu, Madam Aisha Agabi and Hajiya Fadimatu Usman. I acknowledge and thank my other colleagues whose names are not mentioned, I say a big “thanks you” for your support and contribution during the academic struggle.

Finally, I honour the courage and perseverance of my informants (WROs) who choose to struggle with determination that all is well for women. I thank you for giving me audience.

I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on 28 May 2018 to conduct the final examination of Gambo Maimuna Hammawa on her thesis entitled "Political Participation of Women's Rights Organisations in Democratic Practice Through Legislative Advocacy for Violence Against Person Prohibition Act in Nigeria" in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U.(A) 106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the Doctor of Philosophy.

Members of the Thesis Examination Committee were as follows:

**Zainal bin Madon, PhD**  
Senior Lecturer  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Chairman)

**Ku Hasnita binti Ku Samsu, PhD**  
Senior Lecturer  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Internal Examiner)

**Lee Yok Fee, PhD**  
Associate Professor  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Internal Examiner)

**Syed Serajul Islam, PhD**  
Professor  
Lakehead University  
Canada  
(External Examiner)



**RUSLI HAJI ABDULLAH, PhD**  
Professor and Deputy Dean  
School of Graduate Studies  
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date: 30 August 2018

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of the Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

**Murni Wan Mohd Nor, PhD**

Senior Lecturer  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Chairman)

**Zatul Himmah Adnan, PhD**

Senior Lecturer  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Member)

**Mohd Mahadee Ibn Ismail, PhD**

Senior Lecturer  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Member)

---

**ROBIAH BINTI YUNUS, PhD**

Profesor dan Dekan  
Sekolah Pengajian Siswazah  
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

## Declaration by graduate student

I hereby confirm that:

- this thesis is my original work;
- quotations, illustrations and citations have been duly referenced;
- this thesis has not been submitted previously or concurrently for any other degree at any institutions;
- intellectual property from the thesis and copyright of thesis are fully-owned by Universiti Putra Malaysia, as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- written permission must be obtained from supervisor and the office of Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research and innovation) before thesis is published (in the form of written, printed or in electronic form) including books, journals, modules, proceedings, popular writings, seminar papers, manuscripts, posters, reports, lecture notes, learning modules or any other materials as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- there is no plagiarism or data falsification/fabrication in the thesis, and scholarly integrity is upheld as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) and the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012. The thesis has undergone plagiarism detection software

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Name and Matric No: Gambo Maimuna Hammawa, GS39895

## Declaration by Members of Supervisory Committee

This is to confirm that:

- the research conducted and the writing of this thesis was under our supervision;
- supervision responsibilities as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) were adhered to.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Chairman  
of Supervisory  
Committee: Dr. Murni Wan Mohd Nor

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Member  
of Supervisory  
Committee: Dr. Zatul Himmah Adnan

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Member  
of Supervisory  
Committee: Dr. Mohd Mahadee Ibn Ismail

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

		<b>Page</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>		i
<b>ABSTRAK</b>		ii
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>		iv
<b>APPROVAL</b>		vi
<b>DECLARATION</b>		viii
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>		xiii
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>		xiv
<b>LIST OF APPENDICES</b>		xv
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>		xvi
<b>CHAPTER</b>		
<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	1
	1.1 Introduction	1
	1.1.1 General Background on WROs Development in Africa and Nigeria	5
	1.2 Statement of Problem	7
	1.3 Research Questions	8
	1.4 Research Objectives	9
	1.5 Significance of the Study	9
	1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study	10
	1.7 Definition of Terms	11
	1.8 Structure of Chapters	13
	1.9 Summary	14
<b>2</b>	<b>LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	15
	2.1 Introduction	15
	2.2 Democratic Practice in Nigeria	15
	2.3 Conceptualisation of Political participation	19
	2.3.1 Political Participation	19
	2.4 Issues of Concern in the Political Participation of Women	20
	2.5 Activities of Women in Political Participation	28
	2.6 Strategies Employed in the Political Participation of Women	31
	2.7 Overcoming Challenges in the Political Participation of Women	38
	2.8 Impact of Nigerian Ethnic Complexities on the performance of Women's Right Organisation	44
	2.9 Theoretical Framework	45
	2.10 Summary	49

<b>3</b>	<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>50</b>
3.1	Introduction	50
3.2	Research Design	50
3.3	Rationale for Utilising Case Study	51
3.4	Data Collection	51
	3.4.1 Interview	52
	3.4.2 Informant Selection	52
	3.4.3 Documentary Review	55
	3.4.4 Photo Elicitation	57
	3.4.5 Participant Observation	58
3.5	Data Management and Analysis	59
	3.5.1 Coding and data analysis	59
3.6	Reliability and Validity	60
3.7	Researcher as Instrument	61
3.8	Ethical Issues	62
3.9	Summary	63
<b>4</b>	<b>FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS</b>	<b>64</b>
4.1	Introduction	64
4.2	Demographic Profile of Informants	64
4.3	Reasons for WROs Advocacy for VAPP Act	64
	4.3.1 Discrimination against Women	65
	4.3.1.1 Prevalence in Violence against Women	65
	4.3.1.2 Inappropriate Application of Religious Teaching	69
	4.3.1.3 Deficiency in Existing Laws on Violence	71
	4.3.1.4 Poor Legal Service	75
	4.3.1.5 Inconformity to International Ratified Protocols	79
4.4	Activities of WROs in Legislative Advocacy	82
	4.4.1 Autonomous Information Inquiry and Dissemination	82
	4.4.1.1 Mobilisation and Public Sensitisation	82
	4.4.1.2 Consultation Activities	86
4.5	Strategies of WROs in the Legislative Advocacy of VAPP Act	88
	4.5.1 Presentation of Ideas at Public Forums	89
	4.5.1.1 Unified Voices through Coalition	89
	4.5.1.2 Public Hearing Display and Inclusivity	92
	4.5.1.3 Maximizing Media Opportunities	94
	4.5.2 Utilising Policy Moments	97
4.6	Efforts of WROs in Legislative Advocacy	98
	4.6.1 Surrounding Realities on Legislative Advocacy of VAPP Act	99
	4.6.1.1 Collaboration with National Assembly Administrators and Male legislative Champions	99
	4.6.1.2 Incorporating Development Partners	101
	4.6.1.3 Outcome of Political Participation	103
4.7	Summary of the Chapter	106

<b>5</b>	<b>SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATION</b>	108
5.1	Introduction	108
5.2	Summary of the Study	108
5.3	Conclusion	109
5.4	Implications of the Study	111
	5.4.1 Theoretical Implications	111
	5.4.2 Implication for practice	113
5.5	Recommendations for Further Research	113
	<b>REFERENCES</b>	115
	<b>APPENDICES</b>	134
	<b>BIODATA OF STUDENT</b>	147
	<b>LIST OF PUBLICATIONS</b>	148



## LIST F TABLES

<b>Table</b>	<b>Page</b>
3.1 Details of Informants	54
3.2 List of Selected Documents Reviewed for the Study	56
4.1 Reasons for WROs legislative advocacy	65
4.2 Activities of WROs in the Legislative Advocacy	82
4.3 Bills Abandoned and harmonised into the VAPP Act	87
4.4 Strategies of WROs in the Legislative Advocacy	89
4.5 Efforts of WROs in Legislative Advocacy	99

## LIST OF FIGURE

<b>Figure</b>		<b>Page</b>
2.1	Theoretical framework of the Study	48
4.1	Institutional Responses to GBV	78
4.2	Arithmetic Progression of Gender Based Violence in Nigeria 2005-2012	85
4.3	Comparative Analysis of Location of GBV Occurrence	104



## LIST OF APPENDICES

<b>Appendix</b>	<b>Page</b>
A Informant Consent Form	134
B Interview Protocol	135
C Sampled Transcript	137
D Coding procedure (Initial Themes)	140
E Refined Themes	146



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAAC	African Anti-Abortion Coalition
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and people's rights
BBOG	Bring Back Our Girls
BLRW	Better Life for Rural Women
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CIRDDOC	Civil Resource Development and Documentation Center Nigeria
CMT	Critical Mass Thesis
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
D	Document
DFID	Directorate for International Development
FIDA	Federacion Internacional De Abogadas or International Federation of Women Lawyers
FEAP	Family Economic Advancement programme
FOMWAN	Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria.
FRCN	Federal Radio Corporation Of Nigeria
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GTU	Gender Technical Unit
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
J4C	Justice for All
LACVAW	Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence against Women
NCWs	National Commission of Women's Societies

NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
RHB	Reproductive Health Bill
RHV	Raise her Voice
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNIFPA	United Nations population Fund
UNICEF	United Nation Children Fund
VAPP	Violence against Person and Prohibition Act
V4C	Voice for Change
WACOL	Women Aid Collective
WRAPA	Women's Rights Advancement Protection Alternative
WROs	Women Right Organisations

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a background of this study, statement of the research problem, the research questions and research objectives. In addition, the chapter discusses the significance of the study, the scope and limitation, definitions of key terms as well as the conceptual terms employed in the study. Finally, a summary of the chapter and structure of other chapters are presented

Democracy has spread across the globe over the last two centuries and is widely accepted and understood as a political system par excellence. This is connected to its institutional attributes of majority rule, maximum protection of civil and political liberties, political legitimacy, pluralism, freedom of engagement and absence of restraint (Plattner, 2010; Diamond & Morlino, 2004; Dahl, 2006). In addition, it supports and recognises popular sovereignty, political legitimacy and as such the citizens can hold and pressure governments to be accountable and responsive to the people's interest (Beetham, 2006; Diamond, 1997). Whether viewed from institutional or practical perspectives, human rights protection and political liberty are currently part of the prevailing practices that democracy supports. Nevertheless, inherent in these attributes are free citizens participation in the form of interaction. This implies that democracy is inconceivable without citizen's free participation.

