

National Gender Policy in Nigeria: Uncovering the Core Issues.

Itojong Anthony AYAMBA¹, Benjamin Emmanuel EKOM², Ugo Samuel BASSEY³

Obal Otu EKPO⁴,

^{1,2&3}Department of Public Administration, University of Calabar, Calabar NIGERIA

⁴Department of Environmental Education University of Calabar, Calabar NIGERIA

Abstract

Despite legislative breakthroughs and constitutional provisions and commitments to regional and international human rights conventions and treaties, gender inequality remains a worrisome trend in Nigeria and Africa in general. This paper, thus, examines the National Gender Policy in Nigeria and the various dimensions of gaps in it that inhibit women. The paper adopted the descriptive method of research, drawing data mainly from secondary sources. The data were analyzed qualitatively. Major findings show that there are still gray areas in the National Gender Policy that bother on legal framework, implementation and enforcement, access to education, economic empowerment, politics and decision making. The study recommends among others that government should review and update existing laws to align with international standards on gender equality as well as put in place mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the implementation of gender policies at all levels of government.

Keywords: Gap Areas, Gender, Gender Policy, National Gender Policy, Nigeria,

Introduction

Nigeria, as one of Africa's most populous countries, has a long history of public policy development that has influenced its socioeconomic and political landscape. Nigeria's public policy history dates back to its colonial past under British administration (Onapajo, 2023). Policies during this time were primarily created with the colonial masters' interests in mind, giving the native populace's welfare little thought. The complicated policy environment that Nigeria would inherit upon attaining independence in 1960 was largely established during this era (Falola, 2021). Following its independence, Nigeria set out to create policies that would meet the various demands and challenges that its multi-ethnic and multi-religious community was confronting (Maisule, Bamidele & Sennuga, 2023). With the intention of enhancing citizen welfare and promoting national development, this signaled the start of a more indigenous approach to policymaking (Burns, 1969).

The need for effective public policies, particularly gender policy, is paramount to promote equality, justice, and sustainable development (Ajala, 2017). Gender inequality has been a persistent challenge in Nigeria, with deep-rooted cultural norms, systemic discrimination, and limited opportunities hindering the progress of women and other marginalized gender groups. Historically, Nigeria has grappled with entrenched gender inequalities that have limited the opportunities and rights of women and other marginalized gender groups. Traditional gender roles and stereotypes have perpetuated the subordination of women in various spheres of life, including education, healthcare,

employment, and political participation. The legacy of colonization and modernization has also influenced gender dynamics in Nigeria, further exacerbating existing inequalities and disparities.

In contemporary Nigeria, gender inequality remains a pressing issue, with women and girls facing significant challenges in accessing education, healthcare, and economic opportunities. According to statistics, gender disparities persist in various sectors, with women significantly underrepresented in leadership positions and decision-making roles. Moreover, gender-based violence and discrimination continue to be prevalent, further marginalizing women and reinforcing harmful stereotypes and attitudes. The need for gender policy in Nigeria is therefore imperative to address these challenges and promote gender equality and women's empowerment. This is because gender policies are instrumental in advancing social justice, human rights, and sustainable development by creating an enabling environment where all individuals, regardless of their gender, have equal opportunities to thrive and contribute to society.

Furthermore, promoting gender equality is now globally seen as a development strategy that seeks to help women and men escape poverty, and improve their standard of living. Hence, the attainment of gender equality is not only seen as an end in itself (being a human rights issue), but as a prerequisite for the achievement of sustainable development. Nigeria, like many other nations in the world, is responding to the clarion calls made variously by the United Nations to rid societies of all forms of discriminations, especially gender-based discriminations and violence against women, who constitute half of human resource waiting to be tapped for development. This paper, thus, sets out to critically examine Nigeria's gender policy with particular interest in some identified gap areas. The relevance of this paper hinges on the fact that gender policy affects all and sundry and is a sine-qua-non towards ensuring that both females and males benefit from policy changes vital for Nigeria to reach its developmental goals. The central focus of the paper is on the areas identified as gaps whereby some work or additional effort need to be made for there to be noticeable improvements. The paper is structured into five sections- the introduction; statement of problem; epistemic context, theoretical explication; matters arising; conclusion and recommendations.

