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**IN-FEMINISM AND WOMEN-WOMEN
MARGINALISATION
IN OGUN STATE, NIGERIA**

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Abstract

The importance of women in the society cannot be downplayed. Today, what has become a social problem is women-women marginalisation in politics and political process despite the fact that women constitute significant proportion of the Nigerian population. The mixed method design was used for the study, which combines both qualitative and quantitative research to describe events in greater depth. Primary data were obtained using well-structured questionnaire, randomly administered to educated women from the study area in the three Senatorial Districts of Ogun State, Nigeria. Peer-reviewed journals, books, and government publications constituted secondary data sources. The data were analysed using descriptive statistics such as percentages, mean, graphs, and charts. Findings showed that women-women marginalisation exists. The paper concluded that women-women marginalisation should be curtailed and recommended the need for more trust and collaboration among women, and new research such as In-Feminism, to promote women participation in politics and political process.

Keywords: Feminism, In-Feminism, Politics, Women-Women Marginalisation.

Introduction

The role of women in realising societal aspirations cannot be over-stated. Women are key to national development (Asaju & Adagba, 2013). It is a truism that women constitute an integral part of the society because of their rich and innate abilities to hold the family together and engage in productive activities. World governments, international non-governmental organisations and other key policy makers have always encouraged women to adequately participate in the building of families, economy, government, and in conflict resolution processes (Wader, Dahiru & Imam, 2015).

In the traditional African societies, women are respected, though not publicly, because of their unique engagements in endeavours that are relevant to the stability and continuous existence of their various communities with particular focus on the issues of leadership, peace and security (Diallo, 2015). Today, women continue to show appreciable levels of managerial and organisational skills in their multi-tasking roles as mothers, homemakers, character moulders and sustainers of humanity as well as in their occupational roles in the making of pottery, weaving, spinning and other vocations that they had been involved in for several years. Nigerian women that fall under this category include Ladi Kwali, Peju Alatishe,

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Njideka Akunyili Crosby and Ndidi Dike, among others. Their valuable contributions to nation building go beyond the traditional and customary conception of their role in family keeping, procreation and permeating all facets of the national life (Wader *et al*, 2015). Despite these unique attributes and the fact that women constitute a significant proportion of the Nigerian population, they are still being discriminated against and when compared to men (Fatile, Akhakpe, Igbokwe & Oteh, 2012).

In Nigeria, the invaluable contributions of women in a virile democracy involve fostering of unity and cohesion among the diverse ethnic groups

as can be seen in inter-ethnic and inter-tribal marriages (Sarumi, Faluyi & Okeke-Uzodike, 2019). With the crisis of leadership and endemic corruption that have bedeviled Nigeria since independence, when only men held sway in political offices, there is a growing consensus in the polity that women could fill the critical leadership gap in providing the much-desired good governance (Ngara & Ayabem, 2013). This reasoning further lends credence to why the place of women in politics and political process should be given prominence.

In the political terrain, Nigerian women have been largely limited as voters after which they are expected to attend to their families, as only insignificant number among them are eventually appointed or elected into public offices. This lopsidedness and the call for the involvement of women in decision-making responsibilities had elicited scholarly and public interest since the 1980s and 1990s, through participation in series of international conferences, notably, the fourth women conferences held in Beijing, China in 1995, which could be described as water-shed in the annals of feminism, which made a case that at least, 30% representation of women should be included in national governments (Wader *et al*, 2015).

In 2000, the United Nations Millennium Summit was held in New York, United States of America where the clamour for gender equity was also promoted. Similarly, the Justice Mohammed Uwais Report of 2008 in Nigeria proposed a proportional representation for women, although this recommendation had been ignored alongside the 2006 National Gender Policy, which raised the affirmative action at 35% for Nigerian women. The number of women in leadership positions has not been encouraging as the role of Nigeria women in the post-independence politics seems not appreciable enough (Innocent, Onyishi & Nwaoha, 2014). This is despite the massive women support given to the various political parties on the platforms of women organisations, market women movements and societies (Wader *et al*, 2015).

