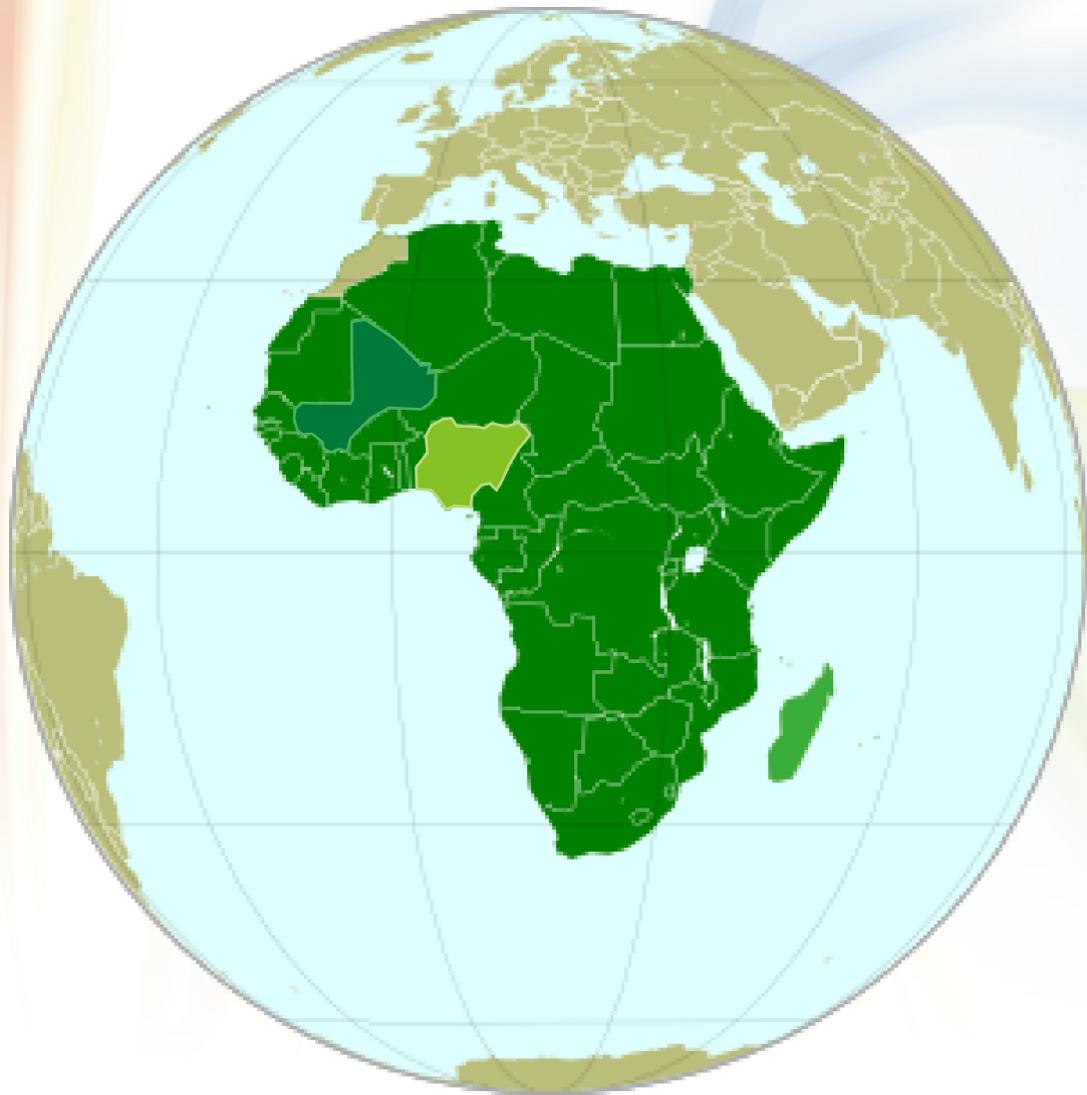


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POVERTY: THE BANE OF WOMEN DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT: In spite of the fact that Nigeria is richly endowed with material and human resources, the poverty rate has remained intolerably high. This has negatively affected women in improving their conditions of living and contributing to national development in Nigeria. As a result, women are confronted with low political participation, unequal resource allocation, lack of income and access to loan, cultural and religious discriminatory practices, and lack of employment and education. The paper is aimed at addressing the major factors that are responsible for high level of poverty among Nigerian women. The paper made use of secondary sources of data, and relied on sustainable development theory as its theoretical framework of analysis. The findings showed that the major factors accounting for high level of poverty among women are low political participation, lack of access to loan and income, socio-cultural inequality, poor education and employment. The findings showed that the inability of government to address the problem of poverty in Nigeria through a result oriented poverty alleviation programme increased the poverty level of women to their underdevelopment. The paper finally recommended a poverty alleviation blue print that will ensure fair political representation, access to income and loan, increase of job opportunities, access to education and elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

Keywords: Women, Poverty, Poverty Alleviation, Development, Sustainable Development, National development.

INTRODUCTION

It is incontestable that Nigeria is one of the countries in Africa that is endowed with abundant human and natural resources (Ifenkwe & Kalu, 2012, p. 323). In the midst of all these resources, poverty has continuously remained high. As acknowledged by World Bank (cited in Alao, 2015, p. 16), poverty in Nigeria has increased considerably with 112 million people which is about 67% of the population in abject poverty. Majority of these poor people live on less than 1 US dollar per day, and majority among them constitute women (Okoroafor & Obijuru, 2016), who have no access to quality education, job opportunities or employment, and are also politically underrepresented leading to low participation level in poverty alleviation programmes in Nigeria. The absence of these have made it extremely difficult for them to take part in the development process. However, the need to reverse this trend constitutes part of the reasons that informed government at different times to undertake various poverty alleviation programmes and policies. The practice and assessment of these poverty alleviation programmes and policies showed no significant impact in addressing the

