

Gender and the public realm in Nigeria: Hannah Arendt's perspective

Abigail Olubukola Irele, PhD

Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology, Lead City University, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Email: irele.bukola@lcu.edu.ng; bukkyirele2006@gmail.com; Tel: +2348093324084.

Copyright © 2024 Irele. This article remains permanently open access under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Received 15th May 2024; Accepted 20th June 2024

ABSTRACT: Hannah Arendt, renowned for her insights into political philosophy, particularly in "The Human Condition" and "On Revolution", delineates the dichotomy between the public and private realms. In her analysis, the public sphere represents a space of political agency and rational discourse, crucial for the realization of human freedom and equality. Conversely, the private realm, characterized by necessity and domesticity, traditionally excludes women from active participation in public affairs. This study explores Arendt's theories to analyze gender exclusion in Nigeria's public realm. Historically, Nigerian women have faced systemic marginalization, confined to the private sphere, hindering their political participation. This research aims to evaluate women's representation in Nigerian politics, the impact of colonial and post-colonial policies, and the role of patriarchal structures. Integrating Arendt's framework with gender theory and social exclusion, the study underscores the need for constitutional amendments and cultural shifts to enhance women's political agency. This research proposes multifaceted solutions. These include legislative reforms to promote gender equality, educational initiatives to empower women politically, and cultural shifts to challenge stereotypes and biases against women in leadership roles. Such interventions are crucial for dismantling existing barriers and fostering a more inclusive public sphere where women's voices are heard and their contributions are valued. This research uniquely applies Arendt's political theory to the contemporary issue of gender exclusion in Nigerian politics, providing a comprehensive analysis that links historical, cultural, and structural factors. It offers actionable recommendations to improve women's political representation and participation, fostering women's education, political advocacy, and cultural change to achieve a more egalitarian society.

Keywords: Freedom, necessity, private realm, publicness, social media, women participation.

INTRODUCTION

Hannah Arendt, acclaimed as one of the foremost political philosophers of the 20th century, is deeply rooted in classical political theory, with her seminal work, "The Human Condition", standing as her magnum opus. Across this text and "On Revolution", Arendt delves into the dichotomy between the public and private realms. According to Arendt, the private realm is founded on the equality of peers, serving as a common site for all citizens where political matters are deliberated through rational discourse. Here, dialogical communication, akin to Bakhtinian principles, takes centre stage, with speech

becoming the focal point of interaction among citizens (Arendt, 1958; Lederman, 2019; Biro, 2020). On the other hand, the public realm bestows upon individuals a sense of liberty and freedom, where freedom of speech is intrinsic to human existence. This realm is characterized by publicity, where everything is witnessed and heard by all, affirming the reality of the world and self (Arendt, 1958; Engel, 2022). Arendt underscores the vital role of the public realm in fostering communal gatherings and averting societal chaos, thereby enabling citizens' agency to thrive. She further asserts that the public realm relies on

the diverse perspectives of its participants, leading to the creation of multifaceted narratives.

Arendt asserts that the foundation of the public realm lies in individuals exercising their agency through speech, on equal terms with others, shaping their personal identity profoundly. This occurs in two significant ways: firstly, their private self-conception is largely influenced by their roles in the public sphere (Arendt, 1958; 1921). Moreover, their personal identity is deeply intertwined with the training and socialization received within this realm. Essentially, participation in the public sphere imbues individuals with political virtues, shaping them into genuine persons (Benhabib, 1993; Dumitracu, 2020; Kruglanski *et al.*, 2022). Secondly, recognition becomes crucial in public discourse, where individuals experience both positive and negative freedoms, contributing to shaping the common social world. Arendt (1958) emphasizes that the authoritative agent is not external to individuals, as they actively participate in shaping it through participatory democracy. Consequently, society becomes the paramount goal and meaning of each citizen's life. Arendt (*ibid*) argues further that the collapse of the classical public realm stemmed from the ascendancy of the "social" during modernity, marking a significant shift in ideological paradigms.

Essentially, the dominance of economic production and industrialization transformed the social realm into the primary activity within society. Arendt (*ibid*) further observes that the bureaucratic apparatus, highlighted by Weber as the essence of modern life, contributed to the decline of the public realm. Arendt (1958) has put this poignantly:

Since the rise of the society,... an irresistible tendency to grow, to devour the older realm of the political... has been one of the outstanding characteristics of the new social.