Over the past decade, political analysts and scholars on citizen's participation in democratic systems have affirmed that political participation has a balancing effect. It has been asserted that the participation of citizens guarantees consensus and integration, combats inequality, strengthens the relationship between government and citizens, builds social trust and capital in the populace (Teorell, Mariano, & José Ramon, 2007). Realization of the above goal is imperative to the fulfilment of civic obligations and needs (Teorell, 2006; Verba, Schlozman, & Brandy, 1995), attainable through unrestrained actions and decision (Sen, 1999). In addition, "informed and unregimented development of values necessitates openness of communication and arguments of which political freedoms and civil rights are central" (Sen, 1999:152). Participation is about process and result, people need to feel that they have access to political participation. Therefore, *men and women* should have equal rights and opportunities to participate in the political process.

Political participation is globally recognised by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948 Article 21 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Article 25. It states that *everyone* has the right to participate in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through chosen representatives (United Nations Human Right, 1976; United Nation, 1948). These articles have important implications

for reasoning that women like men have equal rights to participate in socio-cultural, economic and political practices across countries. Specific emphasis on women participation was echoed by the United Nations (UN) through the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), which stated that “women’s equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in advancing women’s rights (United Nation, 1995:Para181)By implication, the participation of the historically oppressed and marginalised group in decision-making is significant for a genuine democratic practices. Therefore, women need to be active to incorporate their perspectives at all levels of decision-making in order to accomplish the goals of equality, development and peace (United Nation Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005).While this holds important implications for enhancing essential global and national values in democracy, it matters a great deal to women generally considering the opportunity it affords for their direct intervention in addressing their problems.

Most countries are reported to have opened up the political system with the electoral mechanism of quota, to fast-track the incorporation of women into the mainstream of decision making at national legislatures. Studies on gender and politics in some countries such as Uganda, South Africa and Rwanda registered connection between the numerical strength of female parliamentarians and pro-women legislation (Wang, 2013; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; Powley & Pearson 2007).This is good development because it instils the commitment to women’s rights protection as an international and national indicator of good governance and social development (United Nations, 1995). However, the following challenges seem to contradict the said developments. First, it is reported that only a few countries have attained a numerical critical mass of thirty percent (30%) which is requisite for women to promote their rights (Inter Parliamentary Union, 2013). For this reason, legislative power still remains inaccessible to women in most countries (Inter Parliamentary Union, 2013). Second, most women parliamentarians are challenged by executive dominance, a strong patriarchal system and prevalence of socio-cultural stereotypes (Powley & Pearson, 2007). In this regard, the support of women’s rights organisations (WROs) is sought for to get strategic women’s issues onto government agenda (Devlin & Elgie, 2008; Powley & Pearson, 2007). Perhaps, it is the combination of these challenges which seem to provide some support for the conceptual premise that WROs have to increasingly demand legislative change (Powley, 2006).

Currently, studies outside Nigeria have documented that WROs have successfully been engaging in political participation to address women’s situations of discrimination and abuse. For instance, studies from Guatemala, Turkey and Canada on violence against women respectively revealed successful engagements of women’s organisation struggles against violence due to the absence of laws that protect women against violence:- as well as weakness and inadequacies in the law (England, 2014; Ozdemir, 2014; Sheehy, 1996). In a related development, varied activities such as training, public education, campaigns and dialogue are embarked upon to sensitise, mobilise and garner populace support around issues raised (Weldon, 2004; Howell, 2003). More often, such activities are also strategized through alliance, dialogue and use of media to influence the government (Blackwell, 2012; Kunkler, 2004).

Furthermore, women's organisations were able to overcome challenges faced in their struggles through utilising strategic partnerships and institution building (Costa, Sawyer, & Sharp, 2013). Women's organisations are aimed at protecting and simultaneously changing the condition of women especially through law reform.

In Nigeria, previous literature on the political participation of WROs prior to the 1999 democracy remain predominant on restriction, such literature reported the subordination of WROs by the military government to the grip of the state. For instance, the federal government established and funded a non-confrontational umbrella organisation (National Commission for Women's societies [NCWs]) that controls and constitutes a significant percentage of WROs in Nigeria (Seotan, 2013; Fagge, 2002; Tripp, 2001b; Mama, 1995). Furthermore, the NCWs, community base national programmes such as the Better life for Rural Women (BLRW) and Family Economic Advancement programme (FEAP) entrapped women's associations with token credit facilities but the initiators remain the primary beneficiaries (Soetan, 2013; Fagge, 2002; Ikelegbe, 2001). Women were taught vocational skills and served as entertainers of political figures at public functions and the aim of each organisation to transform women subordination and marginalisation through collaboration with the government were trivialised (Onayemi, 2007; Tripp, 2003, 2001b; Ikelegbe, 2001; Mama, 1995). The implication of these practices are that most women remained politically inexperienced and government dependent. WROs member(s) that acts contrarily are tagged "troublemakers", intimidated, brutalised and imprisoned by State security (Okome, 2013). Other women induced to participate in such programmes were exposed to spousal battering as a result of the masculinized culture which views politics as a males' domain and a threat for women participation (Okome, 2013). While in crises ridden societies, security forces use the power of the gun to rape, murder and repress women (Ekine, 2008). Perhaps, such militarism may have contributed to the widespread practice of violence, political and social insecurity which renders women vulnerable to assaults. Yet victims are expected neither to report nor seek for justice, those who act otherwise, suffer embarrassment (Nnadi, 2012).

Currently, studies on women in Nigeria's democracy equally place WROs participation as a theoretical rather than a practical right to free assembly and pursuit of interest, being that WROs are still faced with intimidation, violence and police brutality. For instance, it was reported that the River State Government in 2015 employed tear-gas to disperse women protesting against the electoral fraud in Port Harcourt (Demirel-Pegg & Pegg, 2015). More so, the gathering of women for Peace and Justice (Bring Back Our Girls [BBOG]) voicing concern over government inaction on the abduction of 250 school girls by the "Boko Haram militia" was disrupted by the security forces and later banned before it submitted the case of deprivation of freedom of expression and association and was acquitted by the court (Oladayo, Ayakpat, & Adisa, 2014). Few empirical studies on political participation, environment protection justice for women and advocacy for law reform on abortion have been conducted (Arum & Agagu, 2017; Shochat, 2014; Ekine, 2008; Oye-Adeniran, Long, & Adewole, 2004). Similarly restriction of WROs may lead to the



conclusion on these grounds that the participation of WROs is not promising in Nigeria's democracy. However, researchers have not treated the issue of WROs in legislative advocacy in Nigeria, "there is gross inadequacy on women associational participation in process and institutions" (Okome, 2013:140). The bulk of what exists on women participation focuses on participation of individual women in formal politics. This implies that most studies on women political participation are general in context despite emerging fresh perspectives.

Recent developments are evident in the pursuit and participation of autonomous, independent and heterogeneous WROs in the legislative law reform on violence against women otherwise known as Violence against Persons Prohibition (VAPP) Bill. Essentially, the struggle began in 2003 with the harmonisation and reinitiating of abandoned bills on violence against women by legislators, whereby WROs struggled and influenced its passage in 2015. These attempts have important implications in understanding the WROs' political participation especially against an unrecognised, ignored yet accepted attitude of violence against women (Htun & Weldon, 2012; Tripp, 2003 & Reichert, 1998). Currently, the Act is appraised as the most comprehensive law on violence in Nigeria (Onyemelukwe, 2016; Nwankwo, 2008). The issue of participation is not only in the outcome or valence of the ballot box, it is also about the procedure focusing on aspects such as the reasons that prompted participation, activities embarked by WROs, strategies employed in the advocacy and means adopted to overcome challenges. These are aspects that need to be explored to understand the political participation of the WROs in the legislative law reform of the VAPP Act.

Building from the above understanding, three main issues have been raised with regards to the participation of women in Nigeria's democratic process. Firstly, women issue is a globally acknowledged feature of the political landscape in contemporary liberal democracy (United Nations, 1995). Yet, women in Nigeria, let alone active WROs are an understudied population, studies on women organisations are often detailed descriptions rather than empirical (Okome, 2013; Soetan, 2013; Tripp, 2003, 2001b). The bulk of studies on women focused generally on individual women's formal participation in politics (Eme & Onuigbo, 2015; Eme, Onyishi, & Nwaoha, 2014; Okoronkwo-Chukwu, 2013; Omotola, 2007; Egbokare, 2007). Moreover, such researches are mostly dismissed as something of little relevance to the genuineness of ordinary women due to their vulnerability to the vagaries of political and social uncertainty (Adamu, 2005). Part of the reason could be the continued stigmatization assigned to women which leads to the conclusion that they have nothing to contribute to the on-going democratization process (Soetan, 2013). It is recommended that relevant stakeholders like women's movement should unite and struggle against women dispossession (Okome, 2013). Given the participation of WROs in the VAPP Act struggle, it was essentially thought that this could be contributory to understand the political participation of WROs in Nigeria's democracy.

Secondly, WROs were previously traditional in their activities and linked to the government. Recently however, they have transformed and widened the spectrum of activities such as struggling for women's rights against violence through law reform. The VAPP Act struggle is a product of the 14 years struggle of WROs and the first time such a struggle was embarked in Nigeria. Focus on this topic was strengthened by the observation that Africa's democracy is a mere replacement of single party authoritarianism with multi-party authoritarianism but the growing WROs participation in politics places them as challengers of the status quo (Fallon, 2008; Tripp, 2003). Therefore, it was essential to understand WROs new engagement, viewpoints and reason in the legislative struggle of the VAPP Act in Nigerian democratic settings.

Thirdly, there are both growing evidences of freedom and simultaneously disappointment in the restrictive participation of women in politics (Falade, 2014; Ijaiya, 2006). Yet, little is known about the participation of WROs in the VAPP Act pursued. It is a known practice that despite women's population in Nigeria as elsewhere, they are faced with several obstacles in the form of structural hurdles and discriminatory practices which makes decision making inaccessible to them. Yet, such ideas are either concealed by scholars or explained from the negative perspective (Ekundayo & Ama, 2014). So far, there has been little qualitative analysis of women's experiences on their struggles on law reforms in Nigeria. The focus of this topic is a promising way of documenting women's struggles and ideas in relation to law reform.

