

Politics of Exclusion: A Re-imagination of the Gender Question in Nigeria (1999-2023)

Abdul-Wasi Babatunde MOSHOOD, PhD

Department of Political Science,
Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos

Tel: 08028975557

Abdul-wasi.moshood@lasu.edu.ng
moshood_tunes@yahoo.com

Abstract

The study of gender in politics has traversed several important stages. Although it began with an emancipatory focus on the female gender (considered to be operating at the margins of the political space), the study of gender and politics has since been subdivided – ranging from empirical feminism, analytical feminism, and normative feminism. Nonetheless, the common denominator among them is the discussion and focus on the roles that women play in both local and international politics. In the pre-colonial Africa such as Nigeria and elsewhere, male and female have different but specific roles in the society: i.e. while men are considered as the breadwinner, women are said to be care-giver and home-maker. This is a position which has been questioned by the constructivist as socially constructed role. For the constructivists, there are no such roles that are gender specific, but are socially constructed. In light of these varying arguments, the paper asks the following questions: to what extent does the socially constructed thesis explain the reality of gender function? In what ways does the inclusion of female in politics represent the involvement of women generally? What does politics of inclusion mean for the true advancement of women in Nigeria? The paper through qualitative method including in-depth interview, focus group discussion, and review of secondary data, attempts to provide answers to the above questions.

Keywords: Gender, Politics of inclusion, Feminism, Constructivism,

Politics of exclusion

Introduction

Discussions on women inclusion in politics have been an age-long exercise. The understanding of politics as the authoritative allocation of values presupposes that those who are in the position of authority have the power to allocate resources with stamp of authority. Elsewhere, this author has argued that politics has various subtypes including inter-personal and intra-personal politics. The inter-personal politics also includes politics of the home front, which, according to this author, is the politics of moulding and building home including exerting influence on one spouse, who, peradventure may be involved in politics (Moshood, 2020). Ironically, this critical aspect of politics of the home front has been abandoned in contemporary time; emphasis has often been placed on external and societal politics at the state level. The state which is an agglomeration of various families and societies presupposes that, if the foundation is faulty, the impact will be felt at the larger societal level.

The questions which arise there from are that: who should be at the back end taking care of the home and imparting values into the future generation? Should such role be dedicated alone for women or it is a shared responsibility? There is no denying the fact that such role should be a shared responsibility. Confusion could set in among gender activists when the back-end role of taking care of the home is perceived as a relegation of women. Biologically speaking, women are seen to be tenderly, and more useful at providing care-giving role. Masculinity depicts the macho and protective nature of a man who ensures the protection of his wife, children and property. The

similitude of this is noticed among some animals such as lion, where in its territory, it dominates and ensures no intruder comes into its domain. This is not to underplay the involvement of women in societal politics. In fact, such inclusion will be useful just as women have always been very useful anywhere including their homes.

The questions seeking answers are that: at what point will it be suitable for a woman to get involved in external politics away from home? In what ways do the involvement of women different from their male counterpart in politics? The study employed qualitative methodology. In the course of the research, one focus group was conducted and seven people were interviewed, pseudo names were used to represent the respondents in the paper, the analysis was done thematically. The respondents were purposefully selected; the rationale for the interview was to afford the researcher an opportunity to extract direct information from women, men, gender scholars and philosophers on their views about women involvement in politics. The paper is divided into six subheads. It started with introduction, a discussion on politics of exclusion. This was followed by historical significance of feminism which detailed the historical development of feminist movement across the world. The social role theory which is the theoretical anchor of this paper is critically reviewed in the fourth section. Section five focuses on women and politics in Nigeria, the paper attempts to discuss what is meant by inclusive politics in Nigeria in the fifth section, while section six is the conclusion.

Politics of Exclusion

Politics of exclusion means to deliberately bar, prohibit, or create an encumbrance for a particular group of people from getting involved

in the governance and administration of a country. Governance as a term goes beyond government which simply talks about the people and structure of a state. Governance shapes how scientific and technological processes are directed, how environmental and health issues are defined and addressed, and how social consequences become distributed. They shape and are shaped by the interactions between people, technology, and environment, and how these dynamics unfold over time. They are central to addressing problems around water, health, or agriculture, and to the formulation and implementation of policy, plans, management, and regulation . The issue of governance is important to the point that every stratum of the society is affected by it. It therefore becomes so significant that every shade of opinion wants to be represented. The representation in governance has been an issue of contestation between gender overtime. Governance has been an endeavour that has been male dominated and excludes the female gender. The need to have women representation in governance has precipitated series of movement and struggle overtime.