Statement of the Problem

Conscious of the pervasive presence of gender inequality, bias, disparity, and inequity as recognized markers of underdevelopment, many nations have endeavored to attain gender equality as a fundamental tenet aimed at ensuring the holistic welfare of their societies. The National Gender Policy in Nigeria is a critical framework aimed at fostering equitable development and social justice. However, despite the policy's existence and its commendable objectives, significant gaps remain that hinder its effective implementation and the realization of its goals. It is important to note that Nigeria is a signatory to various international and regional protocols, conventions, and agreements that promote gender equality.

Some of these include: (a) *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)* which was ratified in 1985. CEDAW is an international treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly that aims to eliminate discrimination against women and promote gender equality. (b) *Beijing Platform for Action* which was endorsed in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. The platform outlines key areas for action to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of women. (c) *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* which includes provisions related

to the rights of women and gender equality. (d) *African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa* committed to promoting gender equality. (e) *Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)* particularly Goal 5 which aims to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. (f) *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa* also known as the *Maputo Protocol* which aims to promote and protect the rights of women in Africa. (g) *National Gender Policy* which outlines strategies and actions to promote gender equality and women's empowerment at the national level.

All these international and national protocols that Nigeria subscribes to place enormous responsibility on government to mainstream gender in various sectors of the economy with the overall goal of reducing gender inequalities and enhancing participation of women, men, girls and boys in socio-economic and political development. The questions to ask, therefore, are: (a) What are some of the flaws in the national gender policy? (b) What is the way forward? Resolving these questions is the poise of this paper.

Epistemic Context

Gender studies highlight how women are consistently oppressed and excluded from power and socio-political processes (Morley, 2006). Women's perspectives and experiences are frequently ignored in the social environment, in almost every sector of human study and endeavour, as well as in the production of knowledge, according to several gender academics (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Kramer, 2005). For example, during the 1950s and 1970s, women's contributions, interests, and demands were marginalized, overlooked, or suppressed in the development theories and tactics developed by both theorists and practitioners (Ytre-Arne, 2011). The loud outburst of feminist commentary and action was what made the smug world community pay attention to its deafening silence on the issue of women.

A number of internally contested development paradigms, including modernization, dependency, institutionalism, neo-marxism, and the current mainstream orthodoxy, neo-liberalism, emerged from debates concerning the causes and remedies of underdevelopment in the field of development (Parpart et al., 2000). These theories offer perspectives on the character and consequences of the global capitalist expansion that is purported to be driving "development." They emphasized macroeconomic growth as the main development stimulus to differing degrees. Different perspectives pointed to governments, global markets, and international finance and industry as the main players in economic policy and planning. There was a commonality across all these theories and the approaches that gender researchers and analysts suggested. They believed that "man" acted as the agent of development and was the typical beneficiary. Women's needs and priorities were completely ignored or absorbed under a welfare orientation that was restricted to their reproductive functions.

By emphasizing the importance of sex and gender to politics, economy, and society, women started to question the androcentric worldview that hindered women's involvement in development through UN agencies (Stamp, 1989; Sweetman 2000). Due to these difficulties, the Women in Development (WID) framework—which consists of five distinct approaches—was created. It incorporated the traditional welfare approach together with goals for efficiency, empowerment, equity, and anti-poverty. The WID strategy aimed to minimize poverty, maximise efficiency and production, integrate women into development processes, and utilize them as human resources (Tinker, 1997; Tadesse and Snyder, 1995). This was mainly accomplished by giving women easier access to cash income, increasing their options for education, training, and work, and reducing

the burden of their reproductive responsibilities through family planning services, population control laws, and the provision of basic necessities for water, sanitary conditions, and health. WID was primarily based on a reformist liberal feminist vision that was grounded in Western social contract concepts such as individual freedom, autonomy, equal treatment and opportunity under the law, and access to a supportive market environment to enhance women's capacity to earn an income (Stamp, 1989).

