

Socio-Cultural Practices as Barriers to Women Participation in Trade Union Activities in Nigeria

Toyin Adefolaju*

Department of Sociology, Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria

Abstract: This paper examines the roles of Nigerian women in Trade Union activities by exploring the internal workings of five industrial unions in the country. Using a multi-stage random sampling technique, six hundred and forty workers were selected and they provided the data used for this study. Both questionnaire and in-depth interview methods were used to elicit information. The study reviews some literature, and reveals that despite their interest, a minuscule fraction of women workers actively participates in Trade Union activities in Nigeria due to a number of socio-cultural factors which inadvertently affect formal work place practices. Appropriate measures to ameliorate the situation are recommended.

Keywords: Women, Employment, Trade Unions, Culture, Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

The need for sustainable development has prompted the deployment of the human capital of all societies. These human capital comprises of men and women. For a long time, men have dominated and monopolized the social and economic agenda of the society to the near-total exclusion of women. This domination, has translated to what is now known as maginalisation whereby men take decisions, especially at the house-hold level to the total exclusion of women. This is premised on the believe that “men are the decision-makers; women should be cooking in the kitchen while men play politics” (Eyinade, 2010). The sustenance and persistence of this attitude has driven it to “all lucrative spheres of human endeavours” (Oyekanmi & Agomo, 2001), especially where power relations are at play. Consequently, this attitude of women exclusion has been extended beyond the household to important and critical sectors of the economy. Women are expected to act within the confines of their culture, such that their activities/employment outside the home were denigrated and oftentimes devalued.

Thus it has been very difficult for women to enter modern day wage employment and where they have; they are relegated to the background of the leadership and decision-making apparatus of the organization. As a result of this, women presence in key areas of the societal structure is but abysmal. For example very few of them are participating in politics, economic activities especially in the formal sector, public/civil service and

in the private sector of the economy. For instance in politics, Yakupitiyage, (2016) notes that women performed very poorly during the 2015 parliamentary elections in Nigeria where they won only 5.6% of the seats in the House of Representatives. The Inter Parliamentary Union (2016) also disclosed that in the upper chamber of Nigeria parliament- The Senate- of the 109 seats, women won 7 seats, that is, 6.5%.

In recent times however, women have been making in-roads into areas of both public and private sectors of the economy which hitherto were “forbidden”. This has been possible by the necessity to improve their economic status, the desire to have an independent income, to utilize educational attainment and to pursue a career (Sivakami, 1997). With this breakthrough, it has become obvious that women have great potentials necessary to evolve a new economic order; to accelerate social and political development; and consequently transform the society into a better one (Eyinade, 2010). Women are therefore employed in areas such as teaching, nursing and clerical duties which are basically extensions of the traditional roles. In spite of the gains by the women folk in their emancipation drive some areas of the economy still elude them to a large extent.

One of such is in the industry which is the harbinger of modern economy. At the advent of paid work in Nigeria, men were the first set of employees probably because the available position desired by the colonial masters then were physical and also opportunity to go to school then was limited to men who then filled available clerical posts. Today, there are fewer women in occupations located in modern day industries. With this scenario, it is expected that women are likely to have less participation in activities within the industry.

*Address correspondence to this author at the Department of Sociology, Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria; Tel: 08038554307, 08026025577; E-mail: toyinremi2003@yahoo.com

One of such activities is trade unionism, whose participation is a function of wage employment. Trade unions are composed of workers sharing either the same skill or the same employers. They are organized collectivities of workers that relate with employers on various issues concerning the conditions of employment of workers who are their members. They have always been dominated by men because they are regarded as male power bases, designed to sustain and assure patriarchal advantage. This paper therefore examines the socio-cultural barriers that impede greater women visibility in trade union activities. In pursuance of this, five (5) industrial trade unions in Nigeria are studied.

Objectives of the Study

This paper will essentially pursue the following objectives:

- i. Locate the place of women in the socio-economic development of Nigeria;
- ii. Ascertain the extent of women participation in trade union activities;
- iii. Identify the socio-cultural factors that impede women participation in trade unionism; and
- iv. Outline strategies that can enhance women participation in trade union activities.