The term gender and sex though are used interchangeably but they are different. The Canadian Institute of Health Research (2023) defines sex as a set of biological attributes in humans and animals. It is primarily associated with physical and physiological features including chromosomes, gene expression, hormone levels and function, and reproductive/sexual anatomy. Sex is usually categorized as female or male but there is variation in the biological attributes that comprise sex and how those attributes are expressed. Gender on the other hand refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, expressions and identities of girls, women, boys, men, and gender diverse people. It influences how people perceive

themselves and each other, how they act and interact, and the distribution of power and resources in society (CIHR, 2023:1).

Historically, the issue of gender equality is shrouded in feminist discourse; the movement which began in the 19th century to liberate women that are seen as the marginalized group in the society. Feminism is the belief in social, economic, and political equality of the sexes. Although largely originating in the West, feminism is manifested worldwide and is represented by various institutions committed to advancing the course of women's right and interests. Throughout most of Western history and elsewhere in Asia and Africa, women were confined to the domestic sphere, while public life was seen as the exclusive reserve for men. In the Middle Ages Europe for example, women were denied the right to own property, to study, or to participate in public life. At the end of the 19th century in France, they were still compelled to cover their heads in public, and, in parts of Germany, a husband still had the right to sell his wife. Even as late as the early 20th century, women could neither vote nor hold elective office in Europe and in most of the United States. Women were prevented from conducting business without a male representative as partner. Married women could not exercise control over their own children without the permission of their husbands.

Moreover, women had little or no access to education and were barred from most professions. Such restriction still exists till today in some parts of the world. It is important to note that culture, context, and religion have great impact on role placed on gender. These also explain the variation in gender discrimination across the world. This explains why gender discrimination in Europe, Asia and Africa are slightly different. What is common across climes is that female

Politics of Exclusion: A Re-imagination of the Gender Question in Nigeria (1999-2023)
gender is considered weak and not capable of being reposed with some responsibility and role in the society.

Thus, discussions on gender role have taken both contentious and reaffirming dimension. In recent times, A. Eagly and her colleagues have refined social role theory. Contemporary social role theory holds that social roles in society are the root of sex differences and similarities. Gender stereotypes and gender roles are key concepts in social role theory. Gender stereotypes or beliefs about women and men, play a role in perpetuating the division of social roles. Expectations about gender roles or the behaviours expected from women and men influence people to adhere to gender stereotypes (Eagly, 2012:466). Gender roles and gender stereotypes are learned and internalized through socialization. Social role theory posits that children learn gender roles and gender stereotypes because of correspondence bias. Accordingly, this describes people's inclination to form beliefs about certain dispositions based on behaviours that they observe (Eagly, 2012). The beliefs about gender formed through correspondence bias tend to assume that certain attributes and behaviours are rooted in social experiences and biology rather than being the product of societal pressures. They argue for example that if men are seen making decisions and acting in leadership positions, there is tendency for people to conclude that men are generally assertive and dominant.

The theorists propose that the division of labour is then maintained by people's behaviours, which gender roles and socialisation have shaped. They concluded that the roles designated to women and men are influenced by the physical differences between the sexes, which is seen in strength and reproductive capacity, as well as various

societal influences. While this is true to a large extent, it also precipitates some questions such as: is it safe to infer that the role initially assigned to both gender is *ab initio* conferred by natural differences? Can it also be said that deviation from this naturally assigned role seem to be what is sanctioned and frowned at by the society; what Eagly et al (2012) refer as correspondence bias. We can retort that will it be safe for human to work with their hands and sit with their head? If this is not natural, will it not be misleading to assume or confuse some natural role to a socially constructed role? The paper attempts to proffer answers to those questions and others which include: to what extent does the socially constructed thesis explain the reality of gender function in Nigeria? In what ways does the inclusion of female in politics represent the involvement of women generally? What does politics of inclusion mean for the true advancement of women generally and Nigeria in particular? In the next section, an overview of the history of feminism shall be embarked upon.