Recently, few women such as Mrs. Mobolaji Osomo, Dr. (Mrs.) Obiageli Ezekwesili, Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Hajia Nenadi Usman, late Professor (Mrs.) Dora Akunyili and Mrs. Kemi Adeosun, were appointed as cabinet ministers in Nigeria. The marginalisation of women in politics can

be described as unfair, not only because they constitute larger percentage of eligible voters in Nigeria but also because Section 17 (1)(2) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended), disallows discrimination against persons, women inclusive. It is, therefore, illegal and uncharitable to continue to sideline women in the scheme of things with their enormous talents, abilities, capacities and capabilities, as change agents. Apart from the visible marginalisation in politics, women are not allowed to get married or pregnant in some banks in Nigeria on the premise that such marital engagements could reduce the organisations' productivity and profits. Many young women are made to use their bodies in the name of marketing to 'woo' customers for their organisations in what is popularly called, Corporate Prostitution. Until, a Federal High Court in Nigeria stopped the practice, married women were required to obtain letters of consent from their husbands before the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) could process international passports for them (Ogbeide, 2010). It was not until 1979 that women in Northern Nigeria, such as Hajia Gambo Sawaba, were allowed to vote and be voted for (Woman.ng, 2016).

In addition to the litany of biases and prejudices against women, a growing concern and occurrence that does not attract much attention and discourse within the society, government and academic discourse, is the marginalisation of women by women, which is known as women-women marginalisation. The resultant effect of this development is that our women continue to be discriminated against, not only by men because of the highly patriarchal society but also by the women themselves. Many factors are responsible for why women marginalise themselves. Ngara and Ayabem (2013) equally observe that the major challenge facing women in politics and decision-making is women themselves. They argue that most women tend to lack confidence in their own ability and capacity to lead. This assertion demands an investigation for a better understanding of the political process and the Nigerian society.

Women, because of undue pressure from men and now women themselves, feel that the game of politics is an exclusive preserve of men and they dare not go into it; and for those that manage to venture into it, they are usually content with occupying the back seat. This limits the participation of women

in politics and the political process due to factors such as envy, mistrust and jealousy, which are associated with interpersonal relationship among women, as most women would rather vote or support men to win elections than support their fellow women in spite of their numerical strength (Fatile *et al*, 2012).

The importance of women in politics and political process remains critical in a democracy (Agunbiade & Akiode, 2017). The nation cannot be said to have witnessed good governance despite the domination of women by men in politics and political process. Hence, the justification for why more women should be more active to bring about the desired change (Ngara & Ayabem, 2013). Despite the enormous work carried out by New Feminist scholars, the problem of women-to-women marginalisation, which tends to impede their political abilities and impact, remains a major missing gap in the literature. There are instances to support this position from the existing literature and primary data obtained for the study, covering women-to-women marginalisation in politics and political process known as In-Feminism. Therefore, the study seeks to examine In-Feminism and women-women marginalisation in Ogun State, Nigeria. The main objective of the study is to assess In-Feminism and women-women marginalisation with a view to finding out if women discriminate against themselves in politics and political process. Specific objectives include to determine the perception of the women about marginalisation in Nigerian politics, understand the nature of marginalisation among Nigerian women in politics, identify the causes of discrimination among Nigerian women in politics and examine the concept of In-Feminism.

Women in Political Communication, Politics, and Political Process

Communication involves the exchange of information or message by a sender through specific means to a receiver, who discloses or decodes same and in turn, sends a feedback to the original sender, either through the same means or another and hence, it is regarded as a process (Eweka, 2017). The art or science of communication cuts across all areas, fields, sectors of life and politics (Agunbiade & Akiode, 2017).

Political communication is an important process in politics. Olayiwola (2013)

defines political communication as the subset of communicatory activity that is political in nature by virtue of the consequences; actual and potential that it has for the functioning of a political system (p.25). It addresses issues that are at the heart of democracies through the use of informational and persuasive messages that are transmitted from political institutions of society through the mass media to the citizenry (Olayiwola, 2016; 1991). There is no doubt that the traditional African society has assigned women a nurturing role that has put a lot of strain on them.