Theoretical Platform: Patriarchy

Of all the theories that have attempted to explain marginalization in socio-economic activities, patriarchy appears the most cogent. This is because the practice is firmly entrenched in virtually all societies, and it simply means a system that gives prominence to male authority to the detriment of their female counterparts in all spheres of life. Cohen and Kennedy (2007) note that under this system in most societies "gendered identities are not only regarded as completely distinctive, forming opposites in a binary system, but they are also evaluated differently". This results in masculine characteristics being generally assumed to be more socially 'useful' technically, 'difficult' and generally more 'important' than feminine one.

Women are therefore subjected to various forms of domination from all male- husbands, sons and kinsmen- that are so defined by cultural values. Walby (1990) posits that it is an age-long practice which involves the exercise of personal rule by the elders based on blood or kinship connections. This theory

assumes that it creates the oppressive premise that elevates men to position of authority and power. Walby (1990) believes that it is under this system that men dominate, oppress and exploit women using six structures for the domination viz; "household production, paid work, the state, male violence, sexuality and culture (cited in Pilcher, 1999).

Although there has been remarkable transformation of the practice as women have made a shift from private to the public sphere courtesy of industrialization, domination of women still continues. Walby (1990) identifies this new gender dynamics which is summarized as follows by Cohen and Kennedy (2007):

Working but Still Low Paid

Not only are women no longer excluded from formal paid employment but by the late 1980s, they made up virtually half the official labour force in most Western countries. Nearly half are employed part-time. Despite legislations designed to ensure wage equality, they continue to earn roughly three-quarters of male wages for the same work. Moreover they tend to be segregated within certain female-designated employment enclaves such as the caring profession (in health, social work and education) or low-paid industries and services.

More Choice, but Still the Child Carers

Access to paid employment, the attainment by girls of educational levels similar if not increasingly superior to those obtained by boys, the right to divorce and to birth control and the assignment of formally equal citizen rights have all helped to give women much greater freedom of personal choice and more control over their bodies. Yet while they can break free from unhappy marriages and even rear children as single mothers, such options lead them dependent on state welfare and legislation.

Sexually Free but Still in Danger

Women still face the very real possibility of male violence in domestic and public life. They are exposed to a double standard of personal morality that tends to label them 'slags' if they choose multiple sexual partners, even though such freedom clearly benefits men as well while not exposing them to the same stigma. Also phonography has now become a vast industry and most of this trade degrades women and exposes them to increased risks of personal exploitation and physical danger.

New Models, Old Realities

The representations of women in the media appear to offer new models of femininity, promising society's respect for the goals of independence, freedom and equal opportunity. Yet personal fulfillment is still thought to depend on motherhood, heterosexual love and marriage based on lasting relationship.

Bradley (2013) on his part sees patriarchy as unidirectional relationship with all men dominating all women. Patriarchy therefore manifests itself in all institutions in all societies- socio-cultural, legal, economic, political and religion- by devaluing the worth, role and potentials of women. The United Nations Organization (UNO) has been in the forefront of efforts aimed at uplifting the status of women with the instrumentality of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Convention on Human Rights (1978) and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979).

Women in the Development Agenda of Nigeria

Available evidence suggests that Nigerian women had always partnered men in the nation's developmental efforts. In the indigenous societies that make up Nigeria today, women played complimentary roles with their men counterparts. As the family was the basic unit of production, women were engaged in the main industries which comprised agriculture and textiles. In agriculture the less strenuous jobs such as planting, harvesting and marketing were performed by women. Such activities outside the home were combined with those of child-bearing and childcare. Furthermore, women created an atmosphere of peace and stability at home which are necessary conditions for their men to perform their own assigned duties. Therefore there was complementarity of roles between men and women even though this did not indicate equality of the sexes.

Although the degree of inequality depended on such factors as history, location, ethnic group and social class men were at an advantage as they enjoyed greater value and prestige than women. As a matter of fact, whatever value a woman had was not derived from her personality but from her roles as both a mother and a wife. Social Sciences and Reproductive Health Research Network (SSRHRN, 2001) notes thus:

Society may not see the woman as having any value, except in terms of her ability to perform her traditional role in the

household.... Males on the other hand are generally referred to as the head of the household or in terms of the position or occupation.

