



WORDOC
WORD TO CHANGE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

WORDOC SEMINAR SERIES 2024

Readings from The Ibadan
School of African Feminist Studies



MacArthur
Foundation

AFRICAN WOMEN
TRUST FUND



CAEPOCOM
Africa

CENTRE FOR APPLIED
ETHICS & POLITICAL
COMMUNICATION
IN AFRICA

WORDOC SEMINAR SERIES
2024

Readings from The Ibadan School of
African Feminist Studies Ibadan

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

Copyright © 2024

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopy, recording, or otherwise without prior written permission of the publisher, except as provided by Nigerian copyright law.

Women's Research and Documentation Center (WORDOC), Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Year of publication December 2024

Cover design: Syntax Creative Space

+234 907 777 5394

Layout design

Aplux Graphics and Printing

57, Ososami Road, Oke Ado, Ibadan, Nigeria.

+234 802 883 7163

ISBN: 978 978 780 384 4

Table of Contents

Foreword by Amina Salihu	4
Preface	5
Extalgia: Exploring the Suffering and Creativity of Those Left Behind and the Impact of Migration on Women in the Homeland - Senayon Olaoluwa	10
<i>Wombiture:</i> Digital Wombs and Foetal Subjectivities Or, Talking Futures with Culture as Wombiture - Sola Olorunyomi	16
When 'She' is the Crook: Feminised Corruption and Women's Political Communication in Nigeria - Sharon Adetutu Omotoso	46
Editors Adetoun Oyelude & Osagioduwa Eweka	
Editorial Team	
Oyebanke Oyelaja	
Oyekemi Oyelakin	
Rukayat Usman	
Abigail Otolorin	
Eniola Badekale	
Ebunoluwa Olaleye	

When 'She' is The Crook: Feminised Corruption and Women's Political Communication in Nigeria

Dr. Sharon Adetutu OMOTOSO

Associate Professor

Gender Studies Program

Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Abstract

West Africa offers significant examples of struggles with dwindling women's political representation, of which several possible causes have been identified. In addition, this study unravels the concept of 'feminised corruption' as a subtle, yet major bane to an increased presence of women in political office. Using Nigeria as a case study, I draw evidence from five selected women to foreground how corruption charges laid against women in politics reveal a hidden, but deliberate attempt to truncate their political careers. I proceed to interrogate how the political communication actions and/or inactions of these women have reinforced stereotypes and distorted their responses to corruption charges and party misdemeanors. This qualitative study articulates how

corruption is gendered to regulate women's access to public offices and concludes that political parity would remain an illusion if feminised corruption is allowed to thrive.

Introduction

Ongoing debates on gender and corruption have taken multiple views globally and locally. Some parity-based studies promote the 'fairer sex' hypothesis which connects femininity with probity and masculinity with corruption (World Bank 2001; Dollar, Fisman and Gatti 2001; Akunyili 2006; Arowolo and Aluko 2010; Bauhr, Charron and Wängnerud 2018), and on this basis, they advocate for increased women's participation in politics. Other studies argue that the gender binary as an anti-corruption device is mythical and problematic, therefore, more women in politics would not necessarily translate to less corruption. Rather, they suggest that institutional/legal reforms and dispassionate legal enforcement should be deployed to curb corruption (Okonkwo 2016; Mechkova, Dahlum and Petrarca 2022). There is also the moderate school that argues that the link between women's political representation and corruption is context-specific (Esarey and Schwindt- Bayer 2018; Bauhr and Charron 2021). These debates began to expand as more women entered the highly patriarchal political spaces in Africa. However, not many studies have sought to ask if corruption prevents women from seeking, gaining and retaining political office. To this end, keen attention to West Africa's political space (specifically, Nigeria) arises considering the hitherto backlash of dwindling women's political participation and representation in the region.

This article spotlights how political space in Africa marginalizes women, especially in the areas of having a fair representation in democratic processes, elections, and nomination into appointive offices. In addition to this, it calls attention to emerging bottlenecks that are beginning to reinforce malignant barriers to a more inclusive political environment, consequently deterring the prioritizing of space-making for women in

public office. Without discountenancing the importance of ongoing gender discussions on corruption, this paper introduces 'feminised corruption' as another important, yet unnoticed dimension to the debate. Feminised corruption engages a conceptual and theoretical interrogation of the scandalization of women in political offices and by extension, other leadership spaces using empirical evidence (Omotoso, 2023). This responds to the gap found due to "little theoretical evidence to suggest how gender may influence likability in the context of political scandal" (Stilwell and Utych 2022, 134). It also brings into focus how politicians' gender can determine the effect of a scandal (Bauer 2017; Pereira 2020; Cucchi and Cavazza 2020).

The concept of 'feminised corruption' exposes a depiction of "the bias of corruption against women... that is, making corruption into an act that is typical of women and making more women visible among the corrupt across political spaces. [This problem of feminised corruption]... infers that women carry more moral responsibility than men and should therefore receive greater punishment when caught in the web of corruption" (Omotoso 2023,10-13). By this, 'feminised corruption' is presented as an emerging disguised misogynist weapon used to hamper women's progress in politics. Within this situation, Nigeria's political sphere becomes a case in point to show how corruption is weaponised against women both through the spoken and unspoken among political actors, to reinforce political victimization performed through "a careful handpicking of political rivals or errant former allies" (Albert 2018, 4). I present this as a meeting point between women's political representation and women's political communication, aligning with Ossei-Apiah et al. (2023. 2510) that "issues of political communication represent a major edifice for the gendering of politics, both as a producer of enduring gender inequality and as an incentive for political change." Political communication (also known as Policom) "deals with how means of communication function within political processes. ... entailing the interaction of three main actors: political actors, the media and the public" (Orgeret and Rønning 2020). Specifically, women's political communication embodies their personality traits, fashion

sense, speeches, projects and methodical approaches (Omotoso 2020). Women's political communication spans verbal and non-verbal cues used to enter political arena, to attract media attention, to sustain public engagement and to defend themselves from political aggression. This is in response to the dearth of empirical studies in the "political context verifying the effectiveness of image reparation tactics in relation to a politician's gender" (Cucchi et al 2021, 2-3)

I argue here that, how women's political communication is structured and implemented determines how well or otherwise they will fare in their political careers. The objective of this study is to examine selected Nigerian female politicians' political communications as a link between manifestations of feminised corruption, and their many crashlandings that have resulted in women's dwindling political representation. In the remaining sections of this work I will interrogate 'political corruption' and 'feminised corruption' within Nigeria's political systems since the commencement of the fourth republic in 1999. The concept of 'feminised corruption' will be used to expand the debates by providing evidence from five selected Nigerian women who have held political office. I will then examine how women's responses to corruption charges and party misdemeanours have reinforced existing stereotypes and how their political communication actions and/or inactions downplay/distort women's agency, thereby allowing for gendered corruption to regulate women's access to public offices. Finally, I will propose how identified political challenges may be addressed by key players as Nigerian women's quest for gender egalitarianism continues and the study will close with reflections and conclusion.

Women in Nigeria's Political Space: Rising Participation and Falling Representation.

Ravaged by rising participation yet falling representation, the Nigerian situation offers comprehensive contexts to the challenge of women's

political representation and participation. Okome and Zakiya (2013, 23) called attention to the lack of “consensus on how to conceptualize or understand women’s political participation and the consequent effects on politics and political systems.” One conception captures political participation as mainstreaming gender through equitable representation, while another conception points at descriptive representation (having to do with the election and appointment of women into office), and substantive representation (ensuring that women’s issues are incorporated into policymaking) (Lovenduski 2005). Therefore, ongoing debates on connections between political participation and political representation offer a description of political representation as that which transpires among candidates vying for office; and political participation as activities of voters, pressure groups, and civil society (Lindberg 2006). Differentiating between political participation and political representation reveals a tokenised structure sustained by “a drift from increased representation to increased participation, which keeps Nigeria stuck within retaining women as participants and restraining them from being elected or appointed en masse into political offices” (Omotoso and Akanni 2024, 128).

Accordingly, on one hand, political participation in Nigeria is feigned in women’s massive attendance of political rallies dressed in party attires; women being a larger population as the voting masses; women as recruits for political mobilizing, and as cheerleaders to male political gladiators. On the other hand, political representation remains in realms of the descriptive and the substantive where more women have not occupied. This places political participation in an all-comer realm of politics while representation is for a selected few who are qualified based on preset criteria often built on patriarchal party policies, socio-cultural regimen and country-specific media ecosystems (Zaller 1992; Ferraz & Finan 2011; Omotoso 2018). This argument somewhat aligns with the supply-side and demand-side explanation of women’s political representation.

As the supply side connects with increasing the pool of women with the will and experience to contest alongside men for political offices, the demand side spotlights countries’ political climate and electoral systems’ willingness to pull women working within the supply side into public offices (Paxton, Kunovich and Hughes 2007). With this categorization, this study would focus on political representation as conceived to imply women’s willingness to contest for offices and the will of structures and systems to aid their presence and impact in the space. Such a categorization entails symbolic representation which should expectedly allow women to enter political spaces and gain influence to improve women’s wellbeing. As a precursor to any substantive representation, when symbolic representation is weak, gender stereotype promoted by hegemonic masculinity renders women’s agency in politics precarious (Fernandes 2012). Consequently, feminised corruption typifies the complication that accompanies weak symbolic representation and is thus presented here as a bane to political representation (specifically on the demand side), since it is usually weaponised against women in leadership.

Election Offices	2007		2011		2015		2019	
	Female Candidates	Women Elected	Female Candidates	Women Elected	Female Candidates	Women Elected	Female Candidates	Women Elected
President	1 of 25	0	1 of 20	0	1 of 14	0	6 of 73	0
Vice President	5 of 25	0	3 of 20	0	4 of 14	0	22 of 73	0
Governor	14 of 474	0	13 of 353	0	23 of 380	0	77 of 3269	0
Deputy Governor	21 of 474	6 of 36	58 of 347	1 of 36	64 of 380	4 of 29	265 of 3269	3 of 36
Senate	59 of 799	9 of 109	90 of 890	7 of 109	128 of 746	8 of 109	234 of 2824	8 of 109
House of Reps	150 of 2342	26 of 360	220 of 2408	26 of 360	270 of 172	17 of 360	543 of 4680	13 of 360

Source: IRJ 2015 Nigeria Election Observation Report
 YIAGA Africa Observatory on Candidacy in the 2019 General Elections in Nigeria.

