

Gendered Disinformation of Female Politicians on Social Media in Kenya: A Case of Migori Republican Council Facebook Page

Millicent Awuor Otieno*

Rongo University

*Corresponding Author

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2024.803047>

8IJ02SS12193: Received: 15 March 2024; Revised: 23 March 2024; Accepted: 28 March 2024;
Published: 03 April 2024

ABSTRACT

The increase in information communication technologies (ICTs) has undoubtedly facilitated socio-economic and political progress, granting individuals a platform for expression and engagement. However, this increased connectivity has also given rise to disturbing phenomena such as stalking, abuse, intimidation, and humiliation. While the internet has provided a space for both men and women to voice their opinions, gendered disinformation on social media poses a significant threat to women's rights across various domains, including politics, social interactions, and psychological well-being. Migori Republican Council (MRC) is the largest Facebook page that provides a forum for debates on the Migori County's political, social and economic issues. Through a case study and analysis of content of the Facebook page collected through web scraping using rapid miner during the political campaigns for the Kenya's 2022 General elections in the period spanning January to July 2022. The study revealed a landscape dominated by political debates and campaigns for both male and female politicians. However, campaigns targeting female politicians were marred by gendered slurs, focusing on their physical appearance, marital status, and roles as mothers. This form of gendered disinformation undermines women's credibility and perpetuates harmful stereotypes, hindering their political participation and representation. To address the negative impact of gendered disinformation, the study advocates for public awareness campaigns to sensitize individuals, bloggers, and Facebook page administrators about the risks associated with harmful content on social media. Additionally, administrators should prioritize the formulation and enforcement of community guidelines that uphold human dignity and prohibit gender-based harassment. Gender training programs for bloggers and the public are essential to empower individuals to recognize and combat gendered disinformation effectively. The bloggers, Facebook administrators and the public should be equipped with digital media and information literacy competencies. Furthermore, the study recommends the development of lexicons for local languages spoken in Migori County to facilitate the identification and elimination of gendered disinformation. This localized approach acknowledges the cultural context and linguistic nuances inherent in combating online disinformation and ensures broader inclusivity in addressing gender-based issues on social media platforms.

Key terms: Gendered Disinformation, Netizens, Social Media, Facebook Page,

INTRODUCTION

With the proliferation of the internet, social media, and digital devices, harassers now have new platforms to carry out their abuse, as noted by MacKay (2022). This has led to various forms of online violence, with online violence against women being the most prevalent. The United Nations Human Rights Council (2018)

defines Online Violence Against Women (OVAW) as a form of gender-based violence that utilizes information and communication technology to perpetrate acts of violence against women. Harmful content that can be classified as online violence against women can take the form of misinformation, disinformation, and malinformation. Malinformation, which involves the intentional dissemination of confidential information, often involves altering context, date, or time for personal or corporate gain rather than public interest (Staats, 2021). Misinformation, on the other hand, refers to information that is misleading but created or disseminated without malicious intent (Ireton & Posetti, 2018). Bradshaw (2018) defines disinformation as the deliberate creation and dissemination of false and / or manipulated information that is intended to deceive and mislead audiences either for purposes of causing harm or for political, personal or financial gain.

Di Meo (2020) originally defined gendered disinformation as the dissemination of false or deceptive information and imagery targeting female political leaders, journalists, and public figures. This information often relies on misogynistic and gender stereotypical themes. According to Judson et al., (2020), gendered disinformation can be used to describe any information activities that attack or undermine people based on their gender, utilizing gendered narratives to further political, social, or economic goals. Mocerri (2020) defines gendered disinformation as any false and manipulated information that aims to harm women or individuals from diverse genders and sexual orientations. The study adopts definition of BPF (2021) which state that gendered disinformation can be false information or based on true information that is presented in a misleading way or inauthentically amplified. Typical examples are faked or doctored content that may include sexual images, coordinated abuse denigrating a woman's character, caricaturization and demonization of supporters of gender equality.

