

Perception of Gender Equality and Gender-based Violence in Nigeria: A Socio-demographic Analysis

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Abstract

Gender equality and gender-based violence have become global public health and social concerns, as they touch all aspects of human relationships. This study investigated the relationship between socio-demographics and public perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence in Nigeria. Data were drawn from Afrobarometer Round 9 for Nigeria (2023). 1,600 participants, drawn from the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and the 36 states of the federation, were the sample for the study. We deployed statistical tools such as frequency, percentage, mean, t-test, correlation, and analysis of variance (ANOVA) for data analysis. The results showed that socio-demographics significantly shaped public perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence in Nigeria. Addressing disparities rooted in age, education, income, and geography is crucial to fostering an equitable society. Targeted interventions, particularly in education and economic empowerment, can transform public perceptions, ultimately leading to a decrease in gender-based violence and an advancement towards true gender equality. The challenge remains in capturing the diversity of Nigerian experiences while promoting awareness and advocacy efforts that resonate across different demographics.

Keywords: Gender-based violence, gender equality, perception, Nigeria, socio-demographic

Introduction

Most human societies have endured patriarchy for centuries. This has led to cultural dictates against women, thus impeding gender equality. Over time, women have been subjected to cultural practices that negatively impact their ability to participate in sustainable development. Some of these cultural practices impeding women and girlchild development, most specifically on the African continent, include female genital mutilation (FGM), widowhood rites, early teenage pregnancy, inheritance rights, and violence. This has led to agitation for gender equality.

Gender equality, according to United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF, 2017), refers to a situation where both sexes (male and female) have equal opportunities, treatment, and conditions to achieve their full potential, enjoy their human rights and dignity, and contribute to and benefit from economic, political, and socio-cultural development. GBV components encompass spousal battery, sexual abuse (including female children), dowry-

related violence, rape (including marital rape), female genital mutilation/cutting, and other harmful traditional practices against women. It also includes non-spousal violence, sexual violence linked to exploitation, and harassment or intimidation at work and in school elsewhere (Dahie et al., 2023). Thus, GBV is a term used to describe a range of violent behaviors, including physical, psychological, sexual, moral, political, and economic abuse.

Despite efforts made by the government and other change agencies, the spate of gender-based violence (GBV) is still alarming. Although both males and females may witness violence, it is more likely to be witnessed by females. This has affected female folks educationally, economically, politically, and socially, and has further debased them to mere chattels. Gender-based violence, more importantly against women and girls, has continued to be at the forefront of research and discourse globally. Gender-based violence is not peculiar to specific people or societies; rather, it permeates every human

society. It is entrenched in traditional social and cultural norms that are perpetuated by patriarchy and male chauvinism. Gender-based violence pervades all ethnic, racial, religious, and socio-economic groups. It replicates and strengthens inequality between women and men. The dignity, autonomy, security, and health of GBV victims are compromised.

Violence against women is perhaps the most prevalent, yet the least documented, human rights abuse globally (United Nations High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR], 2007). To this effect, the Human Rights Conference, in Vienna (1993) and the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing (1995), in their submissions, prioritized issues that endanger women's freedom, bodies, psychological integrity, and lives, which had been found to have profound effects directly and indirectly on women. According to a United Nations Women 2018-2019 report, one in seven women (aged 15-49) had experienced one form or another of sexual or physical violence from intimate partners, such as husbands, uncles, and cousins. Africa and Asia are at the top of this list. A World Bank (2019) report estimated that globally, about 35% of women have experienced sexual or physical violence. The World Health Organization (2021) estimated that approximately 30% of women are exposed to either physical or sexual violence by intimate partners. Regional representation of this abuse shows that 25% of cases were in the regions of the Americas, 31% in the Eastern Mediterranean region, 33% each in Africa and Southeast Asia (Akudolu et al., 2023; Davis et al., 2023; Khosravi et al., 2023).

Literature Review

Studies on GBV have shown that approximately 80% of 100% aggressive behavior is directed toward the female gender (Graaff, 2021). This means that such violence directly relates to the unequal power relationship, and by implication, devalues women and makes them subservient to men. Rico (1997) noted that what distinguishes GBV from other types of violence is that the risk factor is being a woman

or girl. In a cross-country study of 12 African countries on GBV risk factors and physiological effects, Iyunda et al. (2021) discovered that there were significant differences in both GBV and physiological effects across the 12 countries, with Ghana, Namibia, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Togo, and Zimbabwe having the highest physiological effects of GBV.