Table 1 Women’s Political Representation in Nigeria’s Politics 2007-2019

Table 1 establishes a similar trend of low representation of women in elective positions since 2007 despite a recurrent report of over 45 percent registered female voters. This confirms rising participation yet falling representation. In Nigeria, women's political representation remains a challenge, constituting 5.7 percent of parliamentary seats in 2021 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021). Nigeria's political landscape is complex, and shaped by cultural, religious, and economic factors. Successes and challenges emerge from grassroots movements and legislative reforms, highlighting the intricate dynamics of women's political participation (Duflo 2012). However, socio-cultural factors, discriminatory practices, and limited access to resources hinder women's political advancement when considered from a representation viewpoint. The next section examines feminised corruption as an identified bane contributing to the trend of falling women's political representation in Nigeria.

Theoretical discussions on political corruption and feminised corruption.

Political corruption describes systematic ways in which "governing elites...seek to expand the flow of illicit benefits through official channels" (Balachandrudu 2006, 811). Albert (2018, 3) affirms an extension of the discourse of political corruption to cover incidences of unfair allocation of a country's wealth; ...intentional distortion in a country's social and political decision-making...cases of "stolen elections", lopsided political appointments, ethnic and religious influences in a political system, and other forms of nepotism.

It follows that political corruption is a combination of several constituents including electoral corruption, bureaucratic corruption (consisting of petty and grand corruption) among others, which undermines the foundations of political systems. Political corruption depends largely on political systems where political elites are at the apex within the circular bottom-top or top-bottom cycle. This may then be closely connected to bureaucratic corruption which include biased methods used by

government employees and the public to obtain illegitimate benefits. Beyond these, it is important to note strong links among the various forms of corruption. For instance, Malipula (2024) problematizes combating bureaucratic corruption considering the strong connection with political elites who massively influence bureaucratic decisions. This situation according to Osei-Afoakwa (2012) includes cases where public sector officials connive with private sector officials including political elites to implement bureaucratic corruption. Within this process, specifically in budget planning and public procurement, the masses become victims of lack of checks and balances between both parties.

Be that as it may, feminised corruption reverberates with political scandals considered as transgression, and defined as “illegal, or unauthorised, profiteering by officials who exploit their position for personal gain” (Blackburn et al., 2004, 5). It straddles multifarious manifestations, more so that corruption indictment against women politicians cut across embezzlement, misappropriation, money laundering, certificate forgery among others. These crosscut within bureaucracies, institutions, cultures and religions keeping in mind that the political space cannot operate independently from these spheres. Feminised corruption presents not just an addition in corruption discourses, but also a fresh contribution to the gender-corruption nexus. It is noteworthy, that studies have offered seven major areas of consideration in gender-corruption nexus:

1) socialization; 2) risk-appetite; 3) opportunities for corruption; 4) gender quotas; 5) the role of women; 6) institutions; and 7) context (UNODC Module on Anti-Corruption N.D, 12). While most of these areas have connected more with women’s probity in office, it is still unclear how institutions and contexts provide definitive understanding to the gender-corruption nexus. Consequently, there arises the need to dig deeper into the gender-corruption nexus through these two lenses. Noting that the concept of corruption is essentially a moral issue often emerging from an environment of moral diminution or depravity, “... corruption... typically involves the despoiling of the moral character of persons...” (Miller 2017, p. 55), “and/or the undermining of a morally legitimate institutional process, role, or condition” (Miller et.al 2005,

p.5). By implication, the condition of persons could be made worse or more complicated by their personal moral disposition and/or corrupt actions domiciled within institutions to which they belong. Thus, Feminised corruption may be described as an 'occupational hazard' (Stilwell & Utych 2022) which accompany women and distorts public perceptions about them as they gain prominence in leadership. It connects closely with the backlash effect theory which entrench social repercussion against women whose acts are incongrous with female stereotypes (Faludi 1991; Rudman 1998; Jordan 2016).

Backlash is imminent when a disadvantaged group threatens existing power structures by attempting to enact change in a social order. In this case, women's entrance into the political sphere may trigger storms and their quest to approach governance differently often predisposes them to attacks. As it attempts a closer look at contexts and institutions in explaining dwindling women's political representation, "feminised corruption is not about whether women are more corrupt than men or whether more women have been found guilty or not. Rather, it is about how more women are found or drawn into corruption discourses to the detriment of the sustainable development goals of 'gender equality', 'reduced inequalities', and 'partnership for the goals'" (Omotoso, 2023,11). Subsequently, feminised corruption may be explained as a byproduct of backlash. The discourse of feminised corruption may be anchored on suspected intentional strategy for fostering masculinised political spaces through exclusion mechanism. The exclusion mechanism recognizes women as equal and competent players but proceeds to deny them access into inner caucus. Inferentially, corruption connects with exclusion, as Warren (2004, 333) asserts that "corruption involves hypocrisy. For an elite (or group or individual) to be corrupt in the democratic sense, it must both profess and violate the democratic norm of inclusion. Thus, corrupt exclusion is distinguished by duplicity, a characteristic that implies not just the possibility of condemnation, but also the possibility of immanent critique". Since exclusion is a constituent of corruption, women's exclusion from inner circles of politics as Bauhr, Charron & Wangnerud (2018) suggest, may be a reason why women

repel corruption and seek public benefit while in office. Although the exclusion argument supports women's probity, Bjarnegård's work on corruption in Thailand (2013, 2018) unveils the possibility of political environments to emit toxic responses to women who mobilize against corruption and may raise influential foes to endanger their careers. Here lies the logic of feminised corruption which when deployed, can cut down the tree before maturity.

Two major issues feature in the discourse of feminised corruption:

(i) the politics of retention and, (ii) the politics of succession.

Retention in this context has to do with continued possession, use, and control of political space and power. The politics of retention is built around the intrigues and dynamics of women occupying public offices and sustaining relevance for a significant period in the space. A major harm that feminised corruption does to women's political representation is that it reinforces leaky pipelines; it allows women to shatter a glass ceiling but then proceeds to place them on a glass cliff. Feminised corruption is a mechanism that sets women up for failure. It ensures women do not enjoy a sustained tenure in office and thins them out of politics.

"Succession is broadly understood to mean the process of changing leadership. It basically involves three stages: the vacating of power by the older ruler; the selection of the new and the legitimisation of the new leader" (Banjo 2008, 33). When feminised corruption is deployed, the politics of succession ensures that women are not sufficiently mentored to take over from one another. Feminised corruption pits women against women since no one wants to identify with a woman who has been indicted for corruption; moreso, the public would not trust any woman mentored by such a woman. Both features of feminised corruption may be further explained with Esarey and Schwindt's (2018, 659) argument that "gender differences in corrupt behavior are proportional to the strength of electoral accountability." This is drawn from observations that women are more risk-averse than men, and consequently, often withdraw from public space when tainted by corruption charges. At this

point, it must be noted that the concept of feminised corruption differs completely from the concept of 'corruption victimisation', which has to do with "measuring corruption experience in order to be able to show who its victims are" (Seligson 2006, 402). Corruption victimisation could connect with feminised corruption if/and when a woman becomes an image of corruption as a form of political persecution. In this instance, feminised corruption operates as a double-edged sword that feigns women inclusion on one hand, and on the other hand uses corruption charges to disenfranchise women. It selectively captures female politicians as victims of the corrupt political structures, and by this means alienates them from public office. As promising women in politics gets thrown off balance with corruption charges around their necks, the result is a two-way cycle; first, being loss of credibility to contest for election or hold future public office; and second; loss of followship by younger women who could have been mentored into politics by them.

Feminised Corruption in Nigeria

As Nigeria face challenges of violence, electoral fraud, unfulfilled promises, and negligence on the part of the ruling class, the growing scourge of corruption has fostered democratic instability, economic underdevelopment, and public distrust. Consequently, successive administrations across the civil-military political cycle have sought to address the menace of corruption by launching different anti-corruption measures and programs such as the 1983 War Against Indiscipline (WAI), and the establishment of anti-corruption agencies in 1999. Yet the menace seems not significantly controlled, as many of the anti-corruption measures have addressed the consequences of the problem but without sustainable control methods. Oftentimes, corruption indictment for politicians or public officials is accompanied by uproar across the government, political party spheres, family arena, and social and religious spaces to which the person charged with corruption belongs. These are usually amplified by media agencies both

locally and internationally (Omotoso 2023). Just as women and men react differently to corruption charges, public reactions to the charged person also often depend on whether they are male or female. This has been affirmed in the words of the former President of Malawi, Joyce Banda (2018), who asserted that women are treated differently when it comes to corruption. Likewise, Esarey and Schwindt's (2018, 659) study reveals that "voters hold women to a higher standard...." and that "women's representation–corruption link is strongest when the risk of corruption being detected and punished by voters is high.

The concept of 'feminised corruption' acknowledges Nigeria's thriving population of successful women who are qualified to take leadership in the political arena. Nevertheless, there is a growing structure within political systems, which do not disqualify women by physical, educational, or party criteria, but is often used to wittingly discredit the few women who venture into political spaces by election or appointment. Feminised corruption defies the essentialist parity lobby which presents women as the 'fairer sex' in politics. Rather it treats each corruption case in context-specific manners, Omotoso & Faniyi (2024) draw an instance from feminist activism in Nigeria's recent EndSARS protest to reveal how feminised corruption essentializes women by luring the masses to draw from one case to predict or define more women as unworthy occupiers of leadership roles and/or public offices.