scourge of poverty among women. Reducing poverty among women has been full of trials, travails and troubles. Nigerian women are still suffering in the midst of plenty. Against the foregoing, this paper is aimed at addressing the major factors that account for the high level of poverty among Nigerian women.

Statement of the Problem

The level of poverty in Africa particularly in Nigeria has remained high. World Bank (cited in Alao, 2015, p. 1) remarked that 67% of Nigerian population is living in poverty, and greater percentage of them are women. The inequalities created by poverty in Nigeria do not encourage the empowerment of women. This has made women more vulnerable and disadvantaged. It is disheartening to note that despite the introduction of various poverty alleviation programmes by different administrations in Nigeria, there was absence of significant impact in improving the living conditions of the people particularly the women as they remain politically underrepresented leading to their low participation in policy making and implementation especially in the area of poverty alleviation programme. Beside, women hardly have access to loan and income which has made their development more difficult. More worrisome is the existing socio-cultural inequality in the society. This has promoted practices that disempower and impoverish women (Okoroafor & Okoroafor, 2013, p. 361). There are still wide gaps in education and unemployment between men and women. As a result, women are poorer and incapable of developing themselves as well as contributing to national development.

Methodology

Data for this study were sourced mainly from secondary sources. Among them are journals, articles, textbooks and other official publications such as bulletins of National Education Research and Development, UNDPs, Human Development Report, National Assembly, National Bureau of Statistics and World Poverty Clock etc. The study is considerably a desk study but the relatively wide experience and exposure of the writers are brought to bear on this study.

Theoretical Framework

This paper would be guided by sustainable development theory as its theoretical framework of analysis. The theory was associated with World Commission on Enforcement and Development of 1987 and popularized by the United Nations Conference for Environment and Development in 1992. Scholars such as Reid (1995), Ballan (1991) and Goodland and Lades (1987) have through their various works contributed to the advancement of the theory (Abah, 2004).

Sustainable development theory holds the notion that both the needs of the present and future generations should be pursued vigorously at the same time. Sustainable development theory presupposes that development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the orientation of technological development

and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs (World Commission Environment and Development, 1987).