These obviously are derivatives of patriarchy which as a system of social stratification based on sex, confers advantages on men to the exclusion of women. The women acquiesced to this as they have been socialized to play a subordinated role to their husband and all other men in the family (SSRHRN, 2001). In Yorubaland, Nigeria, a woman's value is located in the popular saying, *Oko lo l'owo ori aya* (the husband owns the wife). Furthermore, her status is depicted in *obinrin ki i je komolu* (a woman does not symbolize leadership). Among the Tiv also in Nigeria, leadership is allocated to men while women are socialized to believe that one day they will be exchanged in marriage. Here the status of women is reflected in the saying: *kwase hemen iyanyga* (a woman does not lead a battle) (Ityavyar, 1992). Thus women have been socialised to believe that their place was in the home and was supposed to be married, have children and stay at home and look after the children. They are therefore expected to portray such feminine peculiarities as gentleness, decency, kindness and patience and also acquire proficiency in childcare, cooking and other wifely talents. Generally therefore, as a woman is born into a culture of male dominance, the indigenous woman is orientated into the culture of female subordination.

The situation has not significantly, improved in contemporary Nigeria. Patriarchy still persists and has been maintained and sustained by cultures, customs, mores and religion among other factors. Although in the pre-colonial societies activities were not on equal basis between the sexes, they were complimentary. The pervading social structure prior to colonialism allowed the spirit of cooperation of the sexes. Whatever achievements that women made in terms of societal development and equity were eroded during colonialism. Pearson (1995) notes that "colonial capture and the introduction of exploitative labour regimes led to a marked deterioration in the social and economic status of women relative to that of men".

It was during colonisation therefore that marginalization of women in development matters deepened leading to their exclusion from wage employment. Women had to depend on their unpaid work on family farms or low-paid work in the informal sector of the economy. This situation has manifested in

the low participation of women in the formal sector which ostensibly is a necessary condition for trade union participation. Where women had been able to make a break-through into the male-dominated formal sector, they are concentrated in a number of industries, doing what can be described as “women’s work”, that is, in occupations that are traditionally female intensive (Amali, 1992).

These include nursing, teaching and clerical/secretarial duties (Pigors and Myers, 1981). Very often where women work alongside men, they held positions of lower responsibility and perform tasks of a less-skilled nature. Women’s work is therefore not as valuable as men’s. Invariably on most measures of economic equity such as income, unemployment and occupational distribution women fare worse than men. They are mostly found in jobs that have been the most devalued, socially and economically.

Consequently although women labour force participation in Nigeria is significant at 44.70% in 2013, this was done in the informal sector. A disaggregated women labour force participation in non-agricultural sector of the Nigerian economy is 18.6% (Trading Economics, 2015). The disparity between the number of male and female in paid employment is due to the fact that men dominate all forms of work except petty trading. This is consequent upon the fact that women have been restricted in various economic activities because they are regarded as subordinate to men in both public and private spheres.

Generally therefore women have been marginalized through the system of patriarchy, disparity in educational attainment which in turn has formed the basis for their low participation in all sectors of the economy. With this dismal representation of women in the productive sector of the Nigeria economy their participation in trade unionism (an important stakeholder in the industry) could therefore be a matter of conjecture.

Women in Trade Union Activities in Nigeria

Organizational membership brings along with it the prospect of participation/involvement of members in other activities within the organization. One of such is trade unionism. Trade unionism remain a critical element in the industry as it is a class struggle between the capitalists and workers having opposing interests. It arose as a consequence of industrial capitalism (Pannekoek, 1936), to scuttle capitalists attempt to

increase their profits, the surplus value, by reducing wages and increasing the hours/intensity of labour, while the workers attempt to increase their wages and to shorten their hours of work. Unions therefore function to provide for their members “economic, social welfare, political psychological benefits and the opportunity to participate in managerial functions in the industry (Fajana, 2000).

Schermerhorn (1986) also described trade unions as pressure groups with the potential to impact the productivity of organizations and their members in several ways. For the International Labour Organization (ILO) 1998:

Unions play important role in guiding and upholding democracy and as defenders of social justice, in particular, by encompassing women, minorities, consumer groups, the unemployed and the growing ranks of working poor in the sphere of action.