According to Wader *et al* (2015), these strains have succeeded in dwarfing their political aspirations or economic pursuits when compared to their male counterparts that are not retarded by domestic considerations. Lack of adequate political socialisation for leadership positions can be seen in women's exclusion from access to strategic political information and marginalisation in the mainstream political party hierarchy that is usually run based on male norms and values. It is for issues like these that Alvarez and Lazzari (2015) have stressed the importance of mentoring younger women by older women, for better human development, social relations and giving voice to women in the society. Political communication, a specialised form of communication, deals with the production, dissemination and processing of information through mass media of communication as well as interpersonal interactions that happen within a political context (Olayiwola, 2016; 1991).

For human society to develop, there is the need for harmony, better cooperation, communication, trust and collaboration among people without discrimination. Political communication, besides being a sub-sector of communication is the connecting link between political actors (Agunbiade & Akiode, 2017). This is seemingly prevalent in the area of governance, particularly, the means and manner of communication in politics. Robust political process is inclusive and involves key players like men, women and youths in taking their pride of place in the scheme of things. The political communication process would be aided when more women are engaged in national life through policy design, formulation and implementation using their talents, glamour, beauty, humour, bliss, intellect and fashion (Fatile *et al*, 2012).

The powerful communicative effects of the choice of specific clothing items, colours and accessories, provided by specialists for female politicians and spouses of male political leaders, are not to be underestimated when it comes to intra and inter personal communication. Agunbiade and Akiode (2017) state that this model of visual political communication includes fabric of attire, style of head-tie, jewelry and footwear, which are key elements of political communication and hence, female politicians are to internalise such visual political communications as they embark on election campaigns (p.166). It is not unusual to see billboards of female politicians also looking glamorous and adorned with expensive accessories. However, these images, as important as they are, would not resonate with the everyday realities in the lives of the electorate and do nothing to convince the electorate that the female politician understands the community problems and can be trusted with leadership.

Agunbiade and Akiode (2017) further noted that the message may be genuine and full of viable solutions to the country's problems but her image and sense of fashion for the occasion could, at the same time, send a wrong message to voters (p.166). What this implies is that there is still the need for Nigerian women to blend fashion appropriately to produce desirable results to aid political communication in politics and political process. According to Fatile *et al* (2012), though the current crops of Nigerian women politicians are fashionable and elegant but would prefer to get contracts at the expense of their integrity than engaging in issues that could liberate other women and reposition them for greater or brighter political involvement. In 1979, the United National General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

The convention has been described as a sort of gender empowerment and women's International Bill of Rights. The convention reflects the depth of neglect of the fundamental rights of women arising from biological differences by calling for equal rights for women despite their social status in life, though critical questions have been asked bordering on the lack of implementation of the provisions of the convention in terms of according women appropriate status in elective, appointive offices and political process (Agbalajobi, 2010). The right to democratic government is a legal entitlement conferred on the

entire citizenry by virtue of Section 40 (12) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended), it provides that every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons, irrespective of the political party, trade union or any other association while Section 42 (1) of the 1999 Constitution also provides that citizens of Nigeria should not be discriminated against on the basis of ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion, and political opinion, among others (Wader *et al*, 2015).

To bring the plight of women into limelight, the concept of feminism came to the fore-front of academic discourse. Feminism is associated with a particular historical movement when a coalition of women succeeded in bringing issues of gender equality, sexual oppression and discrimination into the public arena with all forms of discrimination (Fatile *et al*, 2012). For Abdulkadhir (2003), feminism is an ideology, which seeks to assert the principle that women should have political, economic, and social rights equal to those of men. It is a movement that entrenches these rights through the emancipation of women, liberating them from class, gender exploitation, and oppression. A widely-celebrated scenario of women-to-women marginalisation was recorded when a former Nigerian Minister of Women Affairs, Mrs. Josephine Anenih endorsed a two-time woman presidential aspirant, Dr. Sarah Jibril for the 2011 presidential election in Nigeria.