The emergence of sustainable development was informed by the inability of the neo-classical models of development to address key development issues such as poverty, human welfare and environmental health etc. and its negligence of equitable distribution of growth benefit which are key elements in economic, political and social stability (Obijuru & Okoroafor, 2018, p. 219). The Nigerian Economic Study/Action Team (1991, p. 282) posits that sustainable development encompasses "... the ideal of a development process that is equitable and socially responsive, recognizing extensive nature of poverty, deprivation, and inequality between and within nations, classes and communities".

The choice of sustainable development theory in this study is germane. This is because it canvases for improvement and development of all including women in Nigeria through poverty reduction programmes. This should be pursued to ensure that both the needs of the present and future generations are met. More importantly, sustainable development is relevant to this study as it will help to address the level of inequalities existing between the man and women in a manner that the quality of life of all the people are enhanced. This therefore implies access to all social, political and economic resources of the society. Only this can guarantee women empowerment, development, and national development in Nigeria.

Conceptual Framework

Poverty

Poverty is a concept that is very difficult to subject to a single definition. In other words it has no universal acceptable meaning. However, poverty presents the image of backwardness, deprivations, disadvantage and lack of financial resources. For Ezeanyika (2006, p. 92), it is lack of access to the basic entitlements of life. These entitlements include social, political and economic resources. In this vein, Nallari & Griffth (2011, pp. 15-16) see social poverty as lack of education opportunity and lack of access to healthcare. Political poverty is when civil rights are denied and the political power rests in the hands of a few people. Economic poverty includes lack of employment opportunities and even distribution of resources. According to World Bank (1999, p. 1), poverty is a "state in which an individual is not able to cater adequately for his/her basic needs of food, clothing and shelter, is unable to meet social and economic obligations, lacks gainful employment, skills, assets and self-esteem and has limited access to social and economic infrastructure, such as education, health, portable water and sanitation and consequently has limited chance of advancing his/her welfare to the limit of his/her capabilities".

From the foregoing, poverty connotes lack of resources to meet basic needs. It is material deprivation, hardship, lack of income and lack of the basic entitlements of life. It also implies lack of employment, education and health care. In this vein Ezeanyika (2006) sees the poor as people without productive assets, and without resource base or meaningful

productive activity as those living below poverty line. They are the people deprived by squalor the growth, deprivation and dependency. Majority of these people are women.

However, the major indicators of poverty are poor economic growth, inadequate infrastructures, food insecurity, high population growth, low life expectancy rate, low income per capita, unemployment and underemployment, poor technological know-how, unavailability of assets and high level of crime and juvenile delinquency (CASSAD, 1991 cited in Ezeanyika, 2006, p. 111). Be it as it may, the World Poverty Clock (2018) shows that Nigeria is a country with the most extreme poor people in the world. This is an indictment on successive Nigerian governments which have mismanaged the country's oil wealth in the guise of fighting against poverty. Indeed Nigeria has regularly come top in having more number of the poor as table 1 and 2 below indicate.

Table 1: Top 10 countries with largest extreme poverty population in the world

S/No.	Country	Population of extremely poor people in the world
1	Nigeria	86.9 million
2	India	71.5m
3	Democratic Republic of Congo	60.9m
4	Ethiopia	23.9m
5	Tanzania	19.9m
6	Mozambique	17.8m
7	Bangladesh	17m
8	Kenya	14.7m
9	Indonesia	14.2m
10	Uganda	14.2m

Source: World Poverty Clock (2018)

Table 2: Top 10 African Countries with extreme Poverty

S/No.	Country	People living in extreme poverty in African countries
1	Nigeria	86.9 million
2	Democratic Republic of Congo	60.9m
3	Ethiopia	23.9m
4	Tanzania	19.9m
5	Mozambique	17.8m
6	Kenya	14.7m
7	Uganda	14.2m
8	South Africa	13.8m
9	South Sudan	11.4m
10	Zambia	9.5m

Source: World Poverty Clock (2018) <https://qz.com/africa/131>

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To appreciate the poverty rate in Nigeria, the United Nation's Global Multi Dimensional Poverty Index has published in 2015 report based on data collected on years between 2004 and 2014 about the poverty rate of Nigerian States.