And in another passage, she notes that...

the social which is typical of the modern age has been a phenomenon which introduced the utter extinction of the public realm, the total subversion of this sphere by the social (*ibid*).

Arendt (*ibid*) highlights that the rise of the social realm led to the erosion of dialogical communication, a characteristic not found in the classical public realm. Unlike the public realm, the social realm promotes conformity, stifling individuality. A notable aspect of the social realm is its malevolent influence, which results in societal amnesia and undermines both positive and negative freedoms, ultimately limiting society's perspectives. Monological communication becomes prevalent, further exacerbating the societal malaise. Arendt views the social realm as a

destructive force that deprives society of positive ideals and fosters a lack of engagement. Conversely, Arendt regards the private realm as a space that negates citizens' agency, preventing them from experiencing both positive and negative freedoms and consequently inhibiting their participation in societal affairs.

In Arendt's (*ibid*) classical usage of the term, she criticizes the private realm as emblematic of a societal condition where certain members lack full autonomy as autonomous agents. Here, she juxtaposes the private sphere with the public sphere, wherein the private sphere equates to the household, governed by necessity and driven by wants and needs, essentially constituting a life itself. She emphasizes that the private sphere is primarily characterized by the predominance of life's necessities, devoid of economic production, focusing instead on bodily functions and the perpetuation of the species (Benhabib, 1993; Mezzadri, 2021; Khurana, 2022). Drawing heavily from Hegel, she underscores that human needs in the private sphere are fundamentally rooted in satisfying bodily nourishment (Fracchia, 2021; Zittoun, 2022). Moreover, she contends that the private sphere remains concealed from public view, existing away from public scrutiny.

According to Arendt, the private realm held no political significance in ancient Greece, where women were excluded from participating in the *Agora* due to the prevailing patriarchal hegemony. This exclusion was also evident in Roman society, where women were similarly barred from political engagement. In patriarchal societies, characterized by male dominance over the economic, social, and political order, women are marginalized in political participation. This gendered dynamic persists in many cultures worldwide, including most African societies, leading to the sidelining of women in political activities.

Arendt views the private realm as a space governed by necessity and biological needs, in contrast to the public realm of political freedom. Nigerian women, largely relegated to the private sphere, face a double burden: they must manage the necessities of the household while being excluded from the political freedoms of the public sphere (Iloka, 2021). This division reinforces gender hierarchies and limits women's participation in shaping the political and social landscape of the nation.

Arendt's analysis of the rise of the social realm, which she sees as eroding the public realm, provides a lens to understand contemporary Nigerian society. The dominance of economic production and bureaucratic structures often marginalizes women further, as these structures are typically male-dominated and less accessible to women. This transformation reduces the opportunities for women to engage in dialogical communication and participate in the political life of the community (Chahinez, 2020).

To address the theoretical problem of gender exclusion in Nigeria's public realm through Arendt's perspective, the

following steps could be considered: A reimagining of the public realm that actively includes women's voices and experiences is crucial, providing women with access to education and political advocacy training can help shift their roles from the private to the public sphere, promoting cultural change that values women's contributions in both the public and private realms can challenge and transform existing gender norms.

Research objectives

1. Evaluate the representation and participation of women in Nigerian politics.
2. Explore the role of colonial and post-colonial policies in gender exclusion.
3. Assess the impact of patriarchal structures on women's participation in politics.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework is rooted in gender theory (Smith, 1980) and the social exclusion (Bothamley, 2002). Gender, as defined in this context, encompasses socially constructed characteristics and practices associated with masculinity and femininity. It differs from sex, which pertains to the biological nature of individuals categorized as male or female. While sex is biologically determined and often considered natural, gender is understood by feminists as culturally shaped. Recent perspectives argue that gender constructs anatomical sex, (Burgess *et al.* 2019; Lau *et al.* 2020), suggesting that what is perceived as natural is, in fact, a social construct. Gender, therefore, reflects culturally shaped attitudes that assign individuals to specific sexes. This challenges the notion of biology as an immutable category and emphasizes its socially constructed nature (Shifrer and Frederick, 2019; Mavin and Yusupova, 2021). Implicit in gender dynamics is the idea of inequality, particularly in male-dominated societies where females are often suppressed or subjugated. Power structures in patriarchal societies are skewed in favour of males, leading to gender inequality and a lack of egalitarianism.

