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**ECONOMICS OF INEQUALITY:
GLOBALIZATION, GENDER AND
DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA**

By

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Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies.*



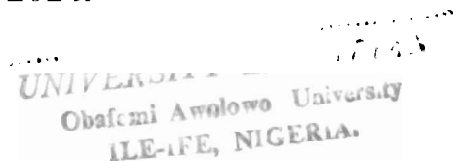
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ECONOMICS OF INEQUALITY: GLOBALIZATION, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

**An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Oduduwa Hall,
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife on Tuesday, 27th
May, 2014.**



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‘The recognition of equal rights for women along with men, and the determination to combat discrimination on the basis of gender are achievements equal in importance to the abolition of slavery, the elimination of colonialism and the establishment of equal rights for racial and ethnic minorities’, (UNDP Human Development Report, 1995:11)

‘Gender equality and women’s empowerment are basic human rights that lie at the heart of equitable development. Nigeria is committed to fostering a healthy respect for persons irrespective of race, class, disability or gender. Women’s empowerment is a viable tool for eradicating poverty and advancing development’. (Nigeria, Vision 20-2020:76)

PREAMBLE

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I stand before you this evening to deliver the 264th inaugural lecture of Obafemi Awolowo University. This is the fifth inaugural lecture from the Department of Economics and the first by a woman in that department.

In this lecture, I will discuss my contributions to progress in my main areas of research, which are Gender/Feminist Economics and Business Economics, highlight areas for further research and also proffer policy recommendations for sustainable human development in Nigeria.

Permit me to recount a brief history of my journey into Gender Studies. While I was undertaking postgraduate studies in Business Economics and Industrial Economics at the University of Manchester, Manchester, U.K. from 1981-1985, I came about Gender Economics, by what I thought then was serendipity. Then,

Professor Gary Cooper of the Department of Psychology organized the annual Women in Management Guest Lecture and invited the entire University of Manchester community. The lecture stimulated my interest in Gender issues and fueled my curiosity to explore that area of research.

With the benefit of hindsight, there was a divine hand behind this because on my employment at the then University of Ife's Department of Economics, Faculty of Social Sciences, in 1986, Professor Simi Afonja of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology was in the process of starting a Programme in Women's Studies. I was among the first critical mass of scholars who engaged with the initiative and I volunteered to Chair the Annual Guest Lecture series. I recollect with nostalgia that with Dr. Wale Rotimi, in 1987, we invited the late Justice Atinuke Ige to give the first Guest lecture titled: 'Women and the Legal Profession in Nigeria'. Since then, with grants from several international funding agencies, I have adopted a multidisciplinary approach to pursue scholarship in various facets of Feminist Economics.

With Senate approval in 1996, the Programme in Women's Studies evolved into the Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies (CGSPS) of which I am the fourth Director and as the saying goes, the rest is history. I had planned to give this lecture in 2010 on my return from sabbatical leave at United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Abuja; however, that was not feasible, mainly because of my appointment as Director of CGSPS on August 1, 2010 and the need to settle into the challenges of the new responsibility. With the celebration of my birthday on May 20, this lecture is arranged as close as possible to mark the occasion. This inaugural lecture affords me the opportunity to join in the academic discourse on rethinking development- an initiative that has gained added momentum since the recent global economic and financial crises. As a Feminist Economist, my studies have challenged the lack of attention by traditional neo-classical economics to real world issues, including gender inequality by the

‘black box’ mainstream approach of economic theory. Consequently, this facet of my research promoted the notion that all economic activities work through and within gender differentiated social relations; that development policies are gender blind and gender equality in development is linked to equitable and sustainable human development outcomes.

In recent decades, while significant progress has been made in narrowing gender gaps in some sectors, especially in primary education, inequalities perpetuated by labour market and institutional discrimination, cultural norms and traditions, persist in several others and continue to retard human progress. Nigeria’s gender profile indicates a relatively lower status of women and girls with gender disparity biased against women in access to productive resources and decision making at all levels. In the past three to four decades, attention to gender inequality has generated increasing scholarly and policy debates and interventions from international agencies, governments and civil society organizations. Like the 1995 UNDP Human Development Report, the 2012 World Development Report was devoted entirely to addressing the adverse effects of gender inequalities on development. Both reports concluded that gender inequality constitutes a critical shortfall to development. Similarly, Chatam House (2010: ix) argued that as shown by its explicit inclusion in the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), while gender equality is critical component of development that does not require economic justification, yet it has positive implications for economic and social development

More than ever before, in the current milieu of globalization and economic crises, I am convinced that contrary to the traditional approach to development based on income and economic growth, it is imperative to address this significant problem within the ambit of the multi-dimensional human development approach. I have therefore deemed it appropriate to title the topic of this lecture as, *Economics of Inequality: Globalisation, Gender and Development in Nigeria*. I anticipate that the lecture will further emphasise the

importance of people - women and men, as the real wealth of nations; and that since gender equality is central to development, therefore, human development if not engendered, is endangered, UNDP, HDR (1995:11). Given its size, resources and prominence on the African continent, Nigeria qualifies as the country where the multifaceted challenges of gender inequality can be effectively tackled not only because this is valuable and is a human right in itself, but also because it is a veritable instrument for effectively promoting economic growth and development.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Bible contains an instructive account of the earliest records of the Creator's mind concerning gender equality in what was then a predominantly patriarchal Jewish society.

'The daughters of Zelophedad of Hephher, the son of Gilead, the son of Makir, the son of Manasseh, belonged to the clans of Manasseh, son of Joseph. The names of the daughters were Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milchah and Tirzah. They approached the entrance to the tent of meeting and stood before Moses, Eleazar, the priest, the leaders and the whole assembly, and said';

"Our father died in the desert. He was not among Korah's followers who banded together against the Lord, but he died for his own sins and left no sons. Why should our fathers name disappear from his clan because he had no son? Give us property among our father's relatives" So, Moses brought their case before the Lord and the Lord said to him;

"What Zelophedad's daughters are saying is right. You must certainly give them property as an inheritance among their father's relatives and turn their father's inheritance over to them. Say to the Israelites, if a man dies and leaves no son, turn his inheritance over to his daughter." Numbers 27 Vs. 1-8; (The Leadership Bible, New International Version, 1998)

The following are key insights derived from this biblical account:

- As was the case in Jewish society and as obtains in most Nigerian societies, access to productive resources is facilitated by inheritance of property largely biased against female children.
- In similar fashion to occurrences in some parts of Nigeria, in the event of the death of a father without a male heir, female Jewish children did not inherit their father's property.
- By daring to ask to inherit their late father's property, Zelophehad's daughters broke the conventional traditional norms of their days.
- Such an audacious request was unprecedented in their male dominated and male privileged society and if their mission failed, they risked the wrath of their male relatives.
- **SURPRISINGLY, Almighty God backed their request and voted for gender equality.**
- A precedent for gender justice was set and social change occurred that affected Jewish girl children positively for generations thereafter, (see Job 42¹⁵)

In acceding to the request of Zelophehad's daughters, God looked through the gender lens at these four women and all women in relation to the redemptive work of Christ through whom the whole of humanity obtained equal rights before God. 'There is no male or female but you are all one in Christ Jesus, Galatians 3 Vs. 2-7, (The Leadership Bible, New International Version, 1998).

1.1 Nigeria's Gender Profile

The opening quotes of this lecture describe the ideal or desired situation for gender equality in any country; however, in most parts of the developing world including Nigeria, a wide chasm exists between the ideal or rhetoric and reality. Nominally, the achievement of gender equality is an accepted development goal in Nigeria. In addition to constitutional provisions and the 2006

National Gender Policy, Nigeria is a signatory to several international, regional and sub-regional protocols and instruments on gender equality for example, the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Protocol on People's Rights and the Rights of Women (APRRW).

However, in reality, mainly due to government's lack of political will, Nigeria has often failed to domesticate and implement such treaties and conventions. Consequently, the situation of majority of Nigeria's 80.2 million girls and women, who constitute roughly half of the population and nearly one in every four women in sub-Saharan Africa, indicate that their standard of living is relatively worse than men's. Although the World Economic Forum's 2013 Global Gender Gap Report identified the empowerment of women as a fundamental component of the progress, prosperity and competitiveness of nations, Nigeria's rank of 106 out of 136 countries by all measures of gender gaps indicates very poor access to resources and opportunities for women. The gaps are worse in health and education where Nigeria ranks 122nd and 126th position respectively, Hausmann, (2013).

As a pointer to the plight of women and girls, British Council (2012) also highlights Nigeria's poor human development indicators: about 42% of children are malnourished; 54 million Nigerian women who provide over 60% of the rural labour force live and work in the rural areas where poverty is more pervasive. Women also comprise the majority of Nigeria's informal labour force and are estimated to be five times less likely than men to own land, a precursor of their poorer access to loans and capital. Gender gaps also characterize the public sector where women occupy less than 38% of overall public sector positions, albeit at junior cadres, since they are found in about 17% of senior positions in the public sector. Arising from poverty and socio-cultural norms, girls are more likely to have lower education, with access narrowing with progression up the education ladder (Tables 1 & 2; Figures 2 & 3).

Girls are also more likely to drop out of school, experience early marriage and early childbirth with associated complications from vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF). Estimated at 545 per 100,000 live births, British Council, (2012), Nigeria's maternal mortality rate translates to 1 Nigerian woman dying every 20 minutes. With limited participation in decision making, while more women than men register to vote, a miniscule are elected into political office; consequently, women hold less than 6 per cent of seats at both the lower and upper houses of assembly (Tables 1 and 4; Figures 4-6). Available evidence further points to women's higher vulnerability to HIV/AIDS infection relative men, and thus higher representation among newly HIV infected persons (Table 3 & Figure 1). There is growing incidence of gender based violence and institutionalized violence like sexual harassment and rape against women, with nearly half of unmarried women in parts of Southern Nigeria reporting to having experienced physical violence, British Council, (2012).

The unflattering socio-economic statistics of Nigeria's gender profile point to deeply entrenched gender inequalities which jeopardize the well-being of future generations of Nigerians and also underscore the relevance of this inaugural lecture. As the third millennium development goal, achieving gender equality and empowering women is central to addressing gender inequalities and it is a major requirement for the achievement of all other millennium development goals. There is increasing evidence that gender inequality retards development and of the indispensability of gender equality for economic growth, Kabeer (2005b). This explains why the Economist (2006), urged policy planners to promote women's labour market participation rather than key sources of global growth such as China, India and the internet because economic growth is driven by women. However, beyond efficiency considerations, the intrinsic argument rests on gender equality as a human right in itself and is critical for providing equal opportunities for women and men to contribute to and benefit from development.

However, contrary to theoretical assumptions, the effects of globalization are not gender neutral but varied; women and men are not affected the same way. The benefits of globalization are unevenly distributed often with adverse consequences for women. Thus, while women's labour force participation is increasing, in view of women's limited ownership and control over productive resources, they are mostly engaged in insecure, low paying and vulnerable employment in the informal sector, ILO, (2012). Therefore, economic processes alter and may sometimes reinforce gender inequalities.

The quickened pace of globalization in recent decades has also resulted in divergent debates about its effects on inequality. On one side are its critics, Sala-i-Martin (2002; Goldberg et al., (2007) who argue that globalization widens inequalities both within and between countries; on the other side are its proponents who affirm that it has facilitated global economic integration, reduced poverty and closed the inequality gap, Dreher (2003); Dollar and Kraay (2002). On balance, World Commission on Social Dimensions of Globalization affirms that globalization is a process that has created winners and losers, ILO, (2004). While it is certain that globalization has become a key feature of social and economic realities in today's world, there is no doubt that the title of today's lecture is both topical and engaging and that it has weighty implications for sustainable human development in Nigeria.

Today, I will interrogate the arguments between these two sides of debate from a gender perspective and highlight my contributions to the discourse by drawing on over 20 years of scholarly engagement with gender and development issues. Today's lecture revolves around an overview of current theoretical and empirical literature on economic globalization with a view to synthesise the gendered effects of its various dimensions. I will highlight my contributions to knowledge in Gender/Feminist Economics where most of my research studies were concentrated. I will also document my empirical studies in Business Economics, identify further areas of

research and proffer policy recommendations for sustainable human development in Nigeria.

Table 1: Indicators of Gender Inequality in Nigeria				
	Indicators	Male	Female	Difference
	<u>Population and Families</u>	%	%	%
	1. Population 2006	49	51	2
	2. Early Marriage	7.2	92.8	85.6
	<u>Health</u>			
	3. Percentage living with HIV/AIDS (Estimate 2010)	44.3	55.7	11.4
	4. Life Expectancy (HDR 2008)	48	52	4
	<u>Education</u>			
	5. Youth Literacy in Any Language	86	79	7
	6. Adult Literacy in Any Language	68.5	60	8.5
	7. Adult Literacy	31.5	40	8.5
	8. Primary School Enrolment (2010)	53.4	46.6	6.8
	9. Secondary School Enrolment (2010)	54.2	45.8	8.4
	10. Tertiary Enrolment:			
	NCE (2009)	51.1	48.9	2.2
	Polytechnic (2010)	72.3	27.7	44.6
	University (2010)	61.6	38.4	23.2
	<u>Power and decision Making</u>			
	11. Ministers (2011)	757 (20)	23 (6)	54 (14)
	12. Parliamentary Seat both Houses (INEC)	93.6	6.4	87.2
	13. State House of Assembly (INEC 2011)	94.5	5.5	89%
	14. Permanent Secretaries (MDAs 2010)	96.5	3.5	93
	15. Directorate (MDAs 2010)	90.8	9.2	81.6
Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2011); Gender Statistics Newsletter:6				

Table 2: Trend in and Status of Gender Equality Indicators

Indicator	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2012	2015 target
Ratio of girls to boys in primary education (girls per 100 boys)	76	78	78	79	79	81	81	83	85.1	85.41		90	100
Ratio of girls to boys in secondary education (girls per 100 boys)	75	81	81	80	78	77.4	80.6	79.4	75.4	79.91		88	100
Ratio of girls to boys in tertiary education (girls per 100 boys)	46	66	68	87	72	75.5	70.1	69	66.4	66.823			100
Share of women in wage employment in the non-governmental sector (%)	6.6					7.9	7.9				7.7	14	
Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament (%)	1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	7.7	7.5	7.5	7	35

Source: Nigeria, MDG 2013 Report, <http://nphcda.org/wp-content/upload/2014/03/NIGERIA-MDG-2013-REPORT.pdf>; 26