Brief History of feminism

Feminism is a movement advocating for women's social, legal, and economic rights equal to those of men. It appeared first in France in 1837 where socialist Charles Fourier used 'feminisme' to describe women's liberation in a utopian future. Feminism in the early part of 1900s was associated with women's suffrage, but later evolved to carry more meaning part of which is intersectional. Intersectional feminism for instance, draws attention to how women face different forms of discrimination based on factors, such as race, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation (Eagly et al, 2012).

The feminist movement is divided into various waves, the first wave

feminism dealt with property rights and the right to vote; second wave feminism focused on equality and anti-discrimination, and third wave which began in the 1990s came as a backlash to the second wave's which was privileging the white women against their counterpart. Beginning with the *Classic Republic*, Plato advocates in his book that women possess natural capacities equal to men for governing and defending ancient Greece. This was refuted at the earlier time. The Roman consul Marcus Porcius Cato once opined that, "As soon as women begin to be your equals, they will have become your superior". Despite the fear expressed by the consul, the Oppian Law which restricted women's access to gold and other goods was later repealed.

The call for gender equality came at a time there was also a call for the abolition of slavery. At the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, abolitionists like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott boldly proclaimed in the Declaration of Sentiments that, "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal." Controversially, the feminists demanded their sacred right to the elective franchise, that is, the right to vote. Many attendees thought voting rights for women were beyond the pale but were persuaded when Frederick Douglass argued that he could not accept the right to vote as a Black man if women could not also claim that right. When the resolution was passed, the women's suffrage movement began in earnest, and dominated feminist movement for decades.

Gradually, suffragettes started recording some successes. In 1893 for example, New Zealand became the first sovereign state giving women the right to vote, followed by Australia in 1902 and Finland in 1906. In a limited victory, the United Kingdom granted suffrage to

women over 30 in 1918. In the United States, women's participation in World War I proved to many that they were deserving of equal representation. In 1920, Susan B. Anthony and Carrie Chapman Catt were instrumental to the passage of 19th Amendment which allowed American women to vote. This debuts the transition to second wave of feminist movement.

The second wave which began around 1963 focused on dismissing the stereotype against women which restrict them to caretaking, care-giving, and housekeeping role. It began an advocacy championing the right of women to get involved in politics. Subsequently, western feminism achieved legislative milestones in reproductive rights, the right to equal pay, and education with men.

The view that women will be liberated once they have access to vote was strongly challenged by the radicals. Radical feminists challenged the single-minded focus on suffrage as the sine qua non of women's liberation. Emma Goldman, the nation's leading anarchist, derided the notion that the ballot could secure equality for women, this is against the backdrop that it did not achieve liberation for most America men. They argued that, Women would gain their freedom, "only by refusing the right to anyone over her body...by refusing to be a servant to God, the state, the husband, the family etc., by making her life simpler but deeper and richer" (Brunell, 2023:3). Similarly, Charlotte Perkins Gilman insists that women cannot be liberated until they were freed from the domestic mythology of home and family that kept them dependent on men. While this view seems somewhat extreme, as it advocated for a kind of women who will operate on her own outside of society, independent, and not dependent on anything even her family. This

may be difficult to achieve as no one can be an Island that requires no support, including men. The statement according to the radicals that if involvement of men in election or governance has not liberated men, that it doubtful it can liberate women is quite instructive and will be extensively discussed in the subsequent section in this paper.

While some successes have been achieved, cultural obstacles persist, Betty Friedan (1963 cited in Brunell, 2023) argued that women were still relegated to unfulfilling roles in homemaking and childcare. By this time, many people had started referring to feminism as women's liberation. This corroborated the position of Charlotte who insisted that the liberation of women will only be achieved if women are freed from domestic mythology (Charlotte cited in Editor 2023).

The Equal Rights Amendment, which sought legal equality for women and banned discrimination based on sex, was passed by Congress in 1972. One year later, feminists celebrated the decision of the Supreme Court on Roe V. Wade, the landmark ruling that guaranteed a woman's right to choose an abortion. Critics have argued that the benefits of the feminist movements, especially the second wave, are largely limited to white, college-educated women, and that feminism has failed to address the concerns of women of colour, lesbians, immigrants, and religious minorities. Even in the 19th century, Sojourner Truth lamented racial distinctions in women's status and called for an end to it.