Feminised Corruption: Examples from Nigeria

Some women who have been caught in the web of corruption since 1999 in Nigeria include Patricia Etteh, the first female speaker of the National House of Representatives, who was accused of unauthorised spending of 628 million naira; Stella Oduah, former Minister of Aviation, indicted for alleged fraud of about five billion naira; Winifred Oyo- Ita, former Head of Service of the Federation who was accused of 570 million naira fraud charges; Diezani Alison-Madueke, former Minister of Petroleum Resources who was accused of money laundering; Kemi Adeosun, former Minister of Finance who was accused of certificate forgery; Iyabo Obasanjo-Bello (former Senator and daughter of former

President Obasanjo) accused of embezzling 1.5 million USD. Others are Adenike Grange, former Minister of Health indicted for allegedly stealing public funds; former First Lady, Patience Jonathan, for laundering 67.5 thousand USD and 13.5 million USD during her husband's tenure as governor of Bayelsa State. Former female chairperson of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Farida Waziri, who was accused of corruption, having close relationships with corrupt political figures, and of going slow on sensitive cases against powerful political figures. Since many of the cases are protracted and prolonged, the women are shamed publicly while awaiting the cases to be brought to a legal conclusion.

Methodology

I identify as an academic activist, one who has chosen to remain within the academia while documenting women's political experiences and advocating for behavioral and institutional change. This qualitative study has purposively selected five women¹; Patricia Etteh², Adenike Grange³, Stella Oduah⁴, Kemi Adeosun⁵, and Winifred Oyo-Ita⁶. The criterion for their selection is based first on the fact that they served from 1999 when Nigeria returned to civil rule. Second, their corruption indictment attracted wider press coverage, provoked massive controversies and public outrage. Their personal data was collected as at the period when they served in office (i) to capture specific factors that subjected them to feminised corruption, (ii) to present the legal status of their cases and, (iii) to identify succession and retention factors following their indictment. Reckoning with the difficulties of researching real-life issues on corruption, approaching respondents for personal interview proved abortive as they were reluctant to grant interviews to discuss their experiences in office. Perhaps this also affirms women's culture of silence even as public figures. I subsequently could not have any personal contact or interaction with the selected women in this study, rather, I drew data from the archives including news reports, previous personality interviews, and opinion pieces. These were subjected to critical content analysis to identify trends of

feminised corruption and the political communication strategies of the women. The approach used for the study provided an avenue for close reading and analysis, more so that the women purposively selected are public figures and the materials used were drawn from public domains. Furthermore, while I acknowledge the possibility that some of these women being studied may be found guilty of corruption charges, I have not probed into their innocence or otherwise. Rather, what this study has captured is the trend of using corruption to deter parity in politics while also teasing policom approaches which might have contributed to the women's leadership experiences.

	Ethnic Group	Education- al Back- ground	Party	Status of Allegations
Patricia Etteh	Yoruba/ South west	Dip. in Law UniAbuja B.Sc in view	People's Democratic Party (PDP), and later, All Progressive Congress (APC)	Became the first female speaker of the House of Representatives in June 2007. She succumbed to the pressure to resign after the corruption scandal on October 30, 2007 (VOA News October 30, 2007). By 2011 at the valedictory seating of the 6th House of Representatives, Patricia Olubunmi Etteh was exonerated from the indictment (allafrica.com June 3, 2011). She was succeeded by Hon. Dimeji Bankole (Male).

Adenike Grange	Yoruba/ Southwest	B. Sc, PhD	Appointed under PDP	Appointed as the first female Minister of Health on July 25, 2007, she resigned following the corruption allegation (Reuters. March 25, 2008) but was later cleared of the criminal charges by the verdict of the court of appeal. She was succeeded by Babatunde Osotimehin (Male) and never returned to the political sphere.
Stella Oduah	Igbo/ Southeast	M.Sc, MBA	Appointed under PDP	Became Minister of Aviation in 2011. She was removed in 2014, following the corruption indictment. She was later elected senator for two terms during which she crossed from the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) to All Progressive Congress (APC), then back to PDP within an eight months interval. All the corruption cases against her have suffered protracted delays due to postponements and adjournments (Premium Times. October 17, 2023). She was succeeded by Osita Chidoka (Male).

Kemi Adeosun	Yoruba/ Southwest	M.Sc	Appointed under APC	Appointed on November 11, 2015, she resigned as Nigeria's Minister of Finance in 2018 following allegations of certificate forgery and exited the country only to return in 2021 (The Cable July 13, 2021). While the court exonerated her, the matter remains in the court of public opinion as she strives to restore her reputation. She was succeeded by Zainab Ahmed (Female).
Winifred Oyo Ita	E f i k / S o u t h - South	M.Sc	Appointed under APC	Appointed on October 21, 2015, she was sent on five months of compulsory leave, then pressured to submit a letter of retirement on August 20, 2019, which was approved, and had her removed on February 27, 2020 (Vanguard Newspaper February 29, 2020). Her trial has been severally postponed since then. She was succeeded by Folashade Yemi (Female).

Table 2 Short biodata, relevant details, and status of allegation of the purposively selected women. Source: Author's fieldwork. Note: All information sourced record their biodata as at the time of appointment/ election

Findings

All the purposively selected women worked with the prominent political parties of their time. Regardless of the diverse personalities of these women in terms of age, class, ethnicity, religious leanings, educational background, and party ideologies, they have appeared within feminised corruption discourses, basically because they are women. This affirms sexism as an attribute of feminised corruption. Although this study also does not rule out colorations of ethnic bias, religious leaning, and party loyalty, it establishes that feminised corruption singles out how being a woman at the upper echelons of politics can be both problematic and victimizing. Allegations against the purposively selected women have been widely publicised, but most have not been drawn to a legal conclusion. The pressure to resign as found with Etteh, Grange, Adeosun and Oyo-Ita provides insights into how women are often abruptly removed from office without due process. It connects with the political undertone of women's persecution (Amede and Tooney 2010). Basic features that affirm the prevalence of feminised corruption include:

1. Sexualising politics for women by probing their marital status and often accusing them of infidelity.
2. Spotlighting women as lacking team spirit and the loyalty required for politics
3. Accusing women of fraud, illegalities and anti-party activities without full proof
4. Silencing women with bad press
5. Recruiting social media bullying through demeaning memes, disinformation, deep fakes among others.
6. Stalling legal processes that can prove women's innocence or otherwise
7. Destroying the pipeline that allows women to mentor one another for sustainable representation and substantive political participation.

Findings reveal that despite their varying periods of presence in office, each of the purposively selected women were subjected to the above-listed processes of feminised corruption. Table 2 captures how press reportage and social media comments maligned all the women even when their cases were yet to be concluded. It also records how family members were used to pressure women to resign from their positions. While some of the women were exonerated from the indictments (Etteh, Adeosun and Grange), not much was done to launder their battered images after they were cleared of the allegations. In the cases of Oduah and Oyo-Ita their trials have suffered protracted delays consequently inconclusive to judge them innocent or guilty. Aside the earlier noted, other characteristic features of feminised corruption found with the women in this study include:

Absenteeism from public space: Absenteeism/disappearance from the public is symptomatic of feminised corruption. This signals the termination of any political career since public appearances are an indispensable part of politics. When a prominently visible woman suddenly goes behind the scenes, it could be an indication that she has been silenced and forced to lay low. At their different tenures, the five purposively selected women in this study have had to retreat from public space. Particularly, Grange and Adeosun acknowledged this experience as the press report their sojourn into political oblivion and/ or reappearances after a period of disappearance from public space. For instance, fourteen year later, Idachaba, reports in Blueprint online newspaper (September 23 2022) about Grange:

“Shortly after she left the cabinet, Prof Grange was reported to have entered into private medical practice in Ibadan in conjunction with some non-governmental organisations; however, not much has been heard about her since then.”

Similarly, on Adeosun, This Day Live (June 20 2021) with the headline “The Return of Kemi Adeosun” reports:

“After her early retirement from public life in September of 2018, former finance minister Kemi Adeosun kept a low profile and reportedly

relocated overseas. However, the brilliant chartered accountant made a spectacular return to the limelight with the launching of her foundation.”

Intra-Feminist Bickering: Women within the systems will begin to avoid the one alleged for corruption. Likewise, there could be suspicions that a fellow woman has given them up in order to eliminate them and/ or monopolize the space (Huddy, Cassese and Lizotte 2008). Oduah’s case somewhat reflects this, as presented by Daily Times (November 20 2017) with the headline: “How Diezani forced Jonathan to Sack me” the article quotes Oduah as follows:

“I knew all along that Diezani could not deal with having another female around who had the kind of access I had to the president. But she went too far.... She thought I was the one who leaked the issue of private jet that put her into trouble with the House of Representatives (Diezani was accused of spending N10 billion on chartered jets). For her it was payback time.”

This informs Amede and Tooney’s (2010, 222) assertion that “where gender participation is not being consciously implemented as a collective agenda, individual women succeed alone and also risk losing as individuals.”

Struggles for media defense: Media play significant roles in the framing and conveyance of news surrounding corruption charges. Oftentimes, sensationalised headlines contribute to the damage done by the political class in feminizing corruption. Amidst these, the indicted woman is forced to seek media allies who can project her side of the story to save her from public shame. At different occasions, each of these women explored the media to save them from the public disgrace, unfortunately an uncultivated media relationship cannot yield desired change. To this end, this study proceeds to examine the policom tactics of the selected women.