Table 3: The assessment of poverty level of 36 States of Nigeria

S/No.	State	Poverty Rate	Remarks (By Authors)
1	Lagos	8.5%	Very low
2	Osun	10.9%	Very low
3	Anambra	11.2%	Very low
4	Ekiti	12.9%	Very low
5	Edo	19.2%	Very low
6	Imo	19.8%	Very low
7	Abia	21.0%	Very low
8	Rivers	21.1%	Very low
	FCT (Abj)	23.5%	Very low
9	Kwara	23.7%	Very low
10	Akwa Ibom	23.8%	Very low
11	Delta	25.1%	Very low
12	Ogun	26.1%	Low
13	Kogi	26.4%	Low
14	Ondo	27.9%	Low
15	Enugu	28.8%	Low
16	Bayelsa	29.0%	Low
17	Oyo	29.4%	Low
18	Cross River	33.1%	Low
19	Plateau	51.5%	High
20	Nassarawa	52.4%	High
21	Ebonyi	56.0%	High
22	Kaduna	56.5%	High
23	Adamawa	59.0%	High
24	Benue	59.2%	High
25	Niger	61.2%	High
26	Borno	70.1%	High
27	Kano	76.4%	Very high
28	Gombe	76.9%	Very high
29	Taraba	77.7%	Very high
30	Katsina	82.2%	Very high
31	Sokoto	85.3%	Very high
32	Kebbi	86.0%	Very high
33	Bauchi	86.0%	Very high
34	Jigawa	88.4%	Very high
35	Yobe	90.2%	Very high
36	Zamfara	91.9%	Very high

Source: United Nations Global Multi Dimensional Poverty Index (2015).
<http://www.nairaland.com/3705858/poverty-rate-36-states>

The data above showed that poverty is higher in the Northern States than in the South's of Nigeria.

As a result of the high level of poverty among the majority of Nigerians particularly women, Dauda (2004) and Awopegba (2004) (cited in Okere, 2015, p. 260) observed that women still have limited control or access to production resources such as land, education, financial resources and opportunity for earning adequate income and position of power. A substantial population of them have no voice and are constraint in influencing resource allocation and investment decision both in the domestic and public sphere, leading to low levels of participation. Such inequalities ultimately translate into greater risk and affect the economy adversely.

It is obvious from the foregoing that women are still far more disadvantaged than men. This situation therefore calls for poverty alleviation programmes and policies that will help to improve the socio-political and economic status of women in Nigeria.

However, among the poverty alleviation programmes introduced in Nigeria are:

- i. The National Directorate of Employment (NDE)
- ii. Peoples Bank of Nigeria (PBN)
- iii. Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank Ltd (NACB)
- iv. Nigerian Agricultural Insurance Corporation (NAIC)
- v. National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE)
- vi. National Primary Health Care Development Agency (NPHCDA)
- vii. National Agricultural Land Development Authority (NALDA)
- viii. National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education
- ix. Federal Agricultural Coordinating Unit (FACU)
- x. Directorate for Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DFRFI)
- xi. Agricultural Projects Monitoring and Evaluation Unit (APMEU)
- xii. Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP)
- xiii. Industrial Development Centre (IDC)
- xiv. Federal Department of Rural Development (FDRD)
- xv. Federal Ministries of Agriculture, Water Resources and Power and Steel
- xvi. River Basin Development Authorities (RBDAs)
- xvii. Family Support Trust Fund (FSTF)
- xviii. National Centre for Women Development (CWD)
- xix. Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry (NBCI)
- xx. Nigerian Industrial Development Bank (NIDB)
- xxi. Nigerian Export-Import Bank
- xxii. National Economic Reconstruction Fund
- xxiii. National Accelerated Food Production Programme (NAFPP)
- xxiv. Operation Feed the Nation (OFN)
- xxv. National Fadama Development Programme (NFDP)
- xxvi. National Special Programme for Food Security
- xxvii. Adult Literacy Programme.

- xxviii. National Programme on Immunization.
- xxix. National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS)
- xxx. National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP)

The rationales for poverty alleviation programmes in Nigeria are generally for:

- Eradication of absolute poverty and reduction of general poverty.
- Enhancement of opportunities for income generation, diversification of activities and increase of production in low income and poor communities.
- Providing of the basic needs for all.
- Encourage entrepreneurship among youths, and to
- Drastically reduce the crime wave through the reduction of unemployment (Emiune, 2005, p. 509, Ogunna, 2007, p. 134).
- And more importantly, to break those barriers that undermine the development efforts of the weak and less privilege particularly the women.