While there was a significant push to include women in development, critics of WID noted that these women were not the program's intended beneficiaries at first; rather, they were tools to forward the objectives of organizations and/or governments. Women were seen as passive recipients of development rather than active contributors prior to the WID empowerment concept (Snyder & Tadesse, 1995). Rather of being "actors," they were "acted upon." Seldom were individual women and women's groups consulted about their concerns, which resulted in temporary advantages that did little to address the root causes of inequality. WID ordered governments and agencies to provide the necessary institutional and legislative frameworks to guarantee a space for development planning, without necessarily aiming to change the systems that led to the subjugation and poverty of women.

Therefore, Stamp (1989) contends that WID, "far from liberating women in the Third World, emerges from the development effort that fosters the international capitalist system and, in turn, contributes to the maintenance of that oppressive order." This assertion confirms Stamp's previous admission that, although the majority of feminist scholars' early academic work served as an invaluable source of ideas for developing gender theory, it "was within the liberal tradition of 'adding women on' rather than presenting coherent challenges to the social science corpus" (ibid1989:11)." However, Porter (1999:1) contends that the "add women and stir" strategy falls short of delivering human growth that is sustainable. Feminists recognized "the need to develop a more systematic and powerful framework of analysis" in response to this gap (Stamp, 1989:22). As a result, socialist/Marxist feminists highlighted the part played by structural limitations brought about by gender relations and the sexual division of labour (Walby, 1990). Marxist feminism emphasizes the historical particularity and material foundation of female oppression, whereas socialist feminism places more value on economic and social rights than individual legal rights (Bryson, 1999). Their combined analyses show how capitalism and both ancient and contemporary forms of patriarchy work together to oppress women and maintain hierarchical relationships amongst men. As a result, a large number of gender researchers advocate for the alteration of repressive organisations and frameworks to better serve the needs of women.

Scholars of radical feminism (Jensen, 2021; Nachescu, 2009) have emphasized the significance of micro-level examination of interpersonal and intra-family relationships. Similar to socialist/Marxist feminists (Bell et al., 2020; Buchanan, 2011; Fraser, 2009), they questioned the assumption that Western social and political theory was based on a public/private (or domestic) divide. Because of this distinction, development analysts were able to view the home as a single, undifferentiated unit of analysis that functions similarly to a family and is there to serve the interests of all members. In order to properly analyse the state of women's condition, gender academics of today (Mohajan, 2022; Studer, 2017) call on gender desegregation of households and development planning data. Therefore, it can be argued that the review above is crucial because it provides enough context for understanding gender issues in general, while also keeping in mind that Nigeria's gender

policy is best suited for a critical examination given the pervasive gender inequality in the Nigerian system.

Theoretical Framework: Gender Mainstreaming Theory

To help understand the issues under discussion, the paper is predicated on Gender Mainstreaming Theory. Gender Mainstreaming as a strategy was formally adopted by the United Nations at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. While the concept has been developed and promoted by various scholars and practitioners over time, it does not have a single proponent. The United Nations, particularly through entities like UN Women, has been a significant advocate for gender mainstreaming globally.

Basic Premises

1. *Integration of Gender Perspectives:* Gender Mainstreaming Theory argues that gender perspectives should be incorporated into all policies, programs, and projects from the outset. This integration ensures that both women's and men's concerns and experiences are an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of all policies and programs.

2. *Systemic Change:* Achieving gender equality requires changes at multiple levels – from individual to institutional to societal. This includes transforming societal norms, organizational cultures, and institutions that perpetuate gender inequalities.

3. *Intersectionality:* Gender Mainstreaming Theory acknowledges that gender inequality does not exist in isolation but intersects with other forms of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, class, age, disability, and other social categories. These intersections must be considered to effectively address gender issues.

4. *Participatory Approach:* Effective gender mainstreaming involves the active participation of diverse groups, including women and marginalized communities, in decision-making processes. This ensures that policies and programs are inclusive and responsive to the needs of all segments of the population.

Relevance of Gender Mainstreaming Theory

Gender mainstreaming theory is deemed relevant because gender mainstreaming is a strategy aimed at integrating a gender perspective into all policies, programmes, and projects to promote gender equality and empower women. In the context of this paper, gender mainstreaming theory helps to identify where gender disparities exist within the policy framework and implementation. The theory helps to analyze how gender roles, norms, and inequalities impact the policy effectiveness and address the gaps that hinder the policy from achieving its intended goals of gender equality and women's empowerment in Nigeria. Moreover, gender mainstreaming theory provides a lens to assess the inclusivity of the National Gender Policy in Nigeria and ensure that it addresses the diverse needs and experiences of both men and women in the country.