Of Feminised Corruption and Strategic Political Communication

Communication has remained the bedrock of politics. Many politicians in history have used oration, writing skills, language mastery and strong media influence to sway the masses and turn political wheels and wills in their favor. Strategic political communication therefore consists of “political agenda setting and agenda building, the uses and effects of political advertising, the relationship between journalists and politicians, the framing of political news by reporters, gatekeeping processes, and more recently, the uses and influence of the new social media in election coverage and public opinion management” (Okigbo & Onoja, 2020, 67). The advent of social media into political communication platforms and political analytics has broadened the already complex political terrain. Citizen journalism has made it possible for news to break from so-called ‘informal’ platforms as against earlier reliance on conventional media. The possibility for instant comments from the public and the option of sharing and forwarding of messages on the social media platforms have posed unprecedented threat to women in leadership. Consequently, studies have embarked on analysis, comparisons, and outcomes of political communication (policom) tactics used by men and women (Omotoso & Akanni 2024; Osei-Appiah et.al 2023; Funk 2015; Krook and Norris 2014; Bauer and Okpotor 2013). In the specific case of scandals, Cucchi et al (2021) affirm that when women adopt the stereotypical gender image of ‘submissiveness’ instead of the masculine ‘assertiveness’ in their policom, they increase their chances of being heavily penalised than men. Not many women politicians pay attention to post-election/post-appointment media management. As women become visible in political spaces, so also is made visible their lack of strategic political communication for stakeholder engagement, reputation management, and crisis control. On this note, I connect women’s political communication lacunae with the rising scourge of feminised corruption. This approach deploys policom as a tool that captures the (un)spoken; and silences that accompany the noises while

politicizing of the personal. The women studied in this article present pieces of evidence in this regard and as discussed below.

Patricia Etteh in an interview with Channels Television, July 30, 2018 (11 years later) was quoted with the headline “I joined politics to prove a point.” Not much was said on her corruption indictment of 2007, rather, she harped on her political resilience and the fact that she is still in politics. She has since been brought up in the news in connection with new corruption cases to which she has neither organised a public meeting to address nor set up a media team to launder her image.

At a public event in 2013 (6 years later) PMNEWS (January 23, 2013) captured Adenike Grange, with the headline “Politics swept me off as Minister.” Such communications signify a sense of unpreparedness for the political space, despite her unmatched feats in academia and other public spheres⁷. She provided further explanations at another interview:

They saw me as an alien. Ideally, in developed world, I would have fitted in very well because I had the skills, knowledge, and willpower. But coming here, it looked as though their expectation was more of playing the politics than actually doing the work. Now I see that it is going to be very difficult for people with pure motives to survive.... What they said happened was not what happened but people took advantage of the fact that some people have access to getting lies out and making them look real. Well, I have learnt my lesson (Vanguard, March 10 2012).

These assertions defended her but are rather reactive and damage control-focused. Such a situation should have been envisaged, and measures taken before accepting the appointment.

After her removal from the office as Minister for Aviation, Stella Oduah’s victory in the polls for a Senatorial seat makes her one of the women not thinned out of politics through feminised corruption. Although she has not displayed a significant strategic media presence, her current

standing is one to be examined. Two major news reports center her for this scrutiny. First, the (Daily Times November 20, 2017) reports on her with the headline: “How Diezani Forced Jonathan to Sack Me – Stella Oduah.” This report resonates with the challenge of space-making in politics which may permits some intra-feminist bickering as the structure pitches women against women. Perhaps she should be considered as the surviving fittest. Second, (Punch Newspaper August 26, 2021) reports on her with the headline “Stella Oduah dumps PDP, joins APC.” There she expressed that her crossing to the the APC family is “part of the process of the changing political narrative in the South-East”. As the quest for inclusion is charting a path for increased women’s political representation, one may suspect the manifestation of what Okonkwo (2016, 117) describes as the emergence of a tyrannical political space fraught with “patriarchal decision-making and control, masculine interest-begotten group dynamics and, patriarchal manipulative usurpation of participatory methods.” He argues that these “processes of political subject formation and political participation explain why corruption thrives in Nigeria.” Moreover, studies had called attention to instances of protectionism, where partisan identity with the national incumbent may shield persons indicted for corruption (Enweremadu 2006; Chang and Kerr 2017; Solaz 2019). Could it be that Oduah is conformist in this regard and therefore enjoying the protection of political godfathers? Why is this not the case for the other women? Is silence a viable political communication tactic (Omotoso 2015)8? And for how long can silence as a political communication tactic sustain a woman’s political career?

Like many of her female counterparts, Kemi Adeosun came to the limelight through media profiling after she was appointed Minister for Finance. Aside from this, there was no known strategic communication structure to support her political office. A paragraph in her resignation letter reads thus:

I have, today, become privy to the findings of the investigation into the allegation made in an online

medium that the Certificate of Exemption from National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) that I had presented was not genuine...this has come as a shock to me and I believe that in line with this administration's focus on integrity, I must do the honourable thing and resign (Reuters September 17, 2018).

It was 7 years after this incidence that the Punch Newspaper (March 27, 2022) quoted her in the headline: "I cried every day for three months, had therapy to survive NYSC Certificate Saga." On one hand, such post-scandal policom reconnects with the argument of Cucchi et al (2021) about the dangers of women adopting the stereotypical gender image of 'submissiveness' as it could predispose them to more victimization. On the other hand, such post-scandal policom could also connect with the argument of Stilwell and Utych (2022) that when women provide justifications for their scandal, they stand a higher chance than men to be favorably evaluated. Either way, the onus is on women in leadership to decide how they want to be viewed and described in public space.

Again, like most female political appointees, Winifred Oyo-Ita did not venture into any form of damage control after her indictment. There were insinuations that her feud with a top government official caused the crises, and some of her fans have dismissed her travails as a setup, describing it as a way of fishing for dirt forcing her to succumb to pressure from family members to resign (Sun Online August 25, 2019).

In the words of Okigbo & Onoja (2020, 65) "the African political scene is not the only arena where the true meaning of strategic communication is opaque and arguable."

It is worrisome that none of these women had recognizable and formidable political communication strategies before, during, and after their indictments. The trend of roping women into corrupt cases when they transgress official party policy or rebel against the 'powers that be' has become a regulatory device to keep women at bay or throw them out

with no hope of returning. This is in line with Mechkova et.al’s (2022,16) assertion that “women can be used to legitimize the rule of corrupt elites”. In support of this, pieces of evidence exist of pre-electoral/pre-appointment covenants including oath-taking (Ribadu 2009) which augments the culture of silence that trails women when indicted for corruption. Perhaps an earlier instituted policom strategy would have allowed citizens to trace back a woman’s political trajectories-as this might help in (dis)connecting the act from the person. This is more productive than some haphazard reactive political communication that often accompanies women politicians in crisis. Table 3 below presents a quick guide for women’s strategic political communication.

What?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Blueprint - Leadership ideologies - Unique Selling point - Weaknesses that opposition can throw up - Verbal and non-verbal cues to maintain. - Working documents, terms and conditions.
When?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As soon as the yearning for change begins. - As soon as party activities commence. - In periods of success and failure.
How?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recruit team members - Identify allies (both men and women) - Have financial plans. - Decide how often to engage with stakeholders. - Evaluate critiques for improvement

Who?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Experienced and goal-oriented persons - Local and global stakeholders
Why?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keep this space open for regular self-assessment and how well the pursuit of predefined objectives is going.

Table 3. Quick guide for women’s strategic political communication.

Source: Author’s compilation

Reflections and Conclusion

Several political processes reinforce corruption. The federal character system equally encourages communities to defend their representatives who are charged with corruption, insisting on a replacement from the same community without regard for competence and integrity (Enweremadu 2013). Still, the agitation for political parity remains valid for any meaningful political engagement. As this article condemns corruption in all its shades, it also explores how corruption has been weaponised against the few women who venture into politics in Nigeria. The article notes that endemic patriarchy in politics allows men to remain political gatekeepers, determining who is in or out. Even in a state of poor or non-preparedness, the system encourages women to venture into politics but has retained a subtle way of easing them out when they fail to ‘play by the rules’. By purposively selecting five female political office holders in Nigeria, the article has affirmed the manifestation of feminised corruption and the attendant challenges. I have argued here that feminised corruption is characterised by disinformation, media trial, politicising the personal, sexism, absenteeism from public space and shaming women to silence. Feminised corruption affords men a soft landing and women a crash landing in political office. It reiterates an urgent redoubling of “efforts not just to target gender openings and inclusions, but also to provide meaningful support to the women weathering the turbulent storms of gynophobia” (Amede & Tooney 2020, 222).

Revealing how four of the five women were thinned out of political space while one has remained raises questions for future studies on feminised corruption. Are there hidden hands and faces behind feminised corruption? Does feminised corruption trail women in other workspaces? What happens when women stand against feminised corruption and what is the future of the essentialist parity lobby if/ when corrupt women continue to occupy political offices? As much as these reflections are valid, political participation (casual visibility) will keep trumping substantive representation, which is why women must not handle politics with kid gloves. There must be a blueprint for any woman venturing into politics. She must develop her ideology even if her political party maintains no commitment to party ideologies. She must fully understand the terrain within which she intends to operate, and when 'she' is taken as the 'crook', by her political communication, we shall know her. Reckless, negligent, and haphazard political communication strategies and structure contribute to feminised corruption and must be duly addressed in Nigeria and wherever it manifests. More strategic political communication tactics, structures, and processes are needed for women and by women. The quest for gender egalitarianism in politics in Nigeria, and by extension, across West Africa must be one where women do not just count the glamor, but also the cost.

REFERENCES

Allafrica.com June 3, 2011. Nigeria: N628 Million House Scam - Etteh Not Guilty – Representatives. Accessed 15, October 2021. <https://allafrica.com/stories/201106031031.html>

Amede Obiora & Sarah Toomey. 2010. "Federalism and Gender Politics in Nigeria." In *Federalism, Feminism and Multilevel Governance*, edited by Haussman Melissa, Marian Sawyer, and Jill Vickers, 211-225. Surrey: Ashgate.

Akunyili, Dora. 2006. "Women Leadership in Emerging Democracy: My NAFDAC Experience." *JENDA: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* 9:1-14.