It is important to note that the factors responsible for the failure of poverty alleviation programme in Nigeria among others are; concentration of poverty alleviation programmes on the urban centres, poor funding, lack of transparency and accountability, absence of consistency and continuity in poverty alleviation established programmes as well as high-jacking of the programmes by some political elite (Oshewolo, 2010; Alao, 2015, Obi, Nwachukwu & Obiora, 2008).

Empirical Review

Olabisi and Kehinde (2011) looked at gender equality, governance and women empowerment agenda in a democratic society with the aim of unravelling the challenges and prospects. The paper argued that poverty is among the major variables that are responsible for gender inequalities and non-gender responsive methods of resource allocations, and low participation of women in decision making, politics and governance. The paper concluded and recommended multi-dimensional approach to gender inequality requiring the social and political actors to work together in one accord to resolve gender imbalance in socio-cultural, economic and political arrangements.

Ifenkwe and Kalu (2012) assessed the poverty status of rural women in Bende Local Government in Abia State, Nigeria. The study revealed that 60% of women in the study area are poor and also have low education, low income and large household size which adversely impact on their poverty status. The study recommended educational empowerment of the disadvantaged women to diversify into non-farm income generating activities in order to reduce their level of vulnerability.

Alao (2015) examined the challenges of inequality and poverty reduction among Nigerian women with focus to ensure an inclusive growth in post 2015 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The findings of the study showed that poverty in Nigeria is not affected due to misdirection of programmes from rural to urban areas, inadequate funding, lack of

control, transparency and accountability and inadequate coverage of the poor. The study recommended entrepreneurial training programmes and capacity creation, provision of adequate and health facilities, integrated growth, income distribution and financing land ownership.

Usman (2015) analyzed the condition of women under persistent poverty with the view of suggesting how the problem can be effectively dealt with in Nigeria. The paper argued that, although women contribute greatly in societal growth and development, they have continued to suffer unjustly in precarious condition of poverty due to their underprivileged class position in the society. The finding of the paper revealed that the high rate of poverty and the poor poverty reduction programmes in Nigeria has continued to deny women the opportunity of living happily and contributing their own quota to national growth and development. The paper concluded and called for structural balance in the existing social system by means of poverty eradication agenda.

Oruebor and Okoroafor (2016) assessed the socio-economic impact of poverty in Nigeria. The paper argued that the poverty alleviation programmes and policies in Nigeria did not make any significant impact on the lives of the Nigerians. The paper recommended harmonization of poverty alleviation programmes, consistency and continuity of the poverty alleviation programmes and policies in governance, citizen's participation as well as institutionalization of accountability and transparency in governance.

Anyebe (2017) examined the relationship between gender differential and poverty amongst women in Nigeria. The paper argued that poverty has no gender but it is more pronounced on the female gender than male. It further argued that women have lesser access to high paying jobs and secured employment than men. The study revealed that only a very tiny proportion of women do get into the commanding heights of national life for which higher education is a pre-requisite. The paper recommended education for women and girls at all levels to reverse the trend of gender discrimination by ensuring full empowerment of women.

Adepoju (n.d) argued that poverty reduction is a priority task facing Nigerian government but the high level of poverty among the Nigerian females are such that poverty alleviation strategies must address to ensure economic growth and development. The paper concluded and recommended appropriate policy measures and strategies on poverty alleviation programme.

Major Causes Accounting for Poverty among Nigerian Women

There are many reasons while majority of women are poor in Nigeria in particular and the world in general. Among them include:

- 1. Political Underrepresentation:** The political system in Nigeria does not give more political opportunities to women. This account for low participation of women in decision making process, politics and governance. The political underrepresentation of

women in Nigeria is mostly traceable to the erroneous political orientation, belief and inclination that leadership and governance is the sole business of men. This undermines the opportunity for women to contribute in the political processes particularly as it relates to poverty reduction programme.