Adu et al. (2022), in a study carried out in Papua New Guinea, found an association between the prevalence of intimate partner violence, socio-demographic and economic factors. Okafor et al. (2023) discovered that socioeconomic factors, such as academic achievement, cultural factors, and religion, affect attitudes toward gender-based violence. Dahie et al. (2023), from their study, affirmed that there was a high prevalence of gender-based violence in the Somali Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps with physical abuse being the most common GBV. Extended family structure, household size, age, employment, and substance use were identified as precursors to gender-based violence.

The Center for Women Studies and Interventions ([CWSI], 2016) conducted a study in selected states in the southeastern (Abia, Ebonyi, Imo) and South-south (Akwa Ibom, Delta, Cross River) parts of Nigeria on GBV. This study revealed that the lack of necessary statistical data to provide an accurate representation of the situation, including the degree and frequency of occurrence in communities, is a major concern. The gap, the study reported, has created a major obstacle to the understanding of and the intensity of GBV on its victims. The lack of official records by appropriate bodies has compounded the problem.

In Nigeria, concerns about gender equality and gender-based violence are evolving, with increasing awareness of the issue, especially among women. Nigerian women face several forms of inequality and violence. Although there is growing awareness of GBV, misconceptions and cultural barriers still prevail. The causes are diverse, but most are due to socially assigned roles and subordinate positions of advantage or power.

Efforts to address GBV have focused on the prevention, response, and promotion of gender equality in various aspects of life, including politics and education. Few studies (Agbana et al., 2021; Oche et al., 2020; Sutherland et al., 2019) have examined the interplay between sociodemographic factors (age, education, income, and geographical location) and public perceptions of GBV.

Recognizing the pervasive nature of GBV, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (2020) came up with a policy that highlighted the importance of responding to violence, prevention, root causes, and embedding gender equality in all aspects of human endeavors. The policy further stressed the obligation to mitigate risk factors and to 'Do No Harm.' It is important to understand the sociocultural dynamics underlying these issues. Addressing the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 ([UN], 2023), this study explored the relationship between socio-demographics and public perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence in Nigeria. The following three research questions were raised:

1. What are the perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence among Nigerians?
2. Is there any relationship between socio-demographic factors, sources of information, and perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence in Nigeria?
3. Is there any difference in the perception of gender equality and gender-based violence based on demographic characteristics (gender, age, education, place of residence and region)?

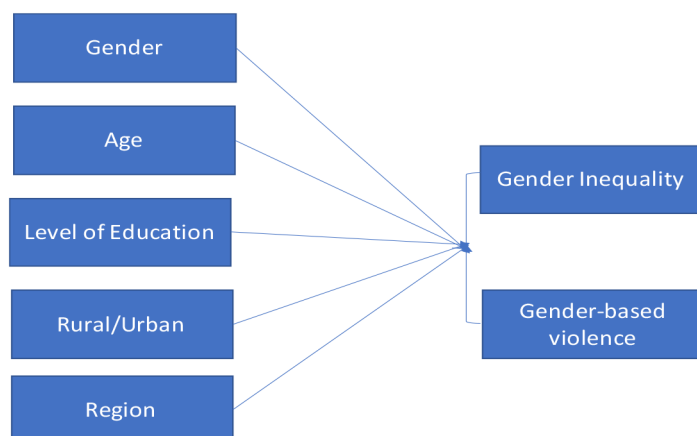
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Several theories explain gender-based violence and gender inequality. These include power dynamics, social learning, cultural theory, and feminist perspectives (Meyer et al., 2023). Power-based theories emphasize the imbalance

in power between men and women, leading to violence and other forms of control. Feminist theories analyze gender-based violence as a tool to maintain patriarchal structures and inequalities. Social learning theory suggests that violence is learned through observation and imitation, particularly within families. It posits that violence against women and inequality is socially constructed. It is not naturally inherited but is taught or learned from society and culture. While these theories offer perspectives on GBV, this study hinges on socioecological theory for understanding violence against women.

Socioecological theory posits that violence is a multifaceted phenomenon resulting from the interplay of personal, situational, and socio-cultural factors. The socioecological framework suggests that violence is not caused by a single factor rather than by the interaction of multiple factors at different levels of social influence. These levels include individual, relationship, community, and societal factors. By considering these interconnected levels, the socioecological framework provides a more comprehensive understanding of why violence against women occurs, and how it can be prevented (Chynoweth et al., 2020; Murphy et al., 2022). The multifaceted nature of sociological theory underscores its adoption in this study, as the present study is multivariate in addressing gender inequality and GBV.

Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual framework of the study, showing the relationship between personal characteristics (gender, age, education, place of residence, and region) and the perception of gender inequality and GBV developed for the study. The framework provides a description and explanation of the factors that influence gender inequality and GBV.

Figure 1: *Conceptual Framework of the Study*

Methodology

Research Design

This study adopted a quantitative descriptive survey to investigate the relationship between socio-demographics and public perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence in Nigeria.

Research Instrument

The data used were drawn from the Afrobarometer Round 9 (2023) for Nigeria. Afrobarometer is a pan-African, non-profit and non-partisan research network organization that conducts and disseminates series of comparative public awareness and attitude surveys on various social, political and environmental issues such as democracy and governance, markets, civil society, climate change, and gender among other topics since 1999. It employed personal face-to-face and household interviews to obtain information from individuals aged 18 and above in each country. For our analysis, we used Round 9 data for Nigeria released in 2023. The sample size consisted of 1,600 participants drawn from 36 states of the federation, including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. The data were collected nationally through a stratified, clustered, multistage, area probability sample procedure.

After reviewing the findings and feedback obtained in the previous rounds, the Round 9 questionnaire was developed by the Questionnaire Committee. Independent variables are the respondents' background characteristics (age, educational background, gender, region, and urban/rural), while the dependent variable was perception of gender equality and gender-based violence was measured with items such as a) equal chance of paid job, b) equal chance to inherit/own land, c) equal opportunity for political office, d) frequency of violence against women, e) how serious the issue is perceived by the police.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics, Version 27. First, we conducted a descriptive analysis of the demographics and items for measurement with frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations. Second, inferential statistics of t-test and analysis of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to examine the difference between the dependent variable and respondents' demographic characteristics, while the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMCC) was used to determine the relationships between demographics, gender equality, and gender-based violence at a significance level of 0.05. Table 1 displays the respondents' demographic information.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristic Percentage Distribution

	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	830	51.9
Female	770	48.1
Age		
18-30yrs	744	46.5
31-40yrs	413	25.8
41-50yrs	221	13.8
51-60yrs	152	9.5
61-100yrs	70	4.4
Education		
No formal Education	314	19.6
Primary Education	222	13.9
Secondary	693	43.3
Post-secondary	266	16.6
University degree	106	6.6
Place of residence		
Urban	685	42.8
Rural	915	57.2
Region		
Southsouth	247	15.5
Northeast	203	12.7
Northwest	389	24.3
North Central	229	14.3
Southeast	188	11.7
Southwest	345	21.5

Results

RQ1: What are the Perceptions of Gender Equality and Gender-Based Violence among Nigerians?

Figure 2 shows the responses to the question about the prevalence of violence against women in Nigeria. About 9% reported that it was very common, while 32% indicated it was somewhat common, resulting in a combined total of 41% for these two responses. Additionally, 41% of respondents indicated that GBV is not very common, 17% stated it is not common at all, and 1.3% reported limited knowledge about the prevalence of GBV in Nigeria. The finding is more average on both axes of GBV awareness. This could be due to the citizens' limited knowledge and awareness of the prevalence of GBV.

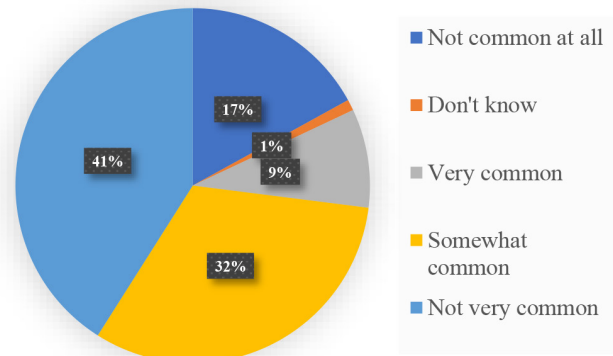
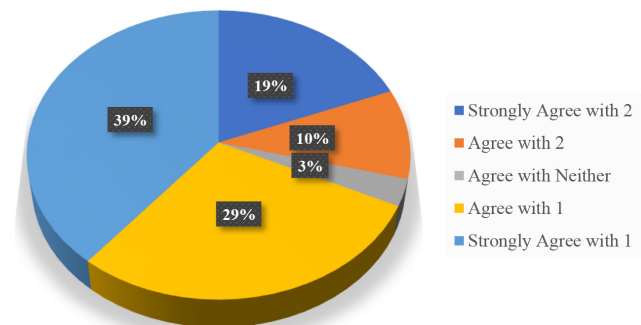
Figure 2: How Common is Violence Against Women in Nigeria?