- Albert, Isaac. 2018. Balancing the anti-graft war in Africa with the rule of law. CODESRIA Policy Briefs. No. 3 August 2018. <https://publication.codesria.org/index.php/pub/catalog/book/451>
- Allman, Jean. 2009. "The Disappearing of Hannah Kudjoe: Nationalism, Feminism, and the Tyrannies of History." *Journal of Women's History* 21: 13 - 35.
- Amadiume, Ifi. 1987. *Male daughters, female husbands: gender and sex in an African society*. London: Zed Books.
- Arowolo, Dare. & Aluko, Folorunso 2010. "Women and Political Participation in Nigeria." *European Journal of Social Sciences* 14 (4):581-593. Balachandrudu, K. 2006. "Understanding Political Corruption". *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 67 (4): 809–816.
- Banda, Joyce. 2018. *The Weight of Corruption on Women Leaders in Africa*. Accessed November 23, 2023 <https://www.cipe.org/events/weight-corruption-women-leaders-africa/>
- Banjo, Adewale. 2008. "The Politics of Succession Crisis in West Africa: The Case of Togo". *International Journal on World Peace*, 25 (2): 33–55.
- Bauer, Gretchen 2004. "The Hand that Stirs the Pot Can Also Run the Country": Electing Women to Parliament in Namibia", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42 (4): 479-509.
- Bauer, Gretchen and Okpotor, Faith. 2013. "Her Excellency": An Exploratory Overview of Women Cabinet Ministers in Africa", *Africa Today*, 60 (1): 77-97.
- Bauer, Nichole. 2017. The Effects of Counterstereotypic Gender Strategies on Candidate Evaluations. *Political Psychology*, 38, 279–295. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12351>
- Bauhr, Monika, Nicholas Charron, and Lena Wängnerud, 2018. "Close the Political Gender Gap to Reduce Corruption", U4 Brief. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Center.
- Bauhr Monika, Charron Nicholas. 2021. Will Women Executives Reduce Corruption? Marginalization and Network Inclusion. *Comparative Political Studies*. 54 (7):1292-1322. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020970218>
- Epub 2020 Dec 2. PMID: 34012168; PMCID: PMC8107401. Bjarnegård, Elin.

2013. Gender, informal institutions and political recruitment: Explaining male dominance in parliamentary representation. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bjarnegård, Elin. 2018. Focusing on masculinity and male-dominated networks in corruption. In H.Stensöta & L.Wängnerud (eds), Gender and corruption: Historical Roots and New Avenues for Research. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blackburn, Keith., Bose, Niloy., & Haque, Mohammad. 2004. Endogenous Corruption in Economic Development. University of Nottingham, GEP Research Paper n8 2004/16
- Britwum, Akua. 2017. Women Organising in Ghana: The Network for Women's Rights (NETRIGHT) and NGO Networking for Policy Intervention. *Feminist Africa* 22: 174-185.
- Chang, Eric. & Kerr, Nicholas. 2017. An Insider-Outsider Theory of Popular Tolerance for Corrupt Politicians. *Governance*, 30(1): 67-84.
- Cucchi, Silvia., Anna Rita Graziani, Margherita Guidetti and Nicoletta Cavazza. 2021. Men and Women Defending Themselves from Political Scandals: Gender Stereotypes and Proneness to Forgive Scandalous Politicians. *International Review of Social Psychology*, 34(1): 18, 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.5334/irsp.463>
- Cucchi, Silvia., Anna Rita Graziani, Margherita Guidetti and Nicoletta Cavazza. 2021. Men and Women Defending Themselves from Political Scandals: Gender Stereotypes and Proneness to Forgive Scandalous Politicians. *International Review of Social Psychology*, 34(1): 18, 1-11. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/irsp.463>
- Daily Times. November 20, 2017. How Diezani forced Jonathan to Sack me. Accessed June 5, 2021. <https://dailytimesng.com/diezani-forced-jonathan-sack/>
- Dollar, David., Raymond. Fisman. and Roberta. Gatti. 2001. "Are Women Really the "Fairer" Sex? Corruption and Women in Government." *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organization* 26 (4):423-429.
- Duflo, Esther. 2012. Women's Empowerment and Economic Development. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 50(4), 1051-1079.

- Esarey, Justin and Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. 2018. Women's Representation, Accountability and Corruption in Democracies *British Journal of Political Science*, 48, (3), 659-690
- Enweremadu, David. 2013. "Nigeria's Quest to Recover Looted Assets: The Abacha Affair." *Africa Spectrum* 2:51-70.
- Enweremadu, David. 2006. *The struggle against Corruption in Nigeria: the Role of the National Anti-Corruption Commission (ICPC) under the Fourth Republic*. IFRA Special Research Issue Vol. 2. Ibadan: IFRA-Nigeria.
- Erlecke, Elke. 2013. "Continued Ascent Possible: West African Women in Politics and Society". In *Women in Politics and Society*, edited by Gerhard Wahlers, 6–23. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- Falola, Toyin & Amponsah, Nana 2012. *Women's Roles in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing.
- Faludi, Susan 1991. *Backlash: The Undeclared War against Women*. London: Vintage Jordan.
- Fernandes, Sabrina. 2012. Dilma Rousseff and the Challenge of Fighting Patriarchy Through Political Representation in Brazil. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 13(3), 114-126. <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol13/iss3/8>
- Ferraz, Claudio, & Finan, Federico. 2011. Electoral accountability and corruption: Evidence from the audits of local governments. *American Economic Review*, 101(4): 1274–1311.
- Funk, Kendall. 2015. 'Gendered Governing? Women's Leadership Styles and Participatory Institutions in Brazil', *Political Research Quarterly*, 68 (3):564-578.
- Gazettengr.com May 4, 2022. Trial of Former Head of Service Winifred Oyo- Ita Stalled Again. Accessed December 12, 2023. <https://gazettengr.com/trial-of-former-head-of-service-winifred-oyo-ita-stalled-again/>
- Gyekye-Jandoh, Maame Adwoa. 2021. Gender in Ghanaian Politics: A Brief Analysis. <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/gender-ghanaian-politics-brief-analysis/>
- Huddy, Leonie, Erin Cassese, & Mary-Kate Lizotte. 2008. "Sources of Political Unity and Disunity among Women: Placing the Gender Gap in Perspective."

In Voting the Gender Gap, edited by Lois Duke Whitaker, 141–69. Illinois: University of Illinois Press

Idachaba, Elejo 2022. Chibudum Nwuche, Adenike Grange: Where are they now?

<https://blueprint.ng/chibudum-nwuche-adenike-grange-where-are-they-now/>

Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2021. Women in National Parliaments. <https://http://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2022-03/women-in-parliament-in-2021>

Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2022. Women in National Parliaments. <https://http://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2023-03/women-in-parliament-2022>

Jordan, Ana 2016. “Conceptualizing Backlash: (UK) Men’s Rights Groups, Anti-Feminism and Postfeminism”, Canadian Journal of Women and the Law 28:1 18-44

Krook, Mona and Norris, Pippa 2014. ‘Beyond Quotas: Strategies to promote gender equality in elected office,’ Political Studies, 62: 2-20.

Lindberg, Staffan. 2006. The Surprising Significance of African Elections. Journal of Democracy. 17 (1):139-151

Lutz, Helma. 1995. Women’s Participation in the Political Systems of Africa. Social Research, 62 (2):315–346.

Osei-Afoakwa, Kofi. 2012. “What makes corruption in the public procurement process awful?”, International Journal of Development and Sustainability, 1(3):622-633. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2194989>

Malipula, Mrisho Mbegu. 2024. Understanding and Addressing Political - Bureaucratic Corruption in Africa: Reflections from Tanzania. African Journal of Empirical Research, 5(2), 42–54. <https://doi.org/10.51867/ajernet.5.2.5>

Mechkova, Valeriya., Dahlum, Sirianne., & Petrarca, Constanza. 2022. Women’s political representation, good governance and human development. Governance, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12742>

Miller, Seumas. 2017. Institutional Corruption: A Study in Applied Philosophy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miller, Seumas, Peter Roberts and Edward Spence. 2005. *Corruption and Anti-Corruption: An Applied Philosophical Approach*. Pearson Education, Inc., Upper Saddle River: New Jersey.

Nnaemeka, Obioma. 2005. *Sisterhood, Feminisms, and Power: From Africa to the Diaspora*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

O'Barr, Jean. 1975. Making the Invisible Visible: African Women in Politics and Policy. *African Studies Review*, 18(3):19-27. <https://doi.org/10.2307/523718>

Orgeret, Kristin Skare and Rønning, Helge. 2020. 'Political communication in East Africa: An introduction', *Journal of African Media Studies*, 12 (3):231-240, [doi:https://doi.org/10.1386/jams_00021_2](https://doi.org/10.1386/jams_00021_2)

Orisadare Monika. 2019. An Assessment of the Role of Women Group in Women Political Participation, and Economic Development in Nigeria. *Frontiers in Sociology* 4 (52): 1-7.

Okome, Mojubaolu and Zakiya Afia 2013 *Women's Political Participation in Nigeria: 2007 General Elections*. Ibadan: Bookbuilders

Okonkwo, Amaechi. 2016. Gender and Corruption in Nigerian Politics. *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 20(1): 111-136. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/90001848>

Omotoso, Sharon Adetutu 2015 *Political Communication in Africa: Towards a Peace Policy*. In: *Communication, Peace and Conflict*. Eds. Albert, I.O., Isola, O., Oyewo. O. (Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan), 325-346.

Omotoso Sharon Adetutu 2018 *Media and Politics in Africa*. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of African Politics, Governance and Development*. Eds. Olorunfoba S., Falola T. (Palgrave Macmillan), 553-571.

Omotoso, Sharon Adetutu 2020 *Acada-Activism and Feminist Political Communication in Nigeria*. In *Women's Political Communication in Africa*, Ed. Omotoso, S. (Springer Publishers), 155-172.

