

**T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES**



**UNDERSTANDING PHYSICAL AND MENTAL SEXUAL HARASSMENT
OF WOMEN IN SUB-SAHARAN POLITICS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS
OF NIGERIA AND UGANDA (1999-2019)**

MASTER'S THESIS

KHADIJA AHMED YOUNIS

**Department of Political Science and International Relations
Political Science and International Relations Program**

JULY, 2022

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ONAY FORMU

DECLARATION

I hereby declare with respect that the study “Strategic Plan To Improve Marketing Management Of Products”, which I submitted as a Master thesis, is written without any assistance in violation of scientific ethics and traditions in all the processes from the Project phase to the conclusion of the thesis and that the works I have benefited are from those shown in the Bibliography. (.../.../20...)

KHADIJA AHMED YOUNIS

FOREWORD

This study is wholeheartedly dedicated to God almighty, my parent Late Mr Alfred Atsangbe and Madam Deborah Obiake who has been a great source of strength and inspiration to me and continued to provide their moral, spiritual and financial support.

To my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Canan Tercan without her great effort and assistant my thesis would have not been completed.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Dimeji for all his support both emotionally and financially, Barakat, my relatives, friends and mentors who shared their word of advice and encouragement to finish this thesis.

June, 2022

Khadija Ahmed Younis

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ABSTRACT

Recent studies have shown that violence against women politicians in sub-Saharan Africa is increasingly recognised globally as a key impediment to their participation in politics. This follows the troubling increase in documented cases of abuse, threat, harassment and intimidation aimed at women politicians on the continent. Consequently, bias toward women occupying political positions originates from the structural, cultural and symbolic violence, which differentiates this practice from other forms of political violence. This study provides an extensive understanding of the physical and mental sexual harassment of women in sub-Saharan African politics. It draws attention comparatively to this conundrum by drawing on the experience of women in Nigeria and Uganda. While it is a known that sexual harassment pervades the Nigerian and Ugandan political space, available data are very slim since cases are often underreported and when they do, are not pursued to a logical conclusion. A major impact of this is that women are reluctant to participate and be involved in the political and decision-making framework of their respective countries. In this study, primary and secondary sources were adopted and critically examined and analysed. The methodology adopted is based on content analysis of the sources used. Part of the results of the study shows that sexual harassment is associated with sexuality, patriarchy and gender power differences which is a huge factor that helps to perpetuate the conduct in sub-Saharan Africa. Secondly, gender-based violence against women has become normalised accounting for why women are often the victims of the conduct.

Keyword: Sexual harassment, Nigeria/Uganda, gender-based violence, women in politics, Sub-Saharan Africa

SAHARAN'DA SİYASETTE KADINLARIN FİZİKSEL VE ZİHİNSEL CİNSEL TACİZİNİ ANLAMAK: NİJERYA VE UGANDA'NIN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ANALİZİ (1999-2019)

ÖZET

Son yıllarda yapılan birkaç araştırma, Sahra altı Afrika'da kadın politikacılara karşı işlenen şiddetin, kadınların siyasete katılımlarının önündeki önemli bir engel olarak dünya çapında giderek daha fazla kabul edildiğini göstermiştir. Bu, kadın politikacılara yönelik belgelenmiş taciz, tehdit, saldırı, taciz ve yıldırma vakalarındaki rahatsız edici artışı takip ediyor. Sonuç olarak, siyasi konumlarda bulunan kadınlara yönelik önyargı, bu pratiği diğer siyasi şiddet biçimlerinden ayıran yapısal, kültürel ve sembolik şiddetten kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Sahra Altı Siyasetinde kadınların fiziksel ve zihinsel cinsel tacizine ilişkin kapsamlı bir anlayış sunmaktadır. Nijerya ve Uganda'daki kadınların deneyimlerine dayanarak, karşılaştırmalı bir bağlamda bu bilmeceye dikkat çekiyor. Tümü eleştirel bir şekilde incelenip analiz edilen çalışmada birincil ve ikincil kaynaklardan yararlanılmıştır. Bulguların bir kısmı: (i) cinsel tacizin cinsellik, ataerkillik ve cinsiyet gücü farklılıkları ile ilişkili olduğu ve (ii) Kadınlara yönelik cinsiyete dayalı şiddetin Sahra altı Afrika'daki çeşitli toplumlarda normalleştirildiğidir. Çalışma, herhangi bir biçimde ve en önemlisi siyaset alanında cinsel tacizin muhtemel faillerinin, bu tür davranışların sonuçlarını çok katı yasalar aracılığıyla anlamaları gerektiği sonucuna varıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cinsel taciz, Nijerya/Uganda, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı şiddet, siyasette kadın, Sahra Altı Afrika

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	: Alliance For Democracy
APP	: All People Party
APU	: African Parliamentary Union
GBV	: Gender Based Violence
IASC	: Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IPU	: Inter-Parliamentary Union
NPC	: National Population Commission
PDP	: People Democratic Party
SADC	: Southern African Development Community
SEX	: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
TSM	: Temporary Special Measures
U.S	: United State
UN WOMEN	: United Nation Women
USEEOC	: United State Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
VAPP	: Violence Against Person Prohibition
WHO	: World Health Organization

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background to the Study

In the past few decades, revelations about sexual misconduct toward women have continued to shock the global community. The scourge of sexual harassment of women in its totality can be linked to the slave trade era. In various parts of the world, many enslaved peoples were subjected to both physical and mental sexual harassment that include various forms of coercion and rape. This occurrence is hinged on the fact that enslaved peoples were considered owned, and the law did not protect them. During the pre-colonial era in Africa, the contribution of women to society was enormous and considered vital to the socio-economic growth of the state. Women were central to trade as they controlled food processing, mat weaving, and pottery making. The most successful among them were conferred with traditional chieftaincy titles. Women were diverse with various social persuasions (Awe, 1992). Thus, any study of Nigeria and Uganda in the context of sexual harassment of women must put into consideration the cultural, social, economic and political dimensions of the subject. During colonial rule, western education was introduced with the men given priority over the women, resulting in their upward climb in society both in politics and other ethno-cultural social spheres.

In recent times, women have not been given the opportunity of being exposed to western education early enough due to the cultural beliefs that regard the female child as “a second-class citizen.” One of the significant causes of harassment, isolation, and marginalization of women in politics in the Sub-Sahara region of Africa is the apparent imbalance and gap in the cultural and educational preference between men and women. This position is yet to change since 1960 (when Nigeria and other African states gained their independence) or 1976 when Nigerian women were granted universal suffrage. Women who support a political party and those interested in it were harassed either physically or psychologically.

Africa is noted for its growing female population. Statistics show that women

soar higher than fifty percent of the total population, making them a key contributor to the economic development of any society (Makama, 2013). Some key roles such as home managers, organizers in the community, political and socio-cultural activists and producers, are all occupied by women in most societies. On the contrary, working and having the opportunity to pursue a political career within the society for women was not acceptable. Comparing the progress made toward parity on the African continent and other continents, progress made appears to be poor. Given the high number of women who die during child labour, women's financial, educational and digital inclusion fall below the world average. In the last few years, the financial inclusion of women in society has been declining (Awajiusuk, 2015). Though improvement is yet to be consistent across African countries, some countries have been experiencing growth in woman's political representation.

Several studies have shown that violence perpetrated against women politicians is increasingly recognized globally as a key impediment to their involvement and participation in politics. This follows the troubling increase in documented cases of abuse, threat, assault, harassment and intimidation aimed at women politicians. A conceptual conundrum, however, exists in terms of the specific form this phenomenon takes which explains the intention of this study to strengthen its empirical, theoretical and methodological groundings. Consequently, bias toward women occupying political positions originated from the structural, cultural and symbolic violence, which differentiates this practice from other forms of political violence.

According to recent studies, women are said to face five types of violence in politics. These are physical, psychological, sexual, economic and semiotic. Violence committed against female politicians commenced with structural violence which involves the configuration of access to basic wants based on ascribing group integration. Built into the social structure, this particular type of configuration results in harm in terms of inequality which affects the human body and mind. The structural origins of the exclusion of women in politics began with political theories which associate the male with the public space and the private space for the female. This imbalance has significantly limited the mobility of women and sometimes in countries where no legal restrictions are placed on women's movement in public spaces. Structural violence has been considered to spur and defend hostility towards

women political actors, resulting from their perceived status violations. In the realm of political violence, which is viewed as the use or threatened use of force in order to accomplish a political objective, an immense challenge is posed to democracy when perpetrators override the victim by amplifying fear of death or injury rather than adhere to a procedure for which both parties are in agreement to. Recent studies on this subject broaden this agenda in the area of threats and intimidation against women who show interest or hold a political portfolio.

The subject of gender, sex and sexuality has pre-occupied a central discourse among feminist movements for a long period. Feminist sociologists and other scholars in diverse and related disciplines have come up with several theoretical postulations which explain the place of gender difference and gender inequality (Acker, 1991; Blumberg, 1978; Chafetz, 1988). The feminist movement belongs to a group of mostly women who advocate for reforms on different issues affecting women. The earliest known feminist movement started around the 1840s in the United States and continued in different waves from the 1960s to the 1990s and up to the late 2000s which is shaped by the use of technology and spurred the #metoo and #timesup movements.

One of the prominent names in the feminist movement was Janet Saltzman Chafetz, a United States based professor of sociology. Chafetz's studies on gender roles and sociology of gender including a plethora of works on the subject stood her out among scholars in her field. Saltzman argues that theorizing gender does not necessitate a feminist view and although scholars in sociology have examined gender, much of what they espouse could hardly be regarded as feminist (Chafetz, 1999). In her view, a feminist theory needs to discern gender as a "system of inequality" that can be changed rather than conceived as a permanent feature of society. She notes further that once this position is agreed upon, a commitment is then made to create what she calls a "gender-equitable system" (Chafetz, 2001: 613).

Chafetz's theory, unlike others in her field, try to systematically explain how gender inequality occurs which is separate from the aspect of social life required to be modified. Her argument is based on the fact that systems that perpetuate gender inequality can change to become more and less inequitable. However, her concept or definition of gender inequality within the context of a feminist view is a difference "in the level of power and resources to which, on average, men and women have

access...in the amount and types of opportunities and constraints, they typically confront” (Chafetz, 2001: 614). These constraints, in her view, are created mainly by societal institutions that include the economy, educational system, and cultural and religious institutions among others.

Chafetz’s theory fits strongly into the idea espoused in this thesis as it does not take a feminist position but rather an exploration of the system that privileges inequality in sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria and Uganda as case studies, that impact women in most cases. Her definition which sees gender inequality from the lens of difference in power and resources and the lack of opportunities and access confronted by women is well suited to the context of the argument in this study. How is this so? Gender inequality is perpetuated in many societies because the level of access to the opportunities set up within a society between the male and female gender is tilted favourably towards the male. This makes women somewhat vulnerable and easily manipulated. Since they have been deliberately dispossessed by the structural system in place, they are targeted for harassment in the private and public realms. In political contexts, this becomes even more concretised because their numbers are few and, in most cases, it is usually those who are part of the male circle that political doors are open for.

Sexual harassment has been viewed from very diverse standpoints, from the psychological, sociological, religious and cultural, to the political, sex-based, feminist, legal and behavioural perspectives. It is even considered a “complex and evolving practice” (Franks, 2012: 657). Within the context of the legal, sexual harassment can be viewed from the angle of sex discrimination emerging from two forms of behaviour. The first is referred to as quid pro quo harassment and the second, hostile environment harassment (Welsh, 1999: 169). While the former comes in form of sexual threats or bribery spurred on the condition or basis of granting a favour, the latter entails forms of behaviour, for instance, sexual slurs, abuses, jokes or improper touching of the body which impacts one’s ability to perform an assigned job or one that creates an unfriendly environment.

The meanings attached to sexual harassment have proved difficult over the years to concretise. What we have are definitions or terms that suit specific fields of study or professions or even thinking. This has made it difficult to give a popularly accepted “social definition that would help people who are targets of sexual

harassment to readily identify such behaviour” (Uggen and Blackstone, 2004: 66). Despite the diverse views on what sexual harassment constitutes in terms of clarity, a position that most people share is that the term is specific to deliberate, persistent and unwelcome conduct that is sexual and, in other cases, gender based. It is this simple definition that this thesis intends to adopt.

In a letter dated 9 June 2016, which was addressed to Yakubu Dogara, former Speaker of Nigeria’s lower parliament, three members of Nigeria’s House of Representatives were accused by the United States Ambassador to Nigeria, James Entwistle, of improper conduct during an official visit to the Cleveland, Ohio, United States. Mohammed Gololo was alleged not only to have grabbed an unnamed domestic help in his hotel room, but he also solicited sex from her. Mark Gbillah and Samuel Ikon, on the other hand, allegedly solicited prostitutes from the hotel parking attendants (Saharareporters, 2016). The lawmakers, according to Ambassador Entwistle, engaged in “acts of misconduct [that] could jeopardize American diplomatic relations [and] negatively impact[.] Nigeria’s public image” (Saharareporters, 2016).

A Ugandan senior state attorney working in the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Samantha Mwesigwa, accused her former director, Christopher Gashirabake, of sexually harassing her for ten years. Although all legal means were tried to get justice, she was failed by the Ugandan Justice Ministry. After taking her story to social media, her claims of sexual harassment were eventually heard (Kukunda, 2019).

The two examples above from Nigeria and Uganda are a few familiar cases of gender-based harassment of women on the African continent. Daily across the world, women are sexually abused or harassed in both public and private spaces. This trend should ordinarily call for an urgent response or attention, but the practice is often overlooked which gives the impression of societal acceptability. In most parts of Africa, cases of sexual harassment of women rarely make the headlines partly because the conduct is regarded as a norm and, in most cases, a woman’s body is considered the self-entitlement of the men. Partly because would-be harassers often do not understand sexual harassment as gender-based violence, the practice has been exacerbated over time. Indeed, public spaces are popular sites where sexual harassment regularly occurs. Hospitals, recreational centres, classrooms, offices and

schools are some of the few examples of public spaces where sexual harassment of women is perpetuated, several cases of which are underreported, and continue to be on the increase. In the political sphere where women are often underrepresented, sexual harassment occurs and is grossly committed. Unfortunately, virtually all cases do not make it to the news, and neither are they pursued within the framework of the law. Several reasons have been linked to this challenge one of which is the fear of losing political power or support from the men who are in the first place directly responsible for a woman's attainment of political office. In other words, many women in politics who face one or the other forms of sexual harassment prefer to resolve the challenge themselves through other means or accept the practice as they come.

Nigeria returned to full civilian rule in 1990, following close to three decades of military rule. Being Africa's most populous country and by far the continent's biggest economy after South Africa, democratic rule has witnessed several challenges. In the realm of politics, the country has since 1999 held a peaceful transition or transfer of power four times, although much of the country is governed by two dominant political parties except for one state at the sub-national level. After close to 23 years of democratic rule, the position of women in politics has remained dire. There are currently only seven women senators from a total of 109 in the country's legislative arm and 22 women from a total of 360 members in the House of Representatives. Several reasons have been identified to explain the poor representation of women in national and grassroots politics (Taiwo, 2010: 78-90). According to Ekeanyanwu (2021), part of the main reasons that put women at a disadvantage in politics includes gender stereotypes and sexual assault. She observes that women candidates face all forms of gender-related electoral violence, threats to their lives and hate speech which is all tied to the belief that women intend to take what traditionally belongs to the men (Ekeanyanwu, 2021). As a consequence, many women are not only discouraged from participating fully in the political process but are systematically discriminated against through acts of violence or intimidation.

The case of Uganda is slightly different in terms of its democratic credentials. President Yoweri Museveni has been in power since January 1986 although he has allowed some level of democratic practices to prevail such as presidential elections which are held every five years. Museveni has won every election conducted in

Uganda since 2005, most of which are marred with irregularities, intimidation, rigging, administrative and logistical challenges, widespread fraud and disenfranchisement (Wilkins and Vokes, 2018). In a hostile political climate of this nature, women are, no doubt, expected to be victims of electoral malfeasance. Several examples can be cited in several previous and recent elections held in the country. A recent study conducted by Pollicy, a feminist technology organisation that researches gendered online violence in Africa showed that Ugandan women used social media in the last national election far less than the men, attributing it to sexualised insults, body shaming and online sexual harassment (Iyer et al, 2020).

In the last few years, research in developing countries, Nigeria and Uganda inclusive has shown that development is a gendered practice that impacts men and women in diverse ways. Prevailing social norms as well as economic and political factors that are present in a particular society determine how different groups of people in society benefit from development. Therefore, awareness about gender quality goals has become widely accepted globally as a strategic way of reducing poverty among men and women, improving their standard of living healthily, and improving the productivity of public investment (Olomjobi, 2013).

In Nigeria and Uganda, the root cause of physical and mental harassment of women is not unconnected with the historical, socio-political, economic and cultural underpinning factors which continue to ensure the subjugation, oppression, physical and mental harassment, as well as the domination of women by men in politics and other spheres in sub-Saharan Africa. The gender inequality created by the colonization spike the humiliation of women in present-time Africa. Gender equality concerns relative parity as per proportion and numbers of both genders. This is mainly calculated as the ratio of men-to-women values for a specific indicator (Adjepong, 2015). When a bisection of the world's population cannot participate fully and accord equally to any endeavour, performance is demeaning. (Agbalajobi, 2010). Every section of society feels the negative impact when the women's influence is not reckoned with at the frontline and made use of for more excellent outcomes. This gender hierarchical organization designate rights and obligations in the aspect of physiological differences between man and woman. The former is often considered physically stronger than the latter and is, therefore, required to participate more in physically-intense activities and labour-oriented roles.