Over the years, strident attempts had been made to booster women’s participation in the development processes of trade unions. This had led to the adoption of mainstreaming and gender planning strategies whose central objectives are:

- i. Strengthening women’s units, groups and organization to ensure gender awareness, to act as pressure groups and to monitor the implementation of mainstreaming women;
- ii. Gender awareness and analysis training;
- iii. Building a critical mass of women inside development organizations; and
- iv. Lobbying and pressuring development institutions (Karl, 1995; Braig, 2000).

These development approaches are geared towards taking women from the margins to the mainstream of development. The success of the efforts is however in doubt as women, according to Karl (1995), constitute just about one third of union members worldwide and in addition, their visibility at the leadership level is very marginal. In Nigeria, membership of trade unions in mandatory except a worker contracts out in line with the provisions of the Trade Dispute Act 1978. This means that virtually all women in formal employment and in a unionized organization would claim membership of a union. Yet

their participation levels are low and are hardly present in their unions' leadership positions. This paper therefore sets out to account for the social cultural factors militating against women participation in trade union activities in Nigeria.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Table 1 reveals that majority of the respondents are married, about 64%, while 51% either had primary or secondary education. About 46% of them have between 2 and 4 children and 53% has 2 to 4 dependants. Within their various organizations of work about 53% of the respondents belong to the junior cadre and 34% to the middle-level cadre while only about 14% are senior staff.

Table 1: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents

Variables	No	%
Marital Status		
Single	173	27.0
Married	409	63.9
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	58	9.1
Educational Attainment		
No formal education	96	15.0
Primary/Secondary education	327	51.1
Tertiary education	110	17.2
Others	107	16.7
No of Children		
None	121	18.9
1	87	13.6
2-4	291	45.5
5-10	141	22
No of Dependants		
None	98	15.3
1	128	20.0
2-4	336	52.5
5-10	78	12.2
Above 10	Nil	Nil
Position in Organization		
Junior staff	33	51.9
Middle level	219	34.2
Senior staff	89	13.9

On the question of whether their spouses support their union activities, about 50% answered 'No' while only 15% get their spouses support (Table 2).

Table 2: Whether Spouse Supports Trade Unionism

	No	%
Yes	98	15.3
No	311	48.6
Not applicable	231	36.1

The respondents were also asked whether they occupied any union position and the position held. Over 90% of them answered 'No' and only about 10.0% were affirmative (Table 3).

Table 3: Whether they Occupy a Union Position

	No	%
Yes	47	9.5
No	451	90.5

As a follow up to the responses in Table 3, there was the need to ascertain the union positions held by women (Table 4) and particularly the highest position they had held (Table 5).

Table 4: Union Post Occupied

	No	%
Chairman	2	4.2
Vice-Chairman	2	4.2
Secretary	4	8.4
Treasurer	10	21.2
Social welfare officer	14	30.0
Public relations officer	7	15.0
Ex-officio member	8	17.0

In Table 4, majority of the respondents (30%) identified the position of 'Social Welfare Officer' as the highest they had ever occupied. This is followed by 'ex-officio member' (17%) and 'public relations officer' (15%). Incidentally these are the three positions in the lower rung of the authority structure of a trade union.

Furthermore on the question pertaining to the highest position ever occupied by a woman in the union, an over-whelming majority, about 60%, indicated 'Social Welfare Officer' (Table 5). The implication of the responses to these three questions is that women are completely shut out of the decision-making machinery of the union as only very few of them have ever occupied the position of Chairman (4.2%), Vice Chairman (4.2%) and Secretary (8.4%).

Table 5: Highest Position Occupied by Women

	No	%
Chairman	3	0.5
Vice-Chairman	8	1.5
Secretary	10	2.0
Treasurer	58	11.0
Social welfare officer	309	59.6
Public relations officer	65	12.5
Ex-officio member	66	12.8

Table 6: Whether they are Active Members

	No	%
Yes	349	62.6
No	208	37.4

Despite this, the respondents still believe that they are 'active' as union members as about 63% answered 'yes' to the question (Table 6).

Table 7: Nature of Participation

	No	%
Attend meetings regularly	69	23.8
Pay dues	189	65.5
Union executive members	31	10.7

However when they were asked to state the nature of participation majority, about 66%, said that they 'pay their union dues'. In Nigeria under the Trade Union Act 1978 as amended, payment of union dues is mandatory and are deducted at source. 'Attending meetings' and 'membership of the Executive' were classified by only about 34% of the respondents (Table 7).