Table 3 : HIV Infection in Nigeria, 2008-2010

Year	Total	Male		Female	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
2008	329,984	146,137	44.3	183,845	55.71
2009	336,379	149,095	44.32	187,284	55.68
2010	339,016	150,351	44.35	188,665	55.65

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Gender Statistics Newsletter, July –December, 2011: 3

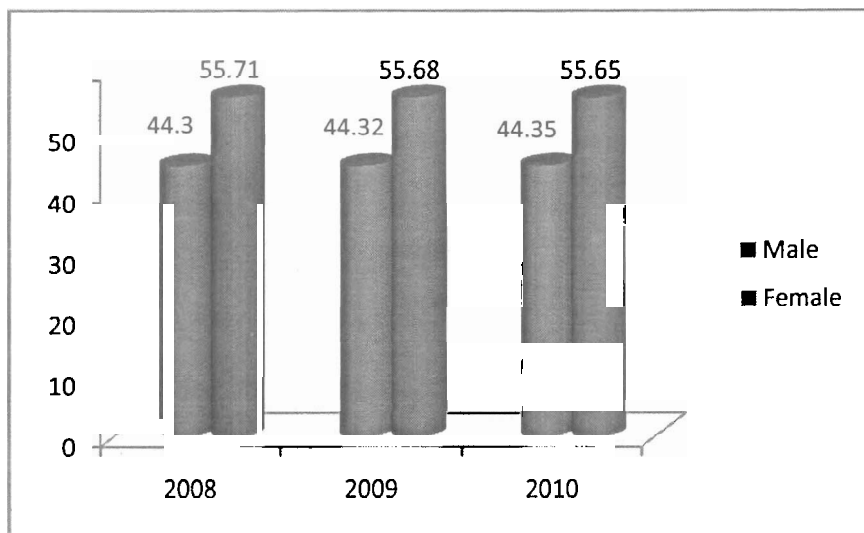


Figure 1: HIV Infection by Gender in Nigeria, 2008-2010

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Gender Statistics Newsletter, July - December, 2011: 3

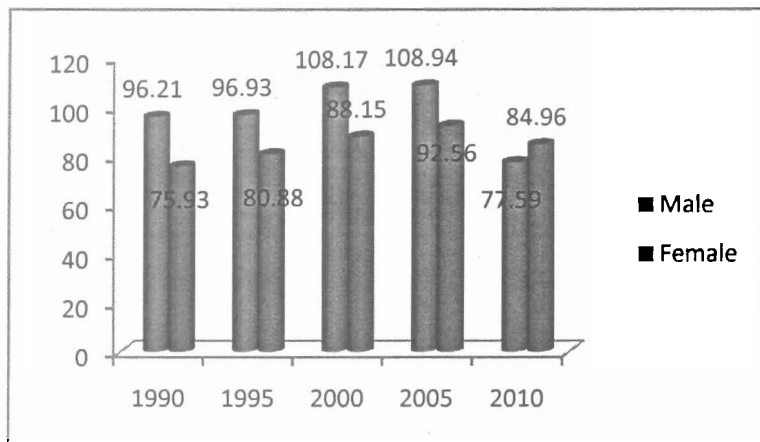


Figure 2: Access to Primary Education by Gender

Source: Data from Africa Development Indicator (ADI) and World Development Indicator (WDI), Dec. 2013 Update; Database of UK data service.

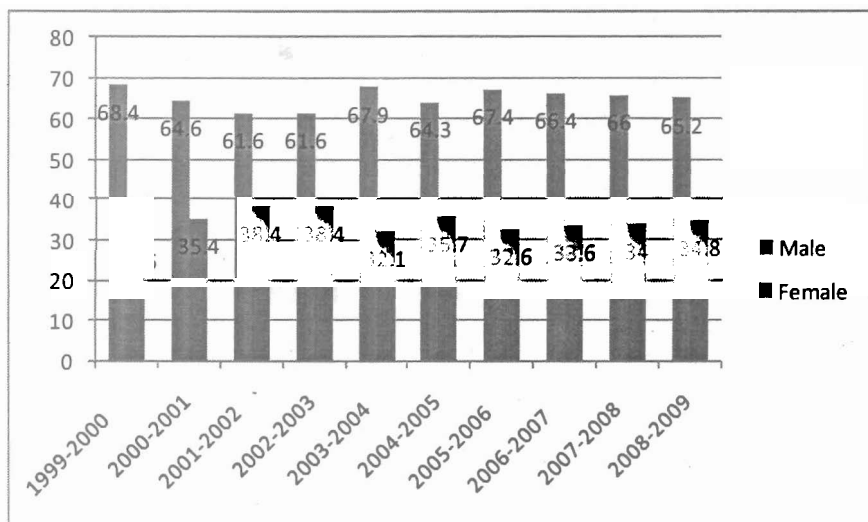


Figure 3: Enrolment in Nigerian Universities by Gender

Source: Fapounda Tinuke (2011) Empowering Women through Higher Education in Nigeria, European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 9, No. 1, Special Issue: 387-406, http://www.journalsbank.com/ejhss_9_4.pdf: 398

Table 4: Seats Held in National Assembly by Gender, 2007 -2011

Legislators	2007		2011	
Senate	Number	%	Number	%
Men	100	91.7	101	92.7
Women	9	8.3	8	7.3
Total	109	100	109	100
House of Representatives				
Men	334	92.8	338	93.9
Women	26	7.2	22	6.1
Total	360	100	360	100
Both Houses				
Men	434	92.5	439	93.6
Women	35	7.5	30	6.4
Total	469	100	469	100

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Gender Statistics Newsletter, July –December, 2011: 4

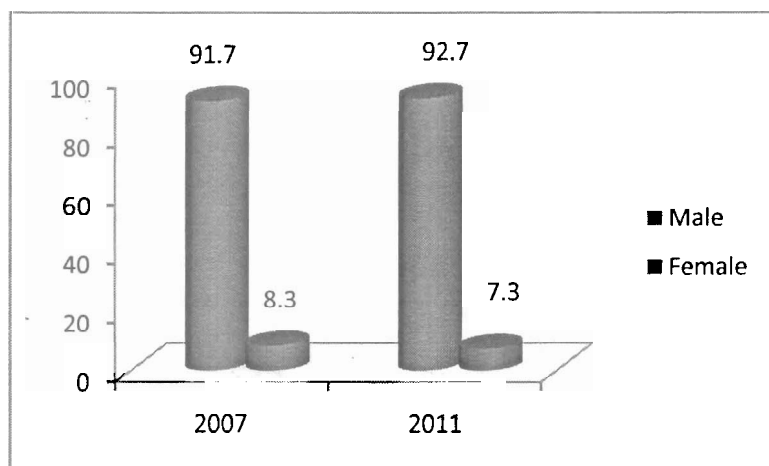


Figure 4: Seats Held in National Assembly by Gender, 2007 -2011
- Senate

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Gender Statistics Newsletter, July – December, 2011: 4

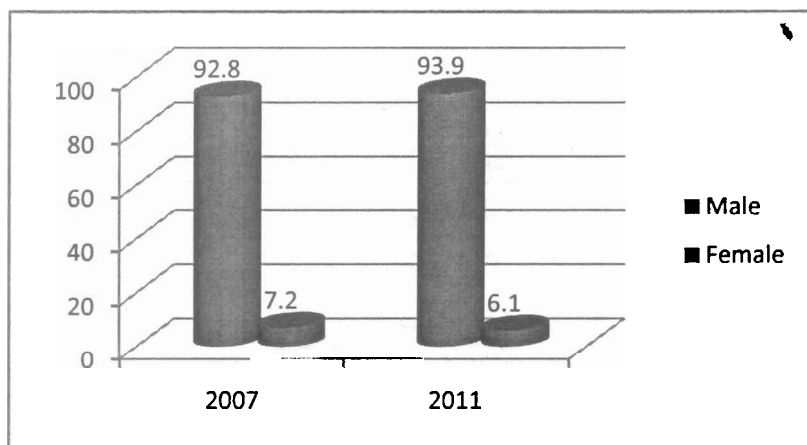


Figure 5: Seats Held in National Assembly by Gender, 2007 - 2011- House of Representatives

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Gender Statistics Newsletter, July – December, 2011: 4

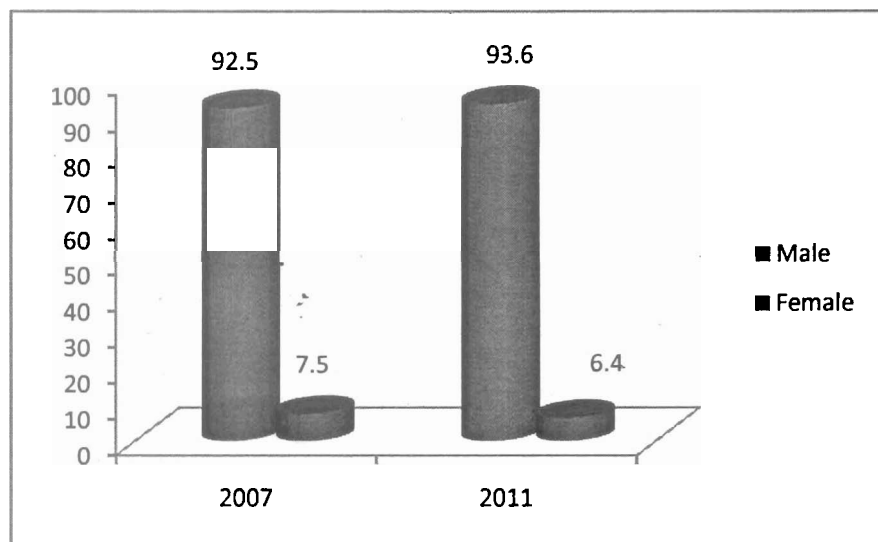


Figure 6: Seats Held in National Assembly by Gender, 2007 - 2011- House of Representatives (Both Houses)

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Gender Statistics Newsletter, July – December, 2011: 4

2.0 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Evolution of Thinking on Human Development

Sant'Ana (2008) identified the lack of conceptual convergence on the notion of development as the reason for the similar lack of consensus on how best to measure and promote it. The concept of development evolved from the traditional growth based paradigm by which economic growth was the proxy for national development and progress. Growth promoting policies were deemed good for development and minimal attention was devoted to issues of redistribution, inequality, poverty and social policies. At best, considerations of the poor were accessory, with growth assumed to trickle down to poor segments of a country's population. Thus, the traditional notion of development was synonymous with increases in a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a one-dimensional concept that was measured in terms of national income. Income was used as the measure of utility with little concern for intra- and inter-class, regional or gender distributions of income.

Initial dissatisfaction with uni-dimensional concept of money metric income measure of development came in the mid-1970s from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Basic Needs Approach (BNA). Basic needs were described as the bundle of essential goods and services needed to attain a minimum standard of living. Similar to the growth- focused policies, the BNA promoted educational attainment as the means to development. Unlike the BNA, the IMF/World Bank neo-liberal structural adjustment policies of the 1980s emphasized a larger role for market forces and a minimal role for government intervention which was deemed to have contributed to the debt crises in developing countries, Lampeyre (2004).

In sharp contrast with the neo-liberal growth paradigm that informed structural adjustment and globalization policies, the capabilities approach propounded by Amartya Sen broadened the

development debate by focusing on the multi-dimensional notion of human capabilities, (Clark 2006).

2.1.1 Amartya Sen's Capability Approach

Amartya Sen's capability approach provided a robust conceptual foundation for the Human Development paradigm. The definition of human development revealed a strategic and comprehensive approach to human well-being that transcends current time periods. Consequently, human development was conceived by Sen as the process of enlarging a person's functionings and capabilities to function or the range of things a person could do and be in life. Beginning with the 1990 UNDP Human development Report (HDR), Sen's capabilities approach was broadened and operationalised with its influence on the conceptualisation of the notion of human development as the enlarging of people's choices, Fukudar-Parr, (2003)

2.1.2 Philosophical Foundations of the Human Development Approach

The Human Development Approach (HDA) did not originate in a vacuum; its philosophical antecedent has a long history. It dates back to the practical welfare considerations by Aristotle and borrows from Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant (Alkire, 2002). Like Adam Smith, Sen regarded economic growth and the expansion of goods and services as necessary but not sufficient conditions for human development, Clark (2006). In addition, Sen like Aristotle emphasized that wealth is not sought for its own sake alone but as a means to an end. Consequently, people's well-being is not determined merely by the commodities that are commanded but how well people can function with the goods and services at their disposal. In identifying its several philosophical links, Fukudar-Parr (2003) pointed out that though all the three alternative paradigms have the same concern with human well-being, the philosophical underpinnings of the HDA differs from the BNA and neo-liberalism. Table 5, indicates that these

differences are based on the preferred strategies for meeting human well-being. For a start, neo-liberalism defines well-being as utility maximization. Sen disagreed with traditional welfare economics for its traditional association of well-being with either income or utility (happiness, desire fulfillment), mainly because wealth is not pursued for its own sake but rather as a means to an end. Sen argued that human well-being is multi-dimensional and utility is only one, rather than the sole pursuit of human existence. Thus other broader, intrinsic and inclusive values such as rights and positive freedoms neglected by the welfare approach are pertinent for human well-being.

While the BNA like the HDA considers people as central to development, however, this is only in a rather 'commodification' sense. It is mainly in regards to meeting people's basic material needs through provision of goods and services rather than focusing on the range of capabilities for defining human well-being as proposed by the HDA. Of greater concern are the unanswered questions of the BNA. Alkire (2002) identified key omissions in the BNA as pertaining to unanswered questions about: who defines needs; whether the goal of the BNA is human progress or basic needs; where participation fits in; what needs can be legitimately met by institutions; and what strategies are appropriate for coordinating international funding to meet basic needs. In other words, the HDA emphasizes that human well-being transcends the material dimension prioritized by neo-liberal and BNA approaches.

The HDA's key distinguishing features are its concerns with broadening the capabilities of people; and its view of economic growth as a means rather than the end of development- thus, it sees people and not merely economic growth as the goal of development. In addition, it focuses on equity as a key component of achieving people's well-being. Consequently, its evaluative aspect moves from a sole pre-occupation with an aggregate economic measure to an alternative, composite assessment of

human achievements. In addition to having access to necessary resources, it emphasizes that people should be able to make choices in decisions affecting their daily lives. Thus, in a nutshell, the HDA postulates that functionings are incomplete without agency. Finally, it has robustly incorporated the assessment of evolving development challenges such that its measures of development have been broadened to encompass salient but hitherto neglected dimensions such as gender equality, sustainability, equity and governance.