Furthermore, unlike men who are considered a goal-oriented gender, women, on the other hand, are said to be emotionally driven (Olorunbunmi, 2015). Again, men are counted as the breadwinner of the home and hold the key to decision-making while women are noted for carrying out domestic chores and for reproductive roles (Gbadamosi, 2007). Interestingly, in the National Gender Policy document, Nigeria suggested 35 per cent affirmative action, as well as a more comprehensive representation reserved for women in at least 35 per cent of all political, elective and public service offices. This suggestion has not translated to any meaningful progress as Nigeria's social system entrenches male domination and inferiority of women in virtually all sectors of national life, resulting in gender disparity.

Women in society are more susceptible to cultural and social vices as well as poverty. There is, indeed, evidence that shows gender inequality from the enrolment to completion stages of primary, secondary and tertiary education in Nigeria (Oloyede, 2016). In the northern region, not less than 15 states have seen a high disparity in favour of males. In the Eastern part of the country where males drop out to partake in commercial and entrepreneurial ventures to augment home expenses, the difference can be seen in the popularity of females since attention is shifted, as the female becomes educated. In contrast, the male tends to venture more into business and trade. The Nigerian women immensely contribute to the nation's development, but their ability is believed not to have been fully exploited due to some impediments. It is against this background that this study is set.

B. Statement of Research Problem

Research on sexual harassment has usually tilted towards violence perpetrated against women either at home or in the workplace. The plethora of work provides critical exposure of the enormity of the challenge as well as the different ways in which countries have come to terms with the problem through legal frameworks. At the international level, the UN Women have remained vocal in its attempt to fight gender imbalance across the continent and in all facets of human endeavour. While some positive achievements have been recorded in some parts of the world, the result elsewhere remains discouraging. While these studies are specifically focused on gender discrimination, very few studies exist on sexual harassment of women in

politics with Sub-Saharan Africa (Nigeria and Uganda) as a case study.

That women commonly encounter monumental harassment in the political sphere is a familiar story, yet this situation is not only underreported but silenced even by the womenfolk. Several factors can be attributed to this but the mere fact that women in politics are so infinitesimal to know their number makes it difficult to make their case known. Also, because most of the time, women politicians assume political office through the aid of a very rigid patriarchal structure, they find it difficult to report or expose the perpetrator for fear of losing their seat or being victimised. Therefore, when sexual harassment cases become a news item or public knowledge, the crime swiftly disappears into thin air. Situations such as this provide very minute data to work with and explain why research is not focused on this particular area but on other areas or subjects where concrete data are available.

In Nigeria and Uganda, the literature on sexual harassment in politics is minimal, particularly in a comparative sense, although both countries have certain things in common. For instance, Nigeria and Uganda are both developing countries with similar political development and endemic patriarchal system inherent in their culture that subjugate women. While this aspect has been examined extensively, few studies exist on sexual harassment in the realm of politics, which explains the reasons for this study.

C. Research Questions

The research questions below are essential to fill the missing gaps concerning the physical and mental harassment of women in Nigerian and Uganda politics.

- i. What are the main causes of women's exclusion in Nigeria and Uganda's politics and governance between 1999 and 2019?

Several causes can be attributed to the subjugation or exclusion of women in politics, one of which is the endemic patriarchal system inherent in the culture of both countries. Another root cause is the intensification of the gender roles of males and females in both societies. While the former is renowned for producing wealth that will be used to cater for the household, women are said to be producers of children. In other words, women may not go outside the boundaries set for them based on their gender. While in Uganda, women have been mandated by the

constitution since 1995 to hold specifically dedicated seats in each district, this quota has not been able to fulfil its stated objectives because it pits women against each other for limited seats. The same cannot be said of Nigeria where a recent bill that would have given women at least a similar opportunity in the Nigerian parliament was thrown out.

- ii. What are some of the underlying factors responsible for women's physical/mental sexual harassment in the socio-political history of Nigeria and Uganda?

One of the major factors responsible for this can be viewed from the lens of weak laws that helps to strengthen the resolve of perpetrators of sexual crime against women. Also, many of the drafters of these laws are men who deliberately enshrine into these laws' weak penalties or minimal consequences against perpetrators of sexual harassment. As a result, women have had to contend with seeking justice where there is usually nonavailable for them. Since independence in 1960 and 1963 respectively, Nigeria and Uganda's political space have not provided enabling environment for women to be included in key decision-making processes such as in the aftermath of their respective civil wars and even in the decision to return to democratic rule. What this means is that the voices of women are still missing in key decision-making aspects of governance such that when cases of sexual harassment occur, women have no guarantee of justice even with laws put in place to punish the crime.

- iii. What policies have been pursued to obscure the gender inequality gap in Nigeria and Uganda's politics and governance since 1999?

Affirmative action, being members of the UN Women and several appointments of women into sensitive positions are a few of the policy shifts instituted to bridge the gender gap in Nigeria and Uganda but critics argue that these are yet to eliminate the several structural barriers set against women's participation in politics or even end sexual harassment in politics. In Uganda, Museveni appointed women as Prime Minister and Vice President and also increased the number of women in his cabinet. This may appear to be an important advantage for women but some arguments suggest that the appointments were simply an attempt to fortify Museveni's rule. In Nigeria, on the other hand, its president was quoted to have suggested that a woman belongs in the kitchen and the room when asked about what

his administration was doing to increase the role of women in politics (Raheem, 2021).

D. Objectives of the Study

This objective of the study is to understand the physical and mental sexual harassment of women in Sub-Saharan African politics, drawing upon a comparative analysis of Nigeria and Uganda. The main objectives are to:

- i. Investigate the root causes of women's subjugation in the area of politics and governance in Nigeria and Uganda;
- ii. Analyse the factors responsible for women's physical and mental sexual harassment in Nigeria and Uganda's socio-political history since 1999;
- iii. Examine strategies that have been put in place to create gender balance in sub-Saharan politics, both in Nigeria and Uganda, since 1999; and
- iv. Investigate the effects of physical/mental harassment of women on Nigeria and Uganda's political and socio-economic development.

E. Scope of the Study

This study covers issues around the physical and mental sexual harassment of women. The study area is in sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on Nigeria and Uganda. The commencement date of 1999 has been chosen because it marked the period scholars have referred to as the Third Wave of Democratisation. This was a period that saw many countries across the world returning to democratic forms of government, particularly after the end of the Cold War in 1990. Nigeria entered into the Third Wave in 1999 while Uganda called a constitutional referendum that abolished the almost two-decade-old ban on multi-party politics in 2005. The termination point of the study is in 2019, which provides ample space to approximate the overall impact of physical and mental sexual harassment of women in the last 20 years. Nigeria and Uganda share certain things in common – they are both developing countries and have similar political development. They also have endemic patriarchal systems inherent in their culture, which serves as an inhibiting factor for the inclusion of women and a potential vehicle for harassment in all forms and guises.

F. Significance of the Study

Sexual harassment has grown significantly since it became a subject of public interest. Despite some of the laws enacted locally among states and within the gender framework of international institutions such as the UN Women, the practice continues unabated. In the realm of politics, sexual harassment is underreported although it occurs on a large scale across the world. The study is, therefore, significant in many ways as it will include a detailed analysis of this issue and matters arising which will strongly serve as a policy guide for policymakers to provide stronger legislation that discourages sexual harassment of women not only in politics but across public and private sites. The study also intends to further academic knowledge and advance scholarship in women's emancipation. The study is, therefore, significant since it sheds more light on possible obstacles women face in their struggle against sexual harassment and how this practice can be avoided in the future to give women equal and more opportunities in politics without let or hindrance.

G. Definition of Terms

Physical violence and harassment

Physical violence can be defined as a process in which a person exercises control over another person, thereby, inflicting bodily harm and injury. Physical harassment implies body touch, holding, grabbing or other various forms of unwelcome physical contact. An example of physical violence can be viewed at a party rally in 2015 where a Ugandan activist was stripped naked by police. This act may have also involved the involuntary confinement of the activist. Another example includes a female candidate in Tunisia whose husband locked her in the house to bar her from attending a political campaign. Although globally recognized, the brutal nature of physical violence remains the least challenged form of violence. While this act seems to be rare, offenders often go in search of cost-effective ways to carry out sexual harassment before it escalates to physical assault.

Psychological violence and harassment

Psychological violence, also known as emotional abuse, usually inflicts severe health challenges on victims' emotional well-being or mental state either through

coercion, defamation, and verbal assault. An example of this includes the threat of death and rape made by a perpetrator or through the social media platforms. In another instance, an Afghan Member of Parliament, Malalai Joya, was called a prostitute by a male colleague and encountered the throwing of water bottles at her in parliament. Not only was she subjected to this brutal attack, but she was also removed by a show of hand, an act which violates official procedures required to suspend a sitting Member of Parliament, in 2007. Also, a local Japanese counsellor, Ayaka Shiomura, was mocked by her male co-workers by making unsavoury remarks while making a speech about doubling the number of women in the workforce. Psychological violence towards women has often led many into suicide or incurable depression.

Mental harassment

Mental harassment refers to disturbing behaviour that occurs within or around the environment that is deemed detrimental to one's sanity and peace of mind. This behaviour could be intimidating and demeaning such that it results in fear or life-threatening situations. Although mental harassment could come in form of a verbal attack or emotional push, it may also be physical in some cases. Mental harassment is a tool that is used to take advantage of women who are either active in partisan politics or aspire to hold political office. Female politicians deal with undue mental harassment to get into a position of power, especially in places where "godfatherism" persists.

Sexual violence and harassment

Sexual violence is an act or attempt carried out to obtain sexual favours through coercion against the victim's will. The fear of being stigmatized in public prevents many women from speaking about their experiences and encounters with sexual assault. Citing the instance of a prominent Nigerian pastor, Biodun Fatoyinbo, who was accused by one of his church members, Busola Dakolo, of allegedly raping her while under his care and at a time when she was still a teenager. The allegation resulted in Fatoyinbo stepping down temporarily from the church leadership while the victim has since not received any form of justice since the allegation was made in 2019.

Economic violence and harassment

Economic violence constitutes abuse that deliberately seeks to withhold or contain a woman's financial independence and resources, property, education or the labour market. Economic violence can be seen as property damage that ranges from petty vandalism to an attempt to downplay the viable economic livelihood of women. In Iraq, for instance, women's campaign posters are often defaced or shredded to force them to not participate in politics. British Member of Parliament, Angela Eagle, had her constituency office attacked after a brick was thrown through its window. When economic harassment is pursued, women's financial resources are withheld to minimise their capacity to fully perform their statutory roles and duties as representatives of political groups or constituencies.

Semiotic violence and harassment

Semiotic violence is the use of images, language and other symbols to exclude and marginalize women as political actors in a given environment. It is a concept that was developed in media studies to mean the removal or downplay of the power or strength of a certain group to pass across a negative impression about the societal value of the particular group. An example of this kind of violence was carried out on one of Nigeria's top music stars named Tiwa Savage whose partner accidentally posted an intimate X-rated video to his Snapchat account in early January 2021 before quickly deleting the content. Before the video was taken down, an alleged blackmailer got hold of it and threatened to release it if his demands were not met.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa is the other half of the African continent that ethnoculturally and geographically lies in the southern part of the Sahara. It covers virtually all the countries in the Western, Eastern, Central and Southern parts of Africa.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a suggestion that the pervasive harassment of women based on their sex is a consequence of social deviation (Leskinen, 2012). As a result, women experience rape, sexual harassment and violence by spouses and non-intimate partners with strangers not left out. Also, In both private and public spaces, sexual harassment is usually neglected by employers in order to understate its intensity and to allow it to fester (Pierce et al, 1998). This continues to occur because many cases are underreported or swept immediately under the carpet when they occur.

Cases of sexual harassment remained prevalent and ignored until a time when in the United States, the Civil Rights Movement took a political initiative in the 1960s to address the issue but also to prepare the ground for a significant understanding and explanation of what sexual harassment is in regard to the peculiar factor of gender discrimination (Melnick, 2018). A specific definition was given during the Women's Movement popular around the 1970s where the focus was placed on the diverse composition of gender-based violence towards women (Baker, 2007). It was this that triggered interest in the subject by academics, legal scholars, social scientists among others in related and non-related fields who came up with various perspectives on what constitutes sexual harassment.

A. What is Sexual Harassment?

The question above is a difficult one to respond to given the understanding of what the term, sexual harassment connotes from one society to another. This explains why several definitions herald the term. While international organisations, particularly those dealing with issues around women, have their specific ideas on what sexual harassment connotes, regional, continental, national and sub-national states also have different views on the subject. Despite these varied positions by each polity, there is an agreement that the act occurs in everyday life across the world and mostly affects women, although men and children are also impacted by the behaviour (Eskridge Jr., 2004). It is also agreed that sexual harassment victims face one form of

mental, psychological or physical health challenge, particularly when justice is not adequately served.

Notwithstanding, it is noteworthy to state that globally, women experience one form of violence or the other and live under this challenge daily (MacKinnon, 1979). Women, since time immemorial, have been victims of men's hubris, a behaviour that was usually condoned by society as well as approved by the judicial system. In many societies, men were permitted to mete out physical assault on their wives and even murder them. The case of honour killings in modern India continues unabated and has its roots in ancient Hindu scriptures (Shoro, 2019). In medieval Europe, the church and state sanctioned the burning of witches who were mostly women (Levack, 2013). In Nigeria, women experience all kinds of physical and verbal harassment across local markets and are usually assaulted when they refuse to purchase a good from the seller (Raheem & Adejo, 2022). Throughout history and into contemporary times, men have caused serious atrocities upon women mainly because of their sex or gender. Women have not been free from violence and being harassed is not a new phenomenon as the behaviour continues with the same vigour in contemporary times (Segrave, 1994).

Sexual harassment is defined by the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as sexual advances and requests for sexual favours that are unwelcome among other physical or verbal behaviour linked to a sexual nature (USEEOC, undated). The Commission notes that "when this explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment," then a sexual misconduct has occurred (USEEOC, undated). Before the 1970s and up to the early 1980s, it was difficult to find a word that specifically identify conducts that could be considered improper in the context in which such conduct occurred. However, conduct that shows a sexual connotation and which is unwelcome is termed sexual harassment.

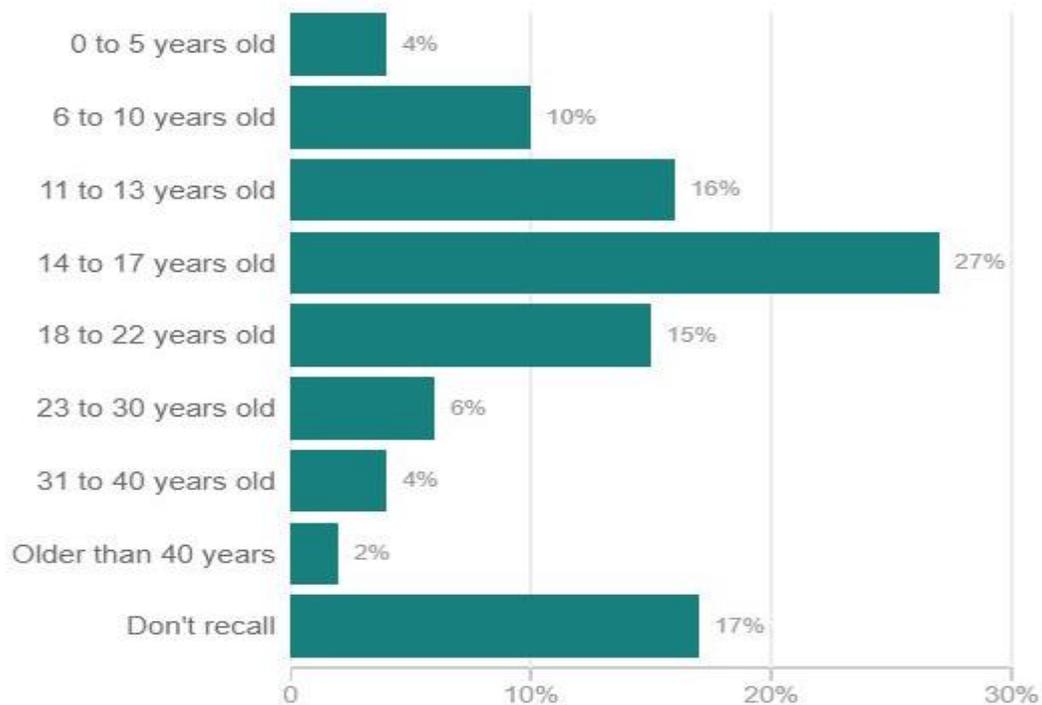


Figure 1 Age at which female first experienced sexual harassment or assault

Source: Stop Street Harassment

While this definition may appear straightforward, the term, sexual connotation, requires some more explanation. According to MacKinnon (1979), sexual harassment is the enforcement of sexual requisite that is undesired in the circumstance of an association of unbalanced power. Others such as Uggen and Blackstone (2004) define the term within the context of class, age, caste, gender and race of the victim. The International Labour Organisation (2015) takes sexual harassment to mean a conduct “of a sexual nature that affects the dignity of women and men, which is considered as unwanted, unacceptable, inappropriate and offensive to the recipient, and that creates an intimidating, hostile, unstable or offensive work environment.”

Based on an aggregation of theoretical and empirical positions, sexual harassment is viewed by Fitzgerald (1990) as the “sexualisation of an instrumental relationship through the introduction or imposition of sexual remarks, requests or requirements in the context of formal power differences.” Given the above definition, it is clear that they all suffer from one limitation or the other and as such have no complementary link to what Jiloha (2021) refers to as psychological consequences which will be explained in subsequent sections of the review.