Figure 3 presents responses on whether domestic violence is viewed as a private or criminal matter. The majority (68.4%) of respondents viewed it as a private matter, while 28.8% perceived it as a criminal matter.

Figure 3: Domestic Violence as a Private Matter Vs Criminal Matter

Gender equality and gender-based violence were measured on a 5-point Likert scale with an average mean score of 3.00. The results in Table 2 show that the mean ranged from 2.49 (SD = 1.60) to 3.44 (SD = 1.30). It can be observed that five of the items have a mean score below 3.00, which is the neutral level. Therefore, it can be deduced that respondents' perceptions of gender-based violence are negative. This suggests that respondents recognize and acknowledge the existence and severity of gender-based violence and inequality as a detrimental societal issue. It also implies dissatisfaction with existing disparities and a perceived lack of fairness in opportunities, treatment, and representation across genders. This negative perception may

stem from personal experiences, observations, or a broader societal awareness of inequalities and harmful practices.

The frequency distribution indicated in Table 2 further revealed that most of the respondents disagree with the statement that men and women have an equal chance of paid jobs. This suggests that most Nigerians do not believe that men and women have equal opportunities for paid jobs. Almost two-thirds disagreed with the item that men and women have an equal chance to inherit/own land, and only a few ($f=125$) were undecided.

This lends credence to the patriarchal nature of Nigerian society and the tradition of the rights of men and not women to inherit from their father or husband. This finding confirms other studies that highlight GBV as a form of gender-based discrimination and rights violation driven by patriarchy, patriarchal norms, power imbalances, social structure, and misogyny (Awor et al., 2025; Baekgaard, 2024; UN Women, 2024).

Table 2: *Descriptive Statistics on Perceptions of Gender Equality and Gender-Based Violence*

Items	SD (<i>f</i>)	D (<i>f</i>)	N (<i>f</i>)	A (<i>f</i>)	SA (<i>f</i>)	Mean	SD
Women and men have equal chance of paying job	286	547	64	484	220	2.90	1.44
Women and men have equal chance to own/inherit land	457	525	125	311	183	2.57	1.51
Women who run for office: Gain standing	Very unlikely 93	Somewhat unlikely 221	Somewhat likely 468	Very likely 790	Don't know 28	Mean 3.34	SD 1.17
Are criticized or harassed	338	471	446	305	40	2.62	1.44
Face family problems	441	496	397	209	57	2.49	1.60
Women who report GBV are taken seriously by the police	27.5	31.0	24.8	802	46	3.44	1.30
Women who report GBV are criticized or harassed	88	196	468	298	51	2.64	1.57

Note: SD = Strongly disagree; D = Disagree; N = Neither agree nor disagree; A = Agree; SA = Strongly Agree

Furthermore, it can be inferred from Table 2 that the respondents believed that women who ran for office gain. The respondents were divided based on their responses to statements about women who run for office, being criticized or harassed, and possibly facing family problems.

RQ3: Is there any difference in the perception of gender equality and gender-based violence based on demographic characteristics (gender, age, education, place of residence and region)?

To determine if there is a statistically significant difference between perception of gender equality and gender-based violence based on demographic characteristics, a t-test was performed. The following section shows the results from this analysis, highlighting key statistical values and interpreting their implications for our research question.

The results of the t-test in Table 3 revealed no significant differences between male and female perceptions of gender equality and GBV. This

implies that the statistical analysis observed a difference between male and female perceptions of gender equality and GBV is small enough to be attributable to random chance, rather than reflecting a genuine divergence in viewpoints. However, a significant difference was found in the perception of gender equality and GBV among respondents from urban and rural areas. Urban respondents showed a more positive perception of GBV than their rural counterparts did. This suggests that individuals in urban areas may exhibit awareness, beliefs, and attitudes towards preventing and addressing GBV due to the level of education in urban areas and the heterogeneous nature of urban centers. Positive perception inversely means that the participants, based on awareness, level of education, and exposure, understand the damaging effects of GBV on victims.