By the 2010, feminists pointed to prominent cases of sexual assault and “rape culture” as emblematic of the work still to be done in combating misogyny and ensuring women have equal rights. The

investigation published by the New York time in October 2017 revealed allegations of sexual harassment made against influential film producer Harvey Weinstein. This emboldens more women to come out with similar allegations against other powerful men including President Donald Trump. This gave voice to women to speak against iniquity against them and serve as caution to other men involved in such abuse. It is important to note that the third wave is characterised by an increasing awareness of intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the 80's. It recognised the interwoven forms of discrimination of racism, classism, ableism and more, and criticised the second wave for primarily representing the demands of white, and middle-class women (Rampton, 2015:5). The third wave continues till the present time.

There have been attempts to create fourth and fifth wave, the important point to note is that there is increased awareness on discrimination against women, equal access in workplace and politics. It is also important to note that the right of inclusion for women is a global affair, because till date no woman has become the president of U.S. While it is arguable that remarkable success in terms of inclusion in politics, works, education and others have been achieved in Europe, and America, women inclusion are gradually improving in Asia, and Africa. Moreover, freedom for women in some instance could be context based. For example, a typical Arabian woman who uses head cover may not consider it as being a restriction on her right, while this was element of restriction in Europe in the mediaeval ages. The next section focuses on social role of gender and how this may impact on the inclusion of women in governance. The position that such role is socially constructed while still valid cannot also contradict the significance of natural features

Politics of Exclusion: A Re-imagination of the Gender Question in Nigeria (1999-2023)
which most times may determine how gender relates in the society. This forms the basis of discussion subsequently.

The Social Role Theory

The theory which came from developmental psychology assumes that most people's everyday actions are performances of predetermined roles established by society e.g., mother, manager, teacher. The Social role theory deals with how men and women interact in the society. The main thrust of the theory is that social roles determine men's and women's meeting points. It assumes that daily actions undertaken by different gender reinforce gender specialization. Eagly (2012) argues that in industrialized nations, women work with young people at home while men work in paid employment. The fact that men in industrialized society worked in paid economy logically predispose them to have more opportunity in terms of wealth than their women counterpart. Men are likely to work in professions which necessitate physical strength, assertiveness, and leadership. The rights, responsibilities, desires, guidelines, and behaviours that come with a role are all intertwined. The analysis works on the premise that human behaviour is consistent and dependent on its surroundings. Comparisons between theatre and role theory are common. The protagonists of the theory such as Eagly Alice, Wood Wendy, and Diekman Amanda in Social Role Theory of Sex Differences and Similarities: A Current Appraisal argue that the division of labour is based on the interaction between different specialised societal position. Accordingly, people in different societies are expected to act in conformity with the permissible in such communities. Failure to conform with role norm always come with a punitive measure.

Eagly argues that the differences which occur in behaviour of

women and men happens because of the contrasting distributions of men and women into social role. Comparing the experience of women in the United States and elsewhere, Shelton observed that women performed more domestic chores than men and spend fewer hours in paid employment. Rhoodie notes that in contemporary American society and other part of the globe, women have less power, status, and resources. This kind of structure according to Eagly, Wood, & Diekman is denoted as gender hierarchy or patriarchy. Consequently, this type of social organization the sexual division of labour and gender hierarchy is what they argued caused sex differentiated behaviour.

Eagly et al further noted that the differences that usually occur in social behaviour follow from the typical characteristics of roles commonly held by women versus men. Women and men adjust to sex-typical roles by acquiring the specific skills and resources linked to successful role performance and adapting their social role behaviour to role requirements. Women and men seek to accommodate the roles that are available to them in their society by acquiring role related skills. For instance, in the presence of homemaker-provider division of labour, women and girls learn domestic skills such as cooking and sewing, and men and boys learn skills that are marketable in the paid economy Eagly et al .

Stressing on the impact of such role, Eagly et al (2000) aver that the impacts of role on behaviour is mediated by psychological and social processes. Emphasizing the psycho-social process as one of the ways characters and sex typical roles are imbibed. Gender roles according to them are thus the shared expectations that apply to individuals based on their socially identified sex. They aver:

Women, more than men, occupy roles that require predominantly communal behaviour, domestic behaviour, or subordinate behaviour for successful role performance, such tendencies according to them become stereotypic of women and are incorporated into a female gender role (Eagly et al, 2000:129).