Discussion of the Core Issues

The Nigerian revised National Gender Policy (2021-2026) commits Nigeria to a bolder and more ambitious vision for gender equality and the empowerment of all children, adolescents, and women. Unlike the 2006 National Gender Policy that was conceptualized on institutional engagement, the 2021-2026 revised National Gender Policy places practical and strategic gender needs at the heart of both the policy and Nigeria's common objective of achieving social inclusion and promoting shared values regardless of ethnicity, sex, or

other differences. However, the following areas are identified for an elaborate description of the situation analysis of the national gender policy, which continues to present major challenges to the country's overall development:

Legal Framework:- Olusegun (2022) argues that the Nigerian legal system lacks comprehensive mechanisms for addressing gender discrimination and ensuring equal rights for all individuals. Although section 15(2); 42(1) and 17(3)(e) of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria guarantees equal rights for men and women and prohibition of sex-based discrimination, discriminatory practices and attitudes persist in various sectors, including education, employment, and politics. The absence of specific legal provisions addressing these issues hinders progress towards achieving gender equality in Nigeria (Ojo, 2018). Without a robust legal framework that addresses systemic gender discrimination, women and girls in Nigeria continue to face barriers to full participation in society.

Additionally, the lack of coordination and coherence among existing laws and policies related to gender equality further exacerbates the challenges faced by women in Nigeria. Multiple laws and policies addressing gender issues exist at both the federal and state levels, leading to inconsistencies and gaps in implementation (Raheem, *et al.*, 2017). This fragmentation of the legal framework undermines the effectiveness of efforts to promote gender equality and protect women's rights (Kunnuji, 2017). A more coherent and coordinated legal framework is essential to ensure that gender equality laws are effectively implemented and enforced across all levels of governance.

Implementation and Enforcement:- Despite the existence of various policies and laws aimed at promoting gender equality, the lack of effective implementation mechanisms undermines their impact. For example, the National Gender Policy of 2006 outlines key strategies for advancing gender equality in Nigeria, yet the implementation of these strategies has been limited due to a lack of coordination among relevant stakeholders (Ononogbu & Orji, 2019). This failure to effectively implement gender policies results in a disconnect between policy intentions and on-the-ground realities, perpetuating gender inequalities.

Furthermore, the inadequate enforcement of gender equality laws in Nigeria contributes to a culture of impunity for perpetrators of gender-based violence and discrimination. While laws such as the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act of 2015 criminalize various forms of violence against women, the enforcement of these laws remains weak (Eze, 2019). As a result, many women and girls in Nigeria continue to experience gender-based violence without access to justice or protection. The lack of effective enforcement mechanisms not only fails to deter perpetrators but also undermines the trust of women in the legal system.

Moreover, the lack of resources, capacity, and political will to implement gender policies further exacerbates the gap between policy intentions and outcomes. Adequate funding and capacity-building initiatives are essential for ensuring the effective implementation of gender policies at all levels of government. However, budgetary constraints and competing priorities often hamper efforts to allocate sufficient resources to gender equality initiatives (Ojo, 2018). Additionally, the lack of political will to prioritize gender equality issues leads to a lack of commitment to implementing and enforcing gender policies effectively.

Access to Education:- Access to education is a critical gap area in Nigeria's national gender policy, with significant disparities existing between boys and girls in terms of enrollment, retention, and completion rates. While the Nigerian government has made

efforts to improve access to education for all children, gender disparities persist, particularly in Northern Nigeria where cultural norms and practices often limit girls' access to education (Adeyemi & Adeyemo, 2018). Factors such as early marriage, gender-based violence, poverty, and inadequate infrastructure contribute to the low enrollment and high dropout rates among girls, highlighting the need for targeted interventions to address these challenges.