Gendered disinformation is a combination of sexism, misogyny, and online violence. It manifests in various forms such as harmful social media posts and graphics, sexual fabrications, and conspiracy theories, further, it is used in various situations and locations (Strand & Svenson 2021). The techniques for diffusing gendered disinformation are varied and can involve misogynistic comments that reinforce gender stereotypes, the sexualization and dissemination of graphic content, online harassment, including threats of violence, and even cyber-attacks. According to Redmund (2018), gendered disinformation has utilized tactics such as posting fake sexualized information, images, and videos that violate socially acceptable behavior for women or men, sharing manipulated images, videos, memes to discredit or ridicule, and employing automation to amplify attacks.

Gendered disinformation campaigns often target individuals with higher public status or holding higher positions such as politicians, CEOs, public advocates and journalists (Strand & Svenson 2021). These positions are targeted as they are very closely tied to the progression women's rights and the power that women hold within society. Gendered disinformation invokes gendered narratives about the work, character, sexuality and appearance of their work (Mocerri, 2020). According to Di Meo (2021) women in politics in particular are the targets of overwhelming volumes of online attacks, fake stories, humiliating or sexually charged images. It is for this reason that the study focusses on gendered disinformation of female politicians in Migori County, Kenya.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Gendered disinformation is not a recent phenomenon; it is at the intersect of propaganda and gender-based violence, besides, it is not caused by digital communication or social media platforms. Gendered disinformation campaigns can be challenging to classify precisely because all forms play a role in the campaign. For instance, a coordinated disinformation campaign may circulate genuine information, distorted or misleading information, false information, and value-based content that does not make factual claims -an example being personal attacks on someone's character. They may also rely on their content and

tropes being shared organically by individuals who may be sharing them in good faith or knowingly but outside of the formal structure of an organized disinformation network (Sessa, 2020).

Social media disinformation campaigns, whether gendered or non-gendered, are orchestrated courses of action that employ social media platforms to disseminate false or misleading information with the aim of misleading social media consumers. State actors, organizations, and individuals can leverage social media platforms to spread propaganda and disinformation during critical moments of public life which can significantly influence public opinion (Bradshaw&Howard, 2018). Strand & Svenson (2021) argue that gendered disinformation campaigns can originate from either state actors or non-state actors. State-based disinformation campaigns, which are directly coordinated by state actors, are linked to state-aligned disinformation campaigns, which can also include informal networks of actors who are not paid or coordinated but who contribute to disinformation campaigns as their interests are aligned.

Gendered disinformation campaigns aim to discredit female political leaders by spreading false information about their qualifications, experience, and intelligence. These campaigns often employ sexualized imagery and are rooted in existing discrimination against women in society. Women candidates may be portrayed as unqualified or too emotional for the task, rather than being criticized for their policy decisions (BPF 2020). According to Blatnik (2022), disinformation is considered gendered when it targets women based on their identity as women. This type of disinformation relies on gender stereotypes and physical appearance to undermine female politicians, rather than directly attacking their policy decisions. Studies by Posetti et al. (2021) have shown that gendered disinformation is commonly used against women, with narratives focusing on their work, character, sexuality, and appearance. Wardle & Derakhshan (2018) found that attack lines against women often included leadership bias, portraying them as untrustworthy, unqualified, unlikable, emotional, and obstacles to entering office as well as sexualized and character attacks -which is more likely to focus on character and not include facts. Recent research in India by Amnesty International (2020) and Brazil by the platform MonitorA20 revealed that women candidates are often vilified for being who they are; women, black, elderly, or transgender, while men are criticized mainly for their professional performance as politicians and public administrators.

Janckowiz et al., (2021) underscore the nuanced nature of gendered disinformation, emphasizing its adaptability to various contexts. Such disinformation may be masked as legitimate political critique or advocacy against violence towards women, often evading detection by automated moderation systems or insufficiently experienced moderators. This complexity extends to attacks on politicians, where gendered disinformation may camouflage as acceptable political discourse, complicating efforts to address it without impinging on freedom of expression. Despite these challenges, empirical evidence demonstrates that female politicians face disproportionately more frequent and personalized attacks compared to their male counterparts (Carne, 2021), warranting concerted efforts to combat gendered disinformation due to its detrimental effects.