On the other hand, men more than women occupy roles that require predominantly agentic behaviours, resource acquisition behaviour, or dominant behaviours for successful role performance, such tendencies become stereotypic of men are incorporated into a male gender role. These gender role they surmise are important focus of socialisation, begin to be acquired early in childhood and are elaborated throughout childhood and adolescence (Eagly et al, 2000:129).

Eagly et al (2000) while stressing the socialization process that later define gender role also talk on the biological component of socialization process. They affirm that gender role induces sex differences behaviour in the absence of any intrinsic, inborn psychological difference between women and men. This later explanation is quite instructive as it will help to elucidate on the significant aspect of intrinsic psychological cum biological differences and how they condition roles differences in women and men. The history of women-men relations is wrought with series of imbalances shaped by the socially created role which occasioned several counter responses to advance removal of such roles that are negative. Such negative responses seem to have been over stretched to the point of blotting biologically differentiated peculiarities. The biological peculiarities of both female and male does not place advantage on one gender over the other yet have some limiting

impact on when and how women will be available for work and governance. This will form discussion in the remainder of this paper.

Women and Politics of inclusion in Nigeria

In the Nigerian context, Eastern women protest against the planned imposition of tax by the British colonial masters marked the beginning of women active participation in politics. Subsequently, women were very active in the pre-colonial, colonial, and the post-independence Nigeria politics . Afaha et al (2014) also report that women's revolt against the British in 1929 was not an isolated case. Women also fought injustice and the violation of their rights elsewhere in the country. In Abeokuta for example, women forced the Alake of Egbaland to abdicate the throne temporarily. In addition to nationalist struggle, women have also enjoined full political rights which resulted in the emergence of Wuraola Esan, Margret Ekpo and Janet Mokelu as legislators during the First Republic (Afaha et al, 2014). Despite this involvement at the early stage in Nigerian history, there is still groundswell of perspectives which hold that women have still not been properly included in politics in Nigeria, which has led to several advocacies aimed at ensuring proper inclusion of women.

In recent times, an overview of women's political participation in general elections from 1999 to 2019 shows representation of women is still a far cry. Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, Oyoro notes that Nigerian women have tried to run for elective positions at various levels to access positions of political decision-making, but their efforts have not been very successful based on the outcomes of elections held since 1999. Given that there are fewer women than men in positions of leadership and decision-making, women

continue to be disproportionately marginalized. For instance, in the political history of Nigeria, neither a female president nor vice president has ever been elected. Since the return to democracy from 1999 till date, there has not been any female president. Since democracy was restored in 1999, four men have occupied the job. In the history of Nigeria, a woman has never been elected governor. The first and only female governor in the country was Mrs. Virginia Etiaba, who took office as governor of Anambra State in 2006 after Peter Obi was removed from office. She only held the position for three months.

The National Assembly has also been dominated by men. Only three women were among the 109 senators in the Senate in 1999. That number increased to four by 2007, nine by 2011, seven by 2015, and seven by 2019 as well. In the House of Representatives in 1999, there were 12 women out of the 360 members, despite the fact that the house produced its first female speaker Patricia Etteh, yet women were still under represented. Twenty-three were added in 2003, then twenty-six in 2007, twenty-six in 2011, and eleven in 2019 (Ohaja et al., 2022). This uneven representation between women and men is crosscutting as what happens at the federal level replicate itself at the municipal level.

Yiaga, in her report titled, “2019 General Election”, informed that it was an election of numbers due to the abundance of registered voters and candidates in the election. Eighty-four million, four thousand and eighty-four (84,004 084) voters registered out of which thirty-nine million, five hundred and ninety-eight thousand, six hundred and forty-five (39, 598, 645) were women representing 47.14% female voters. Ibizugbe (2023) avers that Twenty-three thousand,

four hundred and forty-two (23,442) candidates contested in the elections. Only three thousand and thirty-two were women (3,032), representing 12.9% of the total number of candidates in the general elections.