Taken together, it was expected that WROs would participate in Nigerian politics consistent to the present constitutionally guaranteed rights and within the ambit of democracy. However, undergirding this study is the liberal democratic theory of citizen participation which adopts a pluralist or group lens that was promoted among others by David Truman (1905) and Robert Dahl (2006, 1956). The theory postulates that "the existence of diverse, competitive interests in a complex political system is the base of democratic equilibrium and of the favourable development of public policy" (See Held 2006: 159). In other words, the participation of people especially in groups is an essential source for the protection of rights of diverse powerful groups seeking to enforce specific interests upon elected rulers. Put together, WROs are expected to freely participate in consistence to the constitutional guaranteed rights and within the ambit of democracy. However, the concern is that the participation of WROs is still challenged (Tripp, 2003). It is against this backdrop therefore, that this research employed a qualitative approach to explore the political participation of WROs in legislative advocacy on violence against women law reform in Nigeria.

### **1.1.1 General Background on WROs Development in Africa and Nigeria**

The historical development of African women's movements is understood within the confines of African tradition on one hand and colonial patriarchy and modern capitalist development on the other. Renowned women movement scholar in Nigeria argued that gender control and subjugation are integral to African culture but the experiences

of slavery, colonialism and imperialism exacerbated women condition (Aina, 1998). She further affirmed that the best means to understand women organizing is through the “historic epochs” of “pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial” (Aina, 1998:69) It is against this backdrop that this approach is similarly adopted in this study. A cursory consideration of the practices in pre-colonial Nigeria demonstrates that although it was stateless, there existed various groupings with distinct indigenous political system and culture. For instance, there were centralized and non- centralized institutions but activities were fulfilled to the advantage of the community where the entire citizens devoid of sex were active participant (Mayowa, 2014; Gudhlanga, 2013). This paved for the recognition of women legendries such as Queen Amina of Zaria, Princess Moremi of Ile-Ife; Oba Orumpoto and Wuli Emotan (in Nigeria), Queen Awura Pokou of Ghana and Ivory Coast ( Soetan, 2013; Luka, 2011;Fallon, 2008). More so, consanguineous associations such as the Kono women in Sierra Leone, the kikuyu and Lelemama of Mombasa-Kenya, the Anlu of Cameroon were formed for mutual support (Chima & Nnaemeka, 2011;Fallon, 2008). Obviously, women had been free to participate in all societal activities and they contribute to societal progress without activism.

The dignity enjoyed by women during the pre-colonial era was greatly eroded during colonial era as a result of entrenched practices of slavery, exploitation of cheap labour and raw material into the political system. Accordingly, the system witnessed changes that suitably concur with the colonial interest. Consensus among scholars revealed that women like men suffered exploitation and oppression but women were worst hit due to the initiation of unethical practices of tax imposition, deprivation of girl-child education, adoption of export-oriented economy and monopoly of the agricultural sector by European companies (John Holt, United African Company [UAC.], Lever Brothers) which directly affected them (Kies, 2013; Okome, 2013; Bryce son, 2010; Fallon, 2008). These colonial experiences considerably discriminated against women, exposed them to violence and situated them in the private realm while public life was masculinized (Gudhalanga,2013; Okome, 2013; Fallon, 2008). These situations were further compounded by political disenfranchisement and issuance of agricultural incentives such as loans, cash crops, innovations and technology know-how to only men who previously were less involved in agriculture (Johnson, 1982). The resultant effect of these development led to the emergence and resistance through protest of the Lagos Market Women Association [LMWA], Nigerian women’s party [NWP] and the Abeokuta Women’s Union [AWU] in 1930s at South-Western Nigeria (Olasupo, 2013; Johnson; 1982) and the Aba women riot of 1929 in South-Eastern Nigeria (Okome, 2013; French, 2008) and Federation of South African Women in South Africa (Hassim, 2007). In 1953, all women organisations in Nigeria merged to form the Federation of Nigerian Women Societies to press for expansion of women economic and social opportunities (Sani, 2000; International IDEA, 2000). In Nigeria as in all African countries, the anticipated change of reversing the system by women collective action had been unsuccessful but women have partly made distinct contribution and negotiations significant to promote their interest during the strive for independence (Kies, 2013; Sani, 2000). Colonialism amplified growth in WROs and served as a spring board for women struggle for liberation.

The post independent Africa is predominantly an interchange from military to civil rule. Under the military regime, constitutions were suspended and human rights constrained (Dada, 2013; Tripp, et al., 2009; Hon, 2004). In Nigeria as elsewhere in Africa, women's activism was dominated by 'First Lady' state-sponsored projects, WROs were co-opted into a state-run umbrella organisation and incorporated into state politics on the pretext of providing women with the necessary resources for development (Adamu, Para-Mallam, Ajala, & Lanre-Abass, 2010; Tripp, 2003). Though, WROs were heterogeneous, they lacked transformative agenda and depended on the State (Adamu et al., 2010, Tripp et al., 2009). However, women were able to pressure the government to establish a National Commission for Women in 1989 which further encourage networking among women (Adamu et al., 2010). The advent of democracy in late 1990s paved for a post-colonial civilian regimes in Africa accompanied with "freedom" that afforded WROs opportunity of participate in politics and struggle for their rights. For instance, WROs formed networks, gained independence in priorities and employ the constitution, international and regional protocols (of CEDAW and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa) as instrument for promoting women's rights (Adamu et al., 2010; Tripp, Casimiro, Kwesiga, & Mungwa, 2007; Abdullahi, 2007). However, while other WROs in Ghana, South Africa Uganda have visible effect on legislative and constitutional reforms (Hassim, 2006) attempt by those in Nigerian had been abortive (Adamu et al., 2010) except for the VAPP Act. This implies that despite the constitutionally granted associational autonomy, WROs are repressed in terms of contributing to the decision making process.

## **1.2 Statement of Problem**

The political participation of WROs in legislative advocacy especially on strategic issues are mostly suppressed through the repression of WROs freedom of expression For instance, from 1999-2004 the Campaign against Unwanted Pregnancy (CAUP) led an advocacy for reform on abortion law considering the growing rate of unsafe abortion. However, it was kicked against by policy makers (Oye-Adeniran et al., 2004). From 2005-2007, WROs embarked on legislative advocacy on domestication of CEDAW provisions (CEDAW Bill, 2005), Reproductive Health Bill (RHB), 2006 and the abolition of all forms of discrimination against women in Nigeria and other related matters Bill, 2006, considering legitimised violation of women right, harmful traditional and religious practices and the need to ensure gender equality and empowerment but all the Bills were dismissed by legislators as being sentimental and lacking merit (Okoye, Egboh & Chukwuemeka, 2012; Adamu & Para- Mallam; 2012; Adamu et al., 2010). The millennium and sustainable development goals afforded WROs to raise issue regarding gender equality. Thus in 2017, WROs made submission on Gender and Equality opportunity (GEO) Bill aimed at affording equal educational, political and employment opportunities for both sexes in Nigeria but it was rejected on grounds of being incompatible with the cultural and religious belief of Nigerians (Makinde, Onyemelukwe, Onigbanjo-Williams, Oyediran, & Odimegwu , 2017). The VAPP Bill is the only long pursued (2003 to 2014) Bill rejected by three Assemblies but transform to Act in 2015, aimed at protection against violence.

Prior to the current democracy, the participation of WROs were subordinated to the grip of the State through a State-run umbrella organisation established by the military to regulate and fund their activities (Tripp 2003 & 2001b). WROs lack autonomy in purpose and their concern were mainly focused on religion and domestic issues despite their agenda being directed towards the struggle for women's rights (Soetan, 2013; Okome, 2013; Ikelegbe, 2005, 2001; Tripp, 2001b). This practice of domination constrained women's visibility in the public domain except for government's course. In addition, deviant women were subjected and exposed to violence (Okome, 2013). With democracy, some of these control are still maintained. Recent developments revealed that even with the return to democracy in 1999, the political environment remain volatile and detrimental for political participation of women governance, due to repression (Demirel-Pegg & Pegg, 2015; Oladayo, Ayakpat, & Adisa, 2014; Akubor, 2011; Ekine, 2008). However, women emerged independent with autonomous agenda and activities, they have moved beyond practical (domestic and religious issues) to strategic issues (combating violence against women, struggle for Reproductive rights). They network and demand their rights in a way not evident during military regime, they challenge gender inequality and are taking advantages of new but limited political openings that occurred in the 1990s (Tripp, 2003, 2001b). Specifically, WROs participation and advocacy led to the emergence of the VAPP Act in 2015 (Nwankwo, 2008; Onyemelukwe, 2016).

Remarkably, while scholars have neglected to focus on such developments, it has raised exploratory questions such as what reasons motivated WROs participation in the legislative advocacy? What activities did WROs embarked upon? How did they employ their strategies? How did they overcome challenges faced in the advocacy struggle? Focusing on this aspect reveal insights on the nuances in the participation of WROs in the democratic process. It is in line with this development that this study explores the political participation of WROs in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This study explores the political participation of WROs in democratic practice of Nigeria through legislative advocacy of VAPP Act in Nigeria. The study is guided by the following specific research questions:

- 1 What reasons prompted the participation of WROs in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act?
- 2 What activities have WROs embarked upon in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act?
- 3 How did WROs employ their strategies in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act?
- 4 How have WROs overcome challenges encountered in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act?

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

In line with the research questions, the research would be achieved through the following research objectives:

1. To explore reasons that prompted the participation of WROs in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act
2. To identify the activities embarked upon in the participation of WROs in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act.
3. To explore the strategies employed in the participation of WROs in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act.
4. To explore means adopted by WROs to overcome challenges encountered in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act?

#### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

In the field of political studies especially in the area of political participation, the finding of this study remains significant in the following ways. Firstly, the participation of WROs in legislative advocacy and specifically on the VAPP Act provides indigenous new knowledge in Nigeria's democratic practice in the aspect of struggle for law reform on violence against women. Similarly, gaining form the viewpoint of WROs in collective action as they relate in practical terms and reflect on their own social context and experiences, enrich the growing amount of literature on women political participation in Nigeria. This is significant considering the bulk of desk analytical and individual researches on women participation in Nigeria.

Liberal democratic theory is an American and European scholarship. The theory acknowledges group diversity, opinion and interest as imperative to the attainment of organisational goal and stabilising democracy. Using this framework in developing democratic environment (like Nigeria) where institutions of government and public decision-making are still evolving is of great importance as there is need to understand the practice of democracy in Nigeria especially from the perspective of collective action. Liberal democracy theory of the pluralist viewpoint uphold the participation of diverse groups while the state is placed as an umpire or a neutral body that balances relation among groups. However, the findings of this study revealed that the coalition was a vital asset that enabled WROs strategic participation. In addition, the state was bias and neutrality was not adhered to due to biases of legislators. This finding contrast the postulation of the liberal democracy theory, this probably could be as a result of the application of a theory in a developing country. This implies that the practices of democracy may not necessarily be uniform inspite its universal features.

Relevant to practice and policy making, the participation of WROs in legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act could address the relegation of women in general and WROs in particular. WROs struggle has influenced the nature of participation needed

by women to increase chances of improving on issues specific to themselves as women, mothers and inherent care givers. The participation of WROs project their ability to struggle over stigmatisation to raise a presumed private issue of violence to the public realm and to struggle over challenges encountered. This finding reveals that WROs are rich in strong ideas and have developed distinctive quality of confidence that can enhance Nigeria's democratic practice. Ideally, inclusive participation in decision making is vital to accelerate socio economic development, reduce gender inequality, build sustainable and vibrant democracy as political and policy debate are enriched with relevant information (Fapohunda, 2011; Falch, 2010). Consequently, this finding offers practical guidelines to other WROs on best practices to make influence and act amidst difficult situations. It can be argued therefore, that the contextual realities of women participation may add to our understanding that WROs are potential driving force and foundations to the accomplishment of women right.

In addition to practice and policy making, the findings of this study revealed that WROs demonstrate innovativeness and were resourceful in getting their voice heard, even though they were challenged by cultural biases from male legislators. The finding also unveiled how the WROs strengthen their vision to bring up a private issue unto the public realm. Ideally, democracy covers a wide range of fundamental practices like freedom, equality and liberty, given such evidence alongside the growing urge for inclusive governance and the ongoing discussion on political transformation aimed at mainstreaming gender equality in Nigerian electoral system (International IDEA, 2016), policy makers could liaise with WROs to get deeper and richer insight on women right and WROs experiences. This could enable the development of comprehensive policies on women right consistent to realities, significant to curb gender inequality especially in decision making body like the parliament. This is a needed contribution for a country like Nigeria in her struggle for a genuine democracy.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The scope of the study is to explore the political participation of WROs in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act. The study takes into cognisance all the commitments of WROs through the periods of 2003 to 2015 when the organisation began its struggle till the passage of the bill. The WROs exist in a coalition of 50 organisations, but only 10 were very functional out of which only six were used for this study. Particularly, informants of the study were members of the Women Right Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA), Development Dynamic (DD), Project Alert, The International Federation of Women Lawyers or Federacion Internacional de Abogadas (FIDA) Abuja, Voice for Change (V4C), Nigerian Human Rights Commission and Ipas, who have at least five years of experience in the VAPP Act legislative advocacy struggle. These organisations make up the WROs or are otherwise referred to as the Legislative Advocacy coalition on Violence against women (LACVAW). From the purposively sampled WROs, ten informants constituting six (6) females and four (4) males were drawn for the study.

Several limitations of the study have been noted. For instance, data were collected only from WROs. Although, the legislators ought to have been part of the informant but they were inaccessible due to several reasons. First, in an underdeveloped country like Nigeria, getting access to senior government official like the legislators is fraught with difficulties and a cumbersome process of rescheduling meetings which was beyond the researcher's time and resources. Secondly, data for this study were collected in the remarkable year of 2015, the year predicted in 2006 by the United States of America Criminal Intelligence Agency (CIA) for Nigeria's disintegration. The prediction stated that Nigeria "is likely to splinter along tribal and sectarian lines if some inherent fault lines were not properly managed and controlled" (Edeh, 2015:77). Coincidentally, the year 2015 was an election year and political activities and transition programmes were marked with "turbulence, uncertainties and violence" (Falade, 2014: 17). In addition, the Boko Haram crisis in Northern Nigeria, the Niger Delta in the South, the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), a separatist organisation in the East and the 2015 election all culminated to influence tight security throughout the year. These further compounded the possibility of accessing the legislators. However, the use of documentary review and other relevant information in the study has been beneficial to generate conclusions that supports the arguments that WROs were able to exercise their freedom of expression but were constrained by biases from the legislators which affected their purpose of participation in the VAPP Act struggle.

Furthermore, this research adopted a qualitative approach and purposive sampling which is inductive in nature as opposed to generalisation. This implies that findings of this study cannot be generalised unless with organisations or informants with similar characteristics as WROs but transferability can be ensured. Despite these limitations, this study is worthwhile as an academic effort that generates useful information significant to understand the participation of WROs in legislative advocacy in Nigeria.

## **1.7 Definition of Terms**

Based on the scope of this study, this subsection addresses definitions of key terms as shown below:

### **Democratic Practice**

Democratic practice denotes the means towards which political actor's use their rights. It is a practice in which individuals, "groups that are organised or spontaneous and institutional office holders" employ their rights to pursue their activities or interest (Fishman, 2011:236). Democratic practice is expressed in two forms, for the purpose of the political actors' interest and for country's interest. It is for the political actor interest when it embraces the use of rights and interaction within and outside formal institutions in pursuance of the actors' interest. For the country's interest, democratic practice is expressed in terms of "behaviours and outcome" such as policy making, public debate, "the conduct of campaigns and elections" (Fishman, 2011:236). Drèze



and Sen (2002) explained democratic practice from two concepts (democratic ideals and democratic institutions) which they perceive as central to understanding democratic practice. They clarified that democratic ideals are intrinsic tenets of democracy such as public accountability of leaders, freedom of expression, participation of the people, while the means of achieving democratic ideals are through democratic institutions and the process of realizing such ideals is democratic practice (Dreze & Sen, 2002).

Simply put, democracy entails tenets such as citizens participation in decision-making, political equality, freedom, equality, transparency, preserving and promoting cohesion, upholding the dignity and fundamental rights of the individual (Ojo, 2013; Patterson 1998; International Parliamentary Union, 1998), the interaction between individuals or group with the State to exercise rights and influence interest is democratic practice. In the context of this research therefore, democratic practice denotes the use of rights such as freedom of expression and association in political participation of WROs in the legislative advocacy of the VAPP Act.

### **Political Participation**

Central to the attributes of democracy is participation of citizens in public affairs. Political participation is the involvement of citizens in “activity that has the intent or effect of influencing public action...by influencing the making of public policy....” (Verba et al., 1995:38). It is similarly a procedure for choosing priorities, setting goals and determining what resources to commit for goal accomplishment (Ginieniewicz, 2007). In the views of these authors, participation requires that the community are vested with the power of *contributing* to the decision-making process. Therefore such participation can manifest in partaking in informal efforts to resolve community problems, policy development, contacting policy-makers, voting and campaigning necessarily aimed towards making policy change. In the context of this study, political participation focuses on all undertakings related to WROs exercising their voice as in freedom of expression and actions in freedom of association to influence the passage of the VAPP bill.

### **Women’s Rights Organisations (WROs) in Legislative Advocacy**

WROs are a complex set of individuals (micro), informal groups (meso) and global organisations (macro) geared towards articulating women interests (Banaszak, 2008). WROs are movements that advocate for improvements in women’s status, monitor the effect of public and private sector activities on women and provide services on bodily struggles around gender violence, sexual choice, reproductive rights and women’s health (Turshen, 2007). WROs in legislative advocacy are organised individuals or groups engaged in a deliberate and strategic process intended to bring about a revision in social policy favourable for the protection of women’s rights. WRO is a constituency primarily built around the central goals of improving and advancing women’s values and interests. The participation of such groups in the political life of a country is an important step to practically ensure respect for women’s rights amongst

the populace. There cannot be true democracy unless citizens especially women are able to participate fully in the issues of their concern and take responsibility for their own lives (United Nations, 1995). In the context of this study, WROs focuses on groups of coalesced bodies constituting women and women defenders (males) with a central goal of pursuing and influencing law reform on violence against women.

### **Violence against Persons Prohibition (VAPP) Act**

Global public policy in preventing and ending violence against women purposefully recognizes women vulnerability and the power of the law as corrective tool (United Nation, 2010). Violence against women is defined by the United Nation Security Council as a human rights violation. All countries are to therefore create a domestic policy that reflects the UN model which provides tools in providing justice, protecting victims and holding perpetrators accountable. The VAPP Act is Nigeria's model framework to address all forms of violence against women, men and children in Nigeria. Nigeria's VAPP Act has partly fulfilled international criteria of being comprehensive, provision for implementation and evaluation, definitions of forms of violence, prevention, protection, support and rights of survivors, investigation, prosecution and sentencing (United Nation, 2010). However, rather than being a women protective legislation, it encompasses both men and women. In this study, VAPP Act is Nigeria's policy framework for combating violence against women.

### **1.8 Structure of Chapters**

This study is organised in five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction and it comprises the background of the study. In addition, the chapter provided the statement of problem, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study and definition of terms.