B. Types of Sexual Harassment

Based on the recent high rate of sexual harassment charges across all facets of human life, it has proved somewhat difficult to give a definite number or the types of sexual harassment noticeable at any one time or place. Sexual harassment can be viewed as a form discrimination that is associated with the sex of the victim (Siegel, 2004). The practise occurs when an unwelcome sexual approach or verbal expression is made for sexual gratification or direct physical advances of a sexual nature are made towards another gender.

Why it has proved difficult to point out the different types of sexual harassment conduct is because it is a term that is viewed from various fields of study among scholars. The sociological angle (Lach and Wartney-Gibbs, 1993, 102-115) is one while the legal (Chan, 1994) and behavioural (Harned et al, 2002, 174-188) lenses are another. Some scholars appraise sexual harassment from two angles - the bothersome and the frightening (Isis et al, 2011, 600-608). Three forms of sexual harassment, in a broad sense, have been identified by D'Amore Law Group (2020) which are verbal, non-verbal sexual harassment as well as physical sexual contact.

Verbal sexual harassment implies an expression that is verbal but of a sexual nature to a person considered to be a disinclined recipient (Shoukry, 2008). Examples of this are commenting on a person's appearance; giving expression of the desire to carry out sexual conduct; telling sexual jokes; making use of sexually-suggestive nicknames or terms of endearment; requesting sexual favours; speaking in a sexual tone; using sexually-explicit language among others. In the case of non-verbal sexual harassment, this involves unwanted sexual behaviour that is non-verbal and cannot be counted as a physical sexual encounter (Shoukry, 2008). Examples include forwarding sexually explicit emails or text messages; blowing kisses to an opposite or same-sex; stalking, and exposing one's body deliberately among others. The third category is physical sexual contact which involves undesired physical interaction regarded as sexual assault, although this depends on the intensity of the contact. Instances of this include unwanted kissing, hugging or touching; grabbing or patting at the back, and groping to mention a few (D'Amore Law Group, 2020).

Notwithstanding the different scholarly positions that are used to sustain the arguments on the number or types of sexual harassment conduct found in everyday

life, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) provides an interesting category that has since been a model for many countries around the world in terms of sexual harassment types. The EEOC is a United States federal government agency that enforces laws that prohibit the discrimination of persons associated with their race, disability, beliefs, gender, age, origin, colour or genetic condition (EEOC).

Two types of sexual harassment have been formulated under the United States Civil Rights Act (Title VII) - quid pro quo and hostile work environment sexual harassment. The former, that is quid pro quo, is to ask for a thing in exchange for another and from the literal meaning, suggests an exchange of sexual favour in order to gain or claim some workplace benefit (Dickinson, 1995, 108-109). For instance, this type of sexual harassment may occur when a higher-ranked employee requests sexual favours from a lower-ranked employee in return for a benefit, senior promotion or higher wages that other employees are excluded from although they merit such. In this case, this higher-ranked employee usually has the power to provide the favour (Lee & Greenlaw, 1996). Quid pro quo sexual harassment emerges often as a one-time act rather than following a set pattern of behaviour. This is done to gain grounds for making claims of quid pro quo sexual harassment.

A Hostile Work Environment, as its name implies, is a category of sexual harassment which occurs when a hostile work environment is created in an organisation (Crain, 1995). This behaviour may be perpetrated by anyone, whether such a person is a high-ranking employee, co-worker, supervisor or client. Harassment of this nature does not necessarily have to be targeted at a victim directly (Brennan, 1995). What this means is that one can be a victim of this type of sexual harassment even if it directly affects a co-worker or superior. For instance, indecent pictures sent to a co-worker or lewd expressions of a sexual nature targeted at a family member may cause mental, psychological or other harmful effects upon the person which affects the productivity or sociable nature of the victim (Mellor and Gola, 2014). Despite not being directly affected, a victim's poor frame of mind affects the work rate or relationship of those not directly affected by a hostile work environment.

C. Sexual Harassment in Different Social Contexts

Sexual harassment is usually taken to mean an unwelcome sexual approach that occur in most cases in the workplace or schools. It is often taken for granted that the act also occurs in another social context such as in the home, in the market, at hospitals, in a relationship as well as within marriages. Incidentally, these other contexts are not as exposed as one would expect such that intimate sexual harassment has been normalised that it is usually difficult to understand the concept. The different social context in which sexual harassment occurs is examined below.



Figure 2 35 per cent of women globally shown to have experienced gender-based violence

Source: UN Women

1. Sexual Harassment in Marriage

According to a study, 76 per cent of the public claim that wives are forced by their husbands to have sex while 80 per cent agree that this occurs oftentimes (Basile, 1999). This is not only a damning report card of what married women experience in

their marital homes, they encounter unwanted sexual advances from their spouses which eventually results in unwanted sex. Basile (2002) shows that more than a third of women in a marriage report that they were pressured by a current or former spouse into having sex, expect sex having paid money or humiliated into having unwanted sex. The impact of this behaviour on victims is numerous. Women who experience this often take to cheating, encounter sleep deprivation, the threat to life, children and financial support and withdrawal of affection.

Marital sexual harassment is singularly severe and in most cases targets women who are assaulted sexually by a partner than by a person who harasses them at the workplace or even in public (Christian & Phin, 2017). Despite the severe cases of sexual harassment experienced by married women, many cases are usually downplayed. Given the above, the question that comes to mind is: what necessitates sexual harassment in marriages, given that both parties are in a union to meet their sexual needs? A response to this can be found in mutual consent or situation. When this is missing, sexual harassment and even assault occur.

In a relationship, a partner may sometimes feel no urge for sex which is part of the natural workings of the body. This may not turn out well for the other partner who ignores the former's needs and, therefore, take to coercion and in some cases, marital rape (Santhya et al, 2007). Sexual coercion, like sexual harassment, is seen as an unwelcome sexual action that occurs when a partner is forced, tricked or threatened in a non-physical form (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). What this suggests is that marital harassment includes a partner continually requesting sex, yet sexually harassing the partner and threatening to hold on to a need against the other should he or she fail to submit. The line is crossed when non-consensual sex occurs which usually can be found among married couples.

2. Sexual Harassment in Relationships

People usually liken romantic relationships with consent which fuels the general misconception that sexual assault or harassment cannot occur between persons in a relationship. This view is not true. Sexual harassment in relationships means a form of behaviour in any relationship, be it intimate, romantic, intimate or familial, that is used to advance or assert control over a person. This can appear as verbal or non-verbal, physical or non-physical, psychological, emotional, sexual or

economic actions that influence a person. It also includes any form of behaviour that may humiliate, hurt, blame or manipulate someone (Rennison & Welchans, 2000).

Women who experience sexual harassment by an intimate partner in a relationship, according to Bennice & Resick (2003), contend with very dangerous risks that are not only different but have the potential to impact negatively on their mental, physical, emotional and psychological health than those who encounter violence of a physical nature only. Campbell & Soeken (1999) reveal that women who are in a relationship and forced by their male partners into having sex are at the greatest risk of being murdered by the latter. Howard et al (2003) contend that intimate partner sexual harassment was more difficult for women to open up to publicly than other types of sexual abuse. Even when the women open up about her experience, the sexual violence aspect is blurred. Hence, physical sexual harassment is not enough to be asked about but also the sexual harassment or assault part.

3. Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

As the world gradually becomes a global village, society, too, has been transformed and continues to evolve with time. The workplace in times past was a place where people converge to transact business and offer any kind of services beneficial to mankind. Today, this has changed as the workplace has expanded to become a remote place or no physical location with very few employees working within the remote setting or doing so from home (Brown et al, 2009). Employees in both categories are required to execute given duties and meet a target. Some employees work using the social media platform and relate with their unit heads via email or telecommunication gadgets. What this presupposes is that the workplace has changed dramatically and transformed ways of doing things (Brown et al, 2009). Notwithstanding, this new reality of what is considered a workplace, whether it is in the house or an office building, does not shield sexual harassment conduct that employees experience.

Undoubtedly, sexual harassment is a critical problem in the workplace. Annually, hundreds of male and female employees submit a report of their experience to employers and government agents while a few file lawsuits to seek justice. Among several surveys carried out in the workplace in regards to sexual harassment, result show that close to 9000 women reacted with nine out of ten

reporting that they were once targets of sexual harassment in their respective workplaces (Safran, 1976). In another survey carried out by a popular magazine with over 9000 readers, the result found that over 60 per cent of women claimed to have been harassed while more than a third of respondents reported that they knew a fellow worker who had experienced sexual harassment (Sandroff, 1992).

Interestingly, the number of employees who complain of being sexually harassed both in the public and private sectors remains on the increase. Not only have employment complaints surged in the last few decades, but sexual harassment is also today the basis on which a third of all harassment claims are prosecuted by government agencies charged with investigating the conduct in the workplace (Bradbery & Lally, 2002).

For a long period, workplace sexual harassment was regarded as a personal problem although it is a very grave form of employment discrimination whose victims are mostly women. Despite enabling laws criminalising workplace sexual harassment, enforcement was weak. By the 1970s, following revelations in surveys on the widespread nature of the behaviour in the workplace, sexual harassment began to be taken with utmost seriousness (Boland, 2005). A former American university professor, Anita Hills' testimony to the United States Congress in 1991 against a nominee of the Supreme Court set the pace for many women and men to take action by complaining and seeking justice for being sexually harassed in their respective workplaces (Boland, 2005).

Sexual harassment in the workplace is often credited to workplace attributes such as organisational tolerance. The conduct may also occur when there is an imbalance of dividends between heads and workers. Indeed, the higher dividend for workers and lower dividend for heads usually exposes the workers to sexual harassment by heads who may request sexual favours from the former in exchange for a performance-related incentive or positive performance review (Lin et al, 2014). One contributing factor to this is the power imbalance between the worker and head which can lead the latter into dismissing workplace rules on the infelicity of workplace sexual harassment. Based on this imbalance, the worker is affected negatively and may succumb to being harassed because of the perception that there is no alternative employment to seek elsewhere (Lin et al, 2014).

4. Sexual Harassment in Schools

Like elsewhere, sexual harassment occurs in the school. It is unwanted conduct of a sexual type that impedes a child or student's right to take advantage of an equal educational opportunity. Sexually harassing conduct that can impede a student's educational opportunity includes written and verbal, gestures and unwelcome physical contact (Stein, 1999). Other behaviours may include sexual abuse, rape and assault.

Discussions on sexual harassment of students usually create the belief that teachers or adults elsewhere are the perpetrators. Many take it for granted that student sexual harassment is also caused by students. From a survey data pulled from a nationwide sample of 1,203 students from grades eight to eleven in the United States, the occurrence, intensity and effect of sexual harassment were examined (Lee et al, 1996). The study showed that close to 83 per cent of girls and 60 per cent of boys identified that they encountered unwanted sexual courtesies from their fellow students.

Sexual harassment in schools appears in several forms. As previously defined, it is a situation whereby a student is forced into unwanted sexual attention. Incidentally, the problem goes deeper because students who are victims of this conduct hardly talk about it to their teachers or parents yet in some instances feel free to discuss it with their peers. To corroborate this position, Lewis and Hastings (1994) observe that girls after the age of 12 are to a lesser extent likely to discuss the subject of sexual harassment and most likely endure it for fear of its consequences. Sexual harassment in the school can be seen in terms of the peculiar condition of trust held by school workers. Parents enrol their children in school under the care of school educators because they expect the child to progress academically and also to shape and influence positively the child's mental growth, character and personal development (Timmerman, 2003). When this objective is missing, considering that children are far more vulnerable to peer pressure and grooming by an adult, such a child may experience sexual harassment.

D. Past and Existing Sexual Harassment Laws

Over the past years, legal jurisdiction has been proscribed globally to stem the

rising cases of sexual harassment in various organisational settings. Despite the presence of these laws, sexual harassment continues to surge as many men and women experience this behaviour in their workplaces (McDonald, 2012). Given the existence of sexual harassment in public and private settings whose effects have been wide-ranging, varieties of laws have emerged over the years to address the issue. While the impact of these laws has been positive in some polities, the situation appears displeasing elsewhere. Observations by the National Council for Research on Women (1991) show that during their career, 50 per cent of women which is half in the workplace are expected to be sexually harassed.

Similarities, as well as differences in definition and laws, exist around the world on what constitutes sexual harassment. Approaches to how sexual crime is punished under each country's laws vary. Sexual harassment law and its effectiveness can be seen in more developed countries than in developing or less developed countries. Starting with the United States, there exist several legal options for sexual harassment complaints in the country which include filling a common law tort, mediation, filing a claim under the federal government's EEOC or the state government's Fair Employment Practices statute, among others.

Importantly, not every sexual harassment case is considered serious enough as a condition for a legal claim. According to Boland (2002), there are various types of sexually harassing conduct and, therefore, no least possible degree for sexual harassing behaviour as enshrined in the law. Several victims usually experience sexual harassment yet have very weak legal case to prosecute a culprit. Given this situation, and since there is a preference for a settlement, some cases die off without reaching the federal courts.

Sexual harassment has a long history in the United States (MacKinnon & Siegel, 2008). As far back as 1980, the EEOC came up with guidelines firmly stating that sexual harassment formed a category of discrimination that violated the Civil Rights Act (Title VII). Interestingly, issues dealing with sex were of little concern when the 1964 Civil Rights Act was drafted. With time, Title VII included a ban against sexual harassment and has been interpreted to consider sexual harassment two of which are basic and earlier mentioned – quid pro quo and hostile work environment.

After the Civil Rights Act was passed twenty-two years later and six years

after the EEOC developed its guidelines on sexual harassment, the United States Supreme Court ruled to the effect that sexual harassment breached the proscription against sexual discrimination. In *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, however, the Supreme Court's decision failed to declare the issue over what type of behaviour form harassment and the degree of proof that is to be provided to make a proper case in court (Lee and Greenlaw, 1995). By 1993, the appellate courts were said to have been confused over the level of extremity that underpins hostile environment claims for the complainant to prevail in court. Given the confusion, the Supreme Court had to take a middle ground between the appellate courts' decisions whose outcome applied to all employees whether at the federal, state or local government tiers of government (Lee and Greenlaw, 1995).

The emergence of sexual harassment regulations in the United States as well as other accompanying case law went on to influence legal developments abroad (Karr, 1991). Switzerland, for instance, has the Federal Constitution (Article 4, Paragraph 2 of the old Federal Constitution) of 1981 with the adoption in Article 8, paragraph 2 of the revised Constitution, a ban on discrimination (Berenstein et al, 2018). The Federal Act on Gender Equality of 1995 also included a ban on sexual harassment in the workplace. This act is among some provisions which proscribe discrimination in the area of employment while also aiding to promote equality in the workplace (Berenstein et al, 2018). Articles 4, 5 and 10 of the Gender Equality Act define the circumstances, legal rights and protection against being sacked while in the complaints process, respectively (Singh, 2008).

Further statutory provisions that prohibit sexual harassment can be found included in Article 328, paragraph 1 of the Code of Obligations (OR), Article 198 (2) of the Penal Code (StGB) and Article 6, paragraph 1 of the Employment Act (ArG) (Bewes, 2020). What makes Switzerland's sexual harassment prohibition law effective is that it is targeted exclusively at organisations, within the limits of their obligation for security of legal personality, physical, mental, health and general wellbeing (Stewart, 2020).

Given the increasing rate of sexual violence around the world, many countries in Europe and elsewhere have commenced the implementation or revision of sexual harassment laws. Below is a survey of some countries where specific sexual harassment legislation exists. The table, however, does not reflect current realities as

most countries have strengthened legislation around sexual harassment in recent years.

Table 1 Special legislation on sexual harassment by select countries

Country	Special Legislation
Australia	Yes (1984)
Belgium	Yes (recently reported to have changed)
Canada	Yes
Denmark	No (case law holding that harassment is discrimination)
France	Yes
Germany	No (case law holding that harassment is discrimination)
Ireland	Yes (1985)
Netherlands	Yes (1992)
New Zealand	Yes
Norway	No (but case law)
Spain	Yes (1989)
Sweden	Yes (1991)
Switzerland	No (but case law)
UK	No (but case law)
US	Yes (and case law)

Source: Earle and Madek

Narrowing it down to Nigeria, it is observed that out of the thirty-six states in Nigeria, only Abuja and Lagos State have precise definitions of what constitutes workplace sexual harassment which applies to the residences of the two states. It is also noted that the labour and criminal laws in Nigeria had no particular provision reserved for sexual harassment for a very long time until recently (Aina-Pelemo et al, 2019). As recently as 2015, the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act was passed. It is aimed at tackling any form of violence against anyone whether in private or public life. The provisions in the Act cover the vital forms of violence in the country. This ranges from social and economic violence, physical violence, and sexual violence among others (VAPP, 2015).

In 2020, the Nigerian Senate passed the Anti-Sexual Harassment (2020) bill whose legislation was aimed at promoting ethical standards across Nigeria's higher institutions and also protecting university students from sexual harassment perpetrated by their teachers (Orizu, 2020). Although this law was greeted with positive feedback, the leadership of the Academic Staff Union of Universities opposed the bill because it was prejudiced against university lecturers. The bill, in the Union's view, should have addressed sexual harassment in a general sense and

captured all sectors of national life (Obiamalu, 2020).

Uganda's case is an interesting one, given that laws exist to direct the issue of sexual harassment such as the penal code amendment Act of 2009 and the employment Act of 2006, the practice continues unabated, particularly in the workplace which is unnoticed and often taken for granted for fear of victims losing their jobs or to avoid being victimised. Notwithstanding the problem of implementation, the penal code amendment Act of 2009 contains clauses that are directed toward the protection of women from sexual offences which comes with rigid penalties. In section 7 of the Employment Act of 2006, sexual harassment covers areas that deal with employment and necessitates that an employer needs to put several measures in place to forestall all forms of sexual harassment (Kiwalabye, 2011).