Di Meco and Kristina (2021) assert that while disinformation campaigns can overtly influence electoral outcomes and public health initiatives like vaccination campaigns, their impact on social cohesion and gender equality can be more subtle. Gendered disinformation seeks to undermine women's suitability for leadership roles by portraying them as incompetent or undeserving, perpetuating the stereotype that women in high-ranking positions attain their status through sexual means rather than merit. Consequently, this discourages other women that have witnessed such attacks on their fellow women from pursuing political careers or other higher positions (Plan International, 2021).

Migori County, situated in the southwestern region of Kenya, has notably lagged behind its neighbouring counties, namely Kisumu, Homabay, and Siaya, in terms of female political representation. Migori County has never elected a female member of parliament, while only two women have contested for the gubernatorial positions and one for the senatorial positions (KEWOPA, 2023). This disparity underscores

the minimal participation of women in politics within the region. The study focusses on the gendered disinformation of female politicians who vied for the position of Migori County women representative. The position of women representative is created under Article 97 of the Kenyan constitution to increase the representation of women in Parliament (The Kenyan Constitution 2010). Only women can contest for the position of county women representative, however, other elective posts such as member of parliament senator, governor and president are open for both men and women.

Gendered disinformation, a manifestation of social media-based violence, infringes upon various human rights, including the rights to political participation and freedom of expression, as delineated by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Addressing gendered disinformation is imperative for the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals 5.2 and 5.3 which aim to eradicate exploitation, discrimination, and violence against women and girls.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this section the research approach, research design, data collection methods, sampling techniques and data analysis for the study are outlined.

Research approach

The research approach for the study is qualitative. Qualitative research approach is created to gather non-numerical data to produce insights. To better comprehend ideas, opinions, or experiences, qualitative research involves gathering and analyzing non-numerical data such as text, video, or audio (Ugwu & Eze 2023). For this study, Facebook comments and posts about female aspirants for the position of women representative in MRC for the period January to July 2022 were analyzed. Qualitative research was selected since it enabled the researcher to establish the views of the MRC online community about female politicians.

Research Design

The research design employed for the study is case study. Case study involves a detailed and intensive analysis of a particular event, situation, organization or social unit. Typically, a case has a defined space and time, a phenomenon of some sort in a bounded context. A case could be an individual, a role, a small group, an organisation, a community or even a nation (Miles, Huberman & Saldana 2014). This research constitutes a case study of the Migori Republican Council (MRC) Facebook page, which boasts of a membership of 77,000 individuals (Facebook, 2023). Acting as a platform for discussions of economic, political, and social issues within Migori County, the page holds significant potential for illuminating the cultural, social, and political inclinations of the county's populace.

Data collection Methods

Employing a qualitative research approach, data for the study was obtained through web scraping using RapidMiner. The study specifically delved into posts and comments related to political aspirants vying for the position of county women representative. While English-language content was collected through web scraping, the researcher manually searched for posts and comments in Kiswahili and Luo, the latter being the predominant local language of Migori County and Kiswahili being a national and official language of Kenya. The data collection period spanning from January to August 2022 was chosen due to the heightened political activity leading up to the Kenyan General Elections scheduled for August 2022.

Sampling technique

In order to establish gendered disinformation of female politicians in Migori County, the researchers

focused on the discussions about female aspirants in the face of the August 2022 Kenyan General Elections in which one female vied for the position of the gubernatorial post, one for senatorial post, none for the position of member of parliament and for the position of county women representative. Because, the position of the county women representative attracted the highest number of female aspirants, the researcher purposively sampled it for the study. Further because the area of jurisdiction of the county woman representative is a whole county, for the case of this study Migori County, the discussions about the aspirants emanated from a large group which was representative of the whole county and could be generalised to the country, Kenya. According to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) report (2022) six females vied for the position of Migori County Women representative. The study selected the five most popular aspirants for the position of women representative according to the votes garnered at the general elections as is stipulated in the IEBC report (2022).