Chapter two reviews related literatures. It focused on the conceptualisations of political participation. Based on the research objectives, the review covered literature on the political participation of WROs and issue prompting women political participation, activities embarked upon by women in their participation in politics, strategies employed by WROs in political participation and the means of overcoming challenges in women political participation. The chapter also highlights on the liberal democracy theory, an underpinning in the study. Chapter three covers the methodology section. It outlines the research design and methods used to collect data for the study. Rationale for employing qualitative research and case study design were provided. There is also a description of the data collection procedures and analysis, research instrument, sample and sampling technique, trustworthiness of the finding in terms of reliability and validity of the study, ethical consideration and summary. Chapter four presents the findings and discussions. It provided a brief demographic profile of the informants, the main themes and subthemes of the study and subsequently the discussion. Chapter five presents the summary, implication and recommendation for further research.

## 1.9 Summary

This chapter provides a general description of the process involved in this study. Specifically, the background of the study, statement of problem, the research questions and objectives, scope of the study and definition of terms employed in the study were set out in chapter one. The next chapter provides an expansion of reviews of available literature in relation to the research questions.



## REFERENCES

- Abara, J. C. (2012). Inequality and Discrimination in Nigeria Tradition and Religion as Negative Factors Affecting Gender. In *Gender and Ethnic Inequalities, Discrimination and other Human Rights Abuse* (pp. 1–18). Lagos: Federation of International Human Right Museums.
- Abdullah, J. H. (2007). Women as Emergent Actors : aA Survey of New Women’s Organisations in Nigeria since the 1990s. In C. M. Cole, A. T. Manuh, & F. S. Miescher (Eds.), *Africa After Gender* (pp. 150–167). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Abdulrahman, M. N. (2017). Women in the Political Process and Human Rights: The Nigerian Experience. *Athens Journal of Law*, X(Y), 1–25.
- Adamu, F. (2005). “Women’s struggle and the politics of difference in Nigeria.” In *Perspectives of Feminisms* (pp. 1–12). Berlin: Free University Berlin. Retrieved from <http://www.fu-berlin.de/sites/gpo/tagungen/tagungfeministperspectives/>
- Adamu, F., & para- Mallam, O. J. (2012). The Role of Religion in Women’s Campaigns for Legal Reform in Nigeria. *Development in Practice*, 22(5–6), 803–818.
- Adamu, F., Para-Mallam, O., Ajala, A., & Lanre-Abass, B. (2010). *A Review of Literature on the Role of Religion in Women’s Movements for Social Change in Nigeria*. (Religions and Development No. working Paper 46). Lagos.
- Aina, O. (1998). Women, culture and Society . In A. Sesay & A. Odebiyi (Eds.), *Nigerian Women in Society and Development*. Ibadan: Dokun Publishing House.
- Ajadi, K. ., Adebisi, J. ., & Alabi, F. M. (2010). Assessment of the Impact of Women’s Organisations on Sustainable Rural Environment and Livelihood in Nigeria. *Ethiopian Journal of Environmental Studies and Management*, 3(2).
- Ajayi, A. T., & Ojo, E. O. (2014). Democracy in Nigeria: Practice, Problems and Prospects. *Developing Country Studies Iiste*, 4(2).
- Akinwale, A. A. (2010). Repression of Press Freedom in Nigerian Democratic Dispensations. *Africa Development*, xxxv(3), 47–70.
- Akinyemi, L. S. (2016). Civil Society and the Anti-Corruption Struggle in Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 7(3), 115–127.
- Akubor, E. O. (2011). The Travail of Women in the Crises in the Niger Delta Area. *Anthropologist*, 13(1), 27–31.
- Al Maaitah, R., Al Maaitah, H., Olaimat, H., & Gharaeibeh, M. (2007). Arab Women and Political Development. *Journal of International Women’s Studies*, 12(July), 7–26.

- Arfaoui, K., & Moghadam, V. M. (2016). Violence against women and Tunisian feminism: Advocacy, policy, and politics in an Arab context. *Current Sociology*, 1(17).
- Arthur, S., & Nazroo, J. (2013). Designing Fieldwork Strategies and Materials. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science students and researchers* (pp. 110–137). London: SAGE Publications.
- Arum, I. (2010). Women NGO's and Women Empowerment in Nigeria. *African Research Review An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia*, 4(3b), 272–280.
- Arum, I., & Agagu, A. A. (2017). Non – Governmental Organizations and Women Political Participation in Ondo State, Nigeria. *Case Studies Journal*, 6(4), 18–26.
- Ary, D., Jacobs, L. C., & Sorensen, C. (2010). *Introduction to research in Education*. USA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Awofeso, O., & Odeyemi, T. I. (2014). Gender and Political Participation in Nigeria: A Cultural Perspective. *Journal Research in Peace, Gender and Development*, 4(6), 104–110.
- Banaszak, L. A. (2008). Women's Movements and Women in Movements Influencing American Democracy from the "Outside"? In C. Wolbrecht, K. Beckwith, & L. Baldez (Eds.), *Political Women and American Democracy*. New York.
- Barakso, M., & Schaffner, B. F. (2006). Winning Coverage: News Media Portrayals of the Women's Movement, 1969–2004. *International Journal of Press-Politics.*, 11(4), 22–44.
- Barkindo, A., Gudaku, B. T., & Wesley, C. K. (2013). *Nigeria's Political Violence Research Network NPVRN* (No. NPVRN Working Paper No. 1). Abuja-Nigeria.
- Barnes, S. H., Kaase, M., Allerback, K., & Leopold, R. (1979). *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Beverly Hills, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Barrett, J. R. (2007). The Researcher as Instrument: Learning to Conduct Qualitative Research through Analyzing and Interpreting a Choral. *Music Education Research*, 9(3), 417–433.
- Bates, E. A., McCann, J. J., Kaye, L. K., & Taylor, J. C. (2017). Beyond words: A researcher's guide to using photo elicitation in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 14(4), 459–481.
- Bentley, A. (1908). *The Process of Government. A study of Social Groups*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press Ltd.

- Blackwell, M. (2012). The Practice of Autonomy in the Age of Neoliberalism : Strategies from Indigenous Women ' s Organising in Mexico. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 44(4), 703–732.
- Bowler, S., & Hanneman, R. (2006). Just How Pluralist Is Direct Democracy? The Structure of Interest Group Participation in Ballot Proposition Elections. *Political Research Quarterly* , 54(4), 557–568.
- Brewer, J. D. (2000). *Ethnography*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Brocki, J. M., & Wearden, A. J. (2006). A Critical Evaluation of the Use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) In Health Psychology. *Psychology and Health*, 21(1), 87–108.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. (3rd edn). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burgess, G. (2013). Hidden History: Women Activism in Ethiopia. *Journal of International Women Studies*, 14(3), 96–107.
- Carbone, G., & Cassani, A. (2016). Nigeria and Democratic Progress by Elections in Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 51(3), 33–59.
- Chan-Malik, S. (2011). Chadors, Feminists, Terror: The Racial Politics of U.S. Media Representations of the 1979 Iranian Women's Movement. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 637, 112–140.
- Chika, I. S., & Umejiaku, N. (2014). Discriminatory Cultural Practices and Women ' s Rights among the Igbos of South-East Nigeria : A Critique. *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, 25, 18–28.
- Chima, J. K., & Nnaemeka, O. (2011). Long journey of Impediments and triumph. In J. K. Chima & O. Nnaemeka (Eds.), *Shaping our Struggle: Nigerian Women in History , Culture and Social Change*. Eritrea: Africa World Press inc.
- Chukwudi, O. R. (2015). Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Progress and Challenges. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (OMAN Chapter)*, 5(5).
- Clark-Ibanez, M. (2004). Framing the Social World With Photo-Elicitation Interviews. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 47(12), 1507–1527.
- Cohen, L., Mannion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research Methods in Education* . (6th Ed). New York: Routledge.
- Cook, D. (2011). The Rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *CTC Sentinel*, 4, 3–5.
- Coppedge, M., Gerring, J., Altman, D., Bernhard, M., Fish, S., Hicken, A., ... Teorell, J. (2011). Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach. *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(2), 247–267.

- Costa, M., Sawyer, M., & Sharp, R. (2013). Women Acting for Women Gender-Responsive Budgetting in Timor-Leste. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 15(3), 333–352.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). Qualitative procedures. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 173–202.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social science research: meaning and perspective in the research process*. New South Wales: Allen and Uwin.
- Dada, J. A. (2013). Human Rights Protection in Nigeria: the Past, the Present and Goals for Role Actors for the Future. *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, 14, 1–14.
- Dahl, R. (1967). *Pluralist Democracy in the United States*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Dahl, R. (1989). *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy: Consent and Conflict*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Dahl, R. (2006). *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. (Expanded E). London: The University of Chicago Press Ltd.
- Dahlerup, D. (1988). From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 11(4), 275–298.
- David, S. (2001). *Doing dissertations in politics: A Student Guide*. London: Routledge.
- Demirel-Pegg, T., & Pegg, S. (2015). Razed, repressed and bought off: The demobilization of the Ogoni protest campaign in the Niger Delta. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 2(4), 654–663.
- Denzin, K. N. (2009). *Qualitative Enquiry under fire: Towards a new paradigm dialogue*. California: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Denzin, K. N., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd Ed). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication.
- Devlin, C., & Elgie, R. (2008). The Effect of Increased Women's Representation in Parliament: The case of Rwanda. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 61(2), 237–254.
- Diamond, L. (1997). *Civil Society and the Development of Democracy* (Estudio/Working Paper 1997/101).
- Diamond, L., & Morlino, L. (2004). The Quality of Democracy: An Overview. *Journal of Democracy*, 15(4).