Anenih said the endorsement was to achieve Nigeria's adoption of 35% Affirmative Action for women during the 2011 general elections to increase the number of women in appointive and elective positions in line with the Beijing Declaration of 1995 for Women (Omenka, 2017). Anenih further revealed that political empowerment of women was one of her Ministry's highest priorities. Many promises were made by many women and feminist groups across the country to provide logistical and material supports for the realisation of Jibril's political ambition. At the end, Jibril got only one vote in the primaries, meaning that no one voted for her, except perhaps, herself. In the Economic Confidential (2011) story titled, "Sarah Jibril: When women betray a woman", an embittered Jibril, asked a rhetorical question: What offence have I committed against the women of Nigeria? They should tell me so that I will know ... Nigerian women should tell me what I have done wrong and how I have misrepresented them that made them afraid to vote for me

(Economic Confidential, 2011). Despite the barrage of complaints, her 'voice' and that of her supporters as well as women pro-democracy advocates were not given the deserved attention suggesting that the political communication effort deployed to that important incident was not impactful.

In an article in *The Guardian* of United Kingdom titled; "Why does the women's rights movement marginalise women with disabilities?", Goyal (2016) equally decried that women with disabilities, who should ordinarily elicit compassion and sympathy often face serious issues central to women's rights agenda and are often kept on the fringes of the gender justice debates that are even championed by women (Goyal, 2016). In another study titled; "Feminism and political participation in Nigeria: An empirical analysis", Fatile *et al* (2012) show that women-to-women marginalization actually manifested in the 2011 general elections in Nigeria. Factors adduced by all the women respondents in the study include lack of awareness of female candidates for elections (37.2%); preference for men belonging to the same ethnic group and political party ahead of female contestants (17.0%); and women being 'directed' by their husbands to vote against fellow women (29.8%). The study revealed that female respondents believed that men were more qualified, capable and suitable for the task of the presidency, or the governance of their fellow women contestants (Fatile *et al*, 2012).

Cultural orientations constitute disincentives for women in politics and political process, just as religion is also used as instrument of stereotype against women, who dare to venture into politics in Nigeria. Both Christianity and Islam do not accord women much role in public affairs because of the belief that home and family matters are more important (Ngara & Ayabem, 2013). Despite the existence of women-to-women marginalisation in politics and political process, challenges in many African countries such as Rwanda still use the quota system to ensure women's political appointments and institutional integration as women had the highest number of women parliamentarians worldwide with 61.3% of seats in the lower house (IPU, 2019). In Uganda, affirmative action was introduced in favour of marginalised people, particularly women, as the new Ugandan constitution has entrenched the rights and dignity of women, guaranteed equality, social justice and development by increasing the presence of women in parliament

to 24.5% (Wader *et al*, 2015).

The experience of women in politics and political process in Nigeria does not seem to be very encouraging. They are not 'heard' due to discriminatory attitudes/practices, family and child care responsibilities, high cost of seeking/holding public office, socialisation and negative stereotypes and the reinforcing tendency for political decision-making process to remain in the domain of men (Nwankwo, 2009). Women appear to have little or no financial backing while aspiring for public offices while the feminisation of poverty makes women more financially-constrained to communicate properly in politics and political process.

In-Feminism

Feminism is a phenomenon of the 20th century although its root could be traced to the 18th century Europe. Feminism ideology seeks to advocate that every society should recognise claims of women for rights by equaling those possessed by men (Ezeigbo, 1996; Lerner, 1993). Feminist movements are aimed at defining, establishing and defending equal political, economic, social rights and equal opportunities for women (Adadevoh, 2001) while Iwuchukwu (2006) sees feminism as the belief in the importance of gender equality, invalidating the idea of gender hierarchy as a socially-constructed concept. Feminism focuses on women's issues and clamours against the subjugation and oppression of women by advocating for equal rights for both men and women (Fatile *et al*, 2012).

Feminism has been misunderstood to mean the intention of some aggressive women, trying to be like men, who dress carelessly and abandon essential feminism attributes (Ezeigbo, 1996; Oloruntoba-Oju & Oloruntoba-Oju, 2013). In this sense, feminism is seen as an aggressive tool for politics, political process and communication. On the other hand, there is another perception that feminist ideology is about the agitation for women's economic, social, legal, political and educational rights that would eventually lead to their empowerment and development. Mohapatra (2009) argues that feminism is a combination of some major developed traditions such as Liberal Feminism, Socialist Feminism, Radical Feminism, New Feminism and Post-feminism. According to (Mohapatra, 2009), Liberal Feminism is based on the principle

of liberalism that advocates for equality of human individuals, regardless of their sex and other distinctions, which formed the basis for women's equal entitlement to all rights and privileges in the society, as enjoyed by men, on the basis that both were human beings.