Data Analysis

Analysing the thematic content of posts and comments from January to July 2022, the study examined discourse surrounding all five aspirants for the position of Migori County women representatives. For the purposes of this study, the female aspirants have been assigned identities V, W, X, Y and Z. Posts and comments in English, Kiswahili, and Luo were presented in narrative form, with original content in Kiswahili and Luo accompanied by English translations to ensure confirmability and credibility of the study. Further, dates for the comments and posts were also provided. For ethical reasons, names of the netizens whose posts and comments constituted the data for the study were not provided in the work, only their gender has been stated. The gender was determined by their names even though the researcher acknowledges the complexities of identities online. Identification of gender was key in establishing the perpetrators of gendered disinformation.

Findings of the Study

Being that the study is qualitative, data presentation and interpretation was simultaneous, they could not be divorced. The data consisted of quotes of the posts and comments from MRC Facebook page. Cresswell & Poth (2018) state that in the presentation of qualitative data, the key points and themes as relate to the research question should be quoted. Therefore, for this study the qualitative data are quoted and italicized.

The study established that gendered disinformation campaigns against the female political politician was based on their physical appearance. There were comments and post on MRC that discussed the physical appearance of the female political aspirants. The following posts demonstrate that physical appearance was a parameter for establishing who was fit or unfit for the political seat:

'The women rep position, is it a reserve for ugly women. Okunyal golo Orang Otang to uketo Mbithi. Adagi loosely translated another ugly woman cannot be elected a woman representative' Male, March 17 2022

'Koro nyako majaber ni kumiyo kura Tarik ochiko to ukoso ang'o' 'translated as 'why wouldn't you vote for this beautiful girl on 9th August?' Male 10th July 2022

'Awuoro sura mbaya roho mbaya' translated as 'I wonder why the female political aspirants must be of ugly physically and in character' Male March 20,2022

'Koro nyako majaber ni kumiyo kura Tarik ochiko to ukoso ang'o' 'translated as 'why wouldn't you vote for this beautiful girl on 9th August? A photo of a female political aspirant Z was posted with the above caption' Male 10th July 2022

'Baby girl'.... This was a caption of a photo of female aspirant V by a Male user, 15 July 2022

In view of the posts and comments, the female physical appearance was appraised based on their perceived beauty. Beauty was considered as a quality for leadership. The ones who were perceived to be beautiful were considered fit for the political post while the ones who were not considered beautiful were regarded as not being suitable for the political office. Standards of beauty for the political aspirants were even set as in the post below:

'Wadwaro women rep man kod sianda ka meke Hon. YY. Ka ok wadwar tugo.' translated as **'we want a women rep (representative) with an ass as big as Hon YY'** Male 15th July 2022

The disinformation campaigns focused on the marital status of the aspirants to prove their unsuitability or suitability for the electoral post as in the data below:

'Hon Y is married and has values of leadership, she is traceable, ethical, transparent and honest.... Please vote her in' Male, March 17th 2022

'Na hawe na boma na familia, hayo tu' loosely translated as **'The female political aspirant should have a husband and a family'** Male, March 18 2022

'Z kapok oyudo dichuo topod oketho sane giduogo kod independent. Gini mar dhako rep ok Nyako rep, Nyiseuru' translated as **'before Z gets married, she cannot be successfully elected even if she decides to run on an independent ticket, this is a post for women representative (rep) not girl rep'** Male, April 30 2022

'My friend, in Luo Nyanza we don't elect unmarried to hold political campaigns, so don't waste your time with that independent Birth certificate, look for marriage certificate first. We don't want problems with our ancestors. You are going to cry again and you don't have a partner that will soothe you. Leave this for the likes of W, X or Y responsible ladies, who has there homes and knows how to handle a family. Male 1st May 2022

The posts and comments demonstrate the significance that the community in MRC attach to the marital status of females so much so that being married was considered a requirement for ascent to leadership and proof of leadership potential. In some instances, the marital status was used against the political aspirants. The aspirants were judged based on the perceived character of their partners.

'X and Y are the real Cartels' comment by a Male on 19th March 2022

'Japicha gi chiege thuo jokuoge, Kura is No', loosely translated as **"Y and the husband are thieves, No vote for her"** a post by a Male user on 26th June 2022

The above statement was a caption that accompanied a photo of the female political aspirant, and the husband holding a camera.