E. Past and Present Sexual Harassment Cases in Politics

While sexual harassment is prevalent in the workplace for which research has been carried out, dearth of research exists on the same challenge in the political arena. Even when the MeToo movement emerged a few years ago (Hillstrom, 2019), many of the perpetrators came from the public and private sectors. What this suggests, in other words, is that cases of sexual harassment appear greater in the workplace than in the political space. This argument is not likely to be true, although there are very few available data that help to confirm the degree or level of sexual harassment that abound in the realm of politics.

The case of three Nigerian legislators accused by the U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria of sexual harassment while on an official trip to the country in 2016 did not create the sort of uproar that such a case would have generated elsewhere (Saharareporters, 2016). Since 2016 when the case was reported by the US government, no consequences have been meted on the perpetrators of such behaviour. While women than men are usually the victim of cases of sexual harassment in politics, their case is not helped by several other challenges they face such as religious and cultural prejudice, economic challenges, and violence among others (Oyekola, 2021).

Cases of sexual harassment in Ugandan politics can be viewed from the lens

of social media where women who indicate interest in politics experience online bullying, sexualised insults, and body shaming among others (Achieng, 2021). In a recent study by a Ugandan-based feminist civic tech organisation, three women were observed to have been the victim of online violence while 66 per cent blocked perpetrators who committed online sexual harassment. Also, 14.5 per cent went on to deactivate their social media accounts to avoid abuses (Kakande, 2021). The peculiarity in Ugandan politics stems from the fact that the presidential election, for the first time, was held deploying scientific tools which meant that electoral campaigns were held virtually online. The reason for this change in the electoral process was to align with prevention measures necessitated by the Covid-19 pandemic. To engage with voters, politicians, including women, take advantage of digital and social media tools. Despite the very serious sexual harassment cases, women politicians in Uganda faced, very little was done by the regulatory agencies and government as a whole to try to bring perpetrators to book.

F. Response and Strategies against Sexual Harassment

Based on the intensity of sexual harassment cases and the challenges it continues to pose to the physical and mental health of victims, states, international institutions and workplace organisations have come up with a variety of responses and strategies to tackle the behaviour. That sexual harassment remains one of the most problematic behaviours that workers and everyday people often deal with, either at the workplace or in private spaces, cannot be disputed (Neethling, 2006). It is problematic because most of the time, victims are unable to effect the necessary change to better their situation. One who witnesses a case of sexual harassment may show empathy towards a victim yet be afraid to speak up for fear of losing his or her job. Despite the tough choice between taking action against a superior, there are many ways to deal with the situation.

1. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (United States)

Based on a state-centred context, many countries have come up with laws against sexual harassment, whether it is physical, mental or otherwise, in order to protect employees and safeguard citizens from the catastrophic effects of sexual harassment at all levels. Beginning with the Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

(EEOC, 1964), the United States landmark Act prohibited the discrimination of persons based on their belief, colour, national origin, race or sex. This was also extended to persons in view of their connections with individuals of a particular race, belief, national origin and sex. To a large extent, this Act has prevented a worrying situation where women and men are harassed based, in particular, on their sex, although cases continue to grow slowly across the state. That legislation exists and protects victims from falling into mental and psychological health challenges has helped to caution society against abuse of power which often results in sexual assault and gender-based violence, either at the workplace or home.

The response to the Act was not immediate and it would take another three decades or more to emphasize its importance through strategies put in place by women groups and other pressure organisations within the United States. Today, while sexual harassment remains a factor in the United States, there is most certainly an assurance that victims would get justice. The case of former American film producer, Harvey Weinstein, is a case in point (Auletta, 2022).

2. International Institution (UN Women)

In the context of international institutions, the role played by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, popularly called UN Women, in addressing sexual harassment globally cannot be overemphasized. The UN Women as a key UN organisation that champions gender equality for women recognises sexual harassment as an offshoot of the structural imbalance in men and women (Sen et al, 2018). At the core of its mission is, therefore, fighting to end all forms of sexual violence and discrimination that debases women globally.

Part of what the UN Women aims at is to develop a victims-rights approach to what it calls sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA). It emerges as a sort of victims' rights charter that deals with addressing the trend of sexual harassment. In line with its zero-tolerance approach to sexual misconduct, the UN Women adopted the following recommendations (Sen et al, 2018):

- A UN System Model Policy on Sexual Harassment that is applicable to all organisations. This is expected to underpin strengthened and aligned sexual harassment policies throughout the UN system and is intended to provide a common,

harmonized framing for all entities to use in their work;

- A “ClearCheck” Sexual Harassment Screening Database to avoid re-hiring of individuals whose employment in the system ended due to their perpetration of sexual harassment. The database Guidelines have been expanded to include individuals with pending allegations of sexual harassment who leave employment before the completion of the process;

- Development of a mechanism for system-wide data collection and analysis for timely and accurate reporting and evidence-based policymaking. It will also capture results of a system-wide staff survey;

- Initiatives to strengthen investigative capacity across the UN system, including through agreement for a joint meeting in November 2018 between the Task Force and members of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) to discuss the work of investigatory bodies;

- Draft Model Code of Conduct to prevent sexual harassment during and in relation to UN events;

- Assessment of helplines/hotlines and support for the development of a framework of best practices for these;

- Perception survey on the views of staff and non-staff personnel across 31 UN systems and related entities.

The UN Women recognises that for a lasting and meaningful change to address sexual harassment, leadership and cultural changes across the world remain at its foundation (Sen, 2018).

3. The United Kingdom

One of the major instruments set out to recognise, protect as well as enforce peoples’ right to live free from any threat of sexual harassment is through the formulation of enabling laws. In the United Kingdom (UK), sexual harassment is generally underreported for several reasons. Plans have been underway by pressure groups and human rights proponents to develop a bill that would apply to the UK’s unique case of sexual harassment (Lincoln, 2020). The bill comprises the important aspect of public space as well as the sexual and mental elements which include the intention to harass. It also includes any form of sexual harassment in public and

recognises commensurate sanctions in monetary terms or a year prison sentence. Its promoters are of the view that the police, judicial officers, prosecutors, the general public and victims would be clarified on the contents of the law.

The UK already have a law in place to cater for sexual harassment in the workplace (Equality Act, 2010). However, third parties such as customers who harass women or men in the workplace are not covered by any legal obligation where employers are mandated to take action against them. It is on this premise that the promoters of the above-named bill propose legislation that would fill the missing gaps in the government bill to secure workers' safety in the workplace.

4. Sexual Harassment Bill (Nigeria)

Nigeria is one of the countries globally where there is no precise and existing national law on sexual harassment but separate legal provisions. Within the apex body of Nigeria's legal profession, for instance, there exists no policy that prevents, addresses or prohibits cases of sexual harassment although many cases of this ugly behaviour are noticeable among its members (Aina-Pelemo, 2021). The Lagos State government through the instrument of its Lagos State Criminal Law (Section 262, 2011) addresses the issue of sexual harassment in both sectors of the economy irrespective of magnitude or type of business. The law criminalises sexual harassment that clearly or not impacts or meddles with the job of an employee or academic attainments or initiates an offensive, hostile, aggressive or intimidating working space. Anyone found guilty of sexual harassment in Lagos state is liable to three years imprisonment (Abudu, 2017).

Given the rise of sexual/gender-based violence across the country, some states have been caused to come up with laws either to criminalise or condemn sexual harassment. Some of these laws include The Lagos State Prohibition Against Domestic Violence Law 2007; The Ekiti State Gender-Based Violence (Prohibition) Law 2019; The Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015 as well as several other corresponding laws across states of the federation.

The Nigerian constitution provides a legal framework for sexual harassment in the public. In the 1999 constitution, sections 34 and 42 stipulates citizen's right of the dignity and the right to freedom from discrimination, respectively (Action4Justice, undated). While these aspects of the law are not specific to sexual

harassment and in most cases may not provide the needed succour to victims, some changes were made in 2020 when more robust legislation to combat and punish sexual harassment was passed into law by the Nigerian legislative arm. It was a move as part of a broader initiative to maintain ethics in the country's ivory towers. Based on the increasing cases of sexual harassment in Nigeria's universities, the law turned out to be hailed as landmark legislation as it provides jail time of two years to university teachers found guilty of sexual overtures and harassment toward students. The law also imposed penalties or prison terms for authorities of higher institutions who ignore reports of sexual misconduct against any of its staff (Adebayo, 2020).

G. Why Women Hardly Report Gender-Based Violence Cases

Despite the responses and strategies put in place by global institutions, and national and state governments as highlighted above, women who are most affected by sexual harassment find it difficult to expose perpetrators of this conduct. The fact that cases of this nature are not reported worsens the situation of the victim who may take longer to heal or never heal. Gender-based violence can be regarded as violence against women, although this definition can sometimes include violence against men and children where such an act occurs based on their assigned gender identity (Aghtai & Gangoli, 2015). Data collected from various surveys show a high number of gender-based violence cases against women exist globally (Krug et al, 2022). In western countries, for instance, about 25 per cent of women in their lifetime face different forms of domestic violence (Women et al, 1992). Despite these troubling statistics, cases of gender-based violence are often hardly reported. Some of the reasons why this occur are numerous. They include fear of retaliation, ostracization, economic dependency, blame from society, shame, and privacy among others (Gracia, 2004). Beyond these, gender prejudices and stereotypes, which are in some cases based on religious, traditional and cultural norms, continue to penetrate the legal system and as such forecloses the opportunity open to the female to get justice effectively for victims of violence. This has resulted in the pervading silence among victims who have not only lost hope in the judicial system but fear that their grievance may never be heard by a judge who may be sympathetic to the perpetrators.

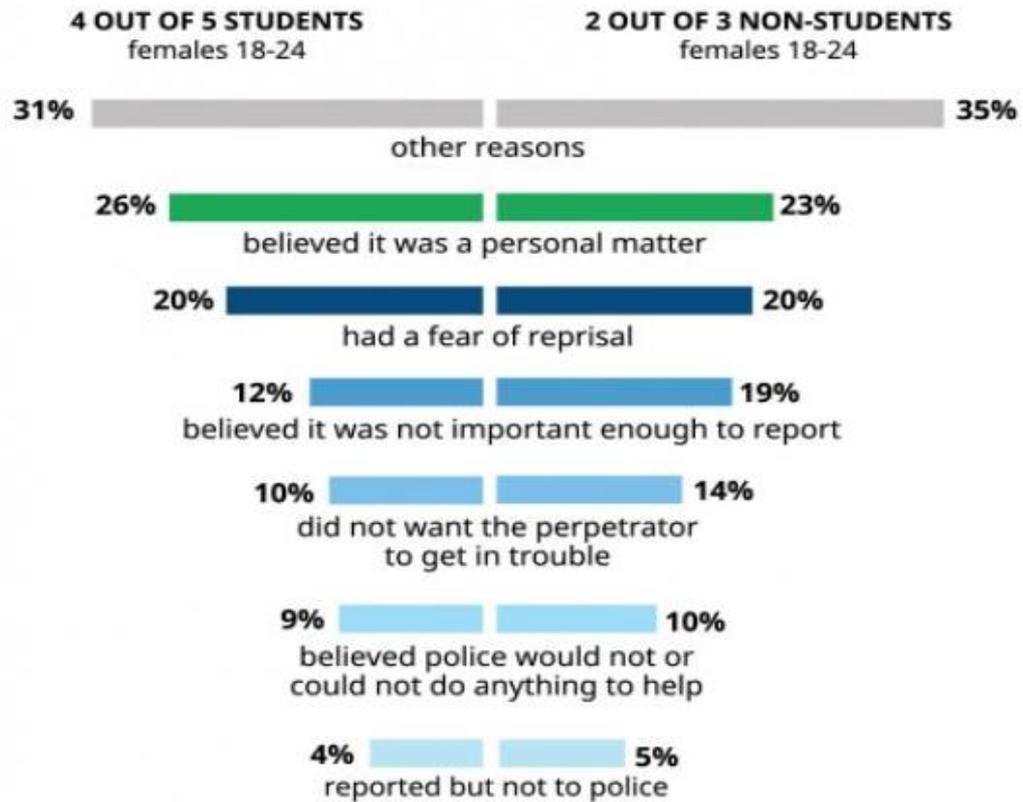


Figure 3 Reasons victims cited for not reporting harassment cases

Source: rain.org/statistics/campus-sexual-violence

Figure 2.2 above provides details on some of the reasons victims of sexual harassment refuse to report their encounters to law enforcement agencies. From interviews conducted with students (4 out of 5) and non-students (2 out of 3), it shows that for the former, 4 per cent reported their experience but not to the police while for the latter, only 5 per cent did the same. While 9 per cent of students believe that the police would not take proactive steps if cases are reported to them, 10 per cent of non-students believe the same. Also, 10 and 14 per cent of students and non-students, respectively, thought that reporting would amount to getting the perpetrator in trouble. 12 and 19 per cent believed the situation was not so important enough to report, 26 and 23 per cent claim it was a personal matter while 31 and 35 per cent gave other unnamed reasons why they refused to report their experience to law enforcement agencies.

As long as men and women continue to share the same workplace, sexual harassment will continue. However, when legislation prohibiting this conduct is put in place, strengthened and criminalised, there is a possibility of restraint. Given the impact sexual harassment has on the victim, the passage of legislation to combat the

behaviour has increased globally. It is, indeed, an acknowledgement by governments around the world of the seriousness of the behaviour. Many Asian countries, for instance, have passed laws banning sexual harassment in the workplace (Najafizadeh & Lindsey, 2019). Hong Kong's Sex Discrimination Ordinance was passed a few years ago as a measure to protect service providers from sexual harassment by customers (Barrow, 2022).

As explained previously, several reasons contribute to why victims of harassment rarely come out or open up about their experiences. However, several factors exist that make a sexual harassment case worthy of reporting. The first is the law. For instance, federal, state and local laws in the United States protect victims from retaliation when cases of sexual harassment are reported or filed. Victims who file a lawsuit on sexual harassment or put forward a case of sexual harassment to his or her employer or the EEOC is protected under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1964). The Title VII is so vocal about retaliation that even if a court eventually comes with a verdict that states a victim was not harassed, he or she is protected from any untoward acts by an employer. Also, anyone in the workplace is required to retain the services of an attorney that would advocate for one's rights when sexual harassment occurs. It gives such a person confidence and obliterates fear of reporting the crime once it occurs.

Another factor that makes a case worthy of reporting is the presence of an employer's company policy. Many companies globally now have policies and laws on ways to report sexual harassment. In a situation where an employee is harassed, the policy of the company may direct him or her to a direct supervisor, anyone in the chain of command, the head of the Human Resources, any other representative or through other reporting mechanisms. Once this step is followed, the company is obligated by law to take action to see that the victim seeks justice or compensation.

One other factor can be found in the powers of the union where the victim is employed. The victim can share his or her experience with a union representative who can serve as an intercessor between the victim and the company. This opportunity is usually opened for victims who feel uncomfortable speaking directly with the harasser or supervisor or Human Resources.

H. Gender-Based Violence, Challenges and Effects on Women's Participation in Politics

Gender-based violence remains widespread because it is driven by previously-existing gender disparities, abuse, discrimination and disregard for human rights. One of the major challenges of gender-based violence is inadequate local legislation and the problem of implementation of gender-based violence laws (Pickup et al, 2001).

A root cause of gender-based violence can be attributed to the uneven power relations. In most developing countries, wage earnings of women are often meagre or smaller than what the men earn. The income disparity gives men an economic edge over women. The challenge usually comes when the woman refuses to leave a union where she is battered by domestic violence because of this economic disparity. In the end, she becomes a victim of her inability to be economically independent.

Another challenge is hunger where women are most vulnerable. When there is food scarcity, women usually turn out to be the first victim of gender-based violence. To reduce burdens on food wages, families force early marriage on their young daughters while the dowry is then collected and used to stock the house with food or saved to augment the small amount of food left. Women who fall into this marriage trap sometimes end up as sex workers. With a shortage of money, there is usually an increase in tension in the family which could escalate to violence that affects the woman and girl child.

There is no doubt that gender-based violence continues to harm women's inclusiveness in politics. The recent presidential election in Uganda which deployed the use of digital technology provides a very good example of this. While digital technology proves to be revolutionary for Uganda's electoral process and increased political participation of women, data shows that women failed to take full advantage of the benefits available to them to be online. For instance, Facebook was relied heavily on by women candidates for their political campaigns with 68 per cent using the platform at least once a week (Kakande, 2021). This was different with Twitter where campaigns on the platform were minimal. The use of hashtag activism remained abysmal for women candidates, unlike their male counterparts. Given that women politicians were simply the target of gender-based violence which is often

linked to misogynistic orientations, they are often excluded directly and indirectly in the political process (Kakande, 2021). Men are usually seen as having the ability to take on leadership roles better than women because of these misogynistic beliefs.

I. How Government can help Close the Gap

According to Oxfam (2014), one in three women across the world will face one form of gender-based violence or the other in their lifetime and that is because perpetrators are often close partners. Violence against women is an issue that deals with their fundamental human rights which is a key drawback to democracy, peace and development. With a staggering challenge as this, in what ways can the government come in to close the gap? The first is that the government must meet rhetoric with action. A long-lasting transformative agenda that seeks to eliminate gender-based violence and sexual harassment is required. This requires a varied strategic action plan that advances transformation at both the personal and, indeed, group levels and in formal and informal environments, where men and women's beliefs and thoughts are shifted towards addressing the situation and increasing women's access to needed resources.

Second, the government need to effectively review the Beijing Platform for Action including the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals that deal with challenges women face in everyday life. This will help to close the gap and renew the government's efforts and commitments toward eliminating gender-based violence in society. According to Rosche (2013), four key areas are earmarked as part of an international action plan to stem gender-based violence. These include the development and strengthening of laws that cater for women's rights of women and gender equality; the prioritisation and reallocation of national resources to eliminate violence associated with gender; making the elimination of violence a top priority for government and policymakers and encouraging weak states to develop strategies that would provide a swift response to gender-based violence in conflict-ridden areas.