- Didiugwu, I. F., Ekwe, O. C., Apeh, A. C., & Odoh, V. O. (2014). Dealing with our Apathy through the Radio: Analysis of the Role of FRNC Nnoko Umunwanyi Programme in Influencing Women to Participate in Politics. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 32, 70–81.
- Diemer, M. A. (2012). Fostering marginalized youths' political participation: Longitudinal roles of parental political socialization and youth sociopolitical development. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 50, 246–256.
- Dreze, J., & Sen, A. (2002). Democratic Practice and Social Inequality in India. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 37(2), 6–37.
- Edeh, O. J. (2015). *The Mirage of change in Nigeria. Count down to the Genuine Revolution*. Lagos: Lulu Publication.
- Edward, A. (2011). *Violence Against Women under International Human Right Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Egbokare, F. (2007, April). "Dancing Naked in the Streets" 22 April. *Sunday Tribune*, p. 17.
- Ejimabo, N. O. (2013). Understanding the Impact of Leadership in Nigeria: Its Reality, Challenges, and Perspectives. Retrieved November 13, 2014, from <http://www.journals.sagepub.com>
- Ekhator, E. O. (2015a). The impact of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on domestic law: a case study of Nigeria. *Commonwealth Law Bulletin*, 41(2), 253–270.
- Ekhator, E. O. (2015b). Women and the Law in Nigeria : A Reappraisal. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 16(2), 285–296.
- Ekine, S. (2008). Women's Responses to the State Violence in Niger Delta. *Feminist Africa*, (Issue 10), 67–83.
- Ekpenyong, O., Egwu, O., & Agha, E. O. (2015). Politics In Nigeria : To What Extent Has The Gender Agenda Gained Momentum ? *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science*, 20(5), 1–10.
- Ekundayo, A., & Ama, B. (2014). Nigerian Women and Political Participation : The Way Forward. *International Journal of Educational Foundations and Management*, 2(1), 71–81.
- Emakhu, I. S. (2013). The Nature and Prevalence of Violence Against Women in Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal, ESJ*, 9(19), 755–784.
- Eme, I. O., & Onuigbo, R. A. (2015). An Analysis of Nigerian Women ' s Score Card in 2015 Polls. *Singaporean Journal of Business Economics and Management Studies.*, 4(4), 17–29.



- Eme, O. I., Onyishi, A. ., & Nwaoha, C. (2014). Women Marginalisation in Electoral Politics in Nigeria:A Historical Perspective . *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 2(7), 1–17.
- England, S. (2014). Protecting a Woman’s Honor or Protecting Her Sexual Freedom? Challenging the Guatemalan Patriarchal State through Reforms to Sexual Violence Legislation. *Latin American Perspectives*, 41(194), 124–142.
- Epstein, I., Stevens, B., McKeever, P., & Baruchel, S. (2006). Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI): Using photos to elicit children’s perspectives. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(3 (1)).
- Eseme, D. G. (2013). Civil Society Democratic Governance and Development in Nigeria, 1999-2012. *Contemporary Journal of African Studies*, 1(2), 93–116.
- Ette, M. (2017). Where are the women? Evaluating visibility of Nigerian female politicians in news media space. *Gender, Place & Culture A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 1–18.
- Fagge, K. S. (2002). *Democracy in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic:Myths , Realities, Challenges and Prospects*. (K. S. Fagge, Ed.). Kano: Triumph Publishing Company.
- Falade, D. A. (2014). Political Participation in Nigerian Democracy: A Study of Some Selected Local Government Areas in Ondo State, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human Social Science : F Political Science*, 14(8), 17–23.
- Falch, A. (2010). *Women ’ s Political Participation and Infl uence in Post-Confl ict Women ’ s Political Participation and Influence in*. Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO).
- Fallon, kathleen m. (2008). *Democracy and the Rise of Women’s Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa*. United States of America: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Fapohunda, T. M. (2012). Gender and Development: Challenges to Women Involvement in Nigeria ’ s Development. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*., 2(6), 14–28.
- Fatile, J. O., Adepoju, O. A., Adepoju, E. C., & Ayeni, L. (2017). Women Participation in Local Governance and Nigerian Democratic System: A Study of Selected Local Governments in Lagos State (1999-2016). *International Journal of Advanced Studies in Business Strategies and Management*, 5(1), 52–86.
- Finlay, L. (2009). Ambiguous encounters: A Relational Approach to Phenomenological Research. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, 3, 6–25.
- Fischer, C. . (2009). Bracketing in qualitative research: conceptual and practical matters. *Psychotherapy Research*., 19(4–5), 583–590.

- Fishman, R. M. (2011). Democratic Practice after the Revolution: The Case of Portugal and Beyond. *Politics & Society*, 39(2), 233–267.
- Fraenkel, J., Wallen, N., & Hyun, H. (2012). *How to design and evaluate research in education* (8th ed). New York: McGraw Hill.
- Franceschet, S., & Piscopo, J. M. (2008). Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina. *Politics & Gender*, 4, 393–425.
- Fraser, N. (1997). *Justice interruptus: Critical Reflections on the Postsocialist Condition*. New York: Routledge.
- French, M. (2008). *From Eve to Dawn: The History of Women in the World*. New York: The Feminist Press, City University.
- Galston, W. (2004). Civic education and political participation. *Journal PS: Political Science and Politics*, (April) 20, 263–267.
- Geisler, G. (2006). A Second Liberation: Lobbying for Women's Political Representation in Zambia, Botswana and Namibia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), 69–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070500493787>
- Gilbert, L. D. (2013). Ethnic Militancy in Nigeria: A Comparative Re-appraisal of three Major Ethnic Militias in Southern Nigeria. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science*, 17(6), 1–9.
- Ginieniewicz, J. (2007). The scope of political participation. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 8(December), 327–345.
- Girmay, A. (2015). Challenges and Prospects of Women's Movement in Africa: The Ethiopian Women Experience. *International Journal for Research in Social Science and Humanities Research*, 5(1).
- Haberl, V., & Wortman, B. (2012). Getting the picture: Interviews and photo elicitation at Edmonton Public Library. *LIBRES*, 22(2).
- Hashim, R., Hussein, S., & Juperi, J. A. (2014). The Hikmah (Wisdom) Program: A Philosophical Inquiry for the Teaching of Islamic Education in Malaysia. In B. Sa'eda & C. P. Ghim-Lian (Eds.), *Muslim Education in the 21st Century: Asian Perspectives* (pp. 125–141). London: Routledge Publications.
- Hassim, S. (2006). *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority*. Madison -Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- He, B. (2006). A Survey Study of Voting Behavior and Political Participation in Zhejiang. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 7(3), 225–250.
- Held, D. (2006). *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Holloway, I., & Wheeler, S. (2013). *Qualitative research in nursing and healthcare*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hon, S. T. (2004). *Constitution Law and Jurisprudence in Nigeria*. Port – Harcourt: Pearl Publishers.
- Howell, J. (2003). Women's Organizations and Civil Society in China Making a Difference. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5(2), 191–215.
- Htun, M., & Weldon, S. L. (2012). The Civil Origin of Progressive Policy Change: Combating violence in global Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 106(3).
- Hussain, A. (1996). *Question of the Human Rights of all Person Subjected to any form of Detention or Imprisonment. Promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression*. Retrieved from <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/commission/country52/39-add2.htm>
- Ijaiya, H. (2006). Feminist Jurisprudence : The role of Women in Politics in Nigeria. *The University of illorin Law Journal*, 2, 112–126.
- Ikelegbe, A. (2001). The perverse manifestation of civil society: evidence from Nigeria . *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 39(1), 1–24.
- Ikelegbe, A. (2005). Engendering Civil Society: Oil, Women Groups and Resource Conflicts in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43(2), 241–270.
- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising Tide Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Inter Parliamentary Union. (2013). *Women in Parliament in 2013: The Year in Perspective*. Retrieved from [archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2013-e.pdf](http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2013-e.pdf)
- International IDEA. (2000). *Continuing Dialogue (s) for nation building in Nigeria*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- International IDEA. (2016). *A framework for developing internal gender policies for electoral management bodies*. Stockholm.
- International Parliamentary Union. (1998). *Democracy: Its Principles and Achievement* . Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union. Retrieved from [http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/DEMOCRACY\\_PR\\_E.pdf](http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/DEMOCRACY_PR_E.pdf)
- Iwanaga, K. (2008). Women and Politics in Asia: A Comparative Perspective. In K. Iwanaga (Ed.), *Women Political Participation and Representation in Asia. Obstacles and Challenges*. (pp. 1–22). Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.

- Johnson, C. (1982). Grassroots organising : women in anticolonial activity in South Western Nigeria. *African Studies Review*, 25(2/3), 137–157.
- Johnson, N., & Josefsson, C. (2016). A New Way of Doing Politics? Cross-Party Women’s Caucuses as Critical Actors in Uganda and Uruguay. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 23, 1–15.
- Jonker, J., & Pennink, B. (2010). *The essence of Research Method*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag Heidelberg Ltd.
- Karam, A., & Lovenduski, J. (2005). Women in Parliament : Making a Difference. In J. Ballington & K. Lovenduski (Eds.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* . (pp. 187–212). International IDEA. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/.../242457834\\_Women\\_in\\_Parliament\\_Making\\_a\\_Differe](https://www.researchgate.net/.../242457834_Women_in_Parliament_Making_a_Differe)
- Karp, J., & Banducci, S. A. (2008). When Politics is not just a man’s game : Women’s representation and political engagement. *Electoral Studies*, 27, 105–115.
- Kasapoglu, A., & Özerkmen, N. (2011). Gender imbalance: The case of women’s political participation in Turkey. *Journal of International Women’s Studies*, 12(4), 97–107.
- Kies, S. M. (2013). *Matriarchy, the Colonial Situation, and the Women’s War of 1929 in Southeastern Nigeria*. Eastern Michigan University.
- Kifordu, H. (2010). Political Elite and the Vicissitudes of Accountability in Nigeria. *Politikon:South African Journal of Political Studies*, 37(2–3), 287–309.
- Kingdon, J. W. (2014). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. England: Pearson Education Limited.
- Krauss, S. E. (2005). Research Paradigms and Meaning Making: A Primer. *The Qualitative Report*, 10(4), 758–770.
- Krefting, L. (1991). Rigor in Qualitative Research: The Assessment of Trustworthiness. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 45(3), 214–222.
- Kumar, A. (2005). Problems of Democratic Transition in Nigeria:Drawing Lessons from the Democratic Experience in India. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 40(5), 371–392.
- Kumar, A. (2012). Speaking Truth to Power? Civil Society and Policy Advocacy in India. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 5(1), 41–47.
- Kumar, R. (2014). *Research methodology. A step by step for beginners*. London.: Sage publication Inc.