However, not all posts and comments in MRC were stereotypical. There were comments that challenged misogyny and sexism, nevertheless, the posts and comments were silenced by attacks against the persona of the netizen:

'I wish to lecture you on marriage lakini will be wasting my humble time' Female 1st May 2022

‘Wadich gi telo ok misumba,’ leadership and not marital status is our concern’ Male, 20th June 2022

‘No one in this era educates his or her daughter for marriage purposes, the girls of this era are educated to enable them take part in’ Male 20 June 2022.

The above comments elicited the response below:

‘and for that case *** tell me any women rep in the larger Nyanza who is not married. Kindly my brother from another mother don’t force your ancestors to call for a meeting. Resist from this’ Male 20th June 2022

There were other similar comments that dismissed the positive and liberating comments on the female political aspirants. Some of those who challenged the misogynistic and sexist comments were accused of having sexual affair with the female aspirants:

‘Laziness has taken control of our younger men to appoint they seek for easily accessed money from this women. Just take a look at this idiot who has just washed a pant of an aspirant of a size that can make his shirt. Married aspirants love young lovers more than the unmarried ones. Aspirant ma osenyuom gi kara ohero vijende molyokata mapok onyuom.’ Male 25th June 2022

In addition, gendered disinformation in MRC focused on the potential of the female aspirants to be mothers. Motherhood was advanced as a requirement for good leadership, but other times, it was also portrayed as a hindrance to leadership as is exhibited in the two posts below:

‘Z no single mother can advise a married woman’ Male 5 May 2022

‘Kone okuong odh.odh nyathi otieki, siasa ok riu gi pidi ‘translated as ‘Tell aspirant Y to breastfeed and take care of her baby first, politics cannot be combined with nursing of a baby’ Male, March 15 2022

Further, the qualitative data provided above demonstrate that perpetrators of gendered disinformation campaigns in MRC were majorly males. The male exploited the women’s traditional roles and their physical appearance to discredit their suitability to hold the political office.

DISCUSSIONS OF THE STUDY

The discussions surrounding the political aspirants for the position of women representatives in Migori County were notably marked by gendered disinformation campaigns. Given the political campaign season, these disinformation campaigns often masqueraded as legitimate political discourse. It was anticipated that discussions would primarily focus on the qualifications and achievements of the female aspirants. However, the discourse predominantly revolved around gender-based attacks, particularly targeting the physical appearance of the candidates, their marital status and motherhood roles. These findings align with the studies of Posetti et al., (2021), which highlights the common use of gendered disinformation against women, to often invoke narratives about their sexuality and appearance. Similarly, Blatnik (2022) establishes that gendered disinformation employs gender stereotypes and physical appearance to undermine female politicians. Posts and comments on the Migori Republican Council (MRC) Facebook page frequently assessed the suitability of female aspirants based on their perceived beauty, with beauty being erroneously equated with leadership qualities.

Moreover, marital status emerged as a focal point of the disinformation campaigns, with some posts suggesting that being married was a prerequisite for leadership. Married female aspirants were both praised

for their marital status and criticized based on perceptions of their spouses' character. This echoes the findings of Amnesty International (2020), that concluded that women are often "attacked for being what they are – women, black, elderly, transgender. In the case of Migori County they were attacked for being married and for not being married. Although some comments challenged misogyny and sexism, they were often met with personal attacks, silencing dissenting voices. Those who defended female aspirants were accused of having ulterior motives, further perpetuating gendered disinformation. Additionally, motherhood was weaponized to both promote and undermine female leadership, highlighting the contradictory standards imposed on women in politics.