Arendt conceptualizes the public realm as the space where individuals engage in collective action and discourse, a realm of visibility, where people come together to discuss, debate, and make decisions that affect the community. The private realm, on the other hand, is associated with household and family life, where activities are centred around the necessities of life and personal relationships. The public realm is inherently political, and characterized by freedom and equality, while the private realm is seen as apolitical and unequal, bound by necessity and survival (Obaoye and Wenli, 2022).

In Nigeria, as in many patriarchal societies, the public

realm has traditionally been dominated by males, with women largely confined to the private realm. This division reinforces gender inequality, as men have greater access to power and decision-making processes, while women's contributions are often undervalued and invisible. This segregation perpetuates a gendered power structure that marginalizes women and limits their participation in public life.

Gender is understood by feminists as a socially constructed phenomenon. This aligns with Arendt's ideas about the public and private realms, as the relegation of women to the private sphere is not a natural or inevitable consequence of biology but rather a product of cultural and societal norms. The perception of certain roles and spaces as inherently masculine or feminine is constructed through social practices and reinforced by power structures.

In Nigeria, feminist movements and gender advocates are increasingly challenging these traditional gender constructs. By advocating for greater female representation in politics, business, and other public spheres, they are working to dismantle the barriers that keep women confined to the private realm. This challenge to the status quo is a direct engagement with the public realm, as women assert their right to be visible, to participate, and to influence the direction of their communities and nation.

Arendt's emphasis on action as a means of actualizing freedom and equality in the public realm underscores the importance of women's active participation in public life. For gender equality to be achieved in Nigeria, it is crucial that women are not only present in the public realm but also empowered to act and make decisions. This involves both institutional changes, such as policies that promote gender equality, and cultural shifts that value and support women's public engagement.

By linking Arendt's concepts of the public and private realms with the gender dynamics in Nigeria, it becomes clear that achieving gender equality requires more than just policy changes. It necessitates a profound transformation in the way gender is socially constructed and understood. Recognizing the socially constructed nature of both gender and the division between the public and private realms allows for a critical examination of the power structures that sustain gender inequality. Through collective action and sustained advocacy, Nigerian women can challenge these constructs, redefine their roles in society, and move towards a more egalitarian public realm.

The theory of social exclusion posits that within a society, certain dominant groups wield hegemonic power, enabling them to exclude other groups from accessing resources or participating fully in social life. This exclusion occurs due to the unequal distribution of power, with dominant groups maintaining control over scarce resources or opportunities. Consequently, marginalized groups are often excluded from societal structures and processes, perpetuating inequalities and hindering their

ability to compete on an equal footing. Integrating the theory of social exclusion with Hannah Arendt's perspective on the public and private realms offers a comprehensive framework for understanding and addressing gender inequality in Nigeria. Social exclusion explains how women are marginalized, while Arendt's concepts provide a pathway for reclaiming the public realm. Achieving gender equality requires dismantling barriers to women's full participation in public life, fostering collective action, and promoting policies and cultural changes that support gender inclusivity. Through these efforts, a more egalitarian society can be realized, where both men and women can equally contribute to and benefit from the public realm.

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

One interpretation of Hannah Arendt's work suggests that it centres on women as the subjects of the private sphere, where their agency is wholly negated (Benhabib, 1993). Particularly in patriarchal or gendered societies, women are often represented in a negative light. Culturally shaped perceptions depict women as irrational beings driven solely by emotion, deeming them unfit for participation in public activities. These representations are not mere reflections of reality but serve to normalize certain worldviews or ideologies, contributing to the hegemonic reinforcement of social relations within a given society (Zompetti, 2019; Krzyżanowski, 2020). Representations also entail socially constructed attitudes held by one group toward another, often leading to biased depictions. Within Arendt's concept of the private sphere, women are predominantly represented as lacking rational autonomy, thus excluded from participation in the political affairs of the *Polis* (Benhabib, 1997).

If we extend the interpretation of Arendt's position to its logical conclusion, the ideological apparatus of men within the political sphere tends to be inherently biased against women. Men often perceive women as the "Other," relegating them to the private sphere without granting them participation in the *Agora* or *Polis* (Ipadeola, 2023). This exclusionary attitude perpetuates gender inequality and reinforces the marginalization of women within political structures.