Furthermore, the quality of education available to girls in Nigeria remains a concern, with gender biases often reflected in curricula, teaching materials, and teacher attitudes. Studies have shown that girls are more likely to be steered towards less rigorous academic tracks or courses, limiting their educational and career opportunities (Adegoke et al., 2016). This perpetuates gender stereotypes and reinforces inequalities, preventing girls from realizing their full potential and contributing meaningfully to society. Improving the quality of education and addressing gender biases within the education system are essential steps towards promoting gender equality in Nigeria.

Moreover, inadequate infrastructure, such as lack of schools, classrooms, sanitation facilities, and transportation, poses significant barriers to girls' access to education in Nigeria. Rural and marginalized communities, in particular, face challenges in providing safe and conducive learning environments for girls, hindering their ability to access and complete their education (Eze, 2019). Addressing these infrastructure gaps through targeted investments and policies is crucial for ensuring that all children, regardless of gender, have equal opportunities to access quality education.

Economic Empowerment:- Economic empowerment represents a significant gap area in Nigeria's national gender policy, with women facing numerous challenges in accessing economic opportunities, resources, and financial independence. Despite the existence of policies aimed at promoting women's economic empowerment, such as the National Gender Policy of 2006, gender disparities persist in the economic sphere. Women in Nigeria often face barriers such as limited access to credit, land ownership, and formal employment, as well as discriminatory cultural norms and practices that restrict their economic participation. These barriers hinder women's ability to fully engage in economic activities and realize their economic potential.

Moreover, the informal sector plays a significant role in Nigeria's economy, yet women are disproportionately represented in low-paying and vulnerable informal jobs, with limited access to social protection and financial services. Studies have shown that women in the informal sector are more likely to experience exploitation, discrimination, and lack of job security compared to men (Okafor, 2018). The lack of adequate support and protection for women working in the informal sector perpetuates economic inequalities and limits their ability to improve their economic status.

Additionally, limited access to entrepreneurship opportunities and business support services further hinders women's economic empowerment in Nigeria. While entrepreneurship is often touted as a pathway to economic independence, women entrepreneurs in Nigeria face challenges such as lack of access to finance, training, markets, and networking opportunities (Ojo, 2018). The absence of targeted support programs and policies for women entrepreneurs constrains their ability to start and grow successful businesses, thereby limiting their contribution to economic development and poverty reduction.

Agriculture and Rural Development: Agriculture and rural development represent a significant gap area in Nigeria's national gender policy, with women playing a crucial role in agricultural production and rural economies but facing numerous challenges that limit their full participation and benefits. Women make up a significant portion of the agricultural workforce in Nigeria, yet they often lack access to essential resources such as land, credit, technology, and extension services (Adegoke et al., 2016). This limits their productivity and income-earning potential, perpetuating gender disparities in agricultural production and rural development. The lack of gender-sensitive policies and programs that address these challenges hinders women's ability to contribute effectively to agricultural growth and rural prosperity.

Furthermore, women in rural areas in Nigeria face constraints related to inadequate infrastructure, limited market access, and gender-based discrimination, which impede their participation in agricultural value chains and access to profitable markets. Studies have shown that women farmers often face challenges in accessing markets, negotiating prices, and securing fair returns for their produce (Okafor, 2018). These constraints limit women's ability to benefit from their agricultural activities and improve their livelihoods, underscoring the need for targeted interventions that address gender disparities in agricultural value chains and market access.

Moreover, the burden of unpaid care work falls disproportionately on women in rural areas, impacting their ability to engage in productive activities and access economic opportunities in agriculture. Women's multiple roles as caregivers, food providers, and income earners place additional strains on their time and energy, limiting their capacity to invest in agricultural activities and participate in decision-making processes (Ononogbu & Orji, 2019). Addressing the unequal distribution of unpaid care work and promoting women's empowerment in rural areas are essential steps towards enhancing women's participation in agricultural development and rural transformation.

Politics and Decision Making: Politics and decision-making represent a significant gap area in Nigeria's national gender policy, with women vastly underrepresented in political leadership positions and decision-making processes. Despite constitutional provisions guaranteeing equal rights for men and women, women continue to face barriers to political participation, such as cultural norms, lack of access to resources, and gender-based discrimination. The low representation of women in political offices limits their ability to influence policy decisions, advocate for women's rights, and address gender disparities in governance and public service delivery. The lack of gender-sensitive policies and affirmative action measures further exacerbates the underrepresentation of women in political leadership roles.