Overall, the gendered disinformation campaigns in MRC focused on undermining the potential of female aspirants through attacks on their physical appearance, marital status, and traditional roles. Despite their achievements in the public life – career and business- these aspects were not central to the discourse, reflecting the broader patterns of gender bias identified by Wardle & Derakhshan (2018), including leadership bias, sexualized attacks, and character assassinations. The attacks were majorly by males.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

The study found that gendered disinformation campaigns targeting female politicians on the Migori Republican Council (MRC) Facebook page were primarily advanced by male netizens. However, it was inconclusive whether these campaigns were individually driven or sponsored by political groups. Notably, female political aspirants were evaluated based on their marital status, physical appearance, and motherhood. While being married was often portrayed as a positive attribute for political leadership, negative perceptions of spouses were exploited to discredit the female aspirants. Motherhood was both promoted and criticized as a qualification for leadership, reflecting societal ambivalence towards women balancing familial and political responsibilities. Gendered disinformation campaign in MRC was also based on the female aspirant's physical appearance. A woman's physical beauty was considered a key factor for political leadership. Measures of beauty were also provided by the netizens.

The overarching conclusion drawn from the discourse on MRC is that gendered disinformation portrayed no woman as suitable for political leadership. While unmarried women were deemed unfit for office, the suitability of married women was contingent upon the perceived character of their spouses. There was a general consensus that those perceived to be beautiful were fit for the political office. However, motherhood was simultaneously utilized to endorse and undermine female politicians, reinforcing traditional gender roles and limiting their participation in political leadership.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

To address gendered disinformation on social media, the study proposes sensitizing bloggers and Facebook administrators about the risks of harmful content. Governmental bodies, NGOs, civil society organizations, and organisations like the UNESCO-led Coalition on Freedom of Expression and Content Moderation could provide training to enhance content moderation so as to minimize the diverse harm. Additionally, there is a need for public awareness and capacity building in digital media literacy, which could be achieved through radio programs and social media campaigns. Gender training for bloggers and the public would enable better identification and counteraction of gendered disinformation. Further, Facebook administrators should prioritize the formulation and enforcement of community guidelines that uphold human dignity and prohibit gender-based harassment. Collaboration between academia and platforms like Meta could aid in developing culture-specific lexicons to identify gendered disinformation and harmful content on social media.

Areas for Further Study

The researcher suggests further investigation into the impact of gendered disinformation on female political

aspirants and the motivations behind these campaigns. In addition, understanding the consequences and drivers of gendered disinformation is crucial for developing effective strategies to combat its harmful effects

REFERENCES

1. Amnesty International (2020). TROLL PATROL INDIA Exposing Online Abuse Faced by Women Politicians in India. Available at: [https://decoders.blob.core.windows.net/troll-patrol-india-findings/Amnesty International India Troll Patrol India Findings 2020.pdf](https://decoders.blob.core.windows.net/troll-patrol-india-findings/Amnesty%20International%20India%20Troll%20Patrol%20India%20Findings%202020.pdf)
2. Blatnik, A. (2022) An Overlooked Threat to Democracy? Gendered Disinformation about Female Politicians: Women in International Security
3. BPF (2021) Gender and Digital Rights session at IGF 2021. Exploring the Concept of Gendered Disinformation. <https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/igf-2021-main-sessionbpf-gender-and-digital-rights>.
4. Bradshaw, S. (2018) The Gendered Dimensions of Foreign Influence Operations. Oxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford.
5. Bradshaw, S., & Howard, P. (2018) Industrialized Disinformation: Global Inventory of Organized Social Media Manipulation, University of Oxford and Oxford Internet Institute, 2020.; United Nations Human Rights Council.
6. Carne, C. (2021) The impact of disinformation on democratic processes and human rights in the world. European Parliament, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2021/653635/EXPO STU\(2021\)653635 EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2021/653635/EXPO_STU(2021)653635_EN.pdf).
7. Creswell, J. W. & Poth, C. N. (2018). Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. ISBN: 9781506330204.
8. The Constitution of Kenya (2010). Nairobi. Government Printers
9. Di Meco, L (2020) Online Threats to Women’s Political Participation and The Need for a Multi-Stakeholder, Cohesive Approach to Address Them, (Paper presented at the Sixty-Fifth Session of the Commission on the Status of Women, October 5-8, 2020), 4.
10. Di Meco, L. & Kristina, W. (2021) Gendered Disinformation is a national security problem,” Brookings (March 8,2021) <https://www.brookings.edu/techstream/gendered-disinformation-is-a-national-security-problem/>
11. Jankowicz, N., Hunchak, J., Pauline, A., Pierson, S., & Kaufmann, Z. (2021) “Malign Creativity: How Gender, Sex, and Lies Are Weaponized Against Women Online,” The Wilson Center, Jillian Hunchak, Alexandra Pavliuc January 25, 2021.
12. Judson, E. (2021) Gendered disinformation: 6 reasons why liberal democracies need to respond to this threat. Friedrich Boll Stiftung. 2021. Available at: [https://eu.boell.org/en/2021/07/09/gendered-disinformation-6-reasonswhy-liberal-democracies-need-respond-threat?utm_campaign=thinktech 6 &utm_medium=email &utm_source=RD+Station&dimension1=democracy# ftn1](https://eu.boell.org/en/2021/07/09/gendered-disinformation-6-reasonswhy-liberal-democracies-need-respond-threat?utm_campaign=thinktech6&utm_medium=email&utm_source=RD+Station&dimension1=democracy#ftn1)
13. KEWOPA (2023) Parliamentary Learning From Networks Across Commonwealth: Journal of Parliaments of Common Wealth. Volume 104. Issue 2. 2023
14. MacKay, A. (2022). ‘Social Media, Violence and Gender Norms: The Need for a New Digital Social Contract,’ ALIGN Platform, January 19, 2022. <https://www.alignplatform.org/resources/blog/social-media-violenceand-gender-norms-need-new-digital-social-contract>
15. Miles, M. B., Huberman, M., & Saldana, J. (2014). Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
16. Mocerri, A. (2021). Gendered Disinformation Campaigns, an Attack on Democracy. Insights IE University. <https://www.ie.edu/insights/articles/gendered-disinformation-campaigns-an-attack-on-democracy>; Council on Foreign Relations (2021). ‘Gendered disinformation, democracy, and the need for a new digital social contract.’ Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/gendered->