Below are some tables showing political position representation of women in Nigeria

Table 4: Participation by Gender in Key Elections in 2011 in Nigeria

S/No.	Position	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	Total
1	President	1 (0)	19 (1)	20
2	V. President	3 (0)	17 (1)	20
3	Governor	13 (0)	340 (36)	353
4	Deputy	58 (1)	289 (35)	347
5	Senatorial	70 (7)	800 (102)	890
6	House of Rep.	220 (19)	2188 (341)	2408
	Total	365 (11.5%)	3643 (90.5%)	4038

*The numbers in bracket represent elected candidates. Source: Ohazurike and Okoroafor (2016, p. 126).

The table reveals that out of 4038 candidates contesting for various political positions in Nigeria in 2011, women were 365 representing 9.5%, whereas men were 3643 in number which represents 90.5% of the total candidates.

Table 5: The standing of Nigerian women and men in political participation and performance from 1999-2015

S/N	Position	No. of Seats	1999		2003		2007		2011		2015	
			Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1	Presidency	2	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0
2	Senate	109	106	3	105	4	101	8	102	7	101	8
3	House of Rep.	360	348	12	325	23	334	26	334	26	346	14
4	Governorship	36	36	0	36	0	36	0	36	0	36	0
5	Deputy Governorship	36	35	1	34	2	30	6	33	3	30	5
6	36State House of Assembly	990	978	12	952	38	936	54	928	62	939	51
7	Minister	31									25	*5
	Total	1533	1,505	28	1,454	67	1439	94	1435	98	1479	84

Source: Omeje and Udoikah (2017, p. 283) and the authors.

*Amina Mohammed resigned her appointment as a minister which reduced the number of women ministers to 5.

It is very clear to state from the above that the representation and participation of women is very low and far below the expected 30% affirmative action demanded by women in Nigeria. Thus, the gap between men and women in political process is still significantly wide. Without women participation in politics, the socio-economic and political poverty would not be dealt with adequately (Oluyemi-Kusa, 2006).

2. Lack of Access to Loan and Income: Poverty among women in Nigeria has remained consistently high. The economic system is structured in a manner that women are left with less opportunity of survival. Jones (1986, p. 61) argued that the notion of non-government intervention in the economic structure has not been able to improve the economic status of the people especially women. This manifests in lopsidedness and unevenness in the allocation resource, economic underdevelopment, the existence of market imperfection, unwholesome structural shift in the economy and economic mismanagement among others (Obi, Nwachukwu & Obiora, 2008).

Similarly, Nwosu (2015, p. 22) writes that lack of access to loans, whether domestic loans or bank loans makes women more vulnerable. In addition to this is inadequate access to loan or capital. This is reported as the most common obstacle to investment and entrepreneurship. Without sufficient funds and access to finance, business ideas remain a dream thereby making it difficult for women to break away from the shackles of poverty.

Corroborating the above, Sen (1999), Buvinic (1997) and Nwosu (2015) agreed that lack of income deprives women of their basic needs and capabilities, and also prevent them from acquiring resources and converting their monetary resources into wealth creation. This situation passes on from one generation of women to another leading to feminization of poverty. Accordingly, Pearce (1996, p. 175-182) rightly observed that there are three causes of low income in America. These are sex discrimination and segregation into low wage occupations, the declining value of minimum wage, and the shift in employment particularly in new created jobs to low paying service sector.

It is obvious from the above discussion that women have very low income purchasing power. The National Assembly Statistical Information (2009) provides that the income purchasing power of women and men are 614 US dollar and 1,495 dollar respectively. In other words, women purchasing power is far lesser than that of the men.

3. Socio-Cultural Inequality: The most important social factor is the culture of the society (Messil, 1957, p. 16). According to him, most cultures and traditions of the African societies are anchored on patriarchy theory; that is the belief, norm and practice that men are more superior than women. This engenders discriminatory practice and inequality such as the girl-child marriage, widowhood practices, violence against women and absence or lack of women inheritance rights. All these practices disempower and impoverish women in Nigeria (Okoroafor & Okoroafor, 2013, p. 361). These attitudes are reinforced by the religions doctrines, structures, and practices that hinder women's access to critical resources such as land and credit.