J. Conclusion

The chapter provides the basis for, and in a broader sense, an understanding of the physical and mental harassment of women. There have been several claims of

sexual harassment over the past years across the world which come in different forms and shades. The conduct remains a key feature of everyday life and no day passes where sexual harassment claims are not made against the powerful and ordinary people. Therefore, understanding sexual harassment through physical (gender-based violence) and mental (psychological and health-wise) phases is an important area that demands critical research in order to combat and end the behaviour in both the public and private spaces.

III. PHYSICAL AND MENTAL SEXUAL HARASSMENT OF WOMEN IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICA: EXAMINATION OF THE DIFFERENT PHASES

A. Introduction

Cases of violence against women are not unusual on the African continent. Betty Kavata was, for instance, beaten into a stupor by her police officer husband, Felix Munayo, for not being served meat in his food. Kavata was not only paralysed around her body and brain-damaged after she was beaten, but she would also die five months later from the injuries sustained from the encounter (Kimani, 2007). In Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, several cases of sexual misconduct against women have dominated the headlines. Protests in several Algerian cities around 2020 caused by the discovery of the dismembered bodies of two young women close to the country's capital have led to the demand for a recall of the death penalty law against sexual misconduct (Allinson, 2020). The above examples are just a few of hundreds of sexual misconduct or gender-based violence cases women experience daily in Africa. This chapter examines the physical and mental sexual harassment of women with an emphasis on sub-Saharan Africa. It examines the different faces of sexual harassment in Africa and the prevalence of the conduct from one country to another.

B. Faces of Sexual Harassment in Africa

Domestic violence is a problem across the world. The World Health Organisation (WHO) observe that the main cause of injury and ultimately, death of women between 16 and 44 years in Europe can be traced to violence in the home. The estimate indicates that this problem was more fatal than road mishaps or even blood disease. Not only is violence against women an inglorious infraction of their fundamental human rights, but also the most widespread. From close observations, gender-based violence does not include beatings alone but also female genital mutilation, and sexual harassment among others which causes physical injuries,

mental trauma and even death. In the case of female genital mutilation, a common cultural norm in most areas of Africa, the WHO reports that such practice often leads to infection, urinary disease, bleeding, childbirth difficulties as well as death. The WHO reports that an estimated 130 million girl-child has undergone genital cutting across the world with as many as two million facing all kinds of higher health risks despite global agreements reached to eliminate the practice.

Aside from domestic violence, sexual violence also poses an even greater problem in society. In the northern Nigerian town of Zaria, for instance, it was discovered that 16 per cent of girls under the age of five contracted sexually transmitted diseases evidence of which points to sexual assault. A similar scenario played out at the Genito-Urinary Centre in Harare, Zimbabwe, where, in 1990 alone, more than 900 girls under 12 years of age were treated for sexually transmitted diseases. In the Republic of Congo, 314 cases of different categories of violence against women were recorded early in 2019. The Single Window Centre in Brazzaville which was set up to provide comprehensive care for women who are victims of sexual misconduct recorded in 2019 alone close to 7000 gender-based conduct (Pieth, 2019). In late 2019, Tunisian women stormed the country's parliament to protest against a member of parliament who was accused of sexual harassment. The protesters called for stricter implementation of a 2017 law that prohibits sexual harassment in public along with a year sentence and \$1000 as a penalty. The Tunisian constitution (Article 6) provides immunity to a serving member of parliament although in theory does not apply to allegations of sexual misbehaviour. A year earlier, a lecturer at a Nigerian university was arrested and given a two-year jail sentence for demanding sexual favours from his student to manipulate her grades (Shaban, 2018). The prevalence and diverse effects of sexual harassment and violence against women necessitate the implementation of strategies and policies in all sectors of national life to address the problem guided by a human rights structure.

Having identified the above, the question to ask is in which part of Africa is sexual harassment prevalent? When examining the problems of sexual harassment on a global level, data limits and marginal levels of reporting often pose a challenge in terms of how to prove and solve the problem. While it is generally agreed or known that sexual harassment forms part of everyday life across the world, particularly in

public spaces, it is difficult to provide data on the countries where such behaviour is prevalent. There are several reasons for this, one of which is associated with culture as well as political developments from country to country. Another reason stems from the issue of silence which makes it even harder to come up with compelling statistics on the exact number of cases involving sexual harassment in certain countries.

At the height of the global MeToo campaign, many Arab states in North Africa witnessed very quiet reactions to the campaign. Although sexual harassment is rife in that part of the world, voices against the conduct are very minimal. A compelling reason for this stems from the stigma and shame that comes with speaking about a sexual harassment experience. While stigma and shame are arguably universal, it remains a troubling issue in the Arab states where women who open up publicly could stand the risk of losing their jobs, families or being killed.

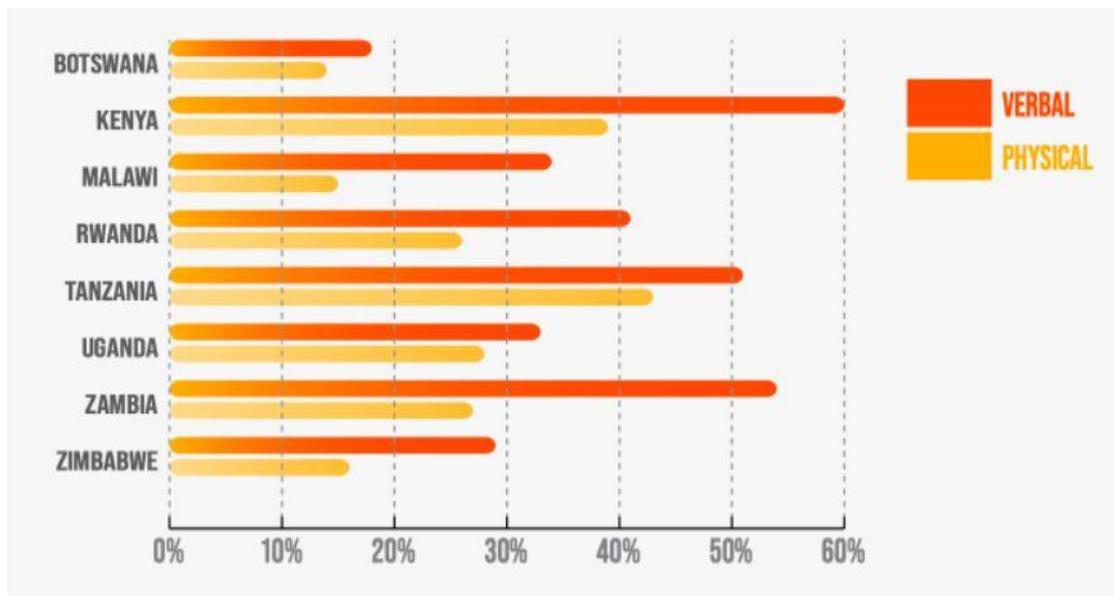


Figure 4 Percentage of the prevalence of verbal and physical sexual harassment in East Africa

Source: Niemanlab

In North Africa, Egypt has had prevalent cases of sexual harassment with Harassmap (2019) showing that 95 per cent of women in Cairo, the Egyptian capital, have been harassed. During the 2011 Arab spring in Egypt, reports of sexual harassment perpetrated by groups of men occurred but this did not attract public attention. However, a turning point came in December 2011, in what was known as the blue bra incident, where an unclad woman was shown violently beaten by

military officers. This led to open discussions around sexual harassment and violence with a mass citizen movement of about 10,000 people marching against sexual harassment of women in Egypt.

The protest intensified as the public discourse on sexual harassment was opened in ways not seen before in Egypt. Yet, reported incidents of sexual harassment continued with 19 women observed to have been assaulted in 2013 while women protesting against the conduct were targeted. According to Langohr (2013), a total of 126 women were assaulted between June and July, 2013. Widespread concerns were raised about sexual harassment such that when protesters moved to remove then-President Muhammad Morsi from power in 2013, a key issue of concern was how to foreclose incidents around sexual harassment. Despite the earlier moves to avert the occurrence of sexual harassment in public, it continued except that mob sexual harassment before 2013 declined (HarassMap, 2014).

East Africa faces a serious problem of sexual harassment and gender-based violence (Kochalumchuvattil, 2021). From Rwanda, Tanzania and Ethiopia to Kenya, Eritrea, South Sudan and Uganda, gender-based violence, sexual harassment being a sub-category, remains on the increase. The region continues to battle with cases of forced marriage, battering, widow inheritance, female genital mutilation, defilement, verbal abuse and sexual harassment. Using Uganda as a case study, research shows that 62 per cent of gender-based violence occurs between intimate partners a result of which affects women from the age of 15 to 49. A 2011 survey conducted by the Uganda Health and Demographic Survey (2012), showed that 63 per cent of women had experienced physical and sexual and violence in their lifetime.

While Uganda has shown some good examples in addressing inequality and gender violence by ratifying and implementing several national and international gender-related laws, women still face abuse in all ramifications. As experts observe, Uganda and East Africa's gender-based challenges are issues that are embedded in human rights and a problem of public health (Sensasi, 2014). Recognition of this problem in Uganda fast-tracked the passage of three key legislations. These are The Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (2009, The Domestic Violence Act (2010), and The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act (2010) (Sensasi, 2014). Although more is still needed to be done, the passage of these legislations has led to

a decrease in physical violence cases from 34 per cent to 27 per cent in 2006 and 2022 respectively. Sexual violence incidents against women have also reduced during the same period from 39 per cent to 28 per cent (Sensasi, 2014).

In the Southern Africa region or the Southern African Development Community (SADC), violence against women remains a huge obstacle to the attainment of gender equality. Discussion based on gender-based violence, as well as sexual harassment in the SADC, recognises not only the fact of violence but also education, prevention and victim assistance (SADC Protocol, 2008).

C. Political Participation of Women in Sub-Saharan Africa

Despite making up 50 per cent of the global population, women have continued to be locked out from attaining political leadership, access as well as the ample resources in all spheres of government. Participation of women in equal terms in all political decision-making processes is a quest for political and social justice in a democratic setting. It is also a requisite pre-condition for their interests to be put into consideration. When there are no governance structures that serve as a vehicle for equal participation and enjoyment of benefits from state interventions for citizens in a society, such is deemed undemocratic or lacking in inclusiveness.

Sub-Saharan Africa constitutes countries in the West, East, South and Central African regions. In other words, the sub-Sahara Africa is made up of more than 30 countries, each sharing some related history and identity. While Ghana is the first country to gain independence in 1958, others followed from the 1960s through the 1970s. Many of the key actors in the independence struggle in sub-Saharan Africa were men and expectedly so, decision-making processes would have favoured men more than women. Aside from this, voting power and political power or representation tilted towards the men and would take several years before women's voices were heard post-independence period. Although women have gained opportunities in recent years to vote and be voted for, the available data show that they remain at the backwaters of regional and continental politics.

In sub-Saharan Africa, women are still very far from achieving effective and equal participation in political decision-making. Morna *et al* (2021) observe that only 24 per cent of the 12,113 parliamentarians in Africa are women while they constitute

25 and 20 per cent in the lower houses and upper houses of parliaments, respectively. When light is shed on the local government areas which should ordinarily be a breeding space for women in politics, the estimate is also poor as women constitute 21 per cent of local government councillors in a total of 19 countries. However, beginning from the 1990s when many African states began to democratise, women's political participation made some progress. Since the 2000s, women have become more engaged politically and continue to seek representation at all levels of government. For instance, Liberia and Malawi had for the first-time female presidents which would have been impossible some decades back. Access to political power is of crucial importance to people who have historically been marginalised from both the formal and informal sides of politics. It is their understanding that access to power means access to control of the basic decision-making that affects their present and future some of which include access to good health, roads, education, water, and land among others. Women belong to the most excluded sectors in many African states and, therefore, seek power to address the challenges women face by ensuring that resources are judiciously divided and equitably shared with women through policy decisions or legislations where they are present.

Several factors lead to the increasing number of women participating in politics in sub-Saharan Africa today, although more needs to be done. Countries such as Mozambique, South Africa, Burundi and Rwanda, are noted for the high number of women represented in their respective parliaments. This number is appreciable when they are compared with advanced democracies. Rwanda, for instance, recorded a 48.8 per cent representation of women who were elected into the country's parliament. This figure is the highest known percentage across the world of women representation in parliament. A developed country such as Sweden with over 45.3 per cent of women parliamentarians fail to achieve such a feat like Uganda. Some of the factors for this renewed hope for women in sub-Saharan Africa include electoral gender quotas, the effect of democratisation, and the national women's movement among others.

Using gender quotas as a major example, research has shown that the increasing number of women parliamentarians across sub-Saharan Africa is attributed partly to the introduction of electoral gender quotas in some countries. Not only are these quotas effective but they have also provided electoral slots for a

specific percentage of women in the parliament. This is unlike some countries where this process exists yet is never followed to a logical conclusion. Mutume (2004) notes that elections that were held between the years 2000 and 2002 in 23 sub-Saharan African countries witnessed a surge in women parliamentarians in 14 of these countries. This is the result of the electoral gender quota which succeeds mainly in countries where the process is strictly adhered to. Table 1 below shows six sub-Saharan countries where the electoral quota system for women is practiced and the type of quota earmarked for them at specific political levels of government. It also shows the results of one of the previous elections in those countries and the percentage of women who make up each country's parliament. Table 1 shows Rwanda at the top, leading with 48.8 per cent.

Table 2 A global database of quotas for women in parliament in sub-Saharan Africa

Country	Quota Type(s)	Results last election	% of women in parliament
Rwanda <i>Africa</i> - List PR	Constitutional Quota for National Parliaments ; Election Law Quota Regulation, National Parliament ; Constitutional or Legislative Quota, Sub-National Level	39 of 80	48.8%
Mozambique <i>Africa</i> - List PR	Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	87 of 250	34.8%
South Africa <i>Africa</i> - List PR	Constitutional or Legislative Quota, Sub-National Level ; Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	131 of 400	32.8%
Burundi <i>Africa</i> - List PR	Constitutional Quota for National Parliaments ; Election Law Quota Regulation, National Parliament	36 of 118	30.5%
Tanzania, United Republic of <i>Africa</i> - FPTP	Constitutional Quota for National Parliaments ; Election Law Quota Regulation, National Parliament ; Constitutional or Legislative Quota, Sub-National Level	97 of 319	30.4%
Namibia <i>Africa</i> - List PR	Constitutional or Legislative Quota, Sub-National Level ; Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	21 of 78	26.9%

Source: quotaproject.org

As inclusive as the electoral gender quota is, some sub-Saharan countries in Africa view it as unworkable for their political system. They have, therefore, adopted other innovative means to encourage women's participation in politics. For instance,

financial and legal regulations are employed in countries like Mali where the former is given due importance so long the political parties hold a sizeable women membership and where not less than 10 per cent of the political party's flag bearers are women (Diouf & Ivory, 2006). Unlike in Rwanda, Namibia and other countries where quotas are given to political parties through the gender quota regulation, this system does not provide such. However, its biggest gain is that financial incentives are provided to political parties which ensures that women make up at any rate 10 per cent of the candidates in the list of the political parties. A regulation of this nature is bound to enhance the number of women in party lists in the electioneering process, particularly when considering the lack of resources by political parties and their heavy reliance on public funding.

One of the crucial steps in the general democratisation framework in sub-Saharan Africa is the high interest of women in the political process. During the early phase of independence and up until the 1980s, women failed to make up the substantial numbers in terms of representation at all levels of government. This, nonetheless, changed by the 1990s when they began to formally reassert their rights and claims in the decision-making processes. As Figure 1 indicates below, women's place in the political process and within government structures can be said to have steadily increased. The highest percentage which is 28 per cent of participation can be found in the electoral monitoring bodies while the 25 per cent of women could be found in the lower houses of parliament. This increase in the region has been attributed to several factors but the most important factor is the astuteness, sacrifice and will of women in sub-Saharan Africa over the past century in ensuring that justice and change are pursued and the process effective for them to continue to have a voice in the political scheme of things.

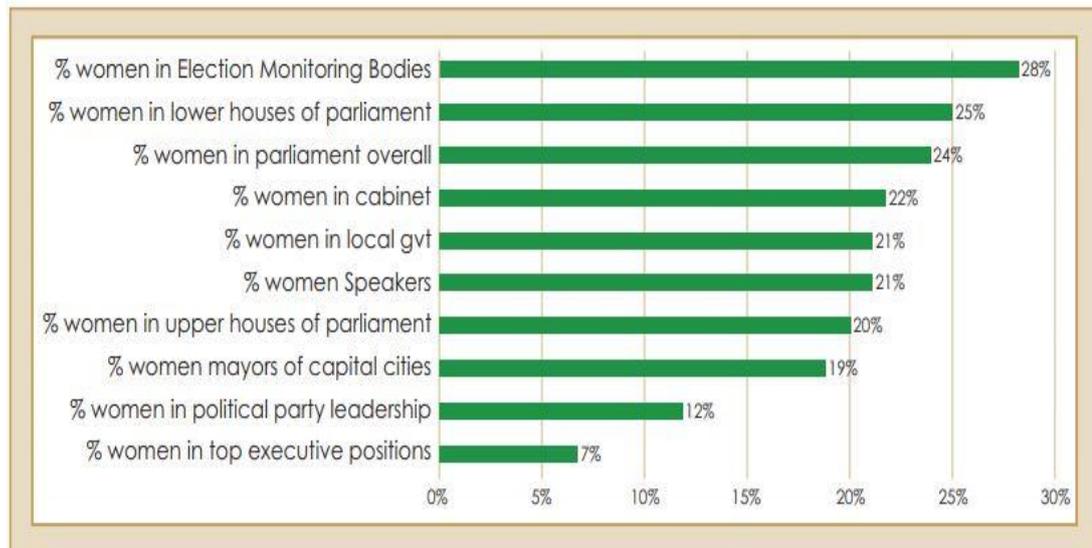


Figure 5 Data showing political participation of women in Africa

Source: Gender Links (2021)

D. Nigeria and Women's Participation in Politics

Nigeria attained its independence on October 1, 1960, from the British, starting as a republic in 1963 until its collapse after a bloody coup in 1966. Between 1966 and 1999, except for a brief Second Republic (1978-1983), the country fell under different military regimes. It was not until 1999 that the military transferred power to a civilian government which has since been the tradition in the last two decades.