Omotoso, Sharon Adetutu (2023): *Media Transnationalism and the Politics of 'Feminised Corruption'*. University of Bayreuth African Studies Working

Papers 34, Academy Reflects 8. Bayreuth: Institute of African Studies. 32pp.
https://doi.org/10.15495/EPub_UBT_00006826

Omotoso Sharon Adetutu & Akanni Bolaji Olaronke. 2024. Tokenism and Women's Political Communication in the Pursuit of Gender Egalitarianism in Nigeria, *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 17(2), 127-136. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcae018>

Omotoso, Sharon Adetutu & Faniyi, Ololade Margaret. 2024. The End SARS Women's Coalition: Exploring the Persistence of Women's Movements through Feminist Generations. *Feminist Africa* 5(1), 125-151. <https://feministafrica.net/2024/06/27/the-end-sars-womens-coalition-exploring-the-persistence-of-womens-125-movements-through-feminist-generations/>

Osei-Appiah, S, Bruce Mutsvairo & Kristin Skare Orgeret. 2023. Women and digital political communication in non-Western societies. *Information, Communication & Society*, 26(13): 2507-2517, DOI: [10.1080/1369118X.2023.2257995](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2023.2257995)

Oyewumi, Oyeronke. 1997 *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Paxton, Pamela., Kunovich, Sheri., & Hughes, Melanie. 2007. Gender in Politics. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33: 263-284. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737763>

Pereira, Federico. Batista. 2020. Do female politicians face stronger backlash for corruption allegations? Evidence from survey-experiments in Brazil and Mexico. *Political Behavior*, 1-20. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-020-09602-9>

PMNEWS. January 23, 2013. <https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2013/01/23/politics-swept-me-off-as-minister-grange/>

Premium Times October 17, 2023. Accessed December 23, 2023 <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/634599-alleged-n5bn-fraud-court-postpones-stella-oduah-ccecc-trial.html>

Punch Newspaper 26 August, 2021 Accessed December 18, 2023 <https://punchng.com/stella-oduah-dumps-pdp-joins-apc/>

Punch Newspaper. March 27, 2022. Accessed December 21, 2021. <https://punchng.com/i-cried-everyday-for-three-months-had-therapy-to-survive-nysc-certificate-saga-adeosun-ex-minister/>

Reuters. March 25, 2008. Two Nigerian ministers resign over graft charges. Accessed May 5, 2023. <https://www.reuters.com/article/nigeria-corruption-ministers-idUKL2551982920080325/>

Reuters. September 17, 2018. Nigerian Finance Minister Adeosun resigns over forgery claims. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-politics/nigerian-finance-minister-adeosun-resigns-over-forgery-claims-idUSKCN1LU2Q8/?edition-redirect=ca>

Ribadu, Nuhu. 2009. *Capital Loss and Corruption: The Example of Nigeria*. May 19, 2009. https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/archive/doc/Opinions/Ribadu_corruption_05-19-09.pdf (Accessed Nov 30, 2023).

Rudman, Laurie. 1998. Self-promotion as a risk factor for women: The costs and benefits of counter-stereotypical impression management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 629–645.

Seligson, Mitchella. 2006. “The Measurement and Impact of Corruption Victimization: Survey Evidence from Latin America”. *World Development* 34(2): 381–404.

Shajira, Haleemah. 2020. Women’s Political Participation Togo: Presidential Elections 2020 facts. <https://www.mewc.org/index.php/tools/political-participation-a-election-monitroing/2020-election-monitoring/11377-togo-presidential-election-2020>

Solaz, Hector, De Vries, Catherine. & De Geus, Roosmarijn. 2019. In-group Loyalty and the Punishment of Corruption. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(6): 896–926.

Stilwell, Ashley & Utych, Stephen, 2022. Gender and Justification in Political Scandal. *American Politics Research* 50(1): 131-143. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X211041145>

Sun News Online. August 25, 2019. Accessed December 23, 2021. <https://sunnewsonline.com/winifred-oyo-ita-disengagement-burden-of-a-head-civil-servant/>

The Cable August 19, 2019. Accessed December 21, 2021. <https://www.thecable.ng/exclusive-winifred-oyo-ita-sends-retirement-letter-to-buhari>

The Cable. July 13, 2021. NYSC and the Kemi Adeosun Case. Accessed December 4, 2022. <https://www.thecable.ng/nysc-and-the-kemi-adeosun-case>

This Day Live June 20 2021. The Return of Kemi Adeosun. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2021/06/20/the-return-of-kemi-adeosun/>

This Day Live April 29, 2022. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/04/29/again-stella-oduah-defects-to-pdp-from-apc>

Tripp, Aili. 2017. "Women and politics in Africa". In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History, edited by Thomas Spear. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Uchendu, Egodi. & Uche Okonkwo 2021. "The Aba Women's War of 1929 in Eastern Nigeria as Anti-Colonial Protest." In The Routledge Companion to Black Women's Cultural Histories, edited by Janell. Hobson, 245-254 (1st ed.). London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429243578>

UNODC (N.D) Knowledge tools for Academics and Professionals. Module Series on Anti-Corruption. chrome-extension://efaidnbmninnibpcjpcglclefindmkaj/<https://grace.unodc.org/grace/uploads/documents/academics/Anti-Corruption Module 8 Corruption and Gender.pdf>

Vanguard Newspaper. March 10, 2012 <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2010/03/what-happened-to-me-as-minister-was-not-for-lack-of-experience/>.

Vanguard Newspaper. February 29, 2020. Buhari finally 'retires' Oyo-Ita, names Esan substantive HoS. Accessed February 10, 2022. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2020/02/buhari-finally-retires-oyo-ita-names-esan-substantive-hos/>

VOA News October 30, 2007. Nigerian House Speaker Resigns Over Corruption Scandal. Accessed August 20, 2023 <https://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2007-10-30-voa62/331061.html>

Warren, Mark E. 2004. What Does Corruption Mean in a Democracy? . American

Journal of Political Science, 48(2):328-343. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0092-5853.2004.00073.x>

World Bank. 2001. Engendering Development through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice. Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice. A World Bank Policy Research Report 21776. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zaller, John. 1992. The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Endnotes

- ¹ For want of space, I have provided links to basic historical information and the issues that led to their corruption charges.
- ² Nigeria speaker goes in graft row
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7069654.stm>
- ³ <https://articles.nigeriahealthwatch.com/prof-grange-villain-or-victim>
- ⁴ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/443108-revealed-how-nigerian-senator-stella-oduah-chinese-firm-ccecc-others-laundered-n5billion-in-five-months-efcc.html?tztc=1>
- ⁵ Reuters. September 17, 2018. Nigerian Finance Minister Adeosun resigns over forgery claims. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-politics/nigerian-finance-minister-adeosun-resigns-over-forgery-claims-idUSKCN1LU2Q8/?edition-redirect=ca>
- ⁶ <https://www.tvcnews.tv/2019/08/efcc-quizzes-head-of-service-winfred-oyo-ita-over-alleged-n3bn-fraud/>

- ⁷ See <https://articles.nigeriahealthwatch.com/professor-grange-history-and-the-federal-ministry-of-health/> where what could be called a 'rescue piece' attests to Adenike Grange's work ethic and integrity.
- ⁸ Silence exemplified by avoidance (no communication or information), in which case, no information is made available has also been described as a political communication tactic. See Omotoso, 2015

Discussions and Interventions

Due acknowledgement was given to Omotoso's conceptualization of 'Feminised Corruption' as an important phenomenon that many within Nigeria would have noticed but could not substantiate. While discussing the selective visibility and attention to women alleged to have carried out or been involved in corrupt practices in leadership and politics, three areas were identified in Omotoso's feminised corruption: the manner of conceptualisation, the question of causality and the mode of use of particular words. The manner of use of terms and language highlights problematic conceptualisation.

It details the relationship between the terms 'feminised' and 'corruption' as had been acknowledged in the presentation and critiqued in other spaces. The use of the term 'feminised' before 'corruption' seems to reflect it in contrast with the term 'masculinised space'. This referenced a space that had become either overrepresented by men, or descriptive of the practice of politics associated with strength, power, stereotypical, and masculine. Corruption here seems implicative of a specificity about the kind of corruption, the substance, style, or of the fact that it was carried out by women making it feminised. In the sense presented, some discussants considered this as problematic because it was suggestive of either women being more corrupt or women were involved in corruption activities in manner that made them the subject of the scandals. However, other discussants observe that this was not Omotoso's argument, as the paper presented was indicative of a different idea.

Presenting feminised corruption as acts carried out by different actors and institutions need further clarifications as much as presenting the various responses by the women purposively selected for the study. Examining the language in the conceptualisation, discussants argued that the narrative of intra-feminist bickering - descriptive of attempts by women to undermine one another in politics was not feminist and questioned the use of the word bickering stating that when men were involved in similar or worse situations it was not referred to as such.

There were doubts about the deliberate or master minded approach to the effect of attempts to hound women out of politics; as a generalised sense that provided support of different attempts by political institutions, the media sufficed. Similarly, the pipeline for women involvement in politics was not faced by intents to destroy but was already destroyed by mindsets that women should not be involved in politics. Societal belief that women should be less corrupt is contributory to the manner corruption disproportionately impacted on women, this exemplified Omotoso's conceptualisation of feminised corruption as the framework was cognizant of gender bias. Consequently, they argued that the destruction of the pipeline of women in politics is not necessarily intentional but could be inadvertent.

Against the backdrop of recent events in Nigeria, discussants agreed with Omotoso's postulation that corruption allegations against women were overblown in comparison to those of men. The context of deliberate attempts to truncate political career of women was explored by discussants who indicated that Nigerian women had occupied national and global positions of authority with acclamation and a woman in position of authority could foster a hundred more. Irrespective of feminised corruption, a corrupt individual could be female or male. Education, integrity, transparency and accountability are vital for occupants of offices as it paves the way for others.

While details of outcome of some of the corruption allegations were yet to be known, and the accused women had not been interviewed directly, panelist believed some of the allegations were unfounded, and

others would be confirmed. Inquiring what could be done to provide support, discussants commented that it was important to explore means to assist women vying and occupying positions of authority from falling into laid traps and a network of people to defend them from allegations was needed. Also highlighted was the importance of effective political communications as crucial strategy for the success of female politicians and the need to craft compelling and concise messages that address the needs and moral value of their constituency.