Clark (2006:18) pointed out that the Capabilities Approach (CA) that informs the Human Development Approach lends itself to the analysis of a broad range of development issues:

‘Attempts to apply the CA have mushroomed in recent years. Among other things the CA has been used to investigate poverty; inequality; well-being; social justice; gender; social exclusion; health; disability; child poverty; and identity. It has also been related to human needs; human rights; and human security; as well as development more broadly’.

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Table 5: The Human Development Approach, the Neoliberal Alternative and the Basic Needs antecedent: Comparing Key Features

	<i>Human development</i>	<i>Neoliberalism</i>	<i>Basic needs</i>
Philosophical underpinnings			
Normative assumptions	Explicit	Implicit	Not fully specified
Concept of well-being	Functionings and capabilities	utility	Meeting basic needs
Evaluative aspect			
Lending criterion for evaluating Development progress	Human capabilities, equality of outcomes, fairness and justice in institutional arrangements	Economic well-being, economic growth, efficiency	Poverty reduction in terms of income, access to basic social services
Measurement tools favoured	Human outcomes, deprivational and distributional measures	Economic activity and condition, averages and aggregate measures	Access to material means, derivational measures
Agency aspect			
People in development as ends and/or means	Ends: beneficiaries; means: agents	Means: human resources for economic activity	Ends: beneficiaries
Mobilizing agency	Individual action and collective action	Individual action	Concern with political will and political base
"Development strategy"			
Key operational goals	Expanding people's choices (social, economic, political)	Economic growth	Expanding basic social services
Distribution of benefits and costs	Emphasis on equality and on the human rights of all individuals	Concern with poverty	Concern with poverty
Links between development and human rights and freedoms	Human rights and freedoms have intrinsic value and are development objectives. Current research on their instrumental role through links to economic and social progress	No explicit connection. Current search for a link between political and civil freedoms and economic growth	No explicit connection

Source: Fukuda-Parr Sakiko (2003) The Human Development Paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's Ideas on Capabilities, Feminist Economist. 9 (2-3): 301-317

Grounded in Sen's capability approach, the UNDP (1990) Human development approach challenged the dominant neo-liberal paradigm based on GDP and economic growth as the best metric of, and strategy for development. It translated the ideas from Sen's capability approach into 'operational policy prescriptions,' Alkire, (2002:11) through its Human Development Reports usually published on an annually basis since 1990.

As highlighted in Table 6, the robustness and flexibility of the HDA is amply demonstrated in the extension of human development in subsequent HDRs to interrogate a wide range of policy challenges. For instance, Sustainable Development (HDR, 1994); Gender Equality (HDR, 1995); Poverty (HDR, 1997); Consumption and Sustainable Development (HDR, 1998); Globalisation (HDR, 1999); Human Rights (HDR, 2000); New Technology (HDR, 2001) Democracy (HDR, 2002) ; Migration (HDR, 2005); Climate change (HDR, 2007) and most recently, The Rise of the Global South (HDR, 2013). Thus, Therefore, the capabilities approach is a dynamic concept that can be 'operationalised in many countries, at different levels and in response to different problems,' Alkire (2002).

Table 6: Themes of Human Development Reports, 1990-2013

S/N	Year	Theme
1	1990	Concepts and Measurement of Human Development
2	1991	Financing Human Development
3	1992	Global Dimensions of Human Development
4	1993	People's participation
5	1994	New Dimensions of Human Security
6	1995	Gender and Human Development
7	1996	Economic Growth and Human Development
8	1997	Human Development to Eradicate Poverty
9	1998	Consumption for Human Development
10	1999	Globalisation with a Human Face
11	2000	Human Rights and Human Development
12	2001	Making New Technologies work for Human Development
13	2002	Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World
14	2003	Millennium Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty
15	2004	Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World
16	2005	International Cooperation at the Crossroads: Aid, Trade and Security in an unequal world
17	2006	Beyond Scarcity: Power, Poverty and the Global water crisis
18	2007/8	Fighting Climate Change : Human Solidarity in a divided world
19	2009	Overcoming barriers : Human Mobility and Development
20	2010	The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development
21	2011	Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All
22	2013	The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World

Source: Human Development Reports: Global Reports, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/global-reports>

2.1.3 Measuring Human Development

Given its preference for a composite index of human progress that encompasses people's capabilities that would also be embraced by policy makers, the Human Development Index (HDI), a summary measure of human progress was developed by the Human Development Report. In moving from the aggregate one-dimensional measure that emphasized growth proxied by income and as a metric of wellbeing, the multi-dimensional HDI was different from GDP. Given the wide range of human capabilities, a few of which are outlined in Table 7, there was the initial need to delineate which capabilities to include in the HDI. To do this, it was important that the selected capabilities be the most basic and that they combine critical life choices.

Thus, three essential human development capabilities- to be knowledgeable (proxied by literacy); to survive and live a healthy life (life expectancy); and to enjoy a decent standard of living (income) – were incorporated into the HDI. Table 7 shows that between 2005 (HDI: 0.434) and 2012 (HDI: 0.471), there was minimal improvement in Nigeria's HDI with Nigeria ranked among low HDI countries at 153 out of 186 countries in 2012, (HDR, 2013). The report further stated that life expectancy in Nigeria was 52 years, adult literacy was 61.3 per cent and 68.0 per cent of Nigerians lived below the poverty line of US \$1.25 per day (HDR, 2013). Paradoxically, these poor socio-economic indicators of human well-being occurred in the context of the country's estimated GDP growth rate of over 6 per cent in 2012 (HDR, 2013)

Table 7: Nigeria's Human Development Index: 2005-2013

S/N	Year	HDI
1.	2005	0.434
2.	2006	0.444
3.	2007	0.473
4.	2008	0.448
5.	2009	0.453
6.	2010	0.457
7.	2011	0.467
8.	2012	0.471

Source: <http://countryeconomy.com/hdi/nigeria>

2.2 Gender and the Human Development Index

In addition to the evaluative measure and to account for distributive concerns, the agency dimension was significant. It was important to ensure that the HDI accounts for people not merely as passive recipients of development but as active agents of change. Initially the HDI ignored distributional concerns and overlooked the gender, racial, regional and class differences between distinct groups of people. Efforts to redress this omission started with HDR (1995), which acknowledged inequalities in opportunities and disadvantages of women and men. The publication of the 1995 HDR was to mark the 1995 Beijing UN Fourth World Conference on Women - a key milestone in global efforts towards gender equality. HDR (1995) was influenced by the work of feminist scholars and activists in advocating for gender equality; and

supplementary indices that were sensitive to gender disparity in HDI were developed. These comprise of the Gender Development Index (GDI), which discounts the HDI for gender disparity and ranks countries accordingly. Estimates for 2010 Gender Inequality Index (GII) confirm that the largest losses due to gender inequality are in Sub-Saharan Africa, followed by South Asia and the Arab States. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the biggest losses arise from gender disparities in education and from high maternal mortality and adolescent fertility rates,(HDR, (2011:61).

Indicators similar to the GDI from the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report (2013) shown in table 8 point to an overall decline of 12 places in Nigeria's Gender Gap Index (GGI) by rank from 94 in 2006 to 106 in 2013. With an overall score of 0.647 in 2013,Nigeria's 2013 GGI compares very unfavourably with other African countries such as Ghana (overall score of 0.681, ranked 76); Uganda (overall score of 0.709, ranked 46); Lesotho (overall score of 0.753 ranked 16) and Tanzania (overall score of 0.693, ranked 66).

To account for agency dimensions, the 1995 HDR also addressed human capabilities associated with women's political participation and visibility in the public domain. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) was developed to measure the status of women's decision making in the political and public spheres. It has constituted a significant advocacy tool especially in regards to quotas and affirmative action in political parties and parliaments. Table 9 shows that by geo-political zones, north-south variations in human development are similar to changes in gender inequality and gender empowerment. Thus while the North East performed worst by HDI and indices of gender inequality, the South-South had the highest HDI and GDI; the South West ranked best in HPI (indicative of lowest poverty) and the South East ranked best in GEM, a pointer to highest agency.

Table 8: Nigeria's Gender Gap index: 2006-2013

S/N	Gender Gap Index	Overall		Economic Participation		Educational Attainment		Health and Survival		Political Empowerment	
		Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
1	2006 (out of 115 countries)	64	0.61	59	0.612	104	0.816	99	0.966	99	0.049
2	2007(out of 128 countries)	107	0.612	72	0.612	118	0.808	100	0.969	84	0.096
3	2008 (out of 130 countries)	102	0.634	64	0.646	120	0.825	101	0.969	84	0.096
4	2009 (out of 134 countries)	108	0.628	83	0.616	123	0.832	109	0.968	89	0.096
5	2010 (out of 134 countries)	118	0.606	86	0.604	124	0.807	120	0.961	111	0.05
6	2011 (out of 135 countries)	120	0.601	93	0.596	125	0.809	121	0.961	121	0.038
7	2012 (out of 135 countries)	110	0.631	81	0.63	124	0.816	121	0.961	83	0.119
8	2013 out of 136 countries)	106	0.647	54	0.696	126	0.811	122	0.961	83	0.119

Source: World Economic Forum 92013) Global Gender Gap Report: 301

Table 9: Nigeria's Human Development Summary Statistics by Zones, 2008

Zones	Human Development Index (HDI)	Human Poverty Index (HPI)	Gender Development Index (GDI)	Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)	Inequality Measure (INQ)
North Central	0.49	34.65	0.478	0.244	0.49
North West	0.42	44.15	0.376	0.117	0.44
North East	0.322	48.9	0.25	0.118	0.42
South West	0.523	21.5	0.507	0.285	0.48
South East	0.471	26.07	0.455	0.315	0.38
South South	0.573	26.61	0.575	0.251	0.41

Source: UNDP (2010) Human Development Report, Nigeria 2008-2009: 10

3.0 GLOBALISATION, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Theoretically, the main justification for implementation of neo-liberal macroeconomic policies that come under the rubric of globalization is the assumption that they will enhance economic growth and reduce poverty as growth trickles down to the poor. On the other hand, critical scholars point out that globalization is a tide that does not lift all boats and that its economic growth and costs are distributed unevenly between and within countries, Goldberg et al., (2007); Chang, (2010). Its opportunities and risks are similarly predicated on previous access to resources thus making the poor poorer. The economic growth it generates is therefore associated with poverty and inequality. Needless to say it, the discourse on globalization and inequality is intractable, the jury is still out and the debate remains inconclusive.

The gender dimension of globalization is a major facet of the debate- the significant question is whether the effects of globalization are evenly distributed between men and women in developing countries like Nigeria. The topic for today's inaugural lecture is predicated on the argument that globalization, the development approach currently adopted by developing countries like Nigeria and other sub-Saharan African countries, operates with a gender bias.

If so, then redressing such biases is an urgent task in view of the debilitating status of gender relations in sub-Saharan African countries and its implications for sustainable human development, one that merits special attention for the achievement of the MDGs. The relative disadvantages from limited access to productive resources biased against women provides further justification for the assessment of the gender dimensions of the social impact of economic policies. Today's lecture is justified by the strong association between gender equality and the achievement of human development objectives.

Debates on the relevance of gender equality for development rest on two key arguments - intrinsic and instrumental, Kabeer, (2013). The *intrinsic* argument advocates attention to gender equality as a development goal in its own right. It also argues that gender inequality has negative implications for distribution of productive resources and opportunities for women's rights and progress. On the other hand, the *instrumental* argument is predicated on empirical evidence of increasing gender equality in resources and opportunities as indispensable for achieving other development goals. Early evidence in support of the instrumental rationale resulted from productivity gaps and failure of development projects associated with gender inequality in income generation activities, Boserup, (1970). The dominance of World Bank/ IMF neo-liberal policies characterized by rolling back the state, greater reliance on market forces and market openness from the 1980s associated with the feminization of poverty, resulted in increasing attention to the gender dimensions of macroeconomic policies.

3.1 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for examining the development implications of the globalization –gender equality nexus has evolved over time. Therefore, it is imperative to examine these concepts so as to gain a better understanding of their meaning.

3.1.1 Gender

While individuals are born male or female with different biological and sexual characteristics, gender refers to the social construction of the differences between men and women and it varies from one culture to another and over time. Gender determines the differential access to social, economic and political power and the allocation, use and control of resources by men and women. Gender relations differ between social and ethnic groups and mediate the economic and social conditions of society by determining access to material resources, differences in status,

power and privilege between men and women, Kabeer, (1994). The challenge with gender relations is that a differential and lower value is assigned to female roles and responsibilities in most developing countries, including Nigeria, where gender inequality is pervasive. A gender perspective of development entails taking account of the uneven impacts of development policies on men and women arising from unequal gender social relations. It also seeks to redress problems associated with gender inequality, for example poor health, illiteracy, poverty and social exclusion, (See Figure 7).