- disinformation-democracy-and-need-new-digital-socialcontract; Clugston, N. and Fraser, E. (2022). Ibid a
17. Plan International (2021). Free to be online? Girls' and young women's experiences of online harassment. Surrey, UK: Plan International. <https://plan-international.org/publications/free-to-be-online/>
 18. Posetti, J. & Ireton, C. (2018) Journalism, fake news & disinformation: handbook for journalism education and training. Paris. UNESCO https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/journalism_fake_news_disinformation_print_friendly_0.pdf
 19. Posetti, J., Shabbir, N., Maynard, D., Bontcheva, K., and Aboulez, N. (2021). The Chilling: Global Trends in Online Violence against Women Journalists; Research Discussion Paper, Paris: UNESCO. https://en.unesco.org/publications/the_chilling
 20. Sessa, M. G. (2020) Misogyny and Misinformation: An Analysis of Gendered Disinformation Tactics During The Covid 19 Pandemic. European Union, DisInfoLab <https://www.disinfo.eu/publications/misogyny-and-misinformation:-an-analysis-of-gendered-disinformation-tactics-during-the-covid-19-pandemic/>
 21. Staats, B. (2021). Misinformation, disinformation, malinformation: What's the difference. Erişim adresi: <https://minitex.umn.edu/news/elibrary-minnesota/2021-02/misinformation-disinformation-malinformation-whats-difference>.
 22. Strand, C. & Svensson, J. (2021) Disinformation campaigns about LGBTI+ people in the EU and foreign influence. Briefing Requested by the INGE committee. European Union
 23. Ugwu, C. N. & Eze, V. H. U. (2023). Qualitative Research. IDOSR Journal of Computer and Applied Sciences 8(1) 20-35.
 24. UN Human Rights Council (2018). Promotion and protection of all Human Rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development: resolution adopted by the human rights Council on 3 July 2018. A/HRC/RES/38 <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/LTD/G18/202/66/PDF/G1820266.pdf?OpenElement> A/HRC/RES/38
 25. Wardle, C. & Derakhshan, H. (2018). Information disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policy making. Council of Europe, Aug. 2018, 2nd revised edition. Available at: <https://rm.coe.int/information-disorder-report-versionaugust-2018/16808c9c77>.