Moreover, women in Nigeria often face challenges in accessing political power structures and navigating male-dominated political environments, which hinders their participation in decision-making processes at all levels of governance. Studies have shown that women encounter obstacles such as limited financial resources, lack of political networks, and negative stereotypes that undermine their political ambitions and electoral success (Ojo, 2018). The absence of mechanisms to support women's political empowerment and ensure their meaningful participation in decision-making processes perpetuates gender inequalities in political representation and governance.

Additionally, the lack of gender-responsive policies and gender mainstreaming in political institutions and processes further marginalize women in Nigeria's political landscape. While the National Gender Policy of 2006 calls for the mainstreaming of gender

perspectives in all policies and programs, the implementation of gender mainstreaming in political decision-making remains inadequate (Ononogbu & Orji, 2019). This limits the integration of gender equality considerations in political processes, policy formulation, and resource allocation, hindering efforts to promote women's political empowerment and advance gender equality in Nigeria's governance structures.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The National Gender Policy clearly presents a layout of sector specific priorities, goals, and implementation strategies, all of which were derived from popular participation and consultative processes. An important dimension of the development of the National Gender Policy is to challenge existing structures, particularly those structures that perpetuate gender inequality and gender injustice. However, a more effective coordination is required bearing in mind the massive restructuring that would follow a true gender mainstreaming of government organs, and institutions, including those of the private sector. Despite some progress made in recent years, there is still much work to be done to achieve gender equality and empower women in Nigeria. This paper has revealed significant challenges across various sectors including legal framework, implementation and enforcement, access to education, economic empowerment, agriculture and rural development, and politics and decision-making.

Hence, the following recommendations are made:

(a) *Strengthening the Legal Framework*: The government should review and update existing laws to align with international standards on gender equality. Enforcing these laws effectively is crucial to protect women's rights and ensure equal opportunities.

(b) *Enhancing Implementation and Enforcement*: There should be robust mechanisms put in place to monitor and evaluate the implementation of gender policies at all levels of government. Training for law enforcement agencies and judicial personnel on gender-sensitive approaches is essential.

(c) *Improving Access to Education*: Efforts should be made to eliminate barriers that prevent girls from accessing quality education. This includes addressing issues such as early marriage, gender-based violence, and lack of infrastructure in schools.

(d) *Promoting Economic Empowerment*: Creating more opportunities for women to participate in the formal economy through skills training, entrepreneurship programs, and access to credit will empower women economically and contribute to poverty reduction.

(e) *Supporting Agriculture and Rural Development*: Women play a crucial role in agriculture and rural development, yet they face numerous challenges. Providing access to land, resources, and technology will enhance their productivity and improve livelihoods in rural areas.

(f) *Enhancing Women's Participation in Politics and Decision-Making*: Encouraging more women to participate in politics, leadership roles, and decision-making processes is vital. Quota systems, mentorship programs, and awareness campaigns can help address the underrepresentation of women in these areas.

References

Adegoke, A. A. (2016). Access to Education for Persons with Disabilities in Nigeria: Challenges and Solutions. *Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*, 39: 1-15.