Socialist Feminism emerged as a reaction to the stance taken by the liberal thinkers, which they put forward that political and legal rights are not enough to emancipate women from all of their disadvantages but that this reality could be attained through social revolution that would give them economic equality or economic freedom through men (Mohapatra, 2009). It advocates for equality of women not only in politics and economy but also in all aspects of personal, sexual existence and communication while the New Feminism points to the psychological, cultural and intra-sexual aspects of feminism. Post-Feminism thinkers seem to be making compromises with regard to their anti-men or patriarchy posture by calling for the restoration of family values by subscribing to traditional role given to women in the family for social stability and order (Mohapatra, 2009).

New Feminism advocates for the integral complementarity of men and women rather than clamouring for the superiority of men over women or women over men. It, however, believes that women should be valued in their unique roles in the family (Allen, 2006). It discourages any form of discrimination, segregation and marginalisation of persons. The term was first used in the Great Britain in the 1920s and its proponents include Eleanor Rathbone, Janet E. Smith, Katrina Zeno, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Colleen Carroll, among others. New Feminism supports the thinking that men and women have different abilities, strengths, perspectives, roles and duties in the society even though they are different in biological composition. Feminists and gender scholars have rationalised varied justifications theoretically for sexism. According to Ajayi (2007), these rationalisations are often situated within the boundaries of physiology, biology, tradition, culture, materials and modernity that show clearly that women are the weaker sex (p.139). Kramarae and Treichler (1988) further stress that the fundamental, physical and physiological differences between men and women in part account for the ascribed masculine supremacy, and patriarchy inevitability in societies (p.2261).

To this end, the discourse on women in political communication, politics and political process has not been exhaustive because of what looks like the dearth of adequate literature on women-to-women marginalisation in the scholarly space. Similarly, Omotoso (2017) has observed that there is a disturbing culture of silence on African political communication and ethics to the extent that African researchers do not get to study African and Afrocentric Africanist theories and ideologies as they sojourn through the study of political communication in higher institutions, noting that African political communication, using an application of African ethical indices, is highly under-theorised (p.57). One of the many reasons for explaining the silencing of women in politics and political process is curricular impoverishment, which takes its root from the obscuring of African politics and political communication. This lacuna has been captured in a previous study. Therefore, contents of feminist advocacy deserve re-examination and re-formulation (Ajayi, 2007).

It is instructive to note that Sarikakis, Rush, Grubb-Swetnam and Lane (2008) reveal that in nearly four decades of current feminists scholarship, it is learned that women's communication, along with minorities of both genders, have been 'othered' or 'silenced' in mainstream research as gender theories and feminist research in communication have created the considering points for some inevitable issues, which remain contending issue for future research to reveal the voices of those that have been silenced. Sarikakis and Rush (2009) attest that this would involve the 'greening' of communication process and integration of theory and research since Feminist enquiry is complex, comprehensive, and fluid. Therefore, the challenge for scholars is to address the gaps in knowledge deriving from gender imbalances (Sarikakis & Rush, 2009).

This would entail a better understanding of the ontology of communications in order to expand the intellectual horizon and elicit women's experiences as they always speak with many voices. While researching women's issues in communication since the early 1970s, there was little that had been preserved or shared about the role and status of women in society in terms of theories or methods to guide research. Women theories had been around for a long time but were either destroyed, silenced, distorted, or co-opted (Sarikakis

& Rush, 2009). As a way forward, gender theories and feminist research in communication should refuse to be 'silenced' by drawing out, making visible and revealing their powerful voices within social and historical contexts (Sarikakis & Rush, 2009). This is the gap that this study seeks to fill by interrogating women-women marginalisation in politics and political process, which is known as In-Feminism.