Key issues and formulation of articulate vision of change identified by discussants as needed for the woman engaged in politics include: impeccable lifestyle, leverage on social media platforms for strong online presence, understanding of politics as a game and acquisition of the skills needed to change the trend of defeat by men, accountability, transparency, integrity and development of a distinct voice.

Discussants also commented on the need to address gender disinformation and online abuse faced by women politicians seeing that allegations levelled against men did not hinder their recommendations to future positions. Equally important is the need for civil society organizations to train women who aspire for political office to engage and prioritize active listening to understand the concerns of their constituents and earn their trust as this would mitigate allegations. Other suggestions to include in combating the scourge of feminised corruption are storytelling so that their experiences in office can be shared, a supportive network of mentors, advisers and peers' support.

Globally, corruption cases involving prominent personalities generate speculations of judicial officers being manipulated and the outcome of corruption trials might not be reflective of the real events. Consequently, accusation of corruption against women political office holders may not imply that corruption is feminised. Likewise, it is not about the manner women got embroiled in corruption cases, but the increase in the number of women embroiled in corruption cases justified concern for the detriment to achieving sustainable development goals of gender equality.

It was observed that sexual corruption which entailed using sex and the human body as currency of corruption as this aspect was not captured in the presentation and would add savor and nuance to the feminised corruption framework. The inclusion of a collection of gender disaggregated data would likewise provide a better understanding of the experiences of men and women in relation to political corruption.

Describing how the Nigerian environment, structure and individuals provided assistance for corrupt practices, discussants argued that corruption was more than a financial issue. They suggested a rescue center for women in leadership at WORDOC, that could be approached for advice. Concluding, panelists recalled the attention, support in terms of rules of procedures, legal luminaries and volunteers named prominent male political officers received when investigated and prosecuted on corruption charges stating that the denial of involvement in corruption activities did not imply innocence.

Above all, Omotoso's feminised corruption was applauded as one, amongst several scholarly works by feminist in defense of feminism and attempts to help women stay afloat in politics which could rescue the dwindling political representation of women in Nigeria.

Response by Omotoso

The aim of the WORDOC series was to make room for discussing emerging issues and developing theories for prospective scholars to think and work with. There was need for the populace and not just the academic to see some of the things being done within the system and how it enhanced the system. The several questions from participants at the presentation answered to the aims and objectives of the seminar.

The concept of feminisation or feminised could be considered in a negative or positive sense as has been captured in the literature; it has shown up in multiple senses and has been regarded as such in the framework. The concept is a discourse, a structure and an act. It is an emerging theory with different angles for discourse and research.

The diversity of sectors for its application include education, security, health, criminology and implied the disposition for several meanings and interests from individuals.

Similarly, the concept of intra-feminist bickering as an issue of reality which requires reexamination.

Feminised corruption is a question, a theorisation querying the possibilities that women are being deliberately positioned within a system about to collapse to take the blame for the collapse. This is why feminist solidarity ought to come in response to questions and requests on ways women could be assisted to scale traps of corruption scandals. Several works have been done on gender and gendering, corruption and gender which have helped to maintain the concept 'feminised corruption' and these should be considered from different angles as is expected of scholarship.

Request for women rescue center /mission has not been considered by WORDOC and the process for attainment could not be ascertained as WORDOC was established for research and documentation. Considerations for such a center would require the input of female politicians in addition to mass mobilisation. Women indeed require such a platform to tell their stories.

How to cite

Omotoso, S.A. (2024). When 'She' is The Crook: Feminised Corruption and Women's Political Communication in Nigeria. In A. Oyelude & O. Eweka (Eds.) *WORDOC Seminar Series 2024. Readings from the Ibadan School of African Feminist Studies*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies.

Short Bio of Discussants

Charmaine Pereira

Charmaine Pereira is an independent feminist scholar living and working in Abuja, Nigeria. Her research and writing address the gender and sexual politics of violence, feminist thought and practice, and the politics of natural resource extraction in Africa. She has organised and coordinated action research on the theme of sexual harassment and sexual violence in Nigerian universities, with the goal of developing strategies for change.

Pereira is the author of “Gender in the Making of the Nigerian University System” (James Currey/Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, 2007); editor of “Changing Narratives of Sexuality: Contestations, Compliance and Women’s Empowerment” (Zed, 2014); and co-editor of “Jacketed Women: Qualitative Research Methodologies on Sexualities and Gender in Africa” (UCT Press and United Nations University Press, 2013).

She has been an active force in the coalition pushing for the passage of the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act, 2015, in Nigeria, and has coordinated research on the implementation of the law. She is one of the seven editors of *Feminist Africa*.

Chinasa Abonyi

Chinasa Abonyi is a lecturer in English and Literary Studies at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. She is also a scholar-poet, and her research focuses on gender and the environment, conflict, and sustainability studies in African literature and poetics.

Dr. Abonyi is a fellow of the University of Michigan African Presidential Scholars Program (UMAPS), a fellow of the Merian Institute for Advanced Studies in Africa (MIASA) at the University of Ghana, and a fellow of the Ife Institute of Advanced Studies (IIAS). She is a member

of the African Literature Association and the Association for the Study of Literature and Environment (ASLE).

Her passion for gender and environmental sustainability, decoloniality of knowledge, and indigenous consciousness is reflected in her poems and critical writings.

Cynthia Olufade

Cynthia Olufade completed an MA in African Studies (Diaspora and Transnational Studies) at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan (Nigeria) in March 2018. She is currently a Doctoral Student at the University of Alberta.

Damilola Agbalajobi

Damilola Taiye Agbalajobi is an Associate Professor at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife-Ife, Nigeria. As a political scientist and gender specialist, she has research experience dating back to 2006 at Redeemer's University, Nigeria. Her scholarly contributions span a wide range of topics, including women in politics, women and peacebuilding, gender and power, gender and corruption, gender and governance in Africa, gender and climate change, gender-based violence, and sustainable development, as well as violence and women in elections.

With numerous publications in peer-reviewed journals and edited volumes, Dr. Agbalajobi has established herself as a leading expert in her field. Since 2008, she has won multiple travel grants to present at international conferences on various aspects of politics and developmental studies, including the NRF TETFund grant. As Principal Investigator, she leads a project titled "The Political Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in Nigeria." Dr. Agbalajobi holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Lagos.

David Olom Nkpe

Dr. David Olom Nkpe is an award-winning, prolific frontline financial crime investigator with over 17 years of hands-on experience at the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Nigeria, where he serves as an Assistant Commander. As a patriotic officer with unwavering determination to take profit out of crime, he has participated in most high-profile investigations, including the 2008-2009 rescued banks, where his team secured the only convictions after rigorous prosecution. Dr. Nkpe holds a First-Class (Honours) Bachelor's Degree, a Master of Arts, and a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Sociology from the University of Jos, City University of London, and the University of Ibadan, respectively. His pioneering PhD thesis, "Social Construction of Corruption in Nigeria," offers far-reaching recommendations on how to effectively deconstruct Nigeria's "cake-sharing mentality," refocus on wealth creation, and resolve corruption driven by need and greed.

Dr. Nkpe has an action-oriented approach to work, along with a track record of outstanding extracurricular and leadership achievements. He is open-minded, resilient, visionary, innovative, resourceful, self-motivated, and emotionally stable. In December 2021, Nkpe co-authored the widely sought-after book "Corruption and Development in Nigeria," published by the reputable multinational publisher Routledge, among other publications.

His research interests span interdisciplinary issues, including sustainable development, migration, crime news, moral panic, corruption, and other wicked problems, urban renewal, race and ethnic relations, urban poverty, social inclusion, and deprivation. Notably, Dr. Nkpe founded the SUG Oxfam Students Society as part of his Development Programme while studying for a Master's degree in London, where he campaigned for and rallied support to end the war in Syria and other conflicts worldwide. A habitual award winner, Dr. Nkpe has received several awards.

Dr. Nkpe is happily married to Nia Udego David-Nkpe and blessed with three excellent boys. He attributes his success to the staying grace of the Almighty God.

Florence Ebila

Florence Ebila is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Women and Gender Studies at Makerere University, Kampala. She is a scholar of gender and cultural studies. Her specific interest in African women's autobiographies has spanned over a decade, during which she has researched the representation of identity, trauma, nostalgia, selfhood, and nationalism by women in autobiographies and other forms of self-narratives.

Her doctoral studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison focused on African women's political autobiographies, and she continues to publish research in this area.

Some of her recent publications include:

Devon E. A. Curtis, Florence Ebila, and Maria Martin de Almagro. (2022). *Memoirs of Women in Conflict: Ugandan Ex-Combatants and the Production of Knowledge on Security and Peacebuilding*. Security Dialogue. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09670106211064040>

Florence Ebila. "Loss and Trauma in Ugandan Girls' Ex-Child-Soldier Autobiographical Narratives: The Case of Grace Akallo and China Keitetsi." *Journal of a/b: Auto/Biography Studies*, Vol. 35, Issue 3, 2020: The Textualities of the Autobiographical. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08989575.2020.1759871>. pp 533-555

Florence Ebila. 'A Proper Woman, in the African Tradition': The Construction of Gender and Nationalism in Wangari Maathai's *Autobiography Unbowed*." *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 52, no. 1 (2015). Available at www.Letterkunde.up.ac.za/argief/52_1/10EbilaWEB

She has been a Fulbright Scholar, a Cambridge Africa Research for Excellence (CAPREX/ALBARODA) Postdoctoral Fellow, an African Humanities Program (AHP) Postdoctoral Fellow, and a Mellon Foundation Early Career Scholar.

She is a Research Associate at the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), where she also teaches in the PhD program. Additionally, she is a member of the Centre of Excellence in Notions of Identities at Makerere University and the Centre of Excellence for Urbanisation and Habitable Cities at the University of Lagos, Nigeria, both under the African Research Universities Alliance (ARUA).