ANDROCENTRISM AND THE SUBJUGATION OF WOMEN IN THE NIGERIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The preceding discussion extends to the Nigerian political landscape, where women's participation is often minimal or non-existent. Throughout Nigeria's history, spanning the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods, women have frequently been marginalized from actively engaging in societal affairs or the political order due to prevailing

worldviews that do not prioritize women's visibility. Even in the pre-colonial era, despite the presence of powerful and wealthy women like *Iyalode Efunsetan* of Ibadan, patriarchal norms stifled their influence. The institution of *Iyalode* within *Yoruba* traditional systems symbolized power and prestige for some women, positioning them within traditional governing councils. However, their authority was often limited, reflecting the patriarchal nature of *Yoruba* societies. Women, like *Iyalode Efunsetan*, faced constraints in wielding significant power despite their status, highlighting the gendered dynamics that excluded women from political structures. This illustrates a broader pattern where women are relegated to the sidelines, merely to be seen but not heard, within *Yoruba* society and beyond (Awe, 1992; 2005; Irele, 2010; Irele, 2022; Muraina and Ajímátanraeje, 2022; Cariño and González, 2022; Oladejo, 2023).

The historical trajectory of *Iyalode Efunsetan* of Ibadan reflects a tragic narrative. Despite being the second *Iyalode* of Ibadan, her origins from *Egba* and *Ife* did not shield her from the challenges imposed by patriarchal norms. As an immensely wealthy and influential businesswoman, she commanded both slaves and soldiers and played a significant role in Ibadan's conflicts with neighbouring communities like *Egba* and the *Ijesas* (Adeduntan, 2020; Ukpokolo, 2020). Her extensive trade ventures expanded her wealth and power, allowing her to traverse various *Yoruba* towns and hinterlands. However, her visibility and success attracted envy, particularly from men like *AreLatoosa*.

This envy ultimately led to her downfall. *Are Latoosa* orchestrated her deposition as *Iyalode* of Ibadan on unfounded accusations of cruelty to slaves and insubordination to the Ibadan state. Despite her refusal to leave Ibadan, she was eventually murdered by some of her own slaves. *Iyalode Efunsetan's* case underscores the patriarchal nature of traditional *Yoruba* societies, which restricted women's visibility and participation in political systems. According to Arendt's perspective, women were confined to the private sphere, associated with reproductive functions, and deemed unworthy of participating in the public sphere of the *Agora* or *Polis*, both in Greek and Roman societies, and potentially extending to modern political systems like pre-colonial Nigeria, as exemplified in *Iyalode Efunsetan's* saga.

During the colonial period, women in Nigeria faced heightened subjugation within the political system due to colonial policies that favoured men. Colonialist policies were largely detrimental to women's rights, evidenced by protests against taxes levied specifically on women. This era saw a stark elevation of men to positions of authority within traditional councils, exacerbating social inequalities between genders (Ipadeola, 2023). Women were largely confined to the private sphere, as defined by Arendt, due to the patriarchal nature encouraged by colonialism, relegating them to domestic roles and marginalizing their

political agency (Irele, 2022). In the public realm, women were rendered subaltern, echoing Spivak's concept of the politically silenced subordinate whose voice goes unheard (Spivak, 1999). Post-colonial Nigeria continued to perpetuate these gendered dynamics, with women being domesticated and confined to the private sphere by the androcentric nature of Nigerian culture. Despite a significant female population, women's political participation and representation remained disproportionately low, reflecting the marginalization perpetuated by Nigeria's sexist political culture and patriarchal structures.

The public sphere in Nigeria has witnessed a notable absence of significant representation and participation by women in the political process. During the thirty-two years of military rule, women were notably absent from positions of power, with no female military governors or members in key military councils. Even with the transition to democracy, women's involvement in the public sphere did not see substantial improvement. While some women ran for elected positions, the majority faced challenges in winning, and those who did succeed, such as becoming speakers, often faced subsequent removal from office. This persistent lack of female representation underscores the ongoing barriers and challenges faced by women in accessing and maintaining political power in Nigeria.