- Adeyemi, K. A., & Adeyemo, A. O. (2018). Access to Quality Education in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis of the Challenges and Prospects. *Journal of Educational Administration and Policy Studies*, 10(2), 34-47.
- Ajala, O. A. (2017). *Public Policy and Administration in Nigeria: A Comparative Perspective*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bell, K. (2020). *Gender and Power: A Critical Analysis of Intersectionality*. London: Routledge.
- Bryson, V. (1999). *Feminist Debates: Issues of Theory and Political Practice*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Buchanan, E. (2011). Rethinking Women's and Gender Studies. *Feminist Formations*, 23(3): 1-25.
- Burns, J. M. (1969). *The Deadlock of democracy: Four-Party Politics in America*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. Federal Government of Nigeria.
- Eze, C. N. (2019). The Nigerian Legal system: Challenges and Reforms. *Journal of Law and Jurisprudence*, 8(2): 231-248.
- Falola, T. (2021). *Public Policy and Governance in Africa*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fraser, N. (2009). Feminism, Capitalism, and the Cunning of History. *New Left Review*, 56: 97-117.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2007). *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*. Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage Publications.
- Jensen, T. (2021). *The Politics of Gender and the Culture Wars*. London: Routledge.
- Kramer, L. R. (2005). *The Sociology of Gender: A Brief Introduction*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: Roxbury Publishing Company.
- Maisule, A. O., Bamidele, O., and Sennuga, A. I. (2023). *Public Policy and Sustainable Development in Africa*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Mohajan, H. K. (2022). Gender inequality and Sustainable Development: A Systematic Review. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 31(3): 257-272.
- Nachescu, V. (2011). Engaging with Carol Gilligan's Work: A Critical Analysis of in a Different Voice. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 42(2): 147-163.
- National Gender Policy (2021-2026). Federal Ministry of Women Affairs, Abuja- Nigeria.
- Ojo, A. A. (2018). Implementation and Enforcement of Environmental Laws in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis. *Nigerian Journal of Environmental Law*, 2(1): 56-75.
- Okafor, C. C. (2018). Economic Empowerment of Women in Nigeria: A Critical Examination of the Challenges and Strategies. *Journal of Gender and Development Studies*, 6(1): 123-138.
- Olusegun, T. (2022). An Examination of the Nigerian Legal System: Challenges and Prospects. *Journal of Law and Policy*, 10(2): 12-30.
- Onapajo, H. (2003). *Public Policy and Democratic Governance in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- Ononogbu, I. C. and Orji, N. C. (2019). The Nigerian Legal System: An Analysis of its Structure and Operations. *Nigerian Journal of Contemporary Law*, 12(1): 1-20.
- Ononogbu, I. C. and Orji, N. C. (2019). Implementation and Enforcement of Court Judgments in Nigeria: Challenges and Solutions. *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, 82: 1-15.
- Parpart, J. L., Rai, S. M., and Staudt, K. (Eds.). (2000). *Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development in a Global/Local World*. London: Routledge.
- Porter, M. (1995). *Gender and Development: A Relational Approach*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Raheem, A. A., Ojo, A. A. and Oyewo, O. O. (2017). An appraisal of the Nigerian Legal System: Challenges and Prospects. *Journal of Law and Policy*, 6(1): 123-145.
- Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995). New York: United Nations.
- Stamp, P. (1989). *Technology, Gender, and Power in Africa*. Ottawa: IDRC (International Development Research Centre).
- Studer, M. (2017). Towards a Queer Feminist theory of Subjectivity. *Feminist Theory*, 18(1): 35-53.
- Sweetman, C. (Ed.). (2000). *Gender and Development: An Oxfam Guide*. Oxford, UK: Oxfam Publishing.
- Tadesse, M., & Snyder, M. (Eds.). (1995). *African Women and Development: A Reader*. Trenton, New Jersey: African World Press.

- Tinker, I. (1997). *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: A Reader*. Trenton, New Jersey: African World Press.
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.
- Ytre-Arne, B. (2011). *Women's Voices and Agency in a Neoliberal Era: The Gendered Political Economy of Development in Nicaragua*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Group.

Biographical Note

Itojong Anthony AYAMBA, *PhD.*, a Lecturer in the Department of Public Administration, University of Calabar, Calabar NIGERIA. **Area of Specialization:** Policy & Development Studies
Research Interest: Public Policy; Digital Governance; Security Administration. Email: ayambaitojong@unical.edu.ng 08147577117

Benjamin Emmanuel EKOM, a Lecturer in the Department of Public Administration, University of Calabar, Calabar NIGERIA. **Area of Specialization:** Development Administration
Research Interest: Social & Welfare Policy; Development Issues.

Ugo Samuel BASSEY, a Lecturer in the Department of Public Administration, University of Calabar, Calabar NIGERIA. **Area of Specialization:** Development Administration & Policy Studies. **Research Interest:** Gender Studies; Public Policy & Development Issues.

Obal Otu EKPO is a Lecturer in the Department of Environmental Education, University of Calabar, Calabar NIGERIA. **Area of Specialization:** Environmental Education. **Research Interest:** Waste Pollution & Control; Climate Change.