Beyond academia, she collaborates with NGOs and CBOs that work to advance women's empowerment and promote gender equity and equality. She is also a member of the Senate and Council of Lira University.

Naazia Ibrahim

Naazia Ibrahim is a Lecturer in the Faculty Social Sciences under the Department of Politics and Governance at the University for Development Studies. She is currently works with Africa Group Consult, a United Nations affiliate on Gender and women's empowerment. This has enabled her to participate in United Nations conferences by UN Women in New York City. She is the Gender Specialist for CARO-Ghana, a local NGO. She has consulted for Star Ghana Foundation on formulating sustainable markets for rural women. She has a Strong research Interest in Foreign Policy, South-South Relations, and studying the dynamics of international Organisations, Entrepreneurship and Social Enterprise Policy in Ghana and beyond.

She helped in the coordination and facilitation of the Women's Entrepreneurship and Livelihoods Initiative (WELI) sought to address some of the post-covid related challenges through a youth-centred and gender-responsive economic empowerment project. The project's outcome was to increase economic empowerment to strengthen the resilience of Adolescent Girls and Young Women most affected by COVID-19 in targeted areas in Ghana and Senegal.

She is a member of the Social Entrepreneurship Network for people of African Descent under the United States State Department.

Ololade Faniyi

Ololade Faniyi is an African feminist activist-scholar and Ph.D. student in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Emory University. Her research focuses on African feminist digital cultures, political communication, and digital humanities.

Ololade's graduate work examines Nigerian feminist and queer digital activism amid the challenges of state surveillance, reactionary politics, platform governance, and AI-driven superappification.

She serves as an African advisor for FRIDA, the Young Feminist Fund, and works as a staff researcher for the Atlanta Interdisciplinary Artificial Intelligence Network.

Short Bio of Presenters

Senayon Olaoluwa

Professor Senayon Olaoluwa is a researcher and lecturer at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria who specializes in Diaspora and Transnational Studies

His research focuses on the intersection of culture, migration, and environmentalism. He is known for his theory of "extalgia", which is a multidisciplinary examination of the opposite of nostalgia. His research explores the experiences of those left behind in their homeland, and he uses literary and cultural texts to do so. His work has been published in many journals, including African Affairs, African Studies Review, Journal of African Cultural Studies, Research in African Literatures, and ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment.

He is the founder of the Ibadan School of Diaspora Studies and the Inaugural Director of the TETFund Centre of Excellence for Diaspora Studies at the University of Ibadan.

He received his PhD in Humanities from the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa.

Sola Olorunyomi

Sola Olorunyomi, a writer and fine artist, teaches Folklore studies and African literature in the English Department of University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He has published extensively on his research in West Africa, the Caribbean, and Nicaragua where he worked in the literacy and harvest volunteer project while also doubling as a freelance reporter behind Sandinista lines during the Contra offensive of the mid-1980s.

Professor Sola Olorunyomi is a recipient of several awards, scholarships, Fellowships and prizes in respect of undergraduate and postgraduate work. Among them include Honor's, Distinctions and Membership of Learned Societies:

- Fellow, Salzburg Seminar, Austria
- Grant of the Prince Claus Fund, the Netherlands
- Association of Nigerian Authors, Nigeria
- African Literature Association (ALA), Africa/Diaspora
- Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), Nigeria

Sharon Omotoso

Sharon Adetutu Omotoso is a feminist philosopher. Currently, she is a researcher at the Institute for Media Studies, Ruhr University, Bochum, Germany, as an experienced researcher on the Alexander von Humboldt Fellowship. Sharon is an Associate Professor of Gender/Media Studies at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, where she heads the Institute's Women's Research and Documentation Centre (WORDOC).

Her work integrates the transdisciplinary field of Gender Studies into African politics, philosophy, and media. In these areas, she serves on the editorial boards of scholarly journals and consults for international agencies. Her strength lies in developing innovative concepts that contribute to debates in scholarship, activism, and policy engagement. Sharon is also a Research Associate with the Institute for the Future of Knowledge, University of Johannesburg, South Africa.



Prof. Olaoluwa Senayon

Diaspora and
Transnational Studies,
University of Ibadan

Dr. Naazia Ibrahim

International and community development expert, Lecturer
University of Development Studies, We
Stano

Cynthia Olufade

Doctoral Candidate, University of Alberta
Canada

WORDOC SEMINAR SERIES

The Ibadan School of African Feminist Studies at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan is committed to creating, and promoting theories, ideas, and concepts emanating from different disciplines across Africa and the Diaspora, as they connect with the expansion of African Feminist Studies.

Title: "Extalgia: Unveiling women's strength and capacity in societal development"

This edition will be featuring Prof. Olaoluwa Senayon, Professor of Diaspora and Transnational Studies at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, as he would be discussing the emerging concept 'Extalgia'.

Olaoluwa explains how creativity can sprout and bring determination in this process stating that Extalgia 'facilitates new ways of knowing by which the experiences of the left behind can assume a cognate center stage in the discourse of diaspora and exile'.

This seminar seeks to tease feminist imports of the nuanced intersection of suffering and creativity and the multifaceted dimensions of homeland versus Diaspora experiences including resilience, agency, and untapped potential often overlooked within the confines of domesticity.

WHO SHOULD ATTEND?

We invite a wide range of stakeholders and researchers to utilize the concepts and ideas for teaching, research, and implementation frameworks across Africa/Africana Studies, Gender/Women and Sexualities studies, Migration studies, History, Literature, and Literary studies

- Date: February 27, 2024.
- Time: 2:00-3:30 pm
- Venue: The Lady Bank Anthony Hall, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan Nigeria.
- For Online participation.

Register in advance for the meeting via Zoom Link

<https://us06web.zoom.us/joining/register/tZYicumgrDMvHt1Vlg9IWnIKWYNQXPB0KbZ0>

Sponsored by





Dr Chinasa Abonyi
University of Nigeria, Nsukka



Solá Olorunoyi
Professor of Comparative Literature & Cultural Studies
Institute of African Studies
University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria



Olotade Faniyi
Emory University, USA



Dr. Florence Ebiña
Makerere University, Uganda

WORDOC SEMINAR SERIES

The Ibadan School of African Feminist Studies at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan is committed to creating and promoting theories, ideas, and concepts emanating from different disciplines across Africa and the Diaspora, as they connect with the expansion of African Feminist Studies.

Digital Wombs and Foetal Subjectivities

Or,

Talking Futures With Culture as Wombiture

Olorunoyi conceives "Wombiture" as neologism, a conjoining of "womb" with the last syllable of the trisyllabic "Li-tera-ture" in its evolving form as an aspect of Futures, the summary of which can be couched in the potential tensions that are bound to emerge from the interaction of this heightened mode of awareness of the self in relation to the role of the technologies that have supported increased access to evidence and familiarity with antenatal and postnatal existence. The thrust is also to locate this awareness within earlier forms of such ruptures by historicizing the stream of moments straddling the transition from orality to writing, and the different phases of writing that have led to the electronic age, and its subsequent multimedia phase now birthing wombiture in its 'full' hypertextual manifestation.



Friday, August 9th, 2024

2:00-3:30 pm



**The Lady Bank Anthony Hall,
Institute of African Studies,
University of Ibadan Nigeria.**

WHO SHOULD ATTEND?

We invite a wide range of stakeholders and researchers to utilize the concepts and ideas for teaching, research, and implementation frameworks across Africa/Africana Studies, Gender/Women and Sexualities studies, Migration studies, History, Literature, and Literary studies

**For Online participation,
Register in advance for the
meeting via Zoom Link**

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/8122222222>
YIcumgrDMVHtsViggiWnlKQWYNQXPbKbZO





Dr Charmaine Pereira
Independent Feminist Scholar



Dr David Olom Nkpe
Financial Crime Investigator



Dr Sharon Adetutu Omotoso
Gender Studies Unit, Institute of African Studies,
University of Ibadan, Nigeria



Dr Damilola Agbalajobi
Obafemi Awolowo University,
Ile-Ife, Nigeria

WORDOC SEMINAR SERIES

The Ibadan School of African Feminist Studies at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan is committed to creating and promoting theories, ideas, and concepts emanating from different disciplines across Africa and the Diaspora, as they connect with the expansion of African Feminist Studies.


WHEN 'SHE' IS THE CROOK: FEMINIZED CORRUPTION AND WOMEN'S POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN NIGERIA

Having observed how masculinized Nigeria's politics have remained since the start of the fourth republic, Omotoso sets out to seek answers to the long-standing question of impediments to political parity raised by scholars and gender advocates.

By the concept 'feminized corruption', she describes recent trends of making corruption into an act that is typical of women and making more women visible among the corrupt across political spaces. She situates feminized corruption as an appearing pattern of scandalization in which male violence is perpetrated against women, and interrogates the manifestations across selected contexts. She invites all to ask the question: are all women politicians corrupt or is there a growing structure truncating their political careers?


Thursday, November 21, 2024

2:00-3:30 pm


**The Lady Bank Anthony Hall,
Institute of African Studies,
University of Ibadan Nigeria.**

WHO SHOULD ATTEND?

We invite a wide range of stakeholders and researchers to utilize the concepts and ideas for teaching, research, and implementation frameworks across Africa/Africana Studies, Gender/Women and Sexualities studies, Migration studies, History, Literature, and Literary studies

For Online participation,

Register in advance for the meeting via Zoom Link

https://us06web.zoom.us/j/9121212121?pwd=ZUQqLWZUqjooHtZ1TKsEt94yh_W5yzV5Msl4

wordocias@gmail.com





WORDOC
WOMEN'S RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

*DOCUMENTATION FOR GENDER SCHOLARS, RESEARCHERS AND OTHER STAKEHOLDERS
*CO-ORDINATION OF MULTIDISCIPLINARY WOMEN RESEARCH PROJECTS
NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL NETWORKING, TRAINING AND PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

✉ wordocias@gmail.com

☎ +234 912 282 8901 | [f](https://www.facebook.com/wordoc) wordoc las