During the 1999 general elections in Nigeria as Agina-Ude (2003) put it:

women constituted about 27 million out of the 47 million eligible registered voters but only 1.6% of them won elections. Women membership of political parties ... in 1999 was 5%, female party executives were 7% and women who qualifies as delegates stood at 8%..... Out of the 49 Ministers and Presidential Advisers... only 6 were women; only 4 of 52 ambassadors were women

Women were not given posts or represented in boards and parastatals which were important for the implementation of government policies. In the 1999 – 2003:

Of the 130 federal boards, only 7 are chaired by women, representing 5.6 per cent. If the 30 per cent earlier promised women [in ruling People's Democratic Party manifesto] were to be upheld, women would chair 39 of Boards out of the 130 so far announced ...out of the 833 appointed members so far...women representing 10.3 per cent (Simbine, 2002; Alubo, 2011).

Since the 1999 elections, there has been little improvement in the representation of women in Nigerian politics, with women remaining grossly underrepresented

in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. This trend is mirrored in the State Houses of Assembly and local councils across the country, where women continue to be marginalized politically and lack visibility in the public realm. The ideologies of political parties, spanning from the first republic to the present democratic dispensation, have shown little interest in promoting women's participation and representation in the political system. Manifestoes of political parties have historically neglected to address the issue of gender equality in political spheres, further perpetuating the marginalization of women in Nigerian politics.

In 2022, civil society groups in Nigeria presented five crucial gender bills aimed at addressing systemic gender inequality and enhancing women's participation in the public realm. These legislative proposals intersect with Hannah Arendt's perspective on gender and the public realm, particularly in how they seek to challenge patriarchal structures and expand women's political agency (Obi and Okoye, 2023). Here's how each bill could be linked to Arendt's ideas:

Gender Equality Bill: This bill proposes legal frameworks to ensure equal rights and opportunities for men and women in all spheres of life, including politics. Arendt's perspective emphasizes the public realm as a space where individuals engage in collective action and discourse, essential for realizing freedom and equality. The Gender Equality Bill aligns with this by advocating for women's visibility and active participation in shaping societal and political decisions.

Violence Against Persons Prohibition (VAPP) Bill: Aimed at addressing various forms of violence against women, this bill seeks to protect women's rights and ensure their safety in public spaces. Arendt's analysis underscores the importance of the public realm as a space where individuals should feel secure to engage in political activities without fear of violence or intimidation.

Affirmative Action Bill: This bill proposes measures to increase the representation of women in political appointments and elective positions. Arendt's perspective critiques the exclusion of women from the public realm, advocating for inclusive spaces where diverse perspectives can shape political discourse and decision-making. The Affirmative Action Bill directly addresses this by promoting women's access to and influence within the public sphere.

Child Rights Act Implementation Bill: While primarily focused on children's rights, this bill also includes provisions to protect girls from harmful practices and ensure their access to education, which are foundational for their future participation in public life. Arendt's perspective on the public realm emphasizes the role of

education in cultivating political virtues and preparing individuals, including girls, for active citizenship.

Equal Pay Bill: This bill seeks to address wage disparities based on gender, aiming to ensure fair and equitable remuneration for work of equal value. Arendt's analysis critiques societal norms that undermine women's economic contributions, which are essential for their full participation in the public sphere. The Equal Pay Bill aligns with this perspective by advocating for economic justice as a precondition for gender equality in both private and public realms.

In linking these gender bills with Hannah Arendt's perspective, it becomes evident that legislative reforms are crucial for challenging existing patriarchal norms and expanding women's roles within Nigeria's public realm. By addressing systemic barriers and promoting inclusive policies, these bills aim to create a more equitable and participatory political environment, reflecting Arendt's vision of the public realm as a space where individuals can exercise their agency and contribute to collective decision-making processes.

The rejection by the Nigeria National Assembly of the five crucial gender equality bills has reignited discussions on the systemic oppression faced by women in Nigeria and the urgent need to confront patriarchal biases entrenched in our democratic system. The bills, which aimed to amend the Constitution to enhance women's representation and rights, were met with widespread criticism and disappointment from various sectors of society, including civil society groups and concerned citizens. This rejection underscores persistent challenges in advancing gender equality and addressing deep-seated gender biases within Nigeria's legislative framework.

The rejection of these bills, including proposals for special seats for women in the National and State Assemblies, affirmative action in political party administration, and quotas for women in executive councils, reflects a missed opportunity for the National Assembly to demonstrate commitment to gender equality and inclusive governance. Notably, the decision has been particularly scrutinized for disregarding constitutional provisions on non-discrimination (Section 42 of the 1999 Constitution as amended), international human rights standards (such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights), and global conventions (like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women - CEDAW).