The publication of Ester Boserup's book, *Women's Role in Economic Development* marked a watershed in understanding the impact of development on the position of women in developing economies. Boserup (1970) observed that women were marginalized by development outcomes and her work and others in the same category, heralded activities and projects focused on redressing the exclusion of women from development. Critique of WID for its focus on women as a single category led to a shift from WID to Gender and Development (GAD) and the adoption of gender mainstreaming as the preferred strategy for integrating gender into development. WID was also criticized for its assumption that development was not the problem but rather women's exclusion from it. Accompanying the shift to GAD was the growing feminist analysis of the patriarchal nature of the state and the ways it ignored the interests of women. The change to GAD shifted the problem of development from a concentration on women to gender relations. It points not merely at the need to increase resources for women's development activities but emphasizes the need for gender analysis of development policies so as to uncover and address the root causes of gender inequality

Concerns with gender and development have reinforced the belief that while equality of men and women is essential in every egalitarian society, yet in no region of the developing world do women enjoy equal status with men. Gender inequalities exist in legal, social and economic rights. Gender mediates the way men

and women experience development because gender is constructed in and permeates the entire fabric of society. On the surface, development policies appear to be gender neutral, that is, affect men and women in the similar ways but in reality they are gendered and have different effects on men and women

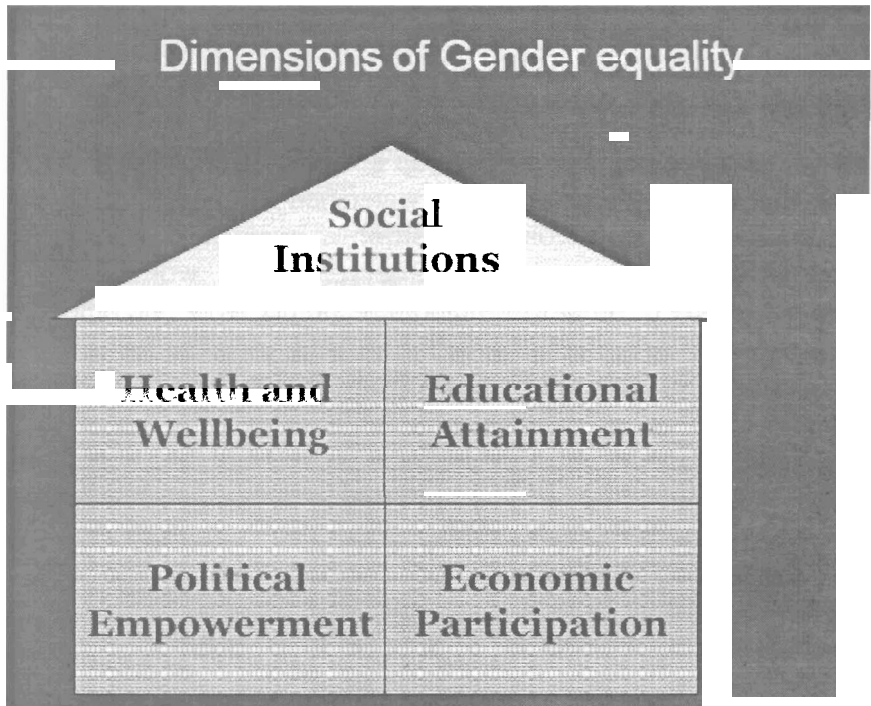


Figure 7: Dimensions of Gender Equality
Source: Source: Louka Katseli (2007) Gender Equality and Economic Development, www.oecd.org/dev/38219733.pps

3.1.2 Globalisation

Globalisation is a multi-dimensional concept that has been defined in several ways. Thorin (2001) observed that while it has political and cultural dimensions, yet, the role of economic factors are more pronounced. The focus of this lecture, economic globalization, has been defined broadly as openness in trade, investment and financial flows across national borders, Kanbur, (2011). Narrowly defined, globalization entails greater integration of national economies into the global economy and consists of process and outcome dimensions, Kohl, (2003). Process dimensions of globalization refer to the policy reforms such as trade and financial liberalization and technology change arising from innovations in ICTs. Outcome dimensions comprise of reduced barriers to international trade, capital, labour, technology and ideas that bring about closer integration of national and regional economies into global markets.

However, such integration results not only in greater openness but also vulnerability of local economies to global market forces. Stefanovic (2008) defined globalisation from three perspectives. First, as intensification of global flows of goods and production factors, facilitated by modern transportation and communication means. Second as a compression of time and space in a way that events in one part of the world have instantaneous effects on distant locations; and third as historical transformation in the economy, politics and culture. With a focus on its main structural dimensions, Mills (2009) conceptualized globalization as comprising mainly of internationalisation of markets, characterized by receding role of national borders for economic trade, growing integration of countries through advances in information and communication technologies and the rising dominance of market forces. For developing countries, globalization has resulted in greater internationalisation of production, more intense competition from trade openness and a larger role for market forces. These policy packages were based on the expectation of

trickle-down theory, that is, that the virtuous cycle of prescribed policies would lead to growth which would in turn result in poverty reduction. For the purpose of this inaugural lecture, the definition of globalization preferred borrows from the UNDP Human Development Report (1999: 97) and is conceived as a process with 'human well-being as the end and economic growth as its means'. It entails harmonising global competition and free market approaches with steady and expanding support for (gender-responsive) human development and human rights in all countries, developed and developing'.

In a broad sense, globalization entails the implementation standard macroeconomic policy packages consisting of stabilization, liberalization and structural adjustment policies prescribed by the Bretton Woods institutions of IMF and World Bank policy package known as the Washington Consensus. These consist of domestic and international policy reform packages of privatization and deregulation as well as broad policy reforms of Structural Adjustment Programmes and stabilization packages, Lampeyre, (2004). The policies favour a departure from import substitution industrialization to a market - oriented approach defined by a greater role for market forces in the domestic policy space. Viewed as the updated version of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), globalisation has intensified the pace of global integration from the 1980s.

Globalisation is thus seen as an agenda pursued through IMF/ World Bank prescribed Structural Adjustment programmes in developing countries, in the wake of the debt crises of the early 1980s, but now implemented worldwide. Like SAPs, the cores of globalization are stabilization and adjustment policies that promote a minimal role for national governments and marketisation of governance. As stated by Thorin (2001:12), globalization can be viewed as the world-wide imposition and continuation of the SAP agenda by the IMF/World Bank:

‘Globalization is what structural adjustment policies were designed to do, to integrate the world economy in stronger terms than ever before.’

Lampeyre (2004:15) affirms the similar links between globalization and structural adjustment as follows:

‘Some developing countries, due to mismanagement of their economies, had also run into intractable problems of persistent inflation at galloping rates, and structural adjustment clearly had to take place. A few suffered from stagnation and an extreme distortion of their economies caused by a breakdown in market mechanisms and the pervasive role of the state sector in the ownership and management of their economy. These indebted countries had no choice but to pursue this orthodox set of policies that were designed in a universal way to correct financial and payment imbalances, under IMF supervision. Initially the policies were mainly macroeconomic stabilization policies, and amounted to the reduction of public expenditure, increase in revenue, devaluation, and the removal of price controls. Later, they evolved into a broader package, involving trade liberalization and foreign exchange restrictions, deregulation of the economy, privatization, and the other elements of what came to be called the “Washington Consensus”.

3.1.3 Theoretical Foundations of Globalisation

Globalisation is premised on neo-liberal orthodoxy of reliance on market forces that views nations, cities and individuals as entrepreneurs. The neoliberal ideology entails the expansion of markets and intensification of its forces. Its goal is to integrate every action into the market through the process of competition. For its philosophy, neo-liberalism views people as existing for the market rather than the converse. Thus every individual is deemed to be an entrepreneur acting with an entrepreneurial mindset. Relying on trade liberalization for promoting economic integration, neo-liberalism views trade and national sovereignty as non-compatible since economic progress comes at a price- a trade-off of national autonomy. Since its ethical precepts demands conformity with market forces, in the neo-liberal worldview, the market is the overriding phenomenon that should permeate and

control every sphere of human endeavour, including society, culture, people and their values. In this context, the market replaces traditional social norms and private life, Chang, (2010).

3.1.4 Inequality

Broadly speaking, inequality is viewed as income inequality, commonly measured by the Gini coefficient and Theil indices. The Gini coefficient summarises inequality in a single figure with 1 indicating perfect inequality and 0, perfect equality. A thin line distinguishes inequality from poverty; while inequality measures dispersion in the distribution of income, poverty is concerned with the lower end of the distribution. Historically, debates about inequality have been discussed in the development literature from the viewpoint of the distributional consequences of economic growth.

Classical economists advocated income inequality because it was considered necessary for accumulation. Thus, income inequalities provided incentives for economic growth and growth was presumed to trickle down to the poor thereafter. In contrast, Keynes argued that income equality promoted economic growth. Income inequality was discouraged because it would reduce consumption capacity and result in contraction of aggregate demand with overall adverse effects on economic growth. On the other hand, income equality would result in sustained economic growth via the multiplier effect. From the Marxist economics viewpoint, income inequalities would mean less consumption by the poor. This would in turn reduce demand of goods and services and precipitate a glut of unsold goods and services. The ensuing fall in production would cause economic stagnation. Post Keynesians associated income inequality with excessive thrift that would lower the incentive to invest and ultimately reduce economic growth, Aghion, (1997).

The discourse has centered mainly on whether there's a conflict between development and equality. The contributions by Lewis

(1954) and Kuznets (1955) have influenced the debate significantly, Kanbur, (2013). The surplus labour model by Lewis (1954) postulated that in a two sector economy at early stages of growth, with labour migration from traditional agricultural to the high income modern sector, inequality would increase in the short run. Like earlier classical models by Ricardo and Smith, development accompanied by rapid growth was deemed to be in-egalitarian given its uneven start and spread. This thinking informed the later focus in the 1970s by the World Bank's president, Robert McNamara to issues of 'redistribution with growth' Kanbur (2013). In tune with prevailing theoretical thinking, the approach was that transfers had to be targeted to the poor so as to alleviate the adverse and uneven effects of growth.

Kuznets (1955) hypothesised initial negative, followed by subsequent positive relationship between growth and inequality, or the inverted U-curve Unlike the earlier concern with in-egalitarian effects of growth that were ameliorated by poverty alleviation policies, attention to growth-equity trade off declined during the decade of the debt crisis and SAP in 1980s. Further contributions to the debate by Dollar and Kraay (2000a) affirmed that economic growth is indispensable for achieving poverty reduction. However, other scholars, Chen and Ravallion , (2001; Rodriguez, (2008; HDR, (1999) expanded the debate by postulating that while growth is a pre-requisite, it is not a sufficient condition for sustained poverty reduction.

Table 10 indicates that in 2010 Sub-Saharan Africa was the region with the greatest divergence between IHDI and HDI signifying the highest losses to human development (32.8 points) in any region of the world, thus indicating wide inequalities across its population in human development.

Table 10: Losses to Human Development from Inequality

		Inequality-adjusted HDI	
Region	HDI value	Value	Overall loss
Developed			
OECD	0.879	0.789	10.2
Non-OECD	0.844	0.756	10.5
Developing			
Arab States	0.588	0.426	27.6
East Asia and the Pacific	0.643	0.505	21.5
Europe and Central Asia	0.702	0.607	13.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.704	0.527	25.1
South Asia	0.516	0.361	30.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.389	0.261	32.8

Source: HDR (2010)

3.1.5 Inequality in Nigeria

High inequalities exist in Nigeria by several measures such as income, access to assets and social services. As expressed succinctly by ODI (2012:14), ‘Inequality in income and asset distribution, unequal access to basic infrastructure and services and social-cultural norms are key drivers of poverty, vulnerability and inequality in the country. Indeed, Nigeria has high rates of inequality. Between 1985 and 2004, inequality increased from 0.43 to 0.49, thereby placing Nigeria, a country with vast human and

petroleum resources among countries with the highest inequality in the world, UNDP, (2009:11). High inequalities as obtain in Nigeria shown in Table 11, indicate not only wide income gaps but also differential access to resources and opportunities such as basic infrastructure, education, training and job opportunities. In addition to signifying unequal access to material resources, it is also a pointer to corruption, poor governance, weak institutions as well as failure of redistribution policies.

While there has not been a shortage of government's and donors' re-distribution efforts couched as poverty reduction programmes, yet improvements have been sluggish with poverty and inequality across and within regions worsening, UNDP (2009). Overall, then, inequality remains high in Nigeria. When adjusted to reflect inequality, Nigeria's Human Development Index value drops significantly, from 0.423 to 0.246 and from 0.471 to 0.276 in 2010 and 2012 respectively, UNDP, (2010, 2013). Where there is no inequality across people, then the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI is equal to the HDI but falls below the HDI as inequality rises.

Meanwhile, these figures mask a large disparity among states, with the states in the middle belt having the highest levels of inequality. This is a factor of a rapidly increasing population and a growing poverty gap, whereby a greater proportion of Nigeria's wealth is concentrated in the hands of the wealthiest: approximately 20% of the population owns 65% of the national wealth, UNDP, (2009). With elite capture, it is saddening that 'the benefits of the wealth generated by oil production are not well distributed among the Nigerian population', ODI (2012: 14). Recent evidence on income distribution in Nigeria shows a yawning gap in income inequality between the haves and have-nots with the lowest 80 per cent of the population receiving about 20.33 per cent of total income while the highest 20 per cent comprised of top politicians and senior civil servants received about 54.1 per cent of total income, Adegoke, (2013:22).

Table 11: Nigeria: Inequality adjusted Human Development and Loses to Human

Year	HDI Education	HDI Health	HDI Income	HDI	Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI)	Loss from Inequality
2005	0.458	0.445	0.404	0.434	N.A	
2006	0.466	0.447	0.422	0.444	N.A	
2007	0.473	0.45	0.423	0.448	N.A	-
2008	0.481	0.452	0.423	0.453	N.A	-
2009	0.488	0.455	0.429	0.457	N.A	-
2010	0.496	0.457	0.437	0.462	0.246	0.216
2011	0.503	0.457	0.444	0.467	0.278	0.189
2012	0.51	0.457	0.45	0.471	0.276	0.195

Source: Compiled from various Human Development Reports (HDR) (2006-2013)

3.1.6 Development

Development is conceived as modernization and desirable progress through improved quality of life for all citizens of developing countries. With efforts to ensure that structural change in Third World countries were similar to those of advanced industrialized countries, the modernization paradigm was popularized in the post WWII period. For African countries, the two decades following independence from colonial rule (1960s -1980s) were the era of state-led development strategy. This development approach was predicated on import substitution industrialisation policies; protection of infant industries; self-reliance through investments in education and health programmes; and infrastructural development. The impressive growth performance of the period was reversed by failure of mismanaged, loss making public enterprises, corruption, poor budgetary performance and the debt crises (Asante 1991).

The late 1980s witnessed IMF and World Bank prescribed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) comprising mainly of expenditure reduction policies to cut demand and expenditure switching policies to expand supply. The policies prescribed a reversal of previous state interventionist import substitution policies, advocated state withdrawal from the economic sphere and favoured a larger role for the market mechanism to stimulate growth and development.

However, SAP failed to deliver on the promise of rapid economic growth and poverty reduction and has been blamed for Africa's lost decade of the 1980s. The decade was characterized by declining growth rates, unemployment, worsening poverty, cuts in public spending on social services and increasing inequalities within countries. Some countries witnessed reduction in per capital income to levels below the immediate pre-independence era. Empirical evidence indicated that SAP policies had adverse effects on women who bore the brunt of adjustment efforts and sought to compensate for cuts in public spending on social services

Gladwin, (1991; Commonwealth Secretariat, (1989); Cornia et al., (1987). Gender inequalities associated with time burdens from unequal household gender division of labour were blamed for women's inability to respond to labour opportunities offered by SAP. Increased poverty and impoverishment in developing countries resulted in calls for adjustment with a human face and alternative development paradigms. With failure of the Washington consensus prescribed SAPs to reduce poverty and attendant widespread criticisms the new policy thrust, the post Washington Development Consensus focused on poverty reduction that emphasized people's participation in and ownership of development decision making.