Table 3: *Difference in male and female perception of gender equality and gender-based violence*

		N	Mean	Std. D	t	Sig.
Gender						
Gender equality	Male	830	17.4928	4.43179	-.660	.510ns
	Female	770	17.6392	4.43962		
Gender-based violence	Male	830	10.8619	2.71256	-2.009	.045ns
	Female	770	11.1486	2.99428		
Location						
Urban						
Gender equality	Urban	685	18.1007	4.99200	4.215	.000s
	Rural	915	17.1611	3.92184		
Gender-based violence	Urban	685	11.3031	3.33365	3.690	.000s
	Rural	915	10.7731	2.41190		

*ns = not significant

*s = significant

Moreover, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine whether there would be differences in the perception of gender equality and gender-based violence among Nigerians based on age, educational level, and region (Table 4).

Table 4: *Test of Significant Difference in Perception of Gender Equality and Gender-Based Violence by Age, Education, and Region*

Names	Themes	Evidence from interview responses
Johnson	Role modelling, school development	Educational tours, belief in the child, love, sports, compliments, honest, Independent learner, developing study styles, setting their own study schedules, career direction, critical thinking, involvement in the school development, attending PTA meetings
Alfred	Developing an independent learner	Allow them to select the school and the study area they want, developing their own study styles, setting their own study schedules, career direction
Hazel	Creation of a home learning environment	Providing an enabling environment for homework and research work, technological and home games that facilitate and motivate learning

The findings indicate that there is no significant difference in the perception of gender equality and gender-based violence among the age groups and educational level. However, a significant difference was observed in the perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence across the country.

Tukey's HSD test was used for post-hoc analysis to identify group differences. The results in Table 5 show that two subsets for gender-based violence by region and three subsets for perceptions of women were extracted. The results indicate that for GBV, a significant difference was found only between the Northwest and Southwest. For gender equality, the significant difference was between the South-South and Southwest, Northeast and Southwest, Northwest and North Central, and Southwest regions.

The observed disparities in gender equality across regions, where the Southwest region

notably differs from the Southeast, South-South, Northeast, Northwest, and North-Central regions, are likely to stem from the interplay of socioeconomic, cultural, and historical factors. One plausible explanation lies in the levels of economic development and urbanization. For instance, the Southwest of the country has greater economic activity and urban centers, offering women increased access to education, employment opportunities, and healthcare, thereby promoting greater gender equality. Cultural norms, religion, and tradition play crucial roles in each region of Nigeria. Although this varies across regions, patriarchal attitudes and practices influence women's roles and status in society. Differences in governance and policy implementation at the regional level may have contributed to the observed disparities. Understanding these regional differences requires a nuanced analysis of the specific sociocultural, economic, and political contexts of each region.

Table 5: Summary of Turkey's Multiple Range Comparison of Mean Scores on Perception of Gender Equality and Gender-Based Violence

Tukey HSD ^{a,b} Gender equality		Gender-based violence				
Region	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05			Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2	3	1	2
Northeast	202	17.0262			10.5490	10.7522
Northwest	388	17.1128	17.1128		10.7522	10.9188
South south	247	17.2189	17.2189	17.2189	10.9188	11.1036
Southeast	187	17.3523	17.3523	17.3523	11.1036	11.1793
North Central	228		18.1964	18.1964	11.1793	11.4364
Southwest	344			18.3294		.079
Sig.		.963	.068	.057	.134	10.7522

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 248.532.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

RQ2: Is there any relationship between socio-demographic factors, sources of information, and perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence in Nigeria?

The results of the bivariate correlation analyses showed significant relationships between some of the sociodemographic variables and perception of gender equality and GBV (see Table 6). The results revealed a positive correlation between gender ($r = 0.050$; $p < 0.01$), suggesting that women are more likely than men to perceive GBV as a serious issue. Some adduceable reasons are due to lived experience: women are statistically more likely to experience GBV, thus increasing their awareness and sensitivity to its prevalence and impact. Moreover, empathy and the socialization process increase women's perceptions of GBV as they tend to be more empathetic toward victims. Most awareness campaigns on GBV target women, potentially increasing their awareness and concerns.

However, men may underreport the incidence of GBV due to stigma and ego. A positive correlation was found between region and perception of GBV ($r = 0.086^{**}$; $p < 0.01$), indicating that people in certain regions may recognize or report GBV due to cultural norms,

while GBV has become normalized and seen as part of regular community life and living in other regions are discussed and condemn it. The legal framework is another reason for regional differences: regions with stronger enactment and enforcement of penalties against GBV may foster better consciousness and perception of its severity. Regions with high media coverage and advocacy engagements tend to increase public perceptions of GBV due to outreach and education more than regions with less media coverage. Further, the results showed that place of residence ($r = -.092^{**}$; $p < 0.01$) had a significant negative relationship with gender-based violence. This suggests that as a place of residence, presumably moving from urban to rural areas, increases, the level of gender-based violence tends to decrease.