Methodology

This study, which examined In-Feminism and women-to-women marginalisation in politics and political process, was conducted in Ogun State, Nigeria. The design that was used for this study is the mixed method design. It combines both qualitative and quantitative methods to describe events in greater depth as they relate to major variables in the study. It also provides for a more meaningful interpretation of the data and phenomenon being examined (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Useful information were elicited using well-structured questionnaire while data were obtained from a cross-section of educated women respondents across the state, who were selected using the multi-stage sampling procedure Yaya, Asunmo, Abolarinwa & Onyenekwe, 2015). This entailed random selection of a total of one hundred and fifty (150) educated females, who are actively involved in politics, with fifty (50) educated females selected from each of the Three (3) Senatorial Districts of Ogun State, Nigeria, namely: Ogun West, Ogun Central, and Ogun East. Quantitative data were collated and analysed using descriptive statistics such as simple percentages, mean, frequencies, graphs, and charts while the qualitative data were thematically analysed. The study had its focus on women-women marginalisation in politics and political process in Nigeria. However, in the course of data collection, it was observed that many female politicians, who were readily available were not learned or educated enough to understand the context of the work while the learned and educated ones were not readily available to participate in the survey; a development that made it difficult and strenuous to elicit adequate information within the available resources and time.

Discussion of Findings

The demographic representation of the respondents presented in Table 1 below shows that majority (74.0%) of the respondents were married while

the remaining (26.0%) were single. Also, the age distribution shows that 63.3% of the respondents were between the age of 21 and 40, 30.7% were between the ages of 41 and 60, while 5.3% were below the age distribution of less than 20 years and the remaining 0.7% was above the age of 60 years. The respondents' religions showed that 69.3% were Christians, 28.7% were Muslims while 2.0% were traditionalists. The survey also revealed that of those sampled, majority (52.7%) had tertiary education qualifications, 36.0% studied up to the secondary school level, 18.7% studied up to the primary school level while those without formal education was 2.7% of the total respondents. This implies that most of those sampled had a form of education and which is of importance to their understanding of the focus of the study.

Table 1: Demographic Representation of Respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Marital Status		
Single	39	26.0
Married	111	74.0
Total	150	100.0
Age of Respondent (Years)		
Less than 20	8	5.3
21-40	95	63.3
41-60	46	30.7
Greater than 60	1	0.7
Total	150	100.0
Religion		
Christian	104	69.3

Islam	43	28.7
Traditional	3	2.0
Total	150	100.0
Educational Background		
No Formal Education	4	2.6
Primary	13	18.7
Secondary	54	36.0
Tertiary	79	52.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: Field Survey (2019)

Table 2a shows the perception of women about marginalisation and it can be observed that 74.0% of the women, who were sampled, believed that women discriminate against themselves in politics. This is in line with the views of Ngara and Ayabem (2013) that the major challenges facing women in politics and decision-making is women themselves. 26.0% however, did not agree with the opinion that women discriminate against themselves. Furthermore, 55.3% of the respondents surveyed for the study responded that they have been discriminated against at one point or the other in the course of their political career, just the way they are still being discriminated against in politics and political process (Fatile *et al*, 2012).

44.7% of the survey participants have never been discriminated against in any form in the course of their political career. Based on the opinion gathered from the survey of discrimination of women against themselves, marginalisation was believed to be a serious issue by 74.0% of the respondents sampled for the survey because they see the women as the 'second fiddle' (Olojede, 2009; Narayan, 1997). 26.0% of the respondents on the other hand, believe that marginalisation is not a serious issue.

Table 2a: Perception about Marginalisation

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Do you think women discriminate against themselves in politics?		
Yes	111	74.0
No	39	26.0
Total	150	100.0
Have you ever been discriminated against at any point in the course of your political career		
Yes	83	55.3
No	67	44.7
Total	150	100.0
Do you think discrimination of women against themselves is a serious issue in Nigerian politics?		
Yes	111	74.0
No	39	26.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: Field Survey (2019)

To further understand the perception of respondents about marginalisation, questions on the preference of respondents on issues relating to marginalisation were asked and evaluated, using a five-point Likert scale (Strongly agreed, Agreed, Indifferent, Disagreed, Strongly Disagreed). The result showed that most of the respondents prefer to have a male boss to a female boss as the perceptual statement had a mean of 4.16 of the total sampled respondents, strongly agreeing with the statement while the perceptual statement on whether the respondents will support any female aspiring for elective positions also had a mean value of 4.16. Reasons for this tally with findings of the study that was conducted by Fatile *et al* (2012) in which the women themselves were found to believe more in men than their fellow women.