The Poverty Reduction Policy Papers (PRSPs) was introduced by the World Bank and IMF as the conditionality for debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) facility. The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) was Nigeria's home grown PRSP implemented between 2003 and 2007. Premised on the neo-liberal macroeconomic trickle-down philosophy, the vision of NEEDS emphasized democracy, unity, economic prosperity and equal opportunity for all. In addition to its vision, and mission statements, the document articulated Nigeria's development strategy, a macroeconomic framework based on aggregate GDP growth through privatization, deregulation and liberalization of the economy as well as fiscal and monetary reforms and diversification of the downstream petroleum sector.

The social charter emphasized poverty reduction mainly through job creation, increased access to health services and sanitation facilities and, improved school enrolment. There was hardly any reference to gender issues in NEEDS 1. NEEDS 2 sought to correct this omission but it was later jettisoned for the Yar'dua administration's 7- point agenda and the Goodluck Jonathan administration's Vision 20-2020. Taking a cue from the national level, sub-regional PRSPs or State Economic Empowerment and

Development Strategy (SEEDS) prepared at the State-level and Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS) developed at the local government level, were also initiated. I was privileged to have team-led the SEEDS preparation process for Adamawa State in 2004 and to have contributed the process on integrating human development concerns into national development during my sabbatical leave at UNDP, Abuja.

3.2 Evolution of Gender in Development Thought and Policy

Following Ester Boserup's scholarly work, the corpus of writings and interventions influenced by her work constituted the Women in Development or (WID) approach. WID advocated for policies and programmes that targeted women with the aim of increasing their participation in the development process. WID adopted the equality argument advocating for women's equal participation with men in development. It also advanced the neoclassical economics position or efficiency rationale which viewed women as an untapped resource whose economic participation would improve growth and development. With the failure of modernization policies to reduce poverty and improve welfare, BNA and poverty alleviation policies were the popular development framework in the 1970s. However, the BNA tended to target men as the dominant recipients of development programmes because of its primary focus on women's domestic and reproductive roles and the perspective of women as passive recipients of development programmes, mostly to fulfill their families' basic needs.

With the challenge to modernization theory from Marxist and dependency theorists from developing countries, WID was criticized for its failure to confront the unequal social relations between men and women and was stalled by its equality approach that required far-reaching social change. Resulting from criticisms

of WID, the Women and Development (WAD) approach, disagreed with Boserup's assertion of women's marginalization from development. Proponents of WAD (Pearson *et al.*, 1981) argued that women were incorporated into development but on unequal terms with men and in ways that failed to account for the existing structures of inequality.

Resulting from the development crisis of the 1980s, a period described as Africa's lost decade, development policy was marked by a departure from post World War II Keynesian policies and an ascendancy of neo-liberalism with its emphasis on IMF-World Bank prescribed structural adjustment policies (SAPs). SAPs consisted of trade openness, deregulation and privatization and were accompanied by retrenchments, significant decline in people's standard of living, worsening poverty and the feminization of poverty. The focus of development discourse shifted from economic outcomes to processes and institutions. Neo-liberal economists emphasized institutional efficiency both in the market and in service provision. Expectedly, the period was marked by increased scholarly attention to the effects of SAPs. Of note were studies that emphasized that women were unable to take advantage of any opportunities arising from SAPs because they bore a disproportionate burden of SAPs, Commonwealth Secretariat (1989, Gladwin (1991, Elson, (1991, 1993).

However, in policy circles, WID efficiency arguments viewed by the World Bank as 'smart economics' persisted and were deemed more compatible with prevailing neoliberal policies. From the mid-1990s there was an increasing volume of literature critical of the growing neo-liberal policies of the Washington consensus. Of note were feminist scholars who produced gender analysis of macroeconomic policies and economic growth and also proffered gender sensitive macroeconomic policies as alternatives to the dominant paradigm (Elson, 1993; Kabeer, 1994 and Beneria, 1995). The introduction of gender into development thought provided the context for incorporation of gender social roles into development

discourse. Gender and Development (GAD) theorists argued that gender inequalities did not arise from biological differences between men and women but from gender social relations, and its perpetuation of women's subordination.

By considering women not merely as passive recipients of development aid but as active change agents whose empowerment should be prioritized by development policy, GAD aimed for a transformative agenda of gender social relations and of development itself. In addition, the shift from WID to GAD represented efforts to move from women centered analysis of development to a gendered approach, one that factors in the power relationship between men and women without isolating women from the rest of their everyday realities and power structures through which inequality was perpetuated, Kabeer, (1994). Scholars (Cornia et al., 1987) including Feminist Economists Elson, (1981; 1989); Gladwin, (1981) criticised SAPs neglect of the reproductive sector and for the assumption of an infinitely elastic supply of women's labour. SAPs also assumed that women's contributions to reproducing and maintaining of human resources (RMHR) as given, and as unaffected by external economic conditions. Women's role in bearing the brunt of adjustment policies consisting of women's efforts to compensate for cuts in public spending on health, education and increased retrenchment of male breadwinners are well documented, Commonwealth Secretariat, (1989; Elabor-Idemudia, (1991; Elson, (1991, 1993; Soetan, (1996b; and 1996c). Beginning with calls for adjustment with a human face, Cornia et al., (1987), disenchantments with SAPs led to a search for alternatives. It also resulted in proposals for an African Alternative Framework to SAPs (AAF-SAP), Asante (1991); and the UNDP's people centered or human development approach,(UNDP, (1990).

More consonant with the UN Human development approach, the GAD approach was popularized by the 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women at which gender mainstreaming was

adopted as the strategy for integrating women into development thereby shifting the focus away solely from women to include men as agents of social transformation. So far, judging from its score card in African countries including Nigeria, globalization and development policies have failed to deliver sustainable growth and poverty reduction. The recent global financial and economic crisis has resulted in renewed calls for rethinking development. Undoubtedly, gender issues are central to poverty reduction and economic development. However, WID efficiency arguments that focus on women apart from their gendered contexts appear to be the favoured paradigm for development interventions by the World Bank and the dominant neoclassical economic paradigm.

With increasing discontent with the economic performance of the 1980s and 1990s, global leaders from 189 countries adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) at the 2000 Millennium summit. The MDGs articulated the international development targets (IDTs) from previous UN Conferences and presented a set of eight goals to address poverty by 2015. MDG 3 aimed to promote gender equality and empower women. The target is to achieve gender equality in primary and secondary education by 2005 and at all levels by 2015 and is relied on as the key strategy for achieving all other MDGs. However, about 13 of the 19 countries that face the likelihood of not attaining this goal are in sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria inclusive.

3.2.1 Gender Equality in Microeconomics

Gender equality refers to equal opportunities and outcomes for women and men through the removal of structural inequalities in access to resources, opportunities and services and the promotion of equal rights for women and men.

Theoretical microeconomic models underlying neoclassical economics reject Becker's model of an altruistic household unit but recognize power and intra-household bargaining. Individuals are depicted as living in households where an individual's input

into production and consumption decisions depends on joint production or one's alternative to remain in the household. Households are assumed to produce in the context of cooperation and conflict. Hence they can co-operate capacities to produce in ways that show joint and differing priorities. Both provision capacity and terms of exit are central to bargaining in households. Individuals with less attractive alternatives apart from household cooperation, have less bargaining power, Mattila-WiroPaivi, (1999); and Pollak, (2002).

Household economics models assume symmetrical bargaining between men and women. Thus systematic, non-symmetrical gender objective functions are treated as exogenous and are not considered as caused by unequal gender power and economic relations. Hence, household economics treats persistent gender inequalities as resulting from market imperfections rather than arising from unequal gender power relations. Consequently, feminist economists consider the treatment of gender by household economics as inadequate.

3.2.2 Gender-Aware Macroeconomics

Macroeconomics is that branch of economics concerned with aggregate economics dynamics and deals with aggregate issues like growth, inflation, exchange rate management and balance of payment issues. The circular flow of income is the standard framework for illustrating the flow of goods and services between firms and households. At equilibrium, through the self-regulatory mechanism of the market, there is a balance between aggregate demand by households and aggregate supply by firms. With the assumption of gender neutrality of the macro-economy, macroeconomics assumes issues like inflation, unemployment, economic growth and the market mechanism to be unaffected by gender social relations.

Government itself is only viewed as having a regulatory role in inter-sectoral transfers between firms and households. Criticised

for treating human agency as invisible and for ignoring human agency and capabilities as well as other social interactions and institutions outside the market, feminist economists like Cagatay (1998), Elson (1999), Berik *et al.* (2007) and UN-Habitat (2010), incorporated the gendered nature of the macro-economy into the revised circular flow of income (See Figure 8). This is done largely by decomposing private sector firms into formal and informal sectors so as to account for women's preponderance in the informal sector. In addition, the domestic sector replaces the household sector and is acknowledged as the care economy. As the site of social reproduction, it is responsible for the production of human capabilities and for reproducing and maintaining human resources, without which there will be zero growth. The domestic sector also incorporates the community/non-governmental or voluntary sector. Human capabilities are reduced when there is a decrease in resources like income, goods, services and time required to support social provisioning. Therefore rather than being mere a site of consumption, production of human capabilities and subsistence goods and services occur in the domestic sector. While the quantity and quality of labour supplied is assumed as given, in reality, macroeconomic models of growth are an outcome of gender relations of reproduction. The sector's gendered structure of production is dependent on women, who are mostly engaged in the production of human capabilities supported with men's financial contributions but ignored by the conventional macroeconomic models.

rise to the new growth theory. While accepting that income inequality affects institutional quality and that this would also hold for gender inequality, the new growth theory fails to account for the role of underlying social power dynamics in perpetuating gender inequality, UN Habitat, (2010).

3.2.4 Feminist and Heterodox Economics

Heterodox economics embraces economic theories which are alternatives to mainstream economics and are collectively referred to as non-traditional, non-mainstream, non-orthodox, and non-neoclassical. Heterodox economics has its roots in traditions that emphasize accumulation, wealth of nations, justice, and social relationships in terms of class, gender, race, full employment, and economic and social reproduction. It is concerned with explaining the actual processes that provide the flow of goods and services required by society to meet the needs of people (Lee, 2008). Heterodox theories of development argue that the process of development has unique geographical and historical features which vary from one place to another; furthermore, the unequal relations of power and the importance of socioeconomic and political structures and institutions in the development process are emphasized, Dutt, (2007).

Heterodox economic theory is an empirically grounded theoretical explanation of the historical process of social provisioning within the context of capitalist economies. Heterodox economists extend their theoretical viewpoint to examine issues associated with the process of social provisioning, racism, gender, and ideologies. In view of their concern with issues of ethical values, social philosophy and the historical aspects of human existence, heterodox economists make ethically-based economic policy recommendations to improve human dignity, by advocating corrective and/or radical, social, and economic policies to improve social provisioning and hence the wellbeing of all members of society, especially disadvantaged groups, Lee, (2009).

Barker and Feiner (2004) consistently recognized the importance of social positioning which includes: gender, race, class, sexual identity, and nationality, in economic processes shaping interactions in the home, paid employment, market relations, and the global economy. Wilson-Moore (1996) highlighted the disadvantages to and discrimination against women which accrue from the failure of Modernization Theory to acknowledge women as a group with special needs. Heterodox economics scholarship takes a broader view of development, emphasizes institutional and structural constraints on individual behavior; argues that free markets do not work well, and is generally supportive of government intervention in the economy. It also emphasizes income distribution and equality or the meeting of basic needs of people, Dutt, (2007). The basic contribution of heterodox school of economic thought is that it incorporates class, race and/or ethnicity as mediators of economic processes causing outcomes to be uneven between different social segments such that moving from one sector to another is not feasible for many workers, Ruwanpura, (2004).

Feminists bring a holistic account of the ongoing relationships between gender, class, and ethnicity in a different context from heterodox economics. They raise objections that GDP is a poor indicator of sustainable advancement in human well-being because GDP neglects non-market, household production. One prominent issue that feminist economists investigate is the limitation of GDP for failing to adequately measure unpaid labor such as housework, childcare, and care of the elder predominantly performed by women. Thus though unremunerated and excluded from the GDP, the reproduction and domestic labour of women form the foundation of economic survival. The choice-theory definition of economics is less preferred to a definition in terms of “provisioning,” or how societies organize themselves to create the means for human survival and flourishing. Amartya Sen’s focus on “capabilities” has generally been adopted as a more satisfactory development goal (Nelson, 2005).

Feminist economics places more emphasis on provisioning for individual and collective well-being as an economic objective different from the traditional economics concern with rational choice between alternatives. Feminist Economics also stresses the importance of the reproductive economy for human welfare. 'Reproductive work' refers to activities for the care and development of people, performed mostly by women under conditions of unpaid labour. 'Productive activities', in contrast, refer to income generating activities, generally linked to the market and traditionally viewed as men's role.. In addition, Feminist economists argue that development depends in large part on improved reproductive rights; gender equitable laws on ownership and inheritance; and policies that are sensitive to the roles of women in the economy. Feminist development scholars argue that to a large extent, lack of opportunities for girls and women in education and employment contributes to disempowerment and poverty. For example, in households with where women are unemployed and men control household income, less money is spent on health care and food for the family, resulting in poorer health for the children, the converse is also true, Elson, (1999); Kabeer, (2005b); Nelson, (2005).

3.3 Empirical Findings on the Relationship between Globalisation, Gender Equality and Economic Development

3.3.1 Win-Win or Win-Lose?

Neo-liberal economic policies that inform SAP and globalization advocate growth as the main goal of development. This view has contributed to the growing interest in the relationship between growth and gender equality. The rationale for gender equality would affect the causality explored. Therefore, neo-classical economists who proffer the instrumental approach to gender equality would examine the effects of gender inequality on growth. By contrast, others, notably feminist economists who stress the intrinsic rationale would examine the effects of economic growth on gender equality.

3.3.2 Win-Win?

Neoclassical economists postulate that theoretically, gender equality is good for economic growth; thus, gender inequality is expected to result in lower economic growth or a win-win outcome (Kabeer 2013). The World Bank Gender Action Plan (2006) asserted that gender equality is *smart economics*. Arguing from an instrumental perspective, neoclassical economists contend that excluding women from economic opportunities through education and employment has adverse economic effects and reduces the pool of productive resources exploitable for growth. In addition, gender inequality is associated with higher fertility, lower investment in children and reduced growth of household productivity- all linked to lower rates of growth in income per capita, while gender equality results in better outcomes.