- Kumari, A., & Joshi, H. (2015). Gender Stereotyped Portrayal of Women in the Media: Perception and Impact on Adolescent. *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 20(4), 44–52.
- Kunkler, M. (2006). In the Language of the Islamic Sacred Texts: The Tripartite Struggle for Advocating Women's Rights in the Iran of the 1990s. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 24(2), 375–392.
- Kuyini, A. M. (2013). Civic Engagement in Public Policy Making: Fad or Reality in Ghana? *Politics & Policy*, 41(1), 117–152.
- Lamidi, E. O. (2016). Multilevel Analysis of State Variations in Women's Participation in Household Decision-Making in Nigeria. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, Volume 17(1), 186–201.
- Lasiele, Y. (1999). Women Empowerment in Nigeria: Problems, Prospects and Implications for Counselling. *The Counsellor*, 17(1), 132–137.
- Lee, S.-C. (2011). Negotiating for change: women's movements and education reform in Taiwan. *Gender and Education*, 23(1), 47–58.
- Legard, R., Keegan, J., & Ward, K. (2003). *In-depth interviews in Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Research Students and Researchers*. London,: Sage Publication.
- Lodico, M. G., Spaulding, D. T., & Voegtle, K. H. (2006). *Methods in educational research: From theory to practice*. San Francisco, California.: Jossey-Bass.
- Luka, R. . (2011). Women and Participation in Nigeria: The Imperative of Empowerment 1. Introduction. *Journal of Social Science and Public Policy*, 3(March), 24–37.
- Maiangwa, B., & Amao, O. B. (2015). Daughters, Brides, and Supporters of the Jihad": Revisiting the Gender-Based Atrocities of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *African Renaissance*, 12(2), 117–144.
- Makama, G. A. (2013). Patriarchy and Gender Inequality in Nigeria :The way Forward. *European Scientific Journal June 2013 Edition vol.9, No.17 ISSN*, 9(17), 115–144.
- Makinde, A., Onyemelukwe, C., Onigbanjo-Williams, A., Oyediran, K. A., & Odimegwu, C. O. (2017). Rejection of the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill in Nigeria: A setback for sustainable development goal five. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 32(3), 234–240.
- Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage Publication.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative Research Design. An Interactive Approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oak, California: Sage Publication.

- Mayowa, A.-A. (2014). Pre-Colonial Nigeria and the European's Fallacy. *Review of History and Political Science*, 2(2), 17–27.
- McNamara, C. (2009). General Guidelines for Conducting Interviews. Retrieved from <http://managementhelp.org/evaluatn/intrview.htm> Retrieved April, 2015
- Melander, E. (2005). The political Gender equity and state human right abuse. *Journal of Peace*, 42(2:1), 49–66.
- Meny, Y. (2002). De la démocratie en Europe: Old Concepts and New Challenges. *Journal of Common Market Studies.*, 41(1), 1–13.
- Merriam, S. ., & Tisdell, E. J. (2016). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* (Fourth Edi). San Francisco, California.: John Wiley & Sons.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A Guide to Design and Implementation. Revised and Expanded from Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education.* San Francisco. Jossey- Bass.
- Michels, A. (2011). Innovations in democratic governance: how does citizen participation contribute to a better democracy? *International Review of Administrative Sciences.*, 77(2), 275–293.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (2004). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook.* (2nd editio). London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Milev, M. (2004). *A “democratic deficit” in the European Union?* Master of Art dissertation in Advanced European and International Studies, Centre International de Formation Europeenee.
- Miruka, O. (2007). Combating Gender-Based Violence in Kenya: The Experience of “Men for Gender Equality Now” . *Bi-Annual Journal of Women for Women International*, 5(1), 21–26.
- Modasola, W. M. (2014). Women and Political Participation in Nigeria: A Case for Enhanced Mass Media Mobilization. *Centeredpoint Journal (Humanities Edition)*, 17(2), 53–68.
- Moughalu, C. O., & Abrifor, C. A. (2012). Urban Poor Women and Governance in Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, 8(5), 176–185.
- National Institute for Legislative Studies, & National Assembly-Abuja. (2013). *14 years of Law Making in the Nigerian National Assembly, 1999-2013: An Analysis of Bills Processed.* (vol 3). Abuja ,Nigeria: National Institute for Legislative Studies and National Assembly Press.
- Ndlovu, S., & Mutale, S. B. (2013). Emerging Trends in Women ' s Participation in Politics in Africa. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 3(11), 72–79.

- Ngeh, D. B. (2013). Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOS) and Rural Development in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences.*, 4(5), 107–112.
- Njoh, A., & Akiwumi, F. (2012). The Impact of Religion on Women Empowerment as a Millennium Development Goal in Africa. *Soc Indic Res*, 107, 1–18.
- Nnadi, I. (2012). An Insight into Violence against Women as Human Rights Violation in Nigeria : A Critique. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 5(3), 48–56.
- Norris, P. (1997). Representation and the democratic deficit. *European Journal of Political Research*, 32, 273–282.
- Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic Phoenix: Political Activism Worldwide*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2001). Cultural Obstacles to Equal Representation. *Journal of Democracy*, 12(3), 126–140. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2001.0054>
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2000). Women's Capabilities and Social Justice. *Journal of Human Development*, 2(1).
- Nwankwo, O. (2008). *Effectiveness of Legislation Enacted to Address Violence against Women in Nigeria*. United Nations Office at Vienna, Austria.
- Ochanja, C. N., & Terwase, A. A. (2013). Women in politics and decision-making in nigeria: challenges and prospects. *European Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, 2(8), 47–58.
- Odi, M. (2012). Women's Political and Civic Participation in Nigeria: Opportunities and Challenges to the Full Realization of Democracy. In *World Movement for Democracy's*. Peru: International Women's Democracy Network. Retrieved from <http://www.iwdn.learningpartnership.org/2012/12/womens-political-and-civi...>
- Ogbogu, C. O. (2012). The role of women in politics and in the sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3(18), 182–191.
- Ojo, J. S. (2013). An assessment of gender inequality in democratic politics in the fourth republic in Nigeria (1999-2003). *International NGO Journal*, 8(7), 138–145.
- Okeke, V. O. S. (2014). Pressure groups and policy process in Nigeria: a case of fourth republic. *Global Advanced Research Journal of Social Science (GARJSS)*, 3(2), 15–24.

- Okenwa-Emegwa, L., Lawoko, S., & Jansson, B. (2016). Attitudes Toward Physical Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in Nigeria. *SAGE Open*, October to, 1–16. <https://doi.org/2158244016667993>
- Oko, O. (2014). *Legislators in changing and Challenging times. an analysis of the Nigerian National Assembly*. New Jersey: Goldline and Jacobs Publishing.
- Okome, M. O. (2013). Gendered States: Women’s Civil Society Activism In Nigerian Politics. In M. O. Okome (Ed.), *Contesting the Nigerian State Civil Society and the Contradictions of Self-Organization*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Okoth, S. (2013). Do Pluralist Power Structures Enhance Involvement in Decision-Making by Nongovernmental Organizations? *African Social Science Review*, 6(1), 95–114.
- Okoye, J. C., Egboh, E. A., & Chukwuemeka, E. E. O. (2012). Changing Perspectives of Nigeria Political Development: From militarism to incumbency and godfatherism. *Journal of Political Studies*, 19(1).
- Okoye, J. ., Egboh, E. ., & Chukwuemeka, E. (2012). Changing Perspectives of Nigeria Political Development: From Militarism to Incumbency and Godfatherism. *Journal of Political Studies*, 19(1), 1–17.
- Okura, S., & Kaigo, M. (2016). Who Leads Advocacy through Social Media in Japan? Evidence from the “Tsukuba Civic Activities Cyber-Square” Facebook Page. *Information*, 66(7), 2–12.
- Oladayo, A. N., Ayakpat, J., & Adisa, O. D. (2014). Fifteen Years of Uninterrupted Democracy in Nigeria.What is the Correlation between Democracy and Development? *International Journal of Economics, Commerce and Management*, II(8), 1–15.
- Olakanmi & Co. (2008). *The Nigerian Constitutions 1963;1979 and 1999: A compendium*. (3rd Ed). Abuja ,Nigeria: Panaf House.
- Olasupo, A. F. (2013). Women’s Associational Life Within Traditional Institutions in Yorùbá States. In M. O. Okome (Ed.), *Contesting the Nigerian State Civil Society and the Contradictions of Self-Organization*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Oluwole, O. (2014). The Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria 1999-2007. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance.*, 5(5:1), 1–29.
- Omotola, J. S. (n.d.). Godfathers and the 2007 Nigerian Elections. *African Journal of Elections, Special Issues: Nigeria’s 2007 General Elections*, 6(2).
- Omotola, S. (2007). What is this Gender Talk all About after All ? Gender, Power and Politics in Contemporary Nigeria. *African Study Monographs*, 28(1), 33–46.