Coming to 2023, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) released the list of candidates who contested the 2023 general elections, 1,101 candidates contested for 109 senatorial seats and 3,122 candidates for House of Representatives seats. Regarding gender distribution, 3,875 candidates were male, made up of 35 for Presidential and Vice Presidential, 1,008 for Senate, and 2,832 for House of Representatives. Similarly, 381 females, 1 for the Presidential, 92 for the Senate, and 288 for the House of Representatives contested. Out of the 1,101 candidates that vied for 109 Senatorial seats, 92 were women, representing 8.35%, while 288 women contested for House of Representatives out of the total 3,122 candidates. Out of the 18 political parties in the country, only the Allied People's Movement (APM) fielded a female presidential candidate (Ibizugbe 2023).

From the foregoing, there is no doubt that the socially constructed role plays a significant part in influencing the participation and inclusion of women in politics. On the one hand, some women perceive themselves as either too weak or not fit for elective office. Also, the cultural biases also impacted on women active participation in politics. This may explain why the number of women who participated in active politics is low in the north why significant number of such females turn out to vote even against women on the election date.

In an interview conducted by this researcher, one of the respondents why responding to women inclusion in governance said:

While I am not opposed to women participation in politics, yet I do not see any significant advantage that can bring to women because women and men when they are in politics are only there to implement government decision which may not be directly impactful on women (Personal Communication, July 2023).

Favour in her response said:

women should be given a full complement in governance, the only hiccups is that a woman has multiple roles of homemaking and getting paid employment which may impact on when she could actually become more active in politics (Personal Communication, July 2023).

While talking on the cultural differences and how that impact on women role in politics, one of the respondents informed that:

When I was a PhD student in New Zealand, it had a woman Prime Minister, this is possible there and elsewhere in the western world because they have gone pass the cultural cocoon which restrict women to some specific roles (Personal Communication, July 2023).

In his submission Tunji one of the respondents said:

One critical political role that women play that we often discountenance is politics of the home-front; although some people refer to it as home-making. To me, this is more critical a role in our hemisphere to the point that if a women fail to properly tutor and

nurture the future political leader male and female from home, the resultant effect will be devastating for any country (Personal Communication, July 2023).

This last submission is quite useful, Moshood argues that one of the reasons for societal decadence which has impacted on corrupt practice in the country is because of the failure of critical institution that is, the family where both parents especially mothers have little time for their children's training. These children are left in the hands of teachers, house help and sometimes to the street. The politics of inclusion accordingly should be refocused and more expansive. While women just like men should have access to governance, it has been argued in the paper that men inclusion in governance has not liberated men. Then it is doubtful if it will liberate women. Men and women while in governance only come together to implement government policy. In some instances, the benefits of office only liberate the immediate family of political office holders' men and women alike.

Women inclusion in politics is recently becoming a cliché and a strategy adopted by some women folk. The same way other groups such as youth, religious group and the like when seeking attention and opportunity in the society, the easiest way to achieve that is to advance and claim to have been excluded or marginalized. While this may be true in some instances, it is not always true in all situations. Politics of inclusion seems to also be a formula some people used to attract benefit to themselves. The paper further avers that women just like their male counterpart have several encumbrances. Restrictions and conditionality are placed on women

at every point of her steps. To get a job in a bank or elsewhere, she must not be married, if she eventually married, she must think twice before getting pregnancy. While rearing her child, her office does not have a creche where she can feed and interact with her child during office hour.

Putting all the challenges in mind, the paper argues that advocacy for women inclusion in governance should be extended to something more far reaching and more beneficial to substantial numbers of women which will not only address challenges of women in politics, but rather challenges being faced every day in getting a job and the encumbrances laid in the workplace. Women are often used as commodity that can easily be disposed and source of entertainment, this has exposed women to several abuses which politics of inclusion in this context must address. Politics has become a sort of a cult which does not discriminate between men and women as it has amply shown in recent times that both male and female only go into politics to represent self and bring opportunity only to their family. This is the reason the new advocacy for women should be geared towards removing all encumbrances that prevent a woman to achieve her essence of being in the society. The biological features in human have also placed some limiting roles on both sexes. It has also come as means of balancing in the society, because when role is stated unambiguously, it reduces recourse to confusion. This is while some roles that are socially learned overtime in a particular society cannot be totally devoid from the biologically assigned features of both sexes.