Since Nigeria returned to civil rule in 1999, women's role in the democratic process of the country has been poor. Unlike in countries such as South Africa where political participation of women has been strengthened following a reformation of the laws on political parties as well as its electoral systems, Nigeria continues to lag. According to Reynolds (2006), South Africa changed its electoral laws in 1994 to create an atmosphere of inclusion and reconciliation. The result of this change helped to secure in parliament 25 per cent seats for women in South Africa. This is, however, not the case with Nigeria as laws are usually against and not in favour of women occupying as many seats as possible at all levels of government.

On assumption of office as Nigeria's president in 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo requested the 36 state governors to nominate capable Nigerians as ministers. Of the 36 states, only two submitted the names of women. According to Obasanjo (2018),

he decided to search for seven women to complement the two earlier submitted which makes him, according to observers, the first Nigerian president to appoint nine women into his ministerial cabinet in 1999. In the same year, three political parties, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD) and All People's Party (APP), presented candidates in the parliamentary elections. The number of seats to be occupied for the Federal House of Representatives was 360 and 109 for the Federal Senate, respectively. While the PDP and APP won a total of 66 and 23 seats in the first round, respectively, the AD won a total of 19 seats with one seat left vacant. The distribution of seats according to gender was 105 for male parliamentarians and three for female parliamentarians with a 2.75 percentage.

Although this data showed a poor start for women in politics in Nigeria in 1999, things took a much better from 2011 during the Goodluck Jonathan administration. Women's visibility was felt at all levels of government as the president put much effort into embracing the 30 per cent Affirmative Action. The administration kicked off by appointing thirteen female ministers, five female Special Advisers and ten female Ambassadors. Also appointed were sixteen female Court of Appeal judges and eleven female Permanent Secretaries. Others include sixteen female Federal High Court judges, three female Supreme Court judges, six female National Industrial Court judges, one female Court of Appeal acting president and The Chief Justice of the Federation (Idike, 2014).

While the above appeared to be a key victory for participation of Nigerian women in politics at the level of the executive arm of government, the same cannot be said in the parliament. Data shows that women have remained underrepresented in the last five National Assembly terms. In the last five National Assembly terms, only 25 female senators have been elected. This is in contrast to the 448 male senators that were elected within the same time frame. In 2015, when president Muhammed Buhari was sworn in as Nigeria's president, he appointed six women into his cabinet out of 36 who make up men, representing only 16 per cent of the cabinet. In 2019 when he won a second term in office, he appointed seven women out of 43 names submitted to the parliament as ministers. This number is a far cry from what was obtained during the Goodluck administration which achieved more than 30 per cent of women appointments at every level of government (Awojulgbe, 2019).

1. Breaking Glass Ceilings and Barriers: Nigeria's Sarah Jibril and Remi Sonaiya

The above said, of importance to note is the efforts women themselves have put in place or have tried to put in place to be considered as inclusive partners in the political process or decision-making framework in Nigeria. The examples of Dr. Sarah Jibril and Remi Sonaiya are key to understanding the subject of discussion. Beginning with Dr Jibril, a politician, ethics education advocate and psychologist began her political career as far back as 1983 when she contested for the Senate seat in her native Kwara State. In 1992, she contested for the president's seat but came fourth in the primaries. Not undeterred, she re-contested for the same position in 1998 and lost the primary to President Obasanjo. In 2003, she left her party and joined the Progressive Liberation Part, becoming the first Nigerian woman to fly the ticket of a political party as a presidential candidate. She lost the election to President Obasanjo. Dr. Jibril continued to present herself for every subsequent presidential primary and in 2007, after returning to the PDP contested and received a total of four votes. She decided to try again in 2011 and as the only female candidate lost to President Goodluck Jonathan (Ntneh, 2020).

Professor Remi Sonaiya, on the other hand, is a politician, academic and writer who joined politics in 2010. She registered with the KOWA Party and was made its National Public Relations Officer. In 2015, she was nominated as the party's presidential flagbearer where she received 13,076 votes and finished 12th in the presidential election. Like Dr. Jibril, Prof. Sonaiya presented herself at the presidential primaries held by the KOWA Party in preparation for the 2019 presidential election but lost to Adesina Fagbenro-Byron.

For much of the 20th and 21st centuries, women and men have struggled for women's right to vote, be voted for and hold any available political office. Significant progress has, no doubt, been made over the years as Saudi Arabia, a conservative state, granted suffrage to women as recently as 2015. Across the world, women now hold positions as presidents of countries and their senates. This has largely been achieved as a result of powerful gender equality measures put in place by various stakeholders.

Despite the above, progress remains uneven globally. Women continue to be underrepresented in political life. Women politicians or candidates are still impacted

by societal ingrained stereotypes which are used by political opponents to question the capacity and capability of women to lead. Every election year, women's chances at political representation are slim and even when spaces are open to them, they face many obstacles that make it very difficult to win seats in parliament. Although every election cycle across the world, women put themselves forward in an election, their numbers still fall way behind their male colleagues. Even when they eventually win seats in parliament, they are in most cases handed portfolios that are assumed to be for only women. They are usually allowed to sit in a women's committee and not allowed to partake in other committees because of their gender.

Listed below are some barriers placed against women's participation in politics (Rodrigues, 2013);

1. Traditional gender roles, gender-based stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes and norms.
2. The male-dominated model of politics that tends to undermine the value of women's contributions and their participation.
3. Lack of party support and exclusion from decision-making party structures.
4. Gender blind legal framework.
5. Unfavorable electoral systems and lack of TSM.
6. Lack of campaign funds.
7. Lack of financial resources to be considered as meaningful members of political parties.
8. Lack of formal or political education and limited access to information.
9. Lack of political experience.
10. The dual burden and a disproportionate share of domestic work.
11. Lack of media coverage and gender-based stereotypes and bias in the media.
12. In countries where candidates are responsible for deploying their own party monitors during Election Day, lack of party monitors safeguarding the interests of women's candidatures.
13. The perception of politics as "dirty".

14. Violence from within and outside the party.

E. Outcome of Physical and Mental Sexual Harassment of Women in Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa

Despite the poor state of women who hold political office in Africa, they are usually subjected to one form of sexual misconduct or the other. In a recent study carried out by the Inter-Parliamentary Union together with the African Parliamentary Union (2021), women in African parliaments were reported to be victims of sexual harassment, sexism and violence. The study drew upon interviews conducted with 224 female parliamentarians and their staff in 50 African countries. Sub-regional assemblies were included in the study where it was discovered that 80 per cent of female lawmakers had experienced psychological violence while on the job and 67 per cent were subjected to sexual remarks or behavior from the general public, fellow parliamentarians or people online.

Women lawmakers from the opposition were discovered to be usually susceptible to all kinds of violent attacks as well as those who criticized or supported the rights of women and gender equality. Women parliamentarians who were not married, still under 40 with a disability or from a minority group are usually targeted for sexual misconduct. These attacks not only restrict the rights of female lawmakers to perform their respective parliamentary duties but citizens expectant of their representatives' response to issues cannot get the most out of them. Also, such attacks often discourage women, young ones, in particular, from taking up a career in politics (IPU & APU, 2021). Very sadly, notwithstanding the pervasiveness of these violations against women parliamentarians, victims usually keep silent and fail to report their experiences to the authorities. Reasons for this have earlier been enumerated but at the heart of this is the absence of institutional frameworks and reporting mechanisms to counter the problem. The reality of this is that women parliamentarians are affected not only in physical terms but mentally or psychologically. They suffer all manners of abuse, particularly those relating to health such as emotional exhaustion, anxiety, lack of belief in oneself, and depression among others. One enduring outcome is that when women in politics are sexually harassed, a message of rejection of women from political participation, access and life is passed.

Be that as it may, the situation is not as gloomy as it appears. The fact that laws are now being passed to allow women to become part of the political decision-making processes in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa is a victory for gender representation and equality. The outcome of this is the surge in the number of women parliamentarians across the sub-region. Also, there are as many women ministers as there are in non-political positions in the sub-region. Recognizing the need to address the challenges posed by sexual violence, steps have been taken at the sub-regional level. For instance, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa otherwise called Maputo Protocol was developed as a potent weapon to safeguard the African women against violence, including those that are of a sexual nature. The Maputo Protocol is a document that emphasizes the need to uphold the human rights of the African women on the continent. The document contains several articles that expect political parties at the sub-regional to make sure that women are secured against sexual violence, harassment and also hold anyone responsible for the conduct accountable (Maputo Protocol, 2003). The Protocol also require political parties to set aside budgetary provisions among other resources to be used in the implementation and monitoring of actions that help to prevent and root out sexual violence against women (Maputo Protocol, 2003).

F. Conclusion

The struggle to actualize the full participation and effective inclusion of women in the decision-making framework of their respective countries in sub-Saharan Africa has been slow but continues to yield serious progress. Sadly, 25.6 per cent of women account for the number of parliamentarians globally which is still a far cry. Women also face very serious obstacles that threaten to minimise their interest or eradicate their numbers in terms of political participation. Some of the obstacles women face towards joining politics were highlighted in this chapter. Sexual harassment and gender-based violence are a few of the devastating experiences women are entangled which obstruct and violate their human and political rights to participate and make decisions for themselves in sub-Saharan Africa. Not only are these expected to have physical harmful impacts, as well as mental consequences on women, but the democratic process, governance structures,

political institutions and society as a whole, are also bound to be affected negatively in the long term.

IV. DATA PRESENTATION AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

A. Introduction

In Nigeria, 51 per cent of women account for the total number of voters during elections yet representation is less than 7 per cent across all strata of government (Mohammed & Zaid, 2014). What this implies is that women are, indeed, poorly represented in elective and appointive official positions across Nigeria's political spectrum. This invariably suggests that the 30 per cent Affirmative Action duly proposed by the Beijing Platform of Action for female participation or inclusion in the political life of countries across the world is yet to be fully attained or realised (Okoronkwo-Chukwu, 2013). The scenario in Uganda is much different and rather impressive than what plays in Nigeria. Part of the country's policy stipulates that out of the 529 seats in its parliament, 146 must be reserved for one woman per the country's district (Goetz, 2002). Encouraging as this policy appears, Ugandan women in politics often cannot actualize their promise of effective representation because they continue to be victims of male dominance (Tamale, 1999). The consequence of this is that very minimal data is available to explain the challenges such as sexual harassment and gender-based violence female politicians face even when they hold political office. The research covers the subject of the physical and mental sexual harassment of women in Nigeria and Uganda. The two study areas are situated on the continent of Africa and in the West African and East-Central African sub-region, respectively. Fieldwork for this study is located in Lagos State and Nigeria's Federal Capital, Abuja, due to the concentration of women in politics in both territories. Also, the two localities are chosen because they are the only places out of the 36 states of the federation where anti-sexual laws fully operate. For Uganda, the result of fieldwork is derived from secondary sources on the subject of discourse in Kampala, the country's capital. The study population consisted of women in Lagos, Abuja and Kampala. The women targeted are those involved in partisan politics as well as women who are keen observers of the socio-political life of the two countries – Nigeria and Uganda. Given that Lagos and Abuja are about the

only localities among the 36 states in Nigeria with an appreciable number of women in politics, whether at the federal, judicial, state or sub-national or local government levels, it makes sense that the study population is located there. The same goes for Kampala where much of the country’s politics is centred.

B. Data Presentation (Country Profile)

Nigeria, which is the most populous state in Africa, is bordered in the western part by Benin Republic, the eastern part of the country by Cameroon and Chad, the northern part by Niger Republic and the southern part by the Gulf of Guinea. The country has an estimated total size of 923,768 kilometres square (Falola and Heaton, 2008). The World Bank (2020) puts Nigeria’s population at 206,139,587.00 as of the year 2020. More than 33 million of the country’s population (16.8 per cent) are youths aged between 15 and 35 (Olurinola & Fadayomi 2013). The country is home to well over 250 ethnic groups and hundreds of languages.

Uganda, on the other hand, is bordered to its northern part by South Sudan and on the eastern side by Kenya while to the south, it is bordered by Tanzania and Rwanda, and to its west by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Apter, 1997). Its population as of 2020 was 45,741.00 (World Bank, 2020). The country is populated by a large number of ethnic groupings that are divided between the Nilotic North and Bantu South. According to Statista (2020), Uganda’s 52 per cent population are aged between 15 and 64 years.

Table 3 Country Profile of Nigeria and Uganda

Country	Border Countries	Estimated Size	Population	Ethnic Group (Major)
Nigeria (Abuja)	Benin Republic, Cameroon, Chad, Niger Republic and the Gulf of Guinea	923,768 square kilometres	206,139,587.00	Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa-Fulani.
Uganda (Kampala)	South Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo	241,559 square kilometres	45,741,000. 00	Baganda, Banyankole, Basoga, Bakiga, Iteso, Langi, Acholi, Bagis.

Source: Author

1. The Population of the Study

The study population consisted of women in Lagos, Abuja and Kampala. The women targeted are those involved in partisan politics as well as women who are keen observers of the socio-political life of the two countries – Nigeria and Uganda. Given that Lagos and Abuja are about the only localities among the 36 states in Nigeria with an appreciable number of women in politics, whether it is at the federal, legislative, state (sub-national) or local government levels, it makes sense that the study population is located there. The same goes with Kampala where much of the country's politics is centred.

2. Procedure of Data Collection

Primary and secondary data were used in the study. The former, that is, primary data, are drawn from structured interviews which cover strictly the character of sexual harassment among women in politics in Nigeria and Uganda, the categories of gender-based violence, the reaction to this behaviour by victims and perpetrators, the response of victims, and the role of government in addressing the challenge among others. Secondary sources, on the other hand, are drawn from robust and critical engagement with extant literature such as books, journals, newspapers, online media sites and other related sources important for the study. All the data collected are examined and analysed for appropriate interpretation.

3. Method of Data Analysis

The use of interviews is an important tool deployed in the study in other gain practical insight into the character of sexual harassment and gender-based exclusion of women in politics. Since very little data exist coupled with the fact that there are very few women that are active in politics as elected representatives of the people or appointees of usually a male-dominated government or society, the method of analysis will be content-driven. What this suggests is that the response in the interviews will be subjected to content analysis to make sense of or understand the physical and mental sexual harassment women face in everyday life in sub-Saharan Africa.

4. Data Presentation of Gender Representations in Nigeria Politics (1999-2019)

As indicated in the previous chapter, Nigeria transitioned from military rule to civilian democratic governance in 1999 (LeVan, 2019). However, despite the country's transition to democracy, women remain behind in virtually all political decision-making processes. Not only that, 15 per cent of elective positions are yet to be occupied by women although both men and women share an almost equal voting population (Agbalajobi, 2009). The situation remains palpable not only because women have never been elected to the position of the president or the vice president, at the state level, but the same can also be observed for the gubernatorial offices (Ngara & Ayabam, 2013). Nigeria marked 19 years of uninterrupted democracy in 1999 yet the woman's role in politics is still limited.

Nigeria's population, according to the National Population Commission (NPC), puts males at approximately 51 per cent and 49 per cent of females. In terms of elective positions, the population figures do not favor Nigerian women. Before the 2015 national elections, women's rights groups predicted that there would be a low record of representation by women which was subsequently justified against the backdrop of the prediction and the election's outcome (Quadri, 2018). As examined in the previous chapter, several factors have been attributed to the poor representation, participation and political inclusion of women in Nigeria. The Centre for Development and Democracy (2019) identify a few which include lack of funds, party structure, religion, and lack of awareness to mention others.

Table 4 Representation by Gender in the Nigerian Senate and Lower House (1999-2019)

Election Year	Senate			House of Representatives						
	Seats	Men	%	Women	%	Seats	Men	%	Women	%
1999	109	106	97.2	3	2.8	360	347	96.4	13	3.6
2003	109	105	96.3	4	3.7	360	339	94.2	21	5.8
2007	109	100	91.7	9	8.3	360	333	92.5	27	7.5
2012	109	102	93.5	7	6.5	360	335	93.1	25	6.9
2015	109	102	93.5	7	6.5	360	338	94	22	6
2019	109	102	93.5	7	6.5	360	350	97.2	10	2.7

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2017)

Table 4.2 shows the percentage of male and female representation in

Nigeria's Senate and House of Representatives between 1999 and 2019. A careful look at the number of Senate seats between men and women shows in the periods under consideration that the percentage of women each year did not increase significantly. In the House of Representatives, the percentage for the periods under study went from high to low. For instance, in the 1999 election, women secured a meagre 6.5 per cent seat in the Senate while in the House of Representatives, women constituted a paltry percentage of 2.7 per cent. The message the data passes across is that for every election cycle, women's numbers in politics continue to dwindle in favor of the men.

While the abysmal number of women in the nation's federal parliament cannot be said to be encouraging, the data is more worrisome in the executive arm of government. As indicated earlier, Nigeria is yet to produce a women president or vice president while women in executive positions, whether female representation at the federal or sub-national levels have remained low. Since 1990, the number of women ministerial appointees has been abysmal. Table 4.3 shows data between 1999 and 2019 where at the beginning of Nigeria's democratic experimentation, only eleven female ministers were appointed as against 89 male ministers. In 2015 and 2019 respectively, the number moved from five to seven which is, indeed, not proportionate to the number of men appointed in the period under study.