Furthermore, based on the opinion of the respondents, it was discovered that 34.7% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that males were better able to handle sensitive matters than female with a mean of 3.63. The preference of the women being their bosses to having female bosses had a mean value of 3.45 agreeing with the statement. Also, the statement that was meant to evaluate if the women can get along with themselves in the work place or if they have to work together had a mean value of 2.67 of the sampled respondents disagreeing with that statement.

Table 2b: Perception about Marginalisation (Cont'd)

Items	SA	A	I	D	SD	Mean(SD)
	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	
I prefer a male to a female boss	75 (50.0)	45 (30.0)	13 (8.7)	13 (8.7)	4 (2.7)	4.16 (1.08)
I will support any female aspiring for elective positions	62 (41.3)	62 (41.3)	17 (11.3)	6 (4.0)	3 (2.0)	4.16 (0.92)
I will rather be my boss than allow a female be my boss	36 (24.0)	44 (29.3)	30 (20.0)	31 (20.7)	9 (6.0)	3.45 (1.23)

I cannot get along with a fellow female working together	13 (8.7)	33 (22.0)	21 (14.0)	57 (38.0)	26 (17.3)	2.67 (1.24)
Males are better composed to handle sensitive matters than female	52 (34.7)	42 (28.0)	16 (10.7)	29 (19.3)	11 (7.3)	3.63 (1.32)

Source: Field Survey (2019)

Table 3 shows the causes of marginalisation among women. Lack of trust among women seems to be one of the major causes of marginalisation as it had the highest mean of 3.83 of those sampled. Cultural issues were also found to lead to marginalisation among women as those agreeing to this statement had a mean of 3.60. This is in agreement with the view of Ngara and Ayabem (2013) that cultural orientations constitute disincentives for women's participation in politics and political process, just as religion is also used as an instrument of stereotype against women, who dare to venture into politics. Intimidation by male folks with a mean value of 3.57 agreeing to it was found to be another cause of marginalisation while jealousy had a mean of 3.54 agreeing to the statement. Lack of awareness of female candidates had a mean of 3.49 agreeing to the statement. This could be because men are more dominant in the political scene and it takes women, being the voice for themselves, which can make their impact felt in the political space. Also, ignorance and fear of women failing in politics were also found to be reasons for discrimination by some of the respondents with the mean values of 3.45 and 3.40, respectively. Other causes of marginalisation, which were identified by the respondents include inferiority complex, lack of love, low educational background, arrogance, ego among women, level of achievements, poor interpersonal skills, pride, religion, and political gains. This suggests that feminist issues are complex, comprehensive, and fluid (Sarikakis & Rush, 2009).

Table 3: Causes of Marginalisation among Women

Items	SA	A	I	D	SD	Mean(SD)
	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	
Intimidation by male folks	35 (23.3)	56 (37.3)	24 (16.0)	29 (19.3)	6 (4.0)	3.57 (1.16)
Lack of trust among women	44 (29.3)	67 (44.7)	14 (9.3)	19 (12.7)	6 (4.0)	3.83 (1.11)
Cultural issues	31 (20.7)	62 (41.3)	26 (17.3)	28 (18.7)	3 (2.0)	3.60 (1.07)
Fear of women failing in politics	19 (12.7)	66 (44.0)	28 (18.7)	30 (20.0)	7 (4.7)	3.40 (1.09)
Preference for men rather than women when the need arises	31 (20.7)	57 (38.0)	26 (17.3)	29 (19.3)	7 (4.7)	3.51 (1.16)
Jealousy	30 (20.0)	63 (42.0)	22 (14.7)	28 (18.7)	7 (4.7)	3.54 (1.15)
Ignorance	35 (23.3)	43 (28.7)	34 (22.7)	30 (20.0)	8 (5.3)	3.45 (1.20)
Lack of awareness of female Candidates	28 (18.7)	62 (41.3)	23 (15.3)	29 (19.3)	8 (5.3)	3.49 (1.16)