The rejection has drawn parallels with Hannah Arendt's critique of patriarchal norms that exclude women from the public realm, limiting their participation and perpetuating societal inequalities. Arendt's perspective underscores the importance of challenging such exclusions to create a truly democratic and inclusive public sphere where all citizens can participate equally in political life. The bills' rejection

highlights ongoing systemic barriers that prevent women from fully exercising their rights and participating meaningfully in decision-making processes.

Furthermore, the backlash and protests following the rejection highlight a growing societal demand for legislative reforms that address gender disparities and promote women's rights. The Deputy Minority Whip's disappointment and active involvement in sponsoring these bills reflect recognition within the legislature itself of the urgency to reform laws that perpetuate gender inequality.

In essence, the rejection of these gender equality bills by the Nigerian National Assembly underscores the need for continuous advocacy, legal reforms, and societal pressure to challenge patriarchal structures and advance gender equality in Nigeria's public and political spheres. It calls for a renewed commitment to ensuring that legislative actions align with constitutional principles of equality and human rights, echoing Arendt's call for a public realm where gender biases are actively dismantled, and women's voices are fully heard and respected.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The discussion highlights the gendered nature of Nigeria's public sphere, where women are notably absent. Rendered "homeless" in this sphere, women are relegated to the private realm, which Arendt characterizes as negative due to its exclusion from essential worldly activity. Arendt argues that true humanity is realized through participation in the public sphere, where freedom is actualized. The marginalization of women denies them recognition, underscoring the need for constitutional amendments to ensure their active political participation and representation.

Such amendments would challenge the patriarchal political system, enabling women to transition from the private to the public sphere. This requires a counter-discursive strategy, similar to Fraser's "counter public discourse," to challenge patriarchal ideologies and dismantle power structures that inhibit women's participation in 1989. By launching this counter discourse, women can assert their place in the public realm, transforming Nigeria's political landscape.

Scholars like Bolanle Awe have been pivotal in amplifying women's voices, paving the way for greater gender equality in politics.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author declares no conflict of interest.