- Onayemi, F. (2007). Finding a Place : Women's Struggle for Political Authority in Classical and Nigerian Societies. *Women's History Review*, 16(3), 297–309.
- Onyemelukwe, C. (2016). Legislating on Violence Against Women: A Critical Analysis of Nigeria's Recent Violence Against Persons (Prohibition). *DePaul J. Women, Gender & Law*, 5(2), 1–58.
- Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L., & Wynaden, D. (2001). Ethics in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 33(1), 93–96.
- Oye-Adeniran, B., Long, C., & Adewole, I. (2004). Advocacy for Reform of the Abortion Law in Nigeria. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 12(24), 209–217.
- Oyesomi, K., Nelson, O., Omole, F., & Smith, A. (2014). How Sociable are women on Social Media? An experiential Study on Nigerian women. *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, 4(2).
- Oyinade, B., Daramola, I., & Lamidi, I. (2013). Gender, Media and Politics: A Case Study of Nigeria. *Singaporean Journal of Business Economics and Management Studies*, 1(10), 25–34.
- Ozdemir, B. (2014). The Role of the EU in Turkey's Legislative Reforms for Eliminating Violence against Women: A Bottom-Up Approach. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 16(1), 119–136.
- Ozdemir, P. (2012). Social Media as a Tool for Online Advocacy Campaigns: Greenpeace Mediterranean's Anti Genetically Engineered Food Campaign in Turkey. *Global Media Journal - Canadian Edition*, 5(2), 23–39.
- Para-Mallam, F. (2010). Promoting Gender Equality in the Context of Nigerian Cultural and Religious Expression: Beyond Increasing Female Access to Education. *Compare*, 40(4), 459–477.
- Parks, T. (2008). The Rise and Fall of Donor Funding for Advocacy NGOs: Understanding the Impact. *Development in Practice*, 18(2), 213–222.
- Pateman, C. (2003). Participation and Democratic Theory. *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 40–48.
- Patterson, A. S. (1998). A reappraisal of democracy in civil society: evidence from rural Senegal. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(3), 423–441.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (3rd ed). Newbury Park: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Plattner, M. F. (2010). Populism, pluralism, and liberal democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(1), 81–92.

- Ponterotto, J. G. (2006). Brief Note on the Origins, Evolution, and Meaning of the Qualitative Research Concept Thick Description. *The Qualitative Report*, 11(3), 538–549.
- Powley, E. (2006). *Rwanda: The impact of women legislators on policy outcomes affecting children and families. The State of the World 's Children 2007*. Retrieved from www.unicef.org
- Powley, E., & Pearson, E. (2007). Gender Is Society: Inclusive Lawmaking in Rwanda's Parliament. *Bi-Annual Journal of Women for Women International*, 5(1), 15–20.
- Quaranta, M. (2012). The Rise of Unconventional Political Participation in Italy: Measurement Equivalence and Trends, 1976-2009. *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, 4(2), 251–276.
- Reichert, E. (1998). *Women Right are Human Right: Platform for Action*. London.: thousand Oak, Sage.
- Reingold, B. (2000). *Representing Women*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press •.
- Reith, S. (2010). Money, power, and donor-NGO partnerships. *Development in Practice*, 20(3), 446–455.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Elam, G. (2003). Designing and Selecting Samples. In *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Ruxton, S., & Gaag, N. van der. (2013). Men's Involvement in Gender Equality. European Perspectives. *Gender & Development*, 21(1), 161–175.
- Sani, H. (2000). *Women and National Development: The Way Forward*. Ibadan: Spectrum books Limited.
- Santas, T., & Ogoshi, J. D. (2016). An Appraisal of Mass Media Role in Consolidating Democracy in Nigeria. *African Research Review*, 10(1), 73–86.
- Sen, A. (1999). Democracy as a Universal Values. *Journal of Democracy*, 10(3), 3–17.
- Sharda, A. (2014). Media and Gender Stereotyping: The need for Media Literacy. *International Research Journal of Social Sciences.*, 3(8), 43–49.
- Shaw, D. (2013). A New Look at an Old Research Method: Photo-Elicitation. *TESOL Journal*, 4(4), 785–799.
- Sheehy, E. (1996). Legalising Justice For All Women: Canadian Women's Struggle For Democratic Rape Law Reforms. *Australian Feminist Law Journal*, 6(1), 87–113.

- Shochat, S. (2014). *Oil and Women's Political Participation: A Sub--- National Assessment of the Role of Protests and NGOs in Nigeria. (Doctoral Dissertation)*. London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Shvedova, N. (2005). Chapter 2 Obstacles to Women ' s Participation in Parliament. In K. Ballington, J and Azzam (Ed.), *Women in parliament: Beyond Numbers*. International IDEA.
- Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2004). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. In G. M. Breakwell (Ed.), *Doing social psychology research* (pp. 229–254). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Soetan, F. (2013). Feminist Civil Society Organizations and Democratization in Nigeria. In M. O. Okome (Ed.), *Contesting the Nigerian State Civil Society and the Contradictions of Self-Organization*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Sossou, M. (2011). We Do Not Enjoy Equal Political Rights: Ghanaian Women's Perceptions on Political Participation in Ghana. *SAGE Open*.
- Stirrat, R. ., & Henkel, H. (1997). The Development Gift:The Problem of Reciprocity. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 554, 66–80.
- Sutter, D. (2002). The Democratic Efficiency Debate and Definitions of Political Equilibrium. *The Review of Austrian Economics.*, 15(2:3), 199–209.
- Taiwo, O. (2010). Power and Womanhood in Africa: An Introductory Evaluation. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3(6), 225–238.
- Tantiwiranond, D., & Ranjan, S. P. (2008). *Does Advocacy Matter? Women's Advocacy Campaigns in Thailand*. Bangkok, Thailand. Retrieved from <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/thailand/07042.pdf>
- Teater, B. (2008). Influencing State Legislators :A Framework for Developing Effective Social Work Interest Groups. *Journal of Policy Practice*, 8(1), 69–86.
- Teorell, J. (2006). Political participation and three theories of democracy: A research inventory and agenda. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(5), 787–810.
- Teorell, J., Mariano, T., & José Ramón, M. (2007). Political Participation: Mapping the Terrain. In J. Van Deth, J. R. Montero, & A. Westholm (Eds.), *Citizenship and Involvement in European Democracies: A Comparative Perspective* (pp. 334–357). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Tom, E. J., & Attai, A. J. (2014). THE Legislature and National Development:The Nigerian Experience. *Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(9), 63–78.

- Tripp, A. M. (2001a). The politics of autonomy and cooptation in Africa: the case of the Ugandan Women's Movement. *The Journal of Modern African Studies.*, 39(1), 101–128.
- Tripp, A. M. (2001b). Women Movements and Challenges to Neopatrimonial Rule : Preliminary Observations from Africa, 32, 33–54.
- Tripp, A. M. (2003). Women in Movement Transformations in African Political Landscapes. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5(2), 233–255.
- Tripp, A. M., Casimiro, I., Kwesiga, J., & Mungwa, A. (2009). *African Women's Movements Transforming Political Landscapes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Truman, D. (1951). *The Government Process, Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Alfred Knoff.
- Turshen, M. (2007). *Women 's Health Movement: A Global force for Change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Ugwu, L. O. (2015). Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects. *Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects*, 15(3:1.0), 1–8.
- Umukoro, N. (2014). Democracy and Inequality in Nigeria. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 30(1), 1–24.
- United Nation. (1948). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved July 16, 2016, from <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>
- United Nation. (1995). Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Retrieved November 24, 2016, from <http://.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA E.pdf>
- United Nation. (2010). *Handbook for Legislation on Violence against Women (ST/ESA/329)*. New York.
- United Nation Division for the Advancement of Women. (2005). *Equal Participation of Women and Men in Decision-Making Processes , with Particular Emphasis on Political Participation and leadership*. New South Wales: Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw>
- United Nations Human Right. (1976). International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Retrieved July 16, 2016, from <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.asp>
- United Nations, & United Nation. (1995). Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Retrieved November 24, 2016, from <http://.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA E.pdf>

- United States Agency for International Development. (2015). *Working with Men and Boys to End Violence Against Women and Girls. Approaches, Challenges and Lessons*. Washington, DC. Retrieved from [https://www.usaid.gov/sites/.../documents/1865/Men\\_VAW\\_report\\_Feb2015\\_Final.pdf](https://www.usaid.gov/sites/.../documents/1865/Men_VAW_report_Feb2015_Final.pdf)...
- Veneracion-Rallonza, L. (2008). Women and the Democracy Project: A Feminist take on Women's Political Participation in the Philippines. In *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia. Obstacles and Challenges. Political*. (pp. 210–251). Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brandy, H. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic Voluntarism Model in American Politics*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University press.
- Walsh, D. M. (2012). Does the Quality of Democracy Matter for Women's Rights? Just Debate and Democratic Transition in Chile and South Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(11), 1323–1350.
- Walsham, G. (1995). Interpretive case studies in IS research: Nature and method. *European Journal of Information Systems*, 4(2), 74–81.
- Walsham, G. (2006). Doing interpretive research. *European Journal of Information Systems*, 15, 320–330.
- Wang, V. (2013). Women changing policy outcomes: Learning from pro-women legislation in the Ugandan Parliament. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41, 113–121.
- Welch, S., & Thomas, S. (2001). The Impact of Women in State Legislatures: Numerical and Organizational Strength. In S. J. Carroll (Ed.), *The impact of women in public office*. United States of America: Indiana University Press.
- Weldon, S. L. (2002). Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking. *Journal of Politics*, 64(4), 1153–1174.
- Weldon, S. L. (2004). The Dimensions and Policy Impact of Feminist Civil Society Democratic Policy making on Violence against Women in the Fifty US States. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6(1), 1–28.
- Weldon, S. L., & Htun, M. (2013). Feminist mobilisation and progressive policy change: why governments take action to combat violence against women. *Gender & Development*, 21(2), 231–247.
- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology Adventure in Theory and Method*. England: McGraw Hill.
- Yin, R. (2003). *Case study Research: Design and Methods*. London: Sage Publication inc.

Yin, R. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods. Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research.* (4th ed.). California: SAGE: Thousand Oaks.