Empirical findings belonging to this persuasion highlight that there are costs to economic growth from gender gaps in employment and education, (Figure 9). Kabeer (2013) reported that earlier studies by Barro and Lee (1994); Baro et al., (1995) and Perotti (1996) found a negative relationship between female education and growth and that the findings were subsequently challenged on methodological grounds. Several other studies indicated a positive relationship between female education and growth. For instance, Blackden and Bhanu (1998) compared the costs of gender inequality in education and employment for sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and East Asia. Their findings showed that between 1960 and 1992, gender inequality in education and employment accounted for the loss of about 0.8 per cent points per annum in per capita growth in SSA. It also accounted for about 20 per cent difference in economic growth between SSA and East Asia in the same period. Gender inequality was implicated for a reduction of 0.9 to 1.9 per cent points in economic growth for Middle East and North Africa relative to East Asia. A direct impact on education from gender inequality occurred through lowering of the average quality of human capital while indirect

effects on economic growth resulted from the impact of gender inequality on investment and population growth.

A study by Klassen and Lamanna (2009) showed that economic growth was 0.1 to 1.6 per cent points lower for South Asia compared to East Asia. A study by UN-EASCAP (2009) estimated the value of gender gaps in labour force participation in Asian countries at US \$ 42 to 47 billion per annum; and gender gaps in education at US \$ 16 to 30 billion per year. Blackden and Bhanu (1999) also highlighted the effects of gender discrimination on macroeconomic growth through loss of household productivity. For instance, if women had equal access to agricultural inputs and education as men, women's agricultural yields would increase by more than 20 per cent in Kenya. Similarly, Blackden and Bhanu (1998) showed that there would have been a 15 per cent increase in agricultural output and 44 per cent increase in capital productivity in Zambia if women had an equal access to agricultural inputs as men. As illustrated in Figure 9, Louka (2007) citing World Bank (2001) highlighted the substantial losses to growth from gender inequality in schooling for different regions of the world.

Female labour was documented as a significant source of the factor accumulation responsible for the growth miracle for the East Asia Tigers. Two factors, increased female labour market participation and decline in fertility rates were implicated as contributors to per capita growth Braunstein (2007). For instance, increased female labour market participation rates was reported to have contributed one per cent per annum to per capita growth in Hong Kong, 2.6 per cent in Singapore, 1.2 per cent in South Korea and 1.3 per cent in Taiwan, Young (1995;644). Likewise, Bloom and Williamson (1998) identified demographic shift arising from reduced fertility rates as having contributed between 1.4 and 1.9 percent points or a third of per capita GDP growth in the same region between 1969 -1990.

3.3.3 Win-Lose?

Unlike the relationship between gender equality and growth less attention has been received by the reversed causality proposition. Coming from the position of the intrinsic rationale for gender equality, feminist economists believe that economic growth has neutral or negative effects on gender equality.

Berik *et al.* (2004) affirmed that increased international competitiveness was associated with a wide gender wage gap notably in export oriented economies. Other negative effects of liberalization policies include lower job security for women with higher likelihood of their being hired and fired, Levinshon, (1999); Ozler, (2000). Legal restrictions on land are also blamed for restricting women's access to credit and input. For instance, IFC (2009) pointed out that relative to male entrepreneurs, female entrepreneurs faced resource and credit constraints which limited their supply response to import liberalization. In a related vein, restricted access to marketing channels was identified by Quissumburg (2006) as impeding the ability of female farmers to move into agricultural sectors promising higher returns. Overall, Kabeer (2013) pointed out that there is less convergence of studies investigating the impact of economic growth on gender inequality than for gender equality on growth. On balance, it appears that gender equality impacts growth mainly through education and employment. Education makes a larger pool of skilled labour available in an economy. There are two possibilities scenarios from women's education: where educated women are able to be gainfully employed, it will have effect on the GDP and impact on growth. However, where educated women have no or low paid work, then there's minimal or no effects on growth. The question then remains: why does economic growth fail to impact gender inequality? The answer, perhaps, might be associated with the long standing systemic and social barriers which hinder progress towards gender equality.

Table 11: Gender Equality and Economic Growth: A Summary of Findings

Key factor	Transmission mechanism	Evidence
Human capital	More educated girls and women can undertake higher value-added economic activity	Context-specific. Appears strongest in countries with an export-focused manufacturing base and few cultural barriers. Secondary and
	Greater control for women in the domestic sphere (household resources and family size) augments the human capital of the next generation.	Women are more likely to spend household income on children. Large family size may not always adversely affect education; although there is strong evidence that the presence of pre-school children has a detrimental impact on older siblings' education
	Greater access to family planning leads to declining fertility and a 'demographic dividend'	Significant impact as long as other preconditions for growth are in place
	Better maternal health increases the number of women who can participate in the labour force	Little evidence available on the effect on economic growth; more specific studies required
	Women suffering violence are less able to participate in the labour force	Initial studies suggest a potentially important impact
Competitive markets	Improving gender equality can make labour markets more competitive	Growing in importance over time. Often inequality in employment has a larger effect on growth than does inequality in education
	Increasing the entrepreneurial opportunities for women increases the competitiveness of product markets	Well-documented evidence on legal barriers in some countries but no empirical link made with growth
Physical capital	Higher household savings rates through more female employment and through equal distribution of income allowing greater investment	Evidence focused on semi-industrialized countries
	Rising gender equality may boost the profitability of investment	Small effect, as higher-skilled women raise productivity faster than wages go up, boosting rates of return
	Women make more productive investments than men	Mixed evidence. Women may focus on using profits to purchase household goods rather than reinvest in business, especially during
Rule of law	Precise transmission mechanism unclear	Small but significant relationship between rising female political and workforce participation and lower levels of corruption
Infrastructure	Women and men prioritize different public goods. Precise transmission mechanism unclear	Unclear whether alternative priorities of women generate higher growth
Agriculture productivity	Discrimination means resources not allocated efficiently to household plots	Household income in Africa could increase by up to 25 per cent; conditional upon cultural context
Openness to trade	Discrimination prevents women engaging in trade	Significant localized evidence but no attempt to assess overall impact
Macroeconomic stability	Female suffrage leads to different role of government in economic sphere	Limited evidence suggests that women prefer redistributive policies and possibly lower deficits. Link to growth not yet established

Source: Chatham House (2010), Evidence for Action: Gender Equality and Economic Growth.

<http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Energy,%20Environment%20and%20Development/0910gender.pdf>

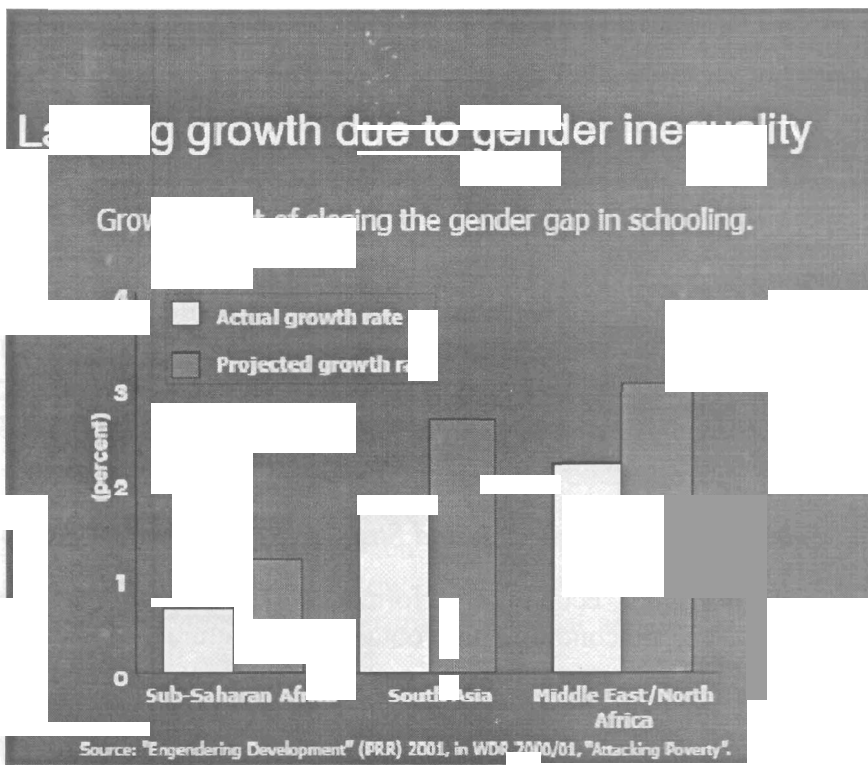


Figure 9: Losses to growth from gender inequality in schooling

Source: Louka Katseli (2007) Gender Equality and Economic Development, www.oecd.org/dev/38219733.pps

4.0 MY CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

As stated earlier, my contribution to knowledge in Economics has been in two main areas- Gender/Feminist Economics and Business Economics.

4.1 Feminist Economics

My empirical research studies in Gender/Feminist Economics have investigated the main dimensions of gender inequality in Nigeria from the perspective of the gendered effects of structural adjustment policies on entrepreneurship; globalization and PRSPS notably NEEDS; Democratisation and Governance; Gender Mainstreaming; and Gender and Women's Empowerment;

4.1.1 Gender, Entrepreneurship and Structural Adjustment Policies.

Following declining economic performance of African countries in the 1980s, as a precondition for obtaining Structural Adjustment loans, the Berg Report (1981) prescribed policy reforms with 'getting the price right' as its centerpiece. Under the Babangida administration, Nigeria adopted the IMF/World Bank SAP in 1986 and a cocktail of policies were implemented to manage Nigeria's debt overhang. These comprised of removal of petroleum and fertilizer subsidies, trade liberalization, privatization and liberalization and interest rate deregulation. Gladwin (1991) summarized arguments for and against SAPs. She pointed out that traditional arguments by the neo-classical economics school of thought in favour of SAPs rested on the macroeconomic level and the efficiency of markets- that they work, are competitive and efficient for allocating resources. On the other hand, arguments against SAP, Elson (1989); Commonwealth Secretariat (1989) were that by ignoring redistribution issues, SAP worsened living standards and ignored microeconomic realities affecting ordinary people. Opponents also pointed out that with its emphasis on tradables, the assumed gender neutrality of SAPs ignored unequal power relations and control over resources at the household and community levels. This meant that women were

unable to take advantage of price and other economic incentives under SAPs.

SAP also operated to the advantage of male-dominated sectors such as cash crops and export-oriented businesses to the disadvantage of women dominated subsistence agriculture and informal sector businesses. Traeger and Osinulu (1991) reported that SAP contributed significantly to women's increasing participation in Nigeria's urban informal sector in the 1980s. Even within the informal sector, a gender disparity exists with women mainly concentrated at the low-income end of the enterprise continuum. For instance, a study conducted in Zaria's urban informal sector by Meagher and Yunusa (1992) reported that women's income averaged 68 per cent of their male counterparts. Women's relatively poorer access to critical resources such as education, land, labour, technology and credit; the gender division of labour which penalizes women by confining them largely to businesses that allow them to combine their productive and domestic activities; the discriminatory legal and institutional policy framework; all are implicated.

Women were reported to be under increasing pressure to augment household income, a situation that was made worse for those whose husbands had been retrenched from the formal sector due to rationalization, privatization of public enterprises and cuts in government spending, Trager and Osinulu (1991). With grants from Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1994, Soetan (1996b) investigated the technology-employment-income nexus for women in Nigeria's urban informal sector. Using questionnaire interviews, focus group discussions, and in-depth interviews of 3,447 respondents in the Urban Informal Sector (UIS) of South West Nigeria, the study highlighted the adverse effects of SAP on the informal sector which **traditionally provides employment and income for women**. As a result of rationalisations and privatizations of public enterprises, the sector was swelled by large numbers retrenched from the formal sector. Unemployed graduates also swamped the UIS in search of employment. At the low end of the enterprise continuum and in view

of their poorer initial conditions, women were disadvantaged in the competition for resources as inflationary pressures eroded business profits, increased the prices of inputs and raw materials and of final products.

Nonetheless, in consonance with the traditional male-breadwinner bias, continued retrenchment of male breadwinners meant that more men looked to the informal sector as their first port for employment, thus increasing competition for resources and customers and reducing the meager income of female entrepreneurs. Cost of inputs had increased with currency devaluation and the high inflationary environment under SAP; these coupled with low demand for products, had eroded the profits of the female entrepreneurs. Soetan (1996c) also documented the invisibility and challenges of female entrepreneurship in the Nigerian economy and identified government assistance for microenterprises as a key strategy for employment and income generation critical for female headed households and the increasing numbers of households with unemployed male heads.

Noting that financial development is critical for economic development, studies on the informal sector have also examined financial constraints faced by female entrepreneurs. Credit constraints both in terms of shortages of start-up and working capital have been documented as resulting in production/sales discontinuities, inefficiencies and low enterprise productivity, Lycette and White, (1989); Berger, (1989); Fong and Perrett, (1991). Informal sources of credit from friends, relatives and rotating thrift and credit societies are popularly resorted to by women. However, in addition to the disadvantage that the real value of the small sums of money raised from such sources were further decimated in the inflationary environment of SAP such sources of credit also became more competitive and scarcer under SAP.

In view of their lower educational status, female entrepreneurs in the UIS had easier access to informal rather than formal credit. Soetan (2001) explored the implications of informal sources of credit for women's entrepreneurship. Using a sample of 1,619 female

entrepreneurs patronizing rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCAS) in South west Nigeria, Soetan (2001), and Soetan et al., (2003) reported that a large proportion of the female entrepreneurs utilized credit obtained for investment purposes such as purchase of equipment and land. Credit was also used to support their children's education. Therefore, similar to findings by Fong and Perrett (1991), instances of diversion of loans were minimal. Government assistance through community banks that were substantially owned by local communities was meant to respond to the credit needs at the grassroots and set in motion a virtuous cycle of improved incomes for small scale entrepreneurs. Soetan and Fawole (1997) reported that in bypassing formal collateral requirements and relying on group guaranteed mechanisms, community banks provided readier access to credit for female entrepreneurs. Community banks preferred group guaranteed loans for ease of loan recovery, relying on collateral such as motor cars, electrical and electronic appliances (television sets, refrigerators, and sewing machines) to secure larger loans.

4.1.2 Globalisation Gender and Trade Liberalization

The traditional assumption of a positive relationship between trade liberalization and growth associates trade with more growth. Theoretically, mainstream economists postulate that as a result of trade liberalization and market openness, employment opportunities for women would most likely be increased in export-oriented sectors of the economy. It is also believed that greater import competitiveness resulting from international trade would increase employment gains, reduce gender wage gaps and improve women's economic status.