REFERENCES

Adeduntan, A. (2020). Praise, anti-praise and the limits of

- memory: Critical reflections on Toyin Falola's Adulation¹. *Oye: Journal of Language, Literature and Popular Culture*, 2(1), 21-35.
- Agina-Ude, I. (2003). Strategies for expanding female participation in 2003 election and beyond. *The Nigerian Social Scientist*, 6(11), 3-7.
- Alubo, O. (2011). The public space in Nigeria: Politics of power, gender and exclusion. *Africa Development*, 36(1), 75-96.
- Arendt, H. (1921). The public realm: The common. In *Public Space Reader* (pp. 20-25). Routledge.
- Arendt, H. (1958). *Human condition*. University of Chicago Press.
- Awe, B. (1992). Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura. In: *Nigerian women: A historical perspective*. Ibadan: Bookcraft.
- Awe, B. (2005). The Iyalode in the traditional Yoruba political system. In: Cornwell, A. (ed.). *Readings in gender in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Benhabib, S. (1993). Feminist theory and Hannah Arendt's concept of public space. *History of the Human Sciences*, 6(2), 97-114.
- Benhabib, S. (1997). The embattled public sphere: Hannah Arendt, Juergen Habermas and beyond. *Theoria*, 44(90), 1-24.
- Bíró, N. (2020). Feminist interpretations of action and the public in Hannah Arendt's theory. *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai-Philosophia*, 65(Sp. Issue), 87-103.
- Bothamley, J. (2002). *Dictionary of theories*. New York: Barnes and Noble Books.
- Burgess, C., Kauth, M. R., Klemt, C., Shanawani, H., & Shipherd, J. C. (2019). Evolving sex and gender in electronic health records. *Federal Practitioner*, 36(6), 271- 277.
- Cariño, C., & González, A. M. (2022). Coloniality of power and coloniality of gender: Sentipensar the struggles of Indigenous women in Abya Yala from worlds in relation. *Hypatia*, 37(3), 544-558.
- Chahinez, B. S. (2020). *The impact of women in the Nigerian development during the twentieth century (In the post-independence Era)*. Doctoral dissertation, Ministry of Higher Education.
- Dumitraşcu, F. (2020). The Role and the Function of the Name in Defining the Personal Identity and Social Identity of the Individual Convergences in Modern Research. *Revista Universitară de Sociologie*, 16(2), 200-211.
- Engel, P. (2022). A Knowledge-Based Conception of Academic Freedom. In *Academic Freedom in the European Context: Legal, Philosophical and Institutional Perspectives* (pp. 75-93). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Fracchia, J. (2021). The Body Is Not a Tabula Rasa: Clearing a Path toward a 'Hidden Bodily Problematic'. In *Bodies and Artefacts: Historical Materialism as Corporeal Semiotics* (2 vols.) (pp. 216-267). Brill.
- Fraser, N. (1989). *Unruly practices: Power, discourse and gender in contemporary social theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Iloka, C. P. (2021). Hurdles to Women Political Participation and Advancement in Nigeria: The Legal Leeway. *Law and Justice Review*, 2, 17.
- Ipadeola, A. P. (2023). *Feminist African philosophy: Women and the politics of difference*. London: Routledge.
- Irele, A. O. (2022). The voicelessness of the subaltern in the era of COVID 19: The absence of women's voice about COVID-19 in Nigeria. *Texila International Journal of Public Health*, 10(Special Edition), 1-7.
- Irele, B., & Irele, D. (2010). When words come from divination: Ifa and the image of women. *LWATI: A Journal of Contemporary Research*, 7(3), 300-309.
- Khurana, T. (2022). Genus-Being: On Marx's dialectical naturalism. In: *Nature and naturalism in classical German philosophy*. London: Routledge.
- Kruglanski, A. W., Molinario, E., Jasko, K., Webber, D., Leander, N. P., & Pierro, A. (2022). Significance-quest theory. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 17(4), 1050-1071.
- Krzyżanowski, M. (2020). Normalization and the discursive construction of "new" norms and "new" normality: Discourse in the paradoxes of populism and neoliberalism. *Social Semiotics*, 30(4), 431-448.
- Lau, F., Antonio, M., Davison, K., Queen, R., & Devor, A. (2020). A rapid review of gender, sex, and sexual orientation documentation in electronic health records. *Journal of the American Medical Informatics Association*, 27(11), 1774-1783.
- Lederman, S. (2019). *Hannah Arendt and participatory democracy: A people's Utopia*. Springer.
- Mavin, S., & Yusupova, M. (2021). Competition and gender: Time's up on essentialist knowledge production. *Management Learning*, 52(1), 86-108.
- Mezzadri, A. (2021). A value theory of inclusion: Informal labour, the homeworker, and the social reproduction of value. *Antipode*, 53(4), 1186-1205.
- Muraina, L., & Ajimátanraeje, A. J. (2022). *Gender relations in indigenous Yorùbá culture: Questioning feminism action and advocacy*. Retrieved from <https://osf.io/preprints/africarxiv/x6vma>.
- Obaoye, J. K., & Wenli, T. (2022). Gender Inequality and Discrimination against Women and Women's Rights Challenges in Nigeria. *International Journal of Legal Developments and Allied Issues*, 8(5), 67-87.
- Obi, H. O., & Okoye J. U. (2023). Towards achieving a globally acceptable gender equality in Nigeria: The journey so far. *Law and Social Justice Review*, 4(3), 74-81.
- Oladejo, M. T. (2022). Waka music as a commentary on Yoruba society in post-colonial Nigeria: A review of two female musicians. *UMMA: The Journal of the Contemporary Literature and Creative Arts*, 9(2), 152-169.
- Shifrer, D., & Frederick, A. (2019). Disability at the intersections. *Sociology Compass*, 13(10), e12733.
- Simbine, A. (2002). Women participation in the political parties of the Fourth Republic: The Case of the People's Democratic Party. In: Ibo, M., & Simbine, A. (eds.). *Contemporary Issues in Nigerian Politics*, Ibadan: Jodad.
- Smith, B. G. (2013). *Gender I: From women's history to gender history*. The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory. SAGE Publications, London, UK. Pp. 266-281.
- Spivak, G. (1999). *A critique of postcolonial reason*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Ukpokolo, C. (2020). Women in Nigeria. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*.
- Zittoun, T. (2022). The wind of thinking. *Culture and Psychology*, 28(2), 166-187.
- Zompetti, J. P. (2019). The rhetoric of social control. In *Political authority, social control and public policy*. Emerald Publishing Limited.