Conclusion

The creation of nature properly assigning roles that is called

organization is to enhance harmonious relations on the planet. The rise and setting of sun are part of the structure of organisation of nature. That everything is perfectly put in place is not a coincidence, but to ensure a friction free planet earth. The creativity of human beings has gotten to the point where the world is recreated, the parity or binarity nature of the universe is assuming non- binarity and transgenderism posture. Procreation is challenged as the right of claim to homosexuality has tended to blur conjugal relationship. If biologically, carrying pregnancy and giving birth make woman a caring being, to deny the protectability of men will also be tantamount to blotting the fact that the ideal place for eating is the mouth. The paper while agreeing with the fact that all human beings are created equal and that access to education, governance and societal opportunity should not be determined by gender. It equally affirms that the creation of nature has naturally apportioned some roles to each gender. Conformity to such role without prejudice and undue stereotype is what has helped to maintain and sustain the sanity of the world.

The paper concludes that socially constructed roles exist alongside naturally created role. To blur this will be misleading. If all roles are socially constructed, what then would be the status of complexity of roles human has created? Such as the disaggregation of conjugal affairs to homosexuality and transgenderism which aims and purposes repudiate nature and social existence. An attempt to advance gender equality to position of gender equalisation which assumes men and women are utterly the same in terms of features, roles, and existence is not helpful. To claim that the biologically imposed differences in gender as inequality among gender is also misleading and does not present true picture of the natural cum

Politics of Exclusion: A Re-imagination of the Gender Question in Nigeria (1999-2023)
biological configuration of men and women in the world.

References

Afaha, P., & Moshhood, B. (2014), "From Docility to Power: A History of Women Political Participation>" *SAPHA: A Journal of Historical Study*, 91-106.

Brunell, L. (2023, June 26), "Feminism", *Sociology*, pp. 1-21.

Eagly, A., Wood, W., & Diekman, A. (2000), Social Role Theory of Sex Differences and Similarities: A Current Appraisal . In T. E. Trautner, *The Development of Social Psychology of Gender* (pp. 123-174). Lawrence Erlbaum: Associates Publishers.

Eagly, A. (1997), "Sex Differences in Social Behaviour: Comparing Social Role Theory and Evolutionary Psychology". *American Psychology*, 1380-1383.

Eagly, A. a. (2012), "Social Role Theory. In A. K. P. Van Lange", *Handbook on Theories in Social Psychology* (pp. 458-476). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Editor, H. (2023, July 4), *Feminism*. Retrieved from History: <https://www.history.com/topics/womens-history/feminism-womens-history>

Ibuzugbe, O. (2023, July 15), Women in Nigeria's 2023 Election Series: The Case for Representation in Governance. *CJID*, pp. 1-7.

Kumar, M. (2022, 12 28), *Tutorial Point*. Retrieved from Social Psychology: https://www.tutorialspoint.com/social-role-theory-meaning_and_characteristics#:~:text=Psychology,Social%20Psychology,people%20at%20home%20and%20work.

Leach, M. B. (2007), *Understanding Governance: Pathways to Sustainability*. Brighton: STEPS Centre.

Moshhood, B. (2020), "Ethics, Accountability, and the Fight Against Corruption in Nigeria: The Quest or an Antidote." *LASU Journal of Philosophy*, 115-132.

Ohaja, E., Nwogbo, V., Akata, U., & Caius, P. (2022), "Mass Media Mobilisation and Representation of Women in Nigerian Politics from 1999 to 2019: Implication for 2023 General Election." *Journal*

of Education, Sciences, and Gender Studies (SFJESGS), 123-137.

Oyoru, R. (2023), "Women Participation in Nigerian Politics: Challenges and Prospects for Nigerian Democracy." *International Journal of Humanity Studies*, 301-314.

R., C. I. (2023, May 08), What is Gender? What is Sex? *Gender and Health*, pp. 1-10.

Rhoodie, E. (1989), *Discrimination Against Women: A Global Survey of the Economic Education, Social and Political Status of Women*. McFarland: Jefferson, N.C.

Shelton, B. (1992). *Women, Men and Time: Gender differences in paid work, housework, and leisure*. Greenwood: Westpoint, C.T.