Similarly, the case is made that if developing countries possess comparative advantage in production of goods requiring the intensive use of unskilled labour, trade liberalization would close the wage gap between skilled and unskilled workers. Given the predominance of women among unskilled workers in developing countries, the gender wage gap would decrease after market openness. By making

discrimination more costly for employers of labour, the gender wage gap between skilled and unskilled workers would also be narrowed under a trade liberalization milieu. Thus, dominant neo-classical theories predict that in developing countries, trade expansion is associated with an increased demand for women workers, a downward pressure on labour costs and a closing of gender wage gaps.

In consonance with the dominant neo-classical position, Dollar and Kraay (2001a and 2001b) categorised countries into globalisers and non-globalisers based on their performance in improving their trade volumes in GDP. Their findings suggest trade had neutral effects on inequality, consequently, they concluded that trade is good for the poor. Yinusa and Soetan (2009) reported that contrary to the theoretical Eldorado expected of globalization, the Nigerian experience has been mixed but mostly unfavourable. Increasing numbers of Nigerians were living below the poverty line of less than US \$1 a day, with the percentage rising from 36 per cent in 1970 to 70 per cent in 2000. Consequently, everyday realities of people's lives did not match the rhetoric of globalization for the Nigerian people. Indeed, rising poverty, vulnerabilities and import dependency continued to plague the country. Similarly, findings were documented by Soetan (2013a) in a study of gendered impact of trade in 6 Anglophone ECOWAS countries (Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, the Gambia and Liberia).

On the sectoral distribution of employment by gender, Soetan (2013a) reported that agriculture followed by the service sector is the main employer of labour in Anglophone ECOWAS countries. Overall, the industrial sector remained a marginal employer of labour given the reliance on imported technology, low capital formation and low education of the people. The poor competitiveness of local industries also curtails the utilisation of installed capacities with adverse implications for the quantity and quality of the work force employed in the sector. Poor infrastructure, poor power supply and high cost of production are other possible factors responsible for marginal

proportion of labour force in the industrial sector for all countries in the ECOWAS sub-region. Cheap imports have depressed the prices of locally produced food crops and made small scale farmers production unprofitable. In several developing countries, small farmers are unable to compete with cheaper agricultural imports. Negative effects of trade liberalisation on gender equity in agriculture are discernible in the long term problems of food security.

The importance of cross-border trade was documented as a strategy for women's self-employment, poverty reduction and wealth creation, (Soetan, 2013a). Women's cross border trade commonly consists of trade in textiles, footwear, jewellery, processed and unprocessed food items. The study identified challenges faced by women cross border traders through rape, sexual harassment, theft of goods and extortion of illegal and multiple taxes by customs and immigration officials. On the average, income from women's cross border trade support about 6 dependants, (AfDB, 2012). Where trade policies result in benefits for the service sector, the informal sector where women are mostly found hardly benefits, rather, benefits tend to accrue to modern sectors like ICTs (African Development Bank, 2012).

Interrogating the imperative of a 'human face' to globalization, Soetan (2013c) examined the effects of globalization and the recent economic crisis on Sub-Saharan Africa. She argued that achieving equity and sustainability are key imperatives for governance to mitigate the impact of globalization on the continent's human development. To do this, strategies were proffered to reposition Africa's public administration to restore growth, consolidate recovery and prevent future crises.

4.1.3 Gender, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), and the Millennium Development Goals(MDGs)

In Nigeria, worsening poverty has accompanied the adverse economic conditions under neo-liberal policies that were introduced with SAPs since the mid-1980s. With calls for adjustment with a human face, and accompanying the 1995 UN Social Summit were

recommendations for action programmes to tackle the debt crisis and the hydra-headed causes of poverty. Similar efforts were contained in the agenda of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). Preparation of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers was a pre-requisite for assistance and debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. Like other developing countries and building on earlier efforts to produce its interim PRSP or I-PRSP, Nigeria prepared its own version of the PRSP, the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS). With close collaboration among the different tiers of government, private sector and CSOs, sub-national PRSPs, State - and Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (SEEDS and LEEDS were to be coordinated with NEEDS as a key strategy for poverty reduction. NEEDS was premised on people-centered ownership through widespread popular participation. Lack of gender sensitivity was identified as a key weakness of PRSPs (Bamberger *et al.*, 2001, Zuckerman, 2001, 2002). Zuckerman and Garrett (2003) pointed out in a gender analysis of 13PRSPs conducted in 2002, 3 almost mainstreamed gender; about 8 spottily applied an outdated WID approach; and another 2 almost neglected gender.

To assess the extent to which gender issues were explicitly addressed in Nigeria's PRSP, or NEEDS, Soetan (2005) carried out a gender analysis of NEEDS. The findings identified major flaws in NEEDS as consisting of: absence of gender disaggregated data; gender-blindness; the use of outdated WID approach which failed to recognize the adverse effects of the gender division of labour on women's time use and health; failure to account for budgetary obligations for government commitments to women's programmes; no role assigned for the national women's machinery; and weak participatory process that excluded the inputs of women's groups. With UNDP funding, some of the identified flaws were rectified through mainstreaming HIV/AIDS, Environment and Gender (HEG) into Adamawa and other SEEDS in 2005.

The 2000 Millennium Summit gave rise to the eight millennium development goals (MDGs) adopted by the international community to monitor the implementation of the PRSPs. The 8 time-bound goals were developed to eradicate poverty manifested in poor education and health, unsanitary environment and lack of effective partnership between developing and developed countries (Table 12). Progress in achieving MDG 3 (gender equality) and MDG 5 (maternal health) are viewed as critical for achieving most other MDGs (see Fig. 10).

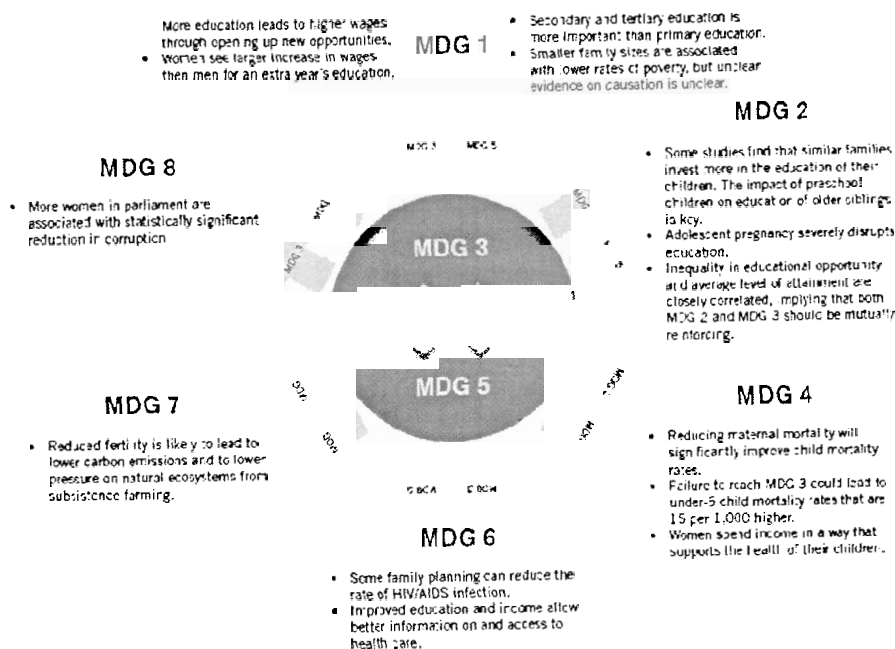


Figure 10: Relationship between MDGs 3 and 5 and other MDGs

Chatam House (2010), Evidence for Action: Gender Equality and Economic Growth,
<http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Energy,%20Environment%20and%20Development/0910gender.pdf>

Table 12: The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Targets from the Millennium Declaration

GOAL	DECLARATION	TARGET
1	Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger	1.A. Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1.25 a day
		1.B. Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people
		1.C. Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
2	Achieve Universal Primary Education	2.A. Ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling
3	Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women	3.A. Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2015, and all levels of education no later than 2015
4	Reduce Child Mortality	4.A. reduce by two-third, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate
5	Improve Maternal Health	5.A. Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio
		5.B. Achieve by 2015 universal access to reproductive health
6	Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and other Diseases	6.A. Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS
		6.B. Achieve by 2010 universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it
		6.C. Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
7	Ensure Environmental Sustainability	7.A. Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reverse the loss of environmental resources
		7.B. reduce biodiversity loss, achieving by 2010 a significant reduction in the rate of loss

		7.C. Halve by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
		7.D. Have achieved a significant improvement by 2020 in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers
8	Develop a Global Partnership for Development	8.A. Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system (including a commitment to good governance, development and poverty reduction, nationally and internationally)
		8.B. Address the special needs of the least-developed countries (including tariff-and quota-free access for exports of the least-developed countries enhanced debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries and cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous official development assistance for countries committed to reducing poverty)
		8.C. Address the special needs of landlocked countries and small island developing states (through the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and the outcome of the 22nd special session of the General Assembly)
		8.D. Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures to make debt sustainable in the long term
		8.E. In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries
		8.F. In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications
<p>Chatam House (2010), Evidence for Action: Gender Equality and Economic Growth. http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Energy,%20Environment%20and%20Development/0910gender.pdf</p>		

4.1.4 Gender, Governance and Democratisation

Realizing the growing importance of governance for dictating national policies which have gender differentiated outcomes, I explored the impacts of governance and democratization for women's autonomy and access to state resources. Following Stamp (1985), I adopted the Feminist political economy paradigm which comprises of the framework of scholarly writings on theorizing on gender relations in pre-colonial and pre-capitalist societies. It challenges western epistemological assumptions about non-western gender relations. It also argues that African women had greater autonomy in pre-colonial societies. Stamp (1989), Mba (1982) and Soetan (1995, 1998, 2013b) posited that women appeared to have been more politically active and recorded more political gains in the pre-colonial than in the post-colonial era. Soetan (1999) conducted a comparative analysis of the relationship of women, development and governance from the experiences of Latin American and African women. She pointed out that on both continents, women's marginalization from governance and political participation reduced their autonomy and access to state resources, further widened the male-female resource gap and encouraged women's active participation in women's informal grassroots organizations.

Such networks expanded women's political space at the community level and facilitated their access to pooled resources by members. Women's associations were identified as critical for women's agency and as a key mechanism for their activism and political empowerment. Soetan (2013b) documented efforts by feminist civil society organizations (CSOs) to engage with democratization and the advancement of gender equality in Nigeria in pre- and post-colonial Nigeria. She pointed out that though feminist CSOs were very vibrant at critical junctures of Nigeria's democratization process; there were minimal attendant economic and political benefits from such participation for Nigerian women.

4.1.5 Gender Mainstreaming (GMS)

Gender mainstreaming originated from the work of feminist scholars in the 1970s and was adopted at the 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women as the preferred strategy for integrating gender issues into the mainstream of development at all levels. GMS is also reported to have gained international popularity after the 1985 UN Nairobi Third World Conference on Women. This was in relation to discussions by the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) on the need to implement the Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women and incorporate them into the work of UN agencies (Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming, 1998). GMS was specifically endorsed by the Platform of Action (PoA) adopted at the end of the 1995 UN Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women as the preferred strategy for integrating gender into policies and programmes.

The PoA called on governments and other actors to promote an active policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes by analysing the effects on women and men before decisions are taken. As documented by several studies on the implementation of gender mainstreaming, the shift from entrenched mainstream practices to gender mainstreaming has been neither hitch free nor straightforward. It encounters different constraints, specifically, institutional resistance (Moser 2005); policy evaporation (Longwe 1997), and rhetoric rather than significant reduction in gender gaps (Pialek 2008). In relating gender mainstreaming to the recent financial and economic crises, Walby (2005b) associated the crises with the male mono-culture of decision making that avoids gender democratic regulations. The literature on GMS identifies two main theoretical approaches to gender mainstreaming. First, the ***agenda setting approach*** which entails rethinking and transformation of existing policy approaches by prioritizing the goal of gender equality; this approach is expected to result in sustained changes to the mainstream. In contrast and similar to the WID 'add-women-and

stir' approach, the *integrationist approach* incorporates a gender perspective but leaves existing policy approaches unchallenged (Walby,2005b). The aim is merely to bring some improvement to existing policy goals.

In a bid to examine the realities of gender mainstreaming for closing gender gaps in the Nigerian context, Afonja *et al.* (2001) and Soetan (2014) investigated the effects of gender mainstreaming on gender equity at the institutional level in Nigeria. While Afonja *et al.* (2001) addressed the initial efforts at gender mainstreaming at OAU, Ile-Ife at the start of the Carnegie Corporation's Gender Equity project, Soetan (2014) examined progress and challenges towards closing gender gaps in the different domains of gender mainstreaming consisting of enrolment, employment and decision making at the conclusion of the project. Available data showed a substantial increase in undergraduate and postgraduate female students' enrolment within the 10-year period. Thus, the existence of the OAU-Carnegie Corporation female undergraduate and postgraduate scholarships was a likely pull factor and an incentive to brand OAU as a gender-sensitive University, which might have made it attractive to prospective female students.

In the ten year period, the gender gap which was 70 per cent and 10 per cent in 2001/02 and 2011/12 respectively, narrowed most noticeably among junior staff. This trend is due to the typical female over-representation at the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder in the public sector where they are largely employed as clerks and secretaries. The gap was widest among female academic staff at 72 per cent and 52 per cent in 2001/02 and 2011/12, respectively. Slower progress was made in closing the gender gap in leadership and decision making spheres especially at the University Senate at 90 per cent and 84 per cent in 2001/02 and 2011/12, respectively. Thus, the trend in Gender Composition by Employment for different cadres of staff approximated an *inverted Triangle*. The lower the educational

qualification and skill requirement, the faster the progress in narrowing of the gender gap and vice versa!

Looking beyond numbers, the OAU case suggests the need for substantive and sustained change in mainstream policies, rules and regulations through an agenda/transformation rather than integrationist approach. This would entail both closing of gender gaps AND gendered changes in policies, programmes and institutional culture, not either. This is a tall but nonetheless achievable order in a patriarchal society like Nigeria and would involve *inter alia*, the following key strategies: First, ***coordination of GMS should be located at the highest level of University Management, with commitment*** beyond rhetoric and accompanied with clear and binding counterpart financial commitments and assigned responsibilities. Second, in the context of male dominated institutional structures in Nigeria, the findings highlight the importance of multi-stakeholder engagement ***within the University community and outside – in collaboration*** with Civil Society Organisations and government agencies. For instance through ***securing the buy-in and support of the national assembly women's committee, the National Universities Commission (NUC) as well as gender machineries at national and sub-national (state) levels. Such a comprehensive strategy*** would ensure that rather than being 'male-streamed' (Soetan, 2001), gender would be mainstreamed.