Table 8: Whether Men are Oppressing Women in their Union.

	No	%
Yes	460	71.9
No	180	28.1

Respondents were asked to give an outlook of their relationship with their male counterparts. Majority of them (72%) believe that men are oppressing the women members as against 28% who think otherwise (Table 8). The study then explored how this was done.

Table 9: Nature of Domination (N557)

	No.	%
By monopolizing the leadership	302	54.2
Men discourage women	140	25.1
Practice inequality	115	20.7

The respondents show that men dominate the unions by 'monopolizing the leadership' of the union (54%), by 'discouraging women' (25%) and through their practice of 'inequality' (20%).

Table 10: Reactions of Male Members Towards Female Participation

	No	%
Supportive	85	13.3
Encouraging	108	16.9
Discouraging	290	45.3
Negative	157	24.5

By and large the respondents blame their low-level situation on the men because they 'discourage them' (45%) while another 24% attribute it to their negative attitude. By and large only about 30% of the respondents agree that men show some positive inclination towards women involvement in trade unionism.

Table 11: Whether a Women can Lead a Union

	No	%
Yes	474	83.5
No	93	16.5

Table 11 reflects respondents' opinions about women's ability to lead a Union. Clearly majority of them (83%) claim that women are capable of leading unions while over 16% doubt their ability to preside over the affairs of the union.

Table 12: Obstacles against Women Participation

	No	%
Family and Domestic Responsibilities	153	23.9
Culture of male domination	144	22.5
Meeting time and venue	237	37.0
Low numerical strength	106	16.6

Table 12 shows the respondents' views on what they consider as the obstacles to their involvement in the Unions. Majority of them identify 'meeting time and venue' as the biggest obstacle to their participation (37%) followed by 'family and domestic responsibilities' (23%), and 'culture of male domination' (22%). Their 'low numerical strength' is also seen as a hindrance (16%). Union meetings are usually held during 'odd' hours, that is, in the night and in hotels. Nigerian culture generally frowns at women patronizing hotels and especially at night. Those who do this are tagged to be irresponsible and wayward. Hence most women unionists would rather stay at home than attending union meetings at such periods and locations.

'Family and domestic responsibilities' particularly is regarded as a stumbling block towards women active participation as stated by one of the respondents thus:

When I get home in the evening I prepare food for the household, look after the children and prepare them for school the next day. I also cater for my husband's need. By the time I am through, the next thing is to sleep. So even if claim interested in unionism, I can't attend because while they are meeting, I am asleep.

This assertion is consistent with the position of Udegbe, (2003) and Pilcher (1999), respectively. The 'culture of male domination' also ranks high in the hierarchies of obstacles to women participation in union affairs (23%).

Since most of the respondents don't usually attend meetings they were asked what they usually do when union meetings coincide with family matters. Table 13 below indicates that majority of them 83% 'attend to family issues', the remaining 17%, assert that they 'attend union meetings' possibly because they are Union officials.

Table 13: What they do when Union Meetings Coincide with Family Matters

	No	%
Attend to family issues	531	83.0
Attend union meetings	109	17.0

The study also inquired about involvement in the decision-making process in the Unions as shown in the Table below.

Table 14: Involvement of Women in Decision Making Process

	No	%
Yes	201	31.4
No	439	68.6

The Table shows most of the respondents are not involved in making decisions in the Unions (68%), with 31% confirmed their involvement again possibly they are union officials.

As mentoring is a key element in mainstreaming, respondents were asked if they received encouragement from older female unionists as the Table 15 depicts:

Table 15: Whether they Get Encouragement from Older Female Members

	No	%
Yes	299	46.7
No	195	30.5
Don't know	140	22.8

Quite a handful (47%) was positive while others said 'No' and 'Don't know' (30% and 23%) respectively. Much as mentoring is important in all organizations and especially in trade unions, it becomes a big burden for women because of their situation in the unions which includes low numerical strength in both parent organization and union, low status and exclusion from authority structure of the parent organization and union, among others.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is apparent from the study that Nigerian women are willing partners in the socio-economic drive of the country. This they have done by breaking the yoke away from stifling patriarchal practices and move to the centre stage of development. The wave of changing attitudes towards women empowerment has also enabled them to make forays into areas hitherto forbidden. This consciousness has led to their economic independence and the enablement to impact their environment positively. This has been demonstrated in their entry into the industry for wage employment where opportunities of self-reliance and increased productivity are presented, albeit at a lower level than their male counterparts. In the traditional

patriarchal sector of the economy- the labour movement- women have also shown their level of capability to contribute to its growth.