Simply put, individuals living in urban areas are less likely to experience gender-based violence than those living in rural areas. There are several plausible reasons for these results. Places such as urban areas or regions with higher socio-economic development usually have stronger legal frameworks and law enforcement to address gender-based violence and promote gender equality. Again, increased awareness campaigns and educational programs in these

areas may contribute to a reduction in violent attitudes and behaviors. Furthermore, places with greater economic opportunities for women tend to display lower rates of gender-based violence and inequality. Economic independence empowers women, providing them with the resources to leave abusive situations and challenge discriminatory practices.

Table 6: *Correlations Between Socio-Demographic Factors, Perception of Gender Equality and GBV*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Gender	1						
2. Age	-.152**	1					
3. Education	-.167**	-.007	1				
4. Region	.006	.053*	.159**	1			
5. Urban or Rural	-.010	-.012	-.300**	-.295**	1		
6. Gender equality	.016	.030	.054*	.093**	-.105**	1	
7. Gender-based Violence	.050*	-.003	.040	.086**	-.092**	.277**	1

** . Significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed). * . significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Discussion

The results indicate that women have a high perception of gender inequality. Women are more discriminated against in the workplace and in family inheritance. The perception of gender-based violence is higher among women. This finding is consistent with previous research (Dahie et al., 2023; Kearns et al., 2020) that indicates a high degree of gender inequality and a higher prevalence of GBV among women.

In this study, about 41% of the respondents found violence against women to be common in Nigeria. This corroborates the results of previous studies, such as those by Adinma et al. (2019), Khosravi et al. (2023), and Quadri et al. (2024). For instance, Adinma et al. (2019) reported a 40% prevalence rate of GBV among women, as observed in this study. The results showed no significant gender differences in perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence. This finding agrees with the study of Deb and Modak (2010) in Tripura, which reported no association between socioeconomic status and sexual violence among adolescents.

The present study found a significant difference between urban and rural respondents' perceptions of gender equality and gender-based violence. This is consistent with Adeyemo and

Nwadiuto (2023), who reported that sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) differed between rural and urban residents. Our study also found a positive correlation between gender, region, and perception of GBV, consistent with previous studies by Adeyemo and Nwadiuto (2023), Quadri et al. (2024), and Skandro et al. (2024). Consistent with the socioecological framework, this study also found that some individual and community variables are related to shaping gender inequality and GBV.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Gender equality and GBV are social issues that have attracted global and national concern. This study highlights the importance of examining individual variables, gender inequality and GBV. Based on our findings, it can be inferred that gender equality and GBV are common in Nigeria, affecting individuals across different socio-geographic backgrounds. Gender-based violence is related to sociodemographic variables such as age, place of residence, region, and educational attainment. Our findings call for appropriate strategies and interventions that provide opportunities to address social, cultural, structural, and environmental influences on gender-based violence targeting people in urban areas. Nigeria is a signatory to international charters

and conventions (e.g., the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW], Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, and Beijing Declaration). Therefore, it is essential for the government and its agencies at all levels (local, state, and federal) to implement the provisions of these conventions.

The National Gender Policy for Nigeria should be made available in various local languages, taught and disseminated to the grassroots by the National Orientation Agency. This will go a long way towards minimizing and possibly eradicating menace. The vision of national gender policy is clear: to promote the welfare and rights of Nigerian women and children in all aspects of life, that is, political, social, and economic. This vision can only be achieved when all stakeholders are involved in the process of achieving sustainable development among the citizens. In addition, legal and psychosocial support should be provided for victims of economic violence.

Limitations of the Present Study

Although this study used a national probability sample and examined the influence of multiple variables, additional research is required to fully understand gender equality and gender-based violence in Nigeria, as limited local data exist on the subject. No single study can provide solutions to crucial issues such as GBV; therefore, other researchers are encouraged to examine additional variables (such as socio-psychological factors) that may discourage the incidence of GBV in Nigeria and possibly extend their studies to other subregions of Africa. Another possible limitation is that gender equality and GBV may have been under-reported because of cultural beliefs, patriarchy, and male dominance in society.

Acknowledgments: The authors express their most profound appreciation to the Afrobarometer for granting permission to download and use the data.

Funding Statement: The authors did not receive financial support for this research.

Conflicts of interest: None.

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