The above has shown that the culture of most societies in Nigeria is traditional, degenerative and parochial. This implies deficiency in the character and attitude of the people. Simply put, the high rate of poverty among women in Nigeria is associated with the degenerative and deficient attitude of the society (Gilford & Nelson, 1981, p. 60).

4. **Unemployment:** The factor of unemployment has been a bane to the efforts in reducing the poverty level among women. Government has not been able to generate the expected number of employment opportunities. This affects women more than men as majority of women are unemployed and underemployed. The National Assembly Statistical Information (2009) reveals that the employment rate of men in the Federation Civil Service is 76% as against 24% of the women. Many unemployed women are able and willing to work but are idling away due to inability of government to engage them. This disparity has a significant effect on the capacity of women to live above poverty line and to play active role in contributing to the national development.
5. **Education:** Lack of education is a key barrier to the advancement of women in development and in reducing their poverty levels. Most women particularly in the rural areas have little or no education at all. This is because as observed by Okoroafor & Okoroafor (2013, p. 361), education is shrouded in discriminatory social and cultural assumptions. As a result of this, women lack the basic skills, knowledge and training to conquer poverty. According to Women Consortium of Nigeria (2004), UNESCO rated Nigeria as one of the nine countries with the highest rate of illiteracy and women constitute the largest. The empirical study carried out by Anyebe (2017, p. 84) reveals that the literacy rate of men and women in Nigeria are 65.7% and 47.8% respectively. Again, the Education Statistics on Gender published in 2007 by the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Development show that on the average, 70% of women in Nigeria are not literate. These statistics therefore have shown that women have less access to education. The above therefore suggests that literacy level of women is very low.
 Aside that, there are still fundamental gaps in both primary and secondary schools enrolment in the six geo-political zones in Nigeria. The records were displayed by Aremu (2014 cited in IOM, 2014, p. 22) in this way:

Table 6: Primary and secondary schools percentage enrolment of women in the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria

S/No.	Geopolitical Zone	Percentage
1	South-West	83
2	South-South	82
3	South-East	80
4	North-West	42
5	North-East	44
6	North Central	*60

Source: <https://nigeria.iom.int/.../ANNEX%20XXIV%20REPOP-T%20OF%20NEEDS%20ASS>.

The figure allotted to North Central is estimated but higher than the rest geopolitical zones in the North. The table above reveals that the geopolitical zones in the North have the least enrolment of women in primary and post-primary schools, whereas it is higher in the South.

Findings

The paper made the following findings:

- Majority of the people who are poor in Nigeria and who do not have access to the basic entitlements of life in Nigeria are women.
- Women are politically underrepresented in Nigeria leading to their low participation in the decision making process especially in the poverty alleviation related programmes, governance and politics.
- The traditions and cultures of most societies in Nigeria negate the empowerment and development of women. This contributes to the wide social, political and economic inequality existing between men and women.
- Women are mostly known for low income earning jobs. Apart from that, they hardly have access to loans and credit.
- Again, significant number of women do not have access to education. This contributes to high rate of illiteracy and ignorance among them.
- The poverty alleviation programmes and policies introduced by successive governments have not significantly reduced the level of poverty of women in Nigeria.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The poor status of women in Nigeria has continued to undermine their efforts towards poverty reduction, growth and national development. The journey of alleviating the poverty of women has not only been full of travails and troubles but has remained counterproductive. As a result, women are politically underrepresented, they lack access to income and loan, lack access to employment and education. These compound their problem and make them vulnerable and keeping them at risk. There is need therefore to address the poverty among women to ensure the improvement of their conditions and standard of living empowerment and development leading to national development.

In order to address the high rate of poverty among women in Nigeria, the following strategies are necessary:

- There should be a well articulated and coordinated multi-sectoral poverty alleviation programme that will provide enabling environment for poverty reduction among women.
- Government should pay adequate attention to the provision of social services including education and employment opportunities to women.
- All the socio-cultural religious practices and beliefs that impede on the right of women to survival, empowerment and development should be outlawed.
- More importantly, this paper calls for political education of women and fair representation and inclusiveness in the political process.

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