Table 5 Ministerial Political Position in Terms of Gender (1999-2019)

1999		2003		2007		2012		2015		2019	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
89	11	38	4	83	12	53	15	31	5	32	7

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2017)

It is important to point out that similar cases exist at the sub-national levels as only six women have been elected as deputy governors across the 36 states of the federation (Raheem & Adegbenle, 2020). Except for Dame Virgy Etiaba who was briefly in office after her principal, Peter Obi was illegally impeached but later returned after the intervention of the court, no woman has been elected governor since 1999 (Aka, 2012). In the case of top government and senior administrative positions, only a few women have been noticeably appointed since 1999. Table 4.4 below provides a list of high-ranking government officials and senior administrators who had headed one government agency or the other. Two of such positions which

are the Central Bank Governor and Executive Secretary provide a grim picture of how poorly women have fared as against men who continue to hold firmly these positions among the others listed below.

Table 6 High-ranking Government and Senior Administrators (1999-2015)

Positions	M	F
Head of Service	9	3
Permanent Secretary	95	15
Special Adviser	27	8
Special Assistant	98	38
Central Bank Governors	4	0
Chief Executive Officer	307	44
Director General	114	12
Executive Secretary	29	8

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2017)

If the case of the federal and executive arms of government shows much to be desired, the data for the Nigerian judicial arm of government appear discouraging as well.

Table 7 Judges in Federal Court Based on Gender (2011-2016)

Federal Courts	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Supreme Court of Nigeria	11	3	13	3	13	3	13	3	14	3	11	14
Court of Appeal	48	17	52	19	49	17	63	25	61	26	53	26
Federal High Court	43	16	40	15	45	20	38	17	36	17	57	23
National Industrial Court	5	3	5	3	11	9	11	9	11	8	11	8

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2017)

C. Data Presentation of Gender Representations in Ugandan Politics (1999-2019)

For much of Uganda's political history, women have been at the backwaters of the country's decision-making framework. This means that women held minimal political office positions until when President Yoweri Museveni seized power in 1986. Unlike Nigeria which has persistently shown very little concern about uplifting women politically, Museveni championed women's rights by advancing their cause politically, particularly by reserving for them several positions in the executive and legislative arms of government. This policy was also extended to the local councils where the government reserved seats for women in virtually all aspects of

government bureaucracy such that by 1989, after only two years in power, women held at least one-third of seats in government.

There is no doubt that this structure put in place by Museveni helped to increase women's seats in parliament which had a very strong impact on the aspect of the adoption of women's rights legislation. Critics, however, claim that the high number of women in Uganda's legislature is incapacitated by patronage as well as the undemocratic nature of its political system.

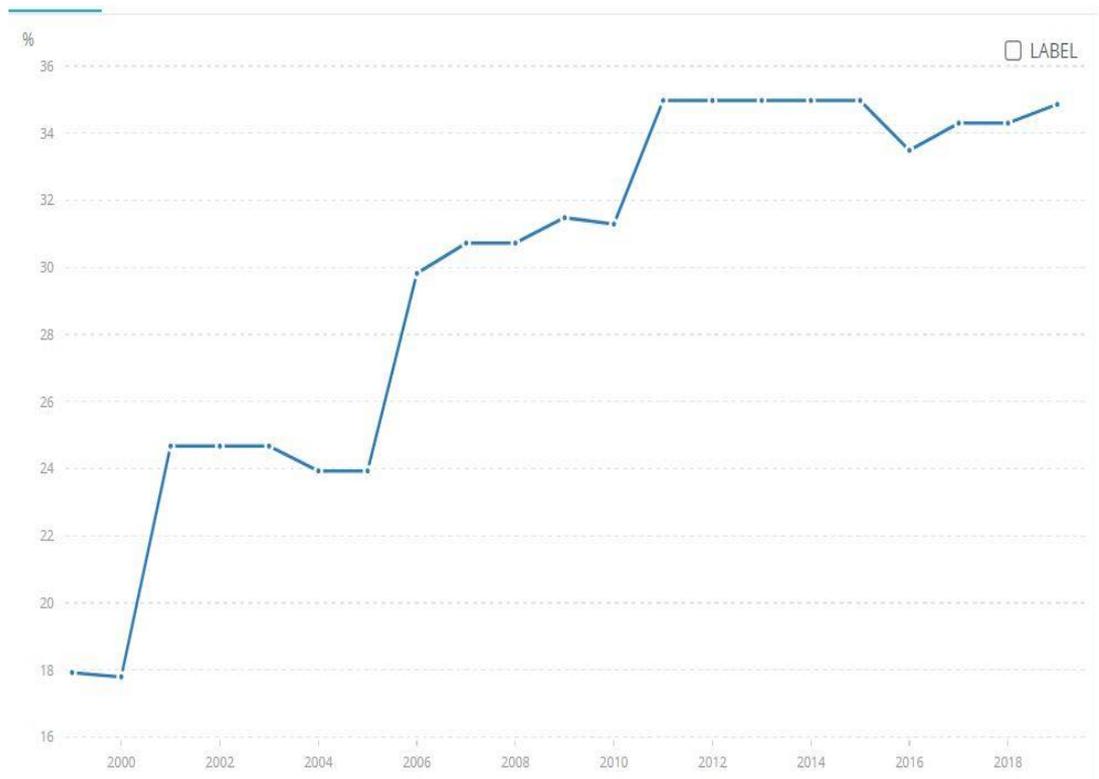


Figure 6 Proportion of seat women hold in Uganda's parliament (1999-2019)

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (1998)

Notwithstanding criticism that continues to trail Uganda's efforts at advancing women's position in the country's legislature and executive arm, figure 4 above shows a steady rise in the participation and active role of women in parliament. From the data provided in figure 4, it shows that from 1999, the proportion of seats occupied by women in parliament rose from an appreciable 18 per cent to a staggering 35 per cent within a space of 20 years. Although there was a slight downward trend around 2005, this grew exponentially between 2006 and 2011 and remained within the same orbit until 2015 when it witnessed yet another slight downward trend and slowly picked up, returning to the pre-2011 to 2015 levels.

Interestingly, the outcome of the parliamentary election in Uganda for women was poor between 1996 and 2006. However, in the 2006-2011 multiparty period, several laws were passed in favour of women. With this new multiparty development, women in Uganda have taken the opportunity to advance their cause. As the number of women in the legislature surged, it encouraged in many ways the passage of policies that are pro-women. Some other factors such as the presence of the women's caucus in the legislature, the support extended to women by male parliamentarians, and the cordial relationship between women parliamentarians and prominent figures in the aid community as well as civil society groups have also helped in strengthening women's grip on the political process in Uganda.

D. Data Analysis and Discussion (Nigeria)

As indicated earlier, the study population consisted of women in Lagos, Abuja and Kampala. Women in these areas, except for Kampala, were interviewed based on structured questions while the demographic characteristics of women and men respondents considered include their status, education, gender and age bracket. The demography cuts across women politicians as well as ordinary everyday men and women who show very strong interest in women's plights in Nigeria and Uganda as well as around the world. One hundred women and a substantial number of men were interviewed. The men interviewed are closely associated with women politicians as aides, spokespersons, senior special assistants and personal assistants. The same goes for women. For each status of the women politician such as Councilors and women politicians in the legislative arm of government (Lagos and Abuja), respondents were aged between 25 and 45 while the women politicians as respondents were aged between 45 and 55. This particular age bracket was carefully chosen for experience and years of political activity. Non-women politicians of the same age bracket were chosen for similar reasons, coupled with the fact of their knowledge about political life in Nigeria. Except for non-politicians who by the way include women in the informal sectors, virtually all respondents are educated at least up to the secondary school level and the maximum, a university certificate or diploma.

Table 8 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents in Politics and Everyday Life

Status	Respondents	Age Bracket	Literacy
Women councillors and aides (Amuwo-Odofin and Oriade local governments in Lagos)	25	25-35	Educated
Spokesperson to women politicians (Lagos and Abuja)	25	25-45	Educated
Senior Special Assistants and Personal Assistants to women politicians	25	35-45	Educated
Women politicians and non-women politicians	25	45-55	Educated/semi-literate and non-literate

Source: Author

1. Level of Participation of Women in Politics in Nigeria

The seeming challenge of female underrepresentation in politics is not present alone in Nigeria including most developing countries. Several developed democracies like the United States suffer from this problem (Ramos and Da Silva, 2020). However, the dominant patriarchal institutions, as well as the socio-cultural contexts in many developing economies, make the problem more complicated than in the developed economies. Paradoxically, women in a few African countries have been empowered politically (Tamale, 2000) which can be measured in the area of the number of females in the executive (ministerial), legislative and even judicial arms of government as well as the number of years that women have served as presidents in the last five decades (Hausmann et al., 2006). In the United States, for instance, no woman has been elected president in its over 250 years of existence and despite being the biggest democracy, a country like Liberia showed an example by electing Africa's first female president in 2005, in the person of Ellen Sirleaf Johnson. Since then, Mauritius and Ethiopia have followed Liberia by electing Ameenah Gurib-Fakim in the year 2015 as well as Sahle-Work Zewde in the year 2018 (Ohemeng, 2019). Joyce Hilda Banda of Malawi (2012-2014), Samia Suluhu Hassan of Tanzania (2021 till date) and several others have served in acting or interim capacity between 1993 and 2006.

Despite the positive developments in the above-named African states, Africa's most populous country, Nigeria, continues to make little progress in the area of inclusion and representation in the executive and legislative levers of government (Hassan, 2017). Its global rankings in the same categories have steadily retrogressed. Respondents identify this serious challenge by recognizing that when the country transitioned to civil rule in 1999, only three women found their way to the senate and twelve to the House of Representatives (NCC Report on Women, 2013). They praised the steady increase after the 2003 and 2007 elections where eight women were elected into the Senate but again decried the fast drop to seven in the 2011 elections. Interestingly, this number would rise once again in the 2015 election as only seven female politicians occupied the Senate and twenty for the lower house which dropped to eleven in 2019.

Respondents are of the view that in general terms, the national average for female participation in politics in Nigeria has oscillated around 6 per cent for both elective positions and appointive offices, which stands below 15 per cent of the West African sub-regional average. In early 2021, there were only three women out of 29 in ministerial positions in Nigeria which is just 10.3 per cent representation and among members of parliament, women constituted 5.8 per cent, ranking Nigeria 149th of a total of 155 countries in terms of political empowerment of women. Nigeria also ranked 32nd out of 35 in the African sub-region, leading countries such as Mali, the DRC and Chad (World Economic Forum, 2021).

Virtually all respondents had a similar response to the forms of female participation in Nigerian politics. For instance, one section of respondents notes that their participation in politics in the sub-region is less than 50 per cent while another section claim that participation is minimal in comparison with the other parts of the world. A respondent in Abuja avers that the outcome is still far from equal and effective as women's political participation constitutes 24 per cent of 12,113 parliamentarians in Africa. She notes that 25 per cent of women are elected into the house of representatives while 20 per cent can be found in the Senate. Although a respondent indicates that the grassroots is usually a potent training ground for women interested in politics yet it constitutes 21 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa. Quoting available statistics, a respondent shows that participation of women in politics is less than 24 per cent in Africa. Citing the example of women in Nigeria,

the respondent indicates that women who are interested in participating in politics are handed free forms for elective positions yet they are asked to pay for intention forms that include several charges.

2. Root Causes of Women Subjugation in the Politics and Governance of Nigeria

In Nigeria, women form close to half of its vast population and, thus, have historically played very critical roles as mothers, wives, managers, organizers, and community developers among other defining roles (Ogbomo, 2005). Their contributions to the socio-economic growth and development of any society cannot be compared to men's contributions, given the dual roles they play in the area of production and reproduction (Joshi, 2002). Despite this, their participation in all sectors where key decisions are made in how resources generated are used by men and women, continues to be minor. Two major factors attributed to this are the problem of gender inequality and the patriarchal nature of the country (Aina, 1998). Other factors include religion, cultural beliefs, and traditional attitudes among others.

Patriarchy has been defined by several scholars and need not mention here (Stacey 1993 and Lerner 1986). In most parts of Africa, the retention of patriarchy, and socio-cultural and religious influences have placed women as second-class citizens (Lim, 1997). The worth of a woman is measured in terms of her motherly role in society. There practically exist several proverbs that are used to discourage women from making a public appearance while making decisions or in the process involved in it. Cultural beliefs also point to the fact that women are supposed to be led rather than take a leading position. Respondents identify the inequitable access to higher education and the burden of household chores as some of the factors that limit women's ability to take advantage of the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as their male counterparts at the political level. The biggest obstacle remains the lack of economic resources a woman requires to be able to compete and partake in the political process (Kelly, 2019). Political parties also exhibit a deeply patriarchal stance with male-dominated entities unwilling or slow to transform.

The nature of politics in Nigeria, as elsewhere, is a key indicator in women's inclusion or exclusion in politics. Here, men dominate public life and that includes politics, political structures and organs and political parties which on this basis, the

male folk have a dominant perspective on virtually all issues affecting national life which is often at the detriment of women whose perspectives are easily ignored or dismissed. (Nelson, 2012) As a result, their voices or decisions are often not reflected in the administration or the activities within such parties pr in the politics of the country as a whole.

Respondents note that women are excluded from being elected into key positions within the political party framework based on the gender prejudices of the male-dominated party leaders (Bako & Syed, 2018). Incidentally, political parties, as the name imply, usually engage in meetings and deliberations that last up till late in the night. In Nigeria, women who partake in these nightly meetings are viewed in a negative light which is why such engagements by women with children and husbands at home are usually frowned at. In situations of this nature, respondents claim that women are easily edged out which reinforces that charge of gender inequality levelled against men.

3. Effects of Physical and Mental Sexual Harassment of Women in Politics in Nigeria

Undoubtedly, sexual harassment has several negative effects on victims some of which include physical and health challenges. Sexual harassment of women and men can hinder personal development, cause human suffering as well as deflate the contributions the victim can make to other people's lives (Neethling, 2013). Sexual harassment may sometimes lead to unwanted physical contact that does not protect the victim from contracting sexually transmitted diseases or having unwanted pregnancies (Ushie 2011). Not only does the conduct leave an incalculable impact on the present and future of the victim, but it also limits personal development, socio-economic growth as well as productivity (Fuller, 2000). If the victim is a woman who aspires for political positions, it inhibits her political goals and achievements, exposes her to physical attacks and threatens her social development.

Women who are subjected to sexual harassment with no viable social structure to end the conduct are prone to believe that they are of a lower status or second-class citizens who deserve such abuse (Fuller, 2000). Where states fail to address the situation to forestall and prosecute sexual harassment, it sends the wrong signal that such conduct is acceptable and of no concern by the state. In this scenario,

such women are affected in terms of their perception of perpetrators (Abama 2009).

That said, interviews with respondents provided very interesting reactions to the subject. Interestingly, virtually all respondents identified a similar effect on women in politics who are sexually abused. For instance, most respondents identify psychological effects such as trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety and lack of confidence as a few of the effects on women who experience sexual harassment in the political sphere. Others claim that it leads to general abstinence from politics, hesitation to participate and lack of motivation. In another case, respondents list debilitating effects such as the high risk of anxiety, depression, diminished self-esteem, self-confidence as well as psychological well-being.

In a recent interview with a former commissioner and member of a State House of Assembly, she notes that the experience of sexual harassment perpetrated by men counts as a major challenge that women politicians sadly confront in Nigeria. She also identified religious and cultural bias, schedule of political meetings, economic challenges and violence in politics as some of the other challenges women politicians face in Nigeria. The woman politician explained further that these encounters are in many respects responsible for the decreasing number of women who aspire for elective positions across the country (Oyekola 2021).

4. Policies to Bridge the Gender Inequality Gap in Nigeria

Respondents identify the challenge of economic inequality as a major factor that widens the gender gap in Nigeria. Inequality affects women majorly because, in the labor force, they bear the brunt of poor wage earnings. That women still have no control and access to resources as well as failure to influence their power within the country's decision-making framework worsens any opportunity to earn decent wages. They are usually found in the agriculture sector and the small and also the medium scale economy as shown in Table 4.7 below yet receive poor remunerations and are largely underproductive. Respondents point out that unfriendly gender wages can be turned around by policies pursued in the interest of women. They also identified the need for girl-child education which would in many ways bridge the gender inequality gap in wages.

Part of the belief among respondents is that policies do exist that can help to bridge the gender inequality gap but these policies are usually overlooked. In other

words, respondents call for the strengthening of all existing gender policies, particularly by exploring affirmative actions that accommodate the provision of facilities and payment schemes which would encourage the girl-child to get a higher education. This, some respondents believe, provides a much higher benefit in terms of better wages for women than others with lower levels of education.

Table 9 Distribution of males and females according to sector of employment

Industry of Occupation	Frequency		Percentage	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture	182	113	54.82	39.37
Manufacturing	8	16	2.41	5.57
Professional/scientific/technical	9	4	2.71	1.39
Buying and selling	49	127	14.76	44.25
Personal services	16	11	4.82	3.83
Education	11	4	3.31	1.39
Health	3	2	0.90	0.70
Public administration	18	3	5.42	1.05
Mining	1	0	0.30	0
Construction	7	0	2.11	0
Transportation	15	0	4.52	0
Financial services	3	0	0.90	0
Others specify	10	7	3.01	2.44

Source: Oluyemi T. Adeosun and Kayode E. Owolabi (2020)

E. Data Analysis and Discussion (Uganda)

The story of women in politics in Uganda has been an interesting area of study, given the role the country has played in empowering women and giving them a voice in the political scheme of things since at least the late 1980s (Tripp, 2000). What Uganda has done over the past three decades and a half in relation to providing women with opportunities in the country has been welcomed with praise in the international community. Its adoption and implementation of what is considered a Quota System or Policy where specific seats are reserved for women interested in the country's parliament remains a unique effort at breaking glass ceilings (Muriaas & Wang, 2012). Across countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the gender quota policy has changed the face of the legislative system. For instance, over 12 sub-Saharan countries in Africa boast of over 30 per cent of women in the parliament with Rwanda leading in the international community within the context of women's representation in the country's lower house (Nayé Bathily, 2020).