However they still face much resistance from both their families and their male counterparts in the unions. What is obvious from the study is that due to various factors, women participation in trade unionism is abysmally low both in quality and in quantity. Much as they are interested in the affairs of the unions, some cultural/societal values still constitute barriers. Consequent upon the patriarchal premise of the trade union movement wherein women are considered as outsiders, they are virtually 'missing' within the movement due to some structural and cultural factors. While the structural factors are levels of socio-economic attainment and the proportion of women in the industry, the cultural factors emanate from the predominance of traditional attitudes with regard to gender roles. As revealed in the study, women's desire to participate fully in trade union activities has been hampered by such factors as family and domestic responsibilities, culture of male dominance and unfriendly management structures (like venues and time of meetings) of unions which are not convenient for women.

Since women are willing to be part of trade unionism it is important to create and sustain the enabling environment for this purpose. This will include:

- i. educating more girls and women to prepare them for the future task of national development;
- ii. women should enter the industry with the intendment of mainstreaming themselves into all activities within it including trade unionism;
- iii. trade unions should encourage more women to participate in their affairs by holding their meeting where and convenient for women;
- iv. unions should discard those patriarchal values that tend to discriminate against women; and

- v. experienced female unionists should mentor the up-coming one.

REFERENCES

- Amali, E. (1992), Developing Nigerian Women Managers for the Socio-Economic Transformation of Nigeria, *Management in Nigeria*, 6: 6-12.
- Bradley, H. (2013), *Gender*. Cambridge, Polity.
- Cohen, R. and P. Kennedy (2007). *Global Sociology*. Hampshire, Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Eyinade, A. (2010), Women and Participation in Nigeria: The Imperative of Empowerment. *The African Executive*. www.africaexecutive.com
- Fajana, S. (2000). *Industrial Relations in Nigeria: Theory and Features*. Lagos, Labofin and Co.
- Hega, M. D. (1998). Women and Trade Unions: Context, The Gains and the Road Ahead; The Philippine Experience. <http://library.fes.de/fulltext/iez/110001.htm>.
- ILO, (1998). *World Labour Report 1997-1998*. Geneva, International Labour Organisation
- Ityavyar, D. A. (1992), *The Changing Socio-Economic Role of Tiv Women*. Jos. University Press Ltd.
- Karl, M. (1995). *Women and Empowerment, Participation and Decision Making*. London, Zed Books Ltd.
- Oyekanmi, F. A. D. and C. Agomo, (2001), Country Study on Women's Health issues in Nigeria (WHO). Federal Ministry of Health funded project: Women's Health as Human Right.
- Pannekoek, A. (1936), *Trade Unionism. //A. Trade Unionism*. Htm.
- Pearson, R. (1995). "Gender Matters in Development" in, *Developmental Studies: An Introduction through Selected Readings*, Ron Ayes (ed). Kent, Greenwich University Press.
- Pigors D. and C. Myers, (1981), *Personnel Administration: A Point of View and Method*. Singapore, McGraw-Hill Coy.
- Pilcher, J. (1999). *Women in Contemporary Britain: An Introduction*. London,
- Schermerhorn, J. R. (1986). *Management of Productivity*. New York, John Wiley and Sons.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203264720>
- Sivakami, M. (1997). Female Work Participation and Child Health: An Investigation in rural Tamil Nadu, India. *Health Transition Review*, 7 (1): 21-32.
- Social Sciences and Reproductive Health Research Network (SSRHRN), (2001), "Gender Socialisation and Male Responsibility in the Family". Annals of the Social Science Academy of Nigeria, No. 13 January-December. pp. 18-24.
- Trading Economics, (2015), www.trading economics
- Udegbe, B. T. (2003), "Gender Power and Political Leadership in Nigeria". A paper presented at the National Workshop on Gender, Politics and Power. July 28-30, Lagos.
- Yakupitiyage, T. (2016), Women Political Participation Slows, News Report Shows: Inter Press Service, March, 8. *Inter Press Service htm*.