Source: Field Research (2019)

Table 4 shows the possible solutions to marginalisation among women based on the opinions of the respondents sampled. It was discovered from the result that sensitising women on the need to support each other and not discriminate in politics had a mean value of 4.43 strongly agreeing with that statement. Also, another possible solution, which was concurred to by majority of those sampled that had a high mean value of 4.43 was that women should stand up for each other. Making laws to prevent marginalisation and leaving some elective positions for women were also concurred with by majority of those surveyed with mean values of 4.11 and 3.98, respectively. This aligns with the suggestion that women should be given reserved slots

in the political space (Wader *et al*, 2015).

Non-governmental organisations should encourage more women to be in politics. This was found to be a possible way out as it had the lowest mean of 3.97 with respondents strongly agreeing with the statement. Respondents recommend that women should be more enlightened on the dangers of marginalising themselves through the media and other social platforms by the government, civil society organisations and feminist groups. They should be better educated and acquire requisite skills so as not to be sidelined when taking decisions affecting them and that government should partner non-governmental players in the advocacy, communication awareness and enlightenment drive (Olayiwola, 2016).

Respondents stated that men should desist from influencing women against other women to bring about unity and while women should avoid envy, jealousy and petty behaviour that divide them against one another. For the few women occupying in top political and administrative positions, they should play more modeling and mentoring roles to encourage upcoming women. They should use such positions to promote legislation, policies that would enhance access of other women into politics and political process and that women-to-women marginalisation should be seen as a common problem among women and should be discussed from time-to-time. Respondents were of the view that collaborative studies and research should be carried out on various dimensions of women-to-women marginalisation with a view to promoting their participation in politics and political process, which flows with the position of Agunbiade and Akiode (2017) on the imperative of collaboration.

Table 4: Ways of Curbing Marginalisation among Women

Items	SA	A	I	D	SD	Mean(SD)
	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	
Sensitising women on the need to support each other and not discriminate	82 (54.7)	56 (37.3)	8 (5.3)	3 (2.0)	1 (0.7)	4.43 (0.75)
Making laws to ensure that discrimination in whatever form is not allowed	58 (38.7)	65 (43.3)	15 (10.0)	9 (6.0)	3 (2.0)	4.11 (0.95)
Women should stand up for each other	86 (57.3)	49 (32.7)	10 (6.7)	3 (2.0)	2 (1.3)	4.43 (0.81)
Some elective position in government should be left solely for women	55 (36.7)	61 (40.7)	16 (10.7)	12 (8.0)	6 (4.0)	3.98 (1.08)
Non-governmental organisations should encourage women in politics	52 (34.7)	71 (47.3)	8 (5.3)	8 (5.3)	11 (7.3)	3.97 (1.13)

Source: Field Research (2019)

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper has examined In-Feminism and women-women marginalisation in politics and political process in Nigeria. Findings show that marginalisation truly exists among women and that women are not only being marginalised by men but also by their fellow women. It was also discovered that marginalisation among women is a serious issue that should be adequately studied and addressed. The major causes of women-women marginalisation are lack of trust among women, cultural issues, intimidation by male

folks, jealousy and preference for men rather than women when the need arises among other causes of marginalisation. For virile women political engagements, there is need to fight the enemy within, which is women-women marginalisation.

The study recommends that women should be more enlightened on the dangers of marginalising themselves by sensitising them through the media and other social platforms by the government, civil society organisations and Feminists groups. Furthermore, government should partner non-governmental players in advocacy, communication awareness and enlightenment drive.

Secondly, men should desist from influencing women against other women in politics to bring about unity and better communication as intimidation by male folks, which was found to be a major cause of women discrimination in politics. Women in top political and administrative positions should play more mentoring roles by creating awareness for upcoming women in politics and use such to promote legislation and policies that would enhance the participation of younger women into politics and political process. Lastly, there is need for further research and collaborative studies in In-Feminism on how to curb women-women marginalisation.

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