This victory for women in Ugandan politics was won through constitutional mandates which helped to increase representation in parliament as well as open up the path to breaking all forms of gender stereotypes about the abilities and competencies of women. Uganda's 9th parliament records a total of 133 women members, making the country number 17 globally with 34.3 per cent of females in the legislature (Hanssen, 2006).

1. Effects of Physical and Mental Sexual Harassment of Women in Politics in Uganda

Despite the praises Uganda has received from the international community for its gender-friendly policies, critics believe substantive representation is yet to be achieved or necessarily translated with the high rate of women representation in parliament. Refki and Abbas (2014) highlight a few institutional and structural challenges that female parliamentarians face in Uganda. The first is what they refer to as a lack of work-life balance where women parliamentarians are still subject to house chores and child-rearing. They note how these women continue to express their frustration over the way gender roles in the public sector are yet to change the same as the way roles of women in the public arena have. The second which they refer to as limited access to opportunities to lobby, influence and advocate occurs when women politicians in parliament cannot partake in informal activities after the close of work, particularly in social environments like bars and clubs. This is because, based on their gender and the political role they occupy, they are usually not welcome in those types of social environments even if they did not desire to return home after parliamentary duties. The third is what they call the legal quota system which drives up descriptive representation, although explicitly breaks off substantive representation. In their view, women politicians are unduly burdened by the quota system because of the huge geographical districts they are meant to represent. As a result, it exposes the flaws in the quota system and shows that is not foolproof as envisaged by its creators.

From the above, it is clear that despite the opportunities given to the women in Uganda to present themselves for election and be represented in parliament, they are still faced with one form of gender bias or the other. The inability of women in parliament to visit social spaces to relax after parliamentary duties because they are usually unwelcoming at such gatherings is an instance of gender-based sexual

harassment. It is here that the discussion and explanation of sexual harassment come as far as Ugandan politics is concerned.

Here, the analysis will focus strictly on the pre-activities that heralded the 2021 national elections in Uganda. As explained in the previous chapter, the 2021 Ugandan national elections were virtually moved online given the incident of the COVID-19 pandemic. What this presupposes is that there were no physical campaigns on the street except online. As many Ugandan voters or electorate moved to take advantage of this scientific election as it was called, so did candidates who vied for one political office or the other. However, as electronic platforms including smartphones and the use of social media platforms surged in the weeks leading to the national election, so did online violence.

Findings from a civic technology organization, Policy, revealed that despite the adoption of digital technology in the Ugandan election, women were discovered to have used social media minimally than the menfolk (Achieng', 2021). This, Policy observed, was linked to the several forms of abuse women experienced across social media platforms. Policy also discovered that women candidates did not appear to be present on Twitter (Achieng', 2021).

Policy monitored 202 Facebook and Twitter accounts shared between men and women (101) politicians some six weeks before and two weeks after the Ugandan election, to understand voters' attitudes toward candidates vying for elective positions. The result showed that women mostly experienced online violence that comes in the form of gendered insults, body shaming and trolling on Facebook and Twitter (Kakande et al, 2021). It was discovered that fifty per cent of female politicians were trolled in comparison to 41 per cent of men and although they were both victims of online violence, women were attacked more which is attributed to misogyny and the inability to maintain gender norms (Kakande et al, 2021). Men were, however, attacked mainly because of their incapacity to carry out their leadership roles effectively.

Figure 4.2 below presents data on the percentage of women candidates in Uganda who face one form of violence or the other online. Trolling, sexual violence and body shaming, for instance, take 50 per cent, 18 per cent and 14 per cent, while insult and hate crime as well as satire take 34 per cent and 27 per cent, respectively.



Figure 7 Proportion of Ugandan women candidates facing a specific form of violence

Source: National Democratic Institute (2021)

Data presented by Policy as provided below in figure 4.3 also indicate that a woman candidate who engages the Ugandan public more on Facebook and Twitter receives a higher level of negative responses or comments on the two social media platforms. Female candidates encountered negative comments to the tune of 77 per cent on Facebook as against 23 per cent for men on the same platform. In terms of positive comments or replies, women receive a paltry 16.5 per cent on Twitter while men receive 83.5 per cent on the same platform.

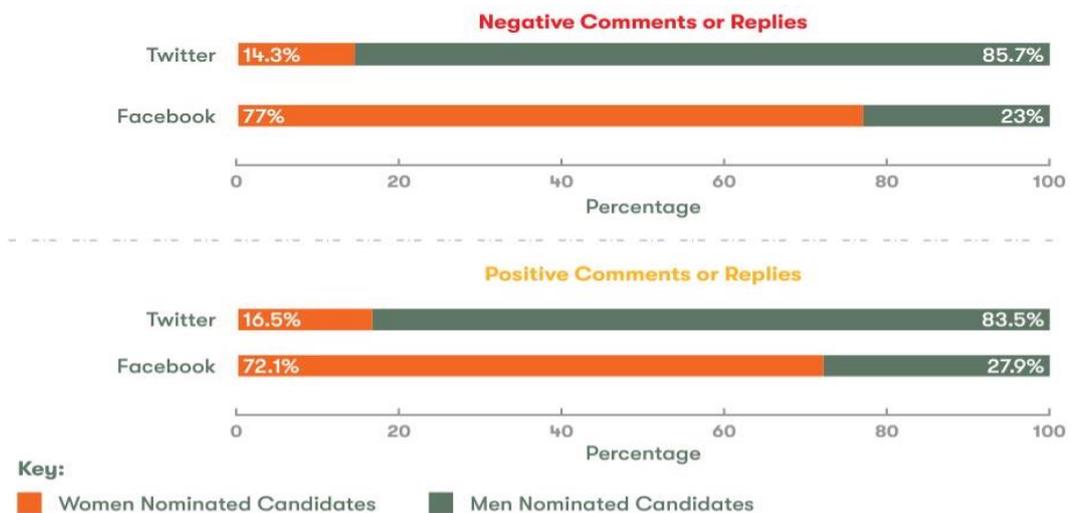


Figure 8 Percentage of Positive and Negative Comments or Replies for Men and Women

Source: <https://vawp.pollicy.org>

F. Comparative Analysis of Physical and Mental Sexual Harassment of Women in Nigeria and Uganda

The study has examined, in individual capacities, the experience of women with sexual harassment in Nigeria and Uganda. In comparative terms, one area that can be identified is the intensification of sexual harassment or violence legislation in the last couple of years. Some of these legislations which cover sexual harassment often draw on specific international laws, regional and continental conventions, national commitments and agreements among others. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1979, statutes and jurisprudence drew from international tribunals such as the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa are some of the legislations that both Nigeria and Uganda, like its counterparts in sub-Saharan Africa, have adopted to protect women against all forms of sexual violence. In Nigeria and Uganda's domestic violence laws, Penal Codes and other legislations contain provisions on several forms of sexual violence.

It is a truism that contradictions exist in all sexual violence legislation in sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, contradictions can be found in the laws that relate to children, traditional laws and legislations that deal with sexual violence. Uganda, in the case of its marriage and customary laws, allows girls who are below the age of eighteen to be married although its Sexual Offences Acts criminalises sex with persons who are below eighteen with or without consent. In a similar vein, Uganda has laws that criminalise the transmission of HIV as well as stiff penalties on persons who are involved in sexual violent acts and know they are infected with HIV. In Nigeria's case, the country's constitution recognises the consent and marriage age to be eighteen. No water-tight legislation criminalises the transmission of HIV to a partner or other victims.

Although sexual violence and harassment remain prevalent in Nigeria and Uganda, the former often appear uninterested in addressing the problem and holding offenders accountable unlike the latter. Ugandan courts, for instance, have been working to ensure that victims or survivors of sexual harassment are provided with the necessary judicial assistance while also putting in place special sessions to

decongest piled-up cases. The Ugandan Parliament have also come up with legislation where repeat offenders can easily be fished out and punished appropriately. The same cannot be said of Nigeria where the judicial arm appears complicit in the pervasive spread of sexual harassment behaviour in the country. Parliament is also disinterested in coming up with legislation that protects women politicians in the line of duty

G. Conclusion

Women's rights and inclusion in everyday political life in Nigeria and Uganda continue to attract discussions and debates within the continent and in the international community. Women's political standing on the African sub-continent, as experienced in the developed economies, has been marked by poor representation, lack of access and properly developed schooling and training systems required for positions of power as a whole. There is also the case of excessive dominance by the male folk in decision-making policies, lack of finances or resources and unbalanced political appointments in all layers of government. Given that this poses a great threat to the collective rights and equality of women in the sub-continent, it de-emphasizes the importance of the Beijing Conventions and Affirmative Action on women's rights. The failure to address this issue poses a further risk to the future of democracy in Nigeria and Uganda. In addressing the problem of gender relations, there is a need to challenge the walls erected by patriarchy and all forms of gender-based inequality in all layers of life (Bruey, 2021).

In this chapter, discussions were centered on data presentation and critical examination of the contents of the data. While the chapter recognized the difficulty in seeking responses from women in politics to explain their wide-ranging experiences resulting from sexual harassment, the data gathered from interviews with persons linked to women politicians have assisted greatly in gauging their thinking and perception. The analysis of the contents from the interviews gave insights into how women politicians react to sexual harassment and the ways they have been able to manage the behavior perpetrated by their male colleagues.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A. Summary

Globally, sexual harassment has proved highly problematic, particularly in the area of politics and everyday life, and has impacted on the number of women involved in the political process of many countries. In the United States, for instance, sexual harassment remains the most noticeable violence against women in tertiary institutions (Cortina, 2002). It has become a serious source of concern in the country in spite that it was there that the term was first created and addressed (Stop violence against women, 2010).

In the last few years, many national governments have tried to attain gender equality which accounts for the several laws and interventions made to address the issue. Some of these interventions include local legislation, affirmative action policies, gender mainstreaming in daily life and campaigns some of which are carried out by gender-related organisations. The efforts above among others to build a gender equality society remain a pipe dream most especially in the political settings. Several reasons have been attributed to this. In most African cultures as well as cultures around the world, it is usually expected that women are meant to behave in certain ways, building the perception over the years that is used as a social pretext to silence a woman's encounter or experience with sexual harassment. In a situation of this nature, sexual harassment is normalised.

To understand the physical and mental sexual harassment of women in politics in sub-Saharan Africa, this thesis demonstrated the need to know what the term, sexual harassment, connotes. The thesis indicated that it is a behaviour or conduct that is prohibited, unwelcome and most likely to hurt the victim or target. Sexual harassment is forbidden sexual behaviour that occurs either in a public space such as the workplace or in any other environment or setting which impacts negatively on the victim physically, psychologically and mentally (Mamaru, Getachew & Mohamed, 2015). The thesis also observed that sexual harassment could

be physical towards a victim or target and may as well be verbal with the ultimate aim to gain sexual favours (Bursik & Gefter, 2011).

The thesis went further to provide definitions of sexual harassment based on the conceptions of international organisations, for example, the United Nations through its agencies such as the UN Women as well as those set up by countries such as the USEEOC. The thesis, thereafter, identified and explained the two categories of sexual harassment as affirmed by the United States Supreme Court in 1998. This includes Quid Pro Quo which is a situation where a person uses his or her position of power to influence, for instance, a student's grade depending on whether the student has acceded to any sexual advances (Fineran & Bennett, 1999). Quid Pro Quo is simply an abuse of power where a benefit is promised in return for sexual gratification. High levels of Quid Pro Quo are common in many workplaces across the world. A survey by Bakari and Leach (2008) carried out in a Nigerian College of Education, they claim that female students, for instance, were prone to sexual harassment by male lecturers who account for about 45-65 per cent involved in the behaviour. In most cases, female students were left with no choice but to vacate the college while those who stand their ground were usually made to face life-threatening consequences. In the second category is the Hostile Work Environment which occurs when a hostile environment is created in an organisation. In the thesis, several relevant and existing literature concerning sexual harassment, particularly as regards women in politics, were reviewed. The reviewed literature demonstrates how sexual harassment and gender-based violence against women have become normalized on the African sub-continent. The literature was specific and categorical as to its target audience although one must emphasise that normalisation of sexual harassment is a global affair and not restricted to the thesis' scope of the study.

In many ways, society plays a role in the perpetuation of gender-based abuse. The normalisation of sexual harassment and its acceptance is linked to a culture that hardly challenges nor questions such behaviour but rather accepts it. What this thesis has, therefore, considered is to demonstrate power inequalities and differences which are used to subordinate the powerless and marginal groups in contemporary society. Sexual harassment is identified in this chapter as more of a social construction. To do this sufficiently, the thesis approached the discussion through a constructive presentation of various data and analysis of ways in which women are sexually

harassed with emphasis on the political sphere.

While researching this thesis, it became obvious that despite the increasing cases of sexual harassment in different social frameworks, the silence that pervades the polity remains strong. In other words, it was difficult to hear the voices of women or men who have encountered or experienced cases of sexual harassment. In the political sphere, the result is also discouraging. Apart from the fact that very few women are involved in politics globally, where they exist, women are faced with various form of gender violence. Not only has this generated fear but continues a deliberate attempt at marginalising them from participation and inclusion in the political decision-making of their country.

Within the social sciences discipline, an interview is one of the most important instruments of data collection, since it is more than just a mere vehicle for a coherent data collection method which is conceived as part of the qualitative and interpretive research methods (Veselkova, Vandyshev & Pryamikova, 2017). For this study, interviews were used to gather data for a sufficient understanding of the socio-cultural meanings ascribed to the physical and mental sexual harassment of women in politics in Nigeria and Uganda. As Blanche et al (2009) demonstrate, an interview is the exchange of views or positions on an issue of mutual interest between or among people. To generate the much-needed data for a qualitative analysis of the study, interviews were drawn as a central aspect of data collection. Through this, awareness of the way sexual harassment was created by perpetrators against a target or victim was gained through formal engagements with women in politics and those closely associated with these women or those in the struggle against the behaviour.

In the thesis, the data and presentation of results were analysed using data content analysis. The benefit of the use of content analysis is hinged on the fact that the thesis is aided in terms of evaluating theoretical challenges and building data understanding (Elo & Kyngas, 2007). It also assists in the area of fact verification from ancillary sources. In the data analysis of the results, the invocation of content analysis prepared the way for comparing the findings with the result of relevant extant literature. The extent to which previous studies are substantiated by the results is recognised.

B. Findings

As part of the larger findings in this study, it was discovered that there are no official statistics on sexual harassment in Nigeria and Uganda. What this means is that some of the arguments laid bare in this study are constrained by the lack of recent and sufficient data on the prevalence of the conduct as well as the magnitude of underreporting in both countries. Another finding shows that despite some of the laws put in place to stem the tide of sexual harassment, they are not stringent enough to deter offenders and repeat offenders from committing this crime. It was also found that women politicians are sexually harassed by their male colleagues but virtually all cases do not get reported or are swiftly dismissed when they occur.

C. Suggestion and Recommendations

Physical and mental Sexual harassment of women in sub-Saharan politics as discussed earlier are on the rise both in Nigeria and Uganda despite the increase of women in politics in Uganda. Most African countries need sit and readjust to have a better understanding of religious and cultural belief, before teaching this to the upcoming generation.

Women in power should build strong women empowerment in the society, However, there is more to be done to solve these issues and attributes surrounding it. Women in politics need to create a forum on women supporting women not just in politics, but in all circumstances; because in its truthfulness, some women are not supportive to their fellow women. Men in government needs to understand the thirst for responsibility that women are fighting for and see the transparency rather than being intimidated by these actions. Regarding physical and mental sexual harassment, female child needs to be given a heard space, less judgemental surroundings, and punishment should be carried out effectively regardless of the prosecutor.

The society also lacks conscious behaviour of humanity in how people are treated. There should be forums that enlightens people either male or female on how to understand the perception of emotional intelligence. This cannot be overemphasized, it is sad that some men think they are entitled to a woman's body which is quite ridiculous, most married men also lack empathy to treating their wives

better than usual.

Thus, women in power should also create more awareness to promote girl-child education especially in Nigeria, to educate female child more on their self-awareness, self-care, self-esteem, and create voices. Also,

D. Conclusion

This thesis contributes an across-the-board and holistic examination and understanding of physical and mental sexual harassment in sub-Saharan Africa with emphasis on Nigeria and Uganda. The thesis objective provides a detailed understanding of the social and cultural factors as well as those that contribute to the forms of sexual harassment within Nigeria and Uganda's political framework. The review of the extant works and the gendered character of sexual harassment was discussed in detail while sexual harassment was defined based on the reviews while the various forms, phases and paradigms of sexual harassment were subsequently examined. The thesis was able to provide relevant statistics and data on the victims or targets and perpetrators of sexual harassment drawing examples from Nigeria and Uganda as well as other key states where this behaviour is prevalent. The thesis established the fact that sexual harassment is associated with sexuality, patriarchy and gender power differences while noting the effect of sexual harassment on victims as well as the way violence against women is normalised across several societies. The conclusion of this thesis shows would-be perpetrators of sexual harassment in any form, and most importantly within the realm of politics, should be made to understand the consequences of such behaviour through very stringent laws.

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