4.1.6 Gender /Women's Empowerment

Either in its intrinsic sense of non-discrimination against women that would enable their enjoyment of the same rights as men or in its instrumental sense of having equal opportunities as men to develop their full potentials for higher productivity, the empowerment of women is viewed as critical for development. Feminist economists criticize neo-liberal policies that inform globalization as exacerbating gender inequalities and reducing women's agency and opportunities (Cagatay and Erturk, 2004; Elson, 1999 and Berik, 2007). Women's

associations are an often overlooked source of women's empowerment, mainly through facilitating access to resources for members, (March and Tarque, 1986; Trager and Osinulu, 1991). Ladipo (1981) pointed out that socio-economic attributes are important in explaining differences in access to resources by women. In a qualitative study, she identified access to land titles, age and education of members as key determinants of access to resources and empowerment of members of women's associations. Recognising that women are not a homogenous group and that resources were not consistently available to women across socio-economic lines, with funding support from the United States Information Services (USIS), Soetan (1999) investigated socio-economic determinants of women's empowerment proxied by access to resources.

The detailed study of 1,502 members and a control group of 788 non-members of women's associations in Kaduna and Osun states used a combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. The findings further confirmed the importance of membership of women's associations for empowering women. Membership of such associations enabled members to be empowered by facilitating access to resources such as credit, fertilizer, training, high yielding seed varieties and tractors. Education, religion, location and occupation were the key socio-economic determinants of women's empowerment. However, access to resources is a necessary but insufficient requirement for women's empowerment; this is so because while women may have access to resources like credit, control might be taken over by their husbands or male relatives, (Mayoux, 2000). A recent World Bank funded study by Porter et al., 2013 provided further insights on the importance of membership of women's organizations for broadening women's autonomy and agency.

4.1.7 Gender Inequalities in the Labour market

Globally, women and men are segregated into different occupations with women working in lower paying occupations and men in higher waged jobs. Consequently, while the gender wage gap has narrowed in the last few decades, it is still largely skewed in favour of men. With the global economic crisis, the number of unemployed women increased by an estimated 22 million in 2009 with growing numbers of women being pushed into vulnerable and casual employment (WEF, 2011). The patriarchal nature of developing countries disadvantages women, most of whom experience income inequality and poverty. While neo-classical economist attributed the gender disparity in the labour market to employer rationality and workers' skills and preferences; however, this fails to account for underlying constraints to women's labour market choices including the time burden and unequal sharing of household responsibilities. Feminist economists notably Elson (1991) and Palmer (1991) term this constraint as the 'reproductive labour tax' levied on women as they bear the double burden of combining productive and domestic activities.

Horizontal segregation refers to the concentration of women or men in separate professions or spheres of activities; vertical segregation denotes the over- or under-representation of a specific group of workers at the top of an occupational ladder based on a set of desirable attributes, e.g. income, job stability or employee perquisites. Horizontal segregation keeps women from entering traditional male occupations as a result of visible or invisible barriers (glass ceiling) while vertical segregation keep women from reaching top managerial positions because women have interrupted or abandoned their career pursuit often for reproductive reasons (leaking pipe); or as a result of constraints that militate against their progression up the career ladder (sticky floor).

Table 12 shows that women in sub-Saharan Africa are mostly concentrated in agriculture and are increasingly found in services (where they predominate in the informal sector), but they are under-represented in the industrial sector. Women predominate among people working in vulnerable employment as unpaid family workers in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, (Table 13). Women's limited access to education and productive resources is the main explanation for this position.

Occupational segregation is a contributor to wage gaps between men and women. Generally, there is a global wage bias towards occupations dominated by men, (ILO, 2012). Studies by Mincer and Polak (1974), Olaniyan and Awoyemi (2005) and Yasmeen *et al.* (2011) have attributed gender wage gap to differences in education, age, household size and location. Yasmeen *et al.* (2011) implicated trade and technology for shifting the skills requirement for workers while Mincer and Polachek (1974) attributed gender wage gaps to changes in educational attainment, work experience and occupational choice. Aderounmu and Soetan (2013) used a regression model to estimate determinants of gender income inequalities for seven sub-Saharan African countries. The findings showed that tertiary education, population growth and government consumption expenditure were significant determinants of gender income inequalities. The findings confirm that all things being equal, higher certification proxied by tertiary education, reduces gender income inequalities.

Table 12: Employment shares by sector and gender, world and regions (%)

Females	Agriculture				Industry				Services			
	2000	2007	2010	2011	2000	2007	2010	2011	2000	2007	2010	2011
World	44.1	38.6	36.4	36.2	14.9	15.9	16	16.2	41	45.5	47.5	47.6
Developed Economies and European Union	4.7	3.2	2.9	2.9	15.5	12.8	11	10.7	79.7	84	86.1	86.3
Central and South-Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	25.5	19.3	19.8	20.3	17.9	17.3	17.6	18.2	56.6	63.5	62.7	61.6
East Asia	55.8	45.3	40.3	39.3	19	22.6	24.1	24.7	25.2	32.2	35.6	36
South-East Asia and the Pacific	51.2	45	43.8	43.9	13.7	14.8	14.8	15	35.1	40.2	41.4	41
South Asia	74.9	70.1	69.1	68.8	11.3	14.2	15.1	15.3	13.8	15.7	15.8	15.9
Latin America and the Caribbean	12.5	10.3	9.1	9	13.8	13.8	13.6	13.5	73.7	75.8	77.3	77.5
Middle East	35.6	32.2	29.8	29.9	12.6	15.2	13.2	13.1	51.8	52.7	56.9	57
North Africa	32.8	35.2	33.3	32.7	10.9	11.1	10.9	11	56.3	53.8	55.8	56.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	67.5	63.5	62.4	62.1	5.7	6.2	6.2	6.2	26.7	30.4	31.4	31.7

Source: ILO (2012), Global Employment Trends for Women: 57, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---decomm/documents/publication/wcms_195447.pdf

Table13: Vulnerable employment by gender, world and regions (%)

Females	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
World	55.7	54.5	54.1	53.5	52	51.5	51	50.5
Developed Economies and European Union	10.2	9.1	8.8	8.6	8.4	8.5	8.5	8.4
Central and South-Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	25.1	21.8	21.1	20.1	19.9	19.8	20.5	20.2
East Asia	64.3	61.6	61.4	60.5	57.4	55.5	53.9	52.7
South-East Asia and the Pacific	70.7	67.5	67.1	67.3	66.3	65.6	66.7	65.9
South Asia	88.1	86.5	86.4	86.3	85	84.3	84.6	83.8
Latin America and the Caribbean	36.8	34.3	33.6	33.1	32.7	33.4	32.3	32.3
Middle East	49.3	47.6	46.6	45.8	43.3	42.7	42.7	42.1
North Africa	59.2	61.7	60.2	60.7	60	59	55	55.1
Sub-Saharan African	87.6	86.7	86.4	85.5	84.8	85	84.7	84.5

Source: ILO (2012) , Global Employment Trends for Women: 57, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_195447.pdf

4.2 Business Economics

My research studies in Business Economics addressed criticisms of the firm in neo-classical theory and adopted the more realistic framework of newer theories of the firm to examine the behavior of Nigerian firms in the context of the implementation of Nigeria's indigenization decree in the 1970 and later under the SAP- prescribed liberalization and privatisation policies. I also investigated the implications of corporate governance for firm performance.

4.2.1 *The real world firm*

My research studies in Business Economics questioned neo-classical theoretical constructs of the firm which assume the single objective of profit maximization, efficient allocation of resources and perfect information under a single owner. In contrast, the real world firm can have several ownership possibilities ranging from sole proprietorship to partnership, the private company, the public enterprise or the public limited company. Its structure can also vary from the functional department to the multidivisional firm, or the hybrid structure. It has a range of financing options in varying proportions – ploughed back or retained profits, equity or share capital subsidies or grants (Pickering *et al.*, 1987). The firm also comprises of large interest groups of workers, managers, suppliers, investors whose objectives are often divergent and may not be concerned with profits talk less of its maximization. Thus the postulates of the economic theory of the firm differ from what obtains in the real world firm. Table 14 summaries key differences between the theoretical constructs of the neoclassical firm and the real world firm.

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Table 14: Comparison of Assumptions in the Neoclassical Theory of the Firm with Reality

<i>Neoclassical assumption about the firm</i>	<i>Reality concerning actual firms</i>
Small	Multiproduct, often multinational
Profit the sole objective	Multiple objectives with growth and managerial utility important
Holistic	People are important
Passive response to market signals	Active management role is involved
Ignores internal organisation	Internal organisation is important
Leaves no role for enterprise	Entrepreneurship is important
Assumes costless transactions	Acquisition of information is important and costly
Equilibrium	Firm is involved in a dynamic process towards equilibrium
Assumes perfect knowledge	There is partial ignorance and limited capacity to consider the alternatives
Assumes economic rationality	Works under conditions of bounded rationality
Assumes the external environment is given	Works in an external environment that is complex and changing

Source: Pickering J.F. and T. A. J. Cockerill (1984), *The Economic Management of the Firm*, Oxford, U.K. Phillip Allan Publishers, Ltd.: 6

The main reason for the divergence between the neo-classical firm and the real world firm is the traditional economic 'black box' view of the firm as an entity which 'absorbs inputs and produces output' (Pickering et. al (1984:6). This abstract input-output view of the firm is extrapolated through time and across categories of firms to postulate principles governing the operations of firms. This approach has several weaknesses- it neglects decision taking within the firm focusing mainly on a single objective of profit maximization; it ignores the potential for managerial opportunism; and worse still, the abstract, sophisticated mathematical models assume a lot of variables as 'given' thus failing to recognize the place of economics as a behavioural rather than a physical science. There have been calls for a more realistic and broader approach to economics. A case in point cited by Fullbrook (2003: 2) follows:

'In June 2000, a few economics students in Paris circulated a petition calling for the reform of their economics curriculum. One doubts that any of those students in their wildest dreams anticipated the effect their narrative would have. Their petition was short, modest and restrained. In its first part, "*We wish to escape from imaginary worlds*", summarises what they were protesting against'.

A similar event occurred about a year later in Cambridge, U.K., with 27 PhD candidates petitioning for 'Opening up Economics,' Fullbrook, (2003: 3). The students were particularly concerned that economics hindered their progress in having a more robust understanding of several pertinent aspects of economic life.

These criticisms have gained added impetus since the recent global economic and financial crises. For instance, students and scholars the world over bemoaned the inability of neo-classical economists to predict the global economic and financial crisis. Dissatisfied with the situation, groups such as the World Economics Association and others are working on 'Rethinking Economics' with the goal of exploring alternative real world economics paradigms.

Newer theories of the firm have sought to address the weaknesses of the neoclassical theory of the firm. Oliver Williamson's Managerial theory of the firm argues that in the context of the separation of ownership from control in the modern firm earlier postulated by Berle and Means (1932), top managers of the firm would maximize managerial utility of (excess staff, discretionary investment, managerial slack), subject to a minimum reported profits to shareholders. Williamson (1967) also pointed out an increasing change in the organizational structure of the modern firm from the functional or U-form to the multi-divisional or M-form. The behavioural theory by Cyert and March (1963) addressed the issue of conflict and its resolution through a bargaining process among the various interest groups in the real world firm. Other theories such as the stakeholder theory and the agency theory have sought to revise other blind spots overlooked in the neo-classical theory of the firm.

Findings by Soetan (1988) study on Joint Venture firms concerning the range of firm objectives and on the nature of conflicts and their resolution confirmed the postulates of the Baumoul's sales revenue maximization hypothesis and the behavioural theory of the firm by Cyert and March (1963). The study thus confirmed that in addition to profit maximization, business firms have several objectives besides the single profit maximization objective proposed by the traditional theory of the firm. Lacking theoretical explanations for conflict and internal conflict resolution mechanisms in the firm, neoclassical economic theory of the firm assumes several parameters as 'given'. Soetan (1998) reported that conflicts arose in the firms mainly over growth of sales and secondarily over growth of profits. Informal methods through negotiation and compromise were adopted to resolve conflicts by the partners in the joint ventures. Thus, the possibility of a deadlock and its destabilizing consequences were avoided by the partners. Very rarely were the contentious issue put to a vote at the Board of Directors' meeting. Positions taken by the partners were never so wide apart that they could not be brought together by hard bargaining and constant adjustment to changing

circumstances thereby validating the postulates of behavioural theorists.

Freeman and Soetan (1985) identified dynamics of firm-size distributions for a sample of UK's largest 100 firms in 1981, 1975 and 1971 and concluded that unequal firm sizes affect firms' survival. Thus, substantial changes occurred in firm-size concentrations, especially through higher death rates of small firms. Large firms had much better chance of survival than smaller firms which were often eliminated through mergers and acquisitions. Higher death rate among smaller firms was associated with more variable growth rates for surviving firms.

4.2.2 Effects of Nigeria's Indigenisation Policy on Nigerian Firms

The desire for economic independence and self-reliance was an important aspiration of newly independent African states and a pertinent objective of national economic policy. The initial open door policy adopted by the Nigerian government in the immediate post-independence era was viewed by critics to run counter to prevailing nationalist feelings of the time. The role of the state under the open door policy was mainly to provide a conducive environment for Foreign Development Investment (FDI). In the mantra of the open door phase, even with its elimination of participation by Nigerians from the commanding heights of industry, FDI was the sure route to development. Inward looking policies viewed as providing a measure of economic nationalism were rapidly gaining popularity across newly independent African countries in Ghana, East Africa and North Africa. Thus, the domination of the private sector by foreign investors was regarded as a perpetuation of neo-colonialism and one that should be reversed by systematic policies to transfer control of African economies to its nationals, (Ndongko, 1980).

The Nigerian National Indigenisation Decree (Decree 4) was a key component of the Second National Development Plan 1970-74. Promulgated on February 29 1972, the decree reflected the indigenization mentality that was characteristic of Africa's military regimes at the time. The Decree was promulgated to reduce foreign participation and afford Nigerians a greater role in businesses. Joint ventures resulted between foreign private investors and Nigerians resulted from the divestment of formerly wholly owned subsidiaries of foreign multinational enterprises. Leading scholars in the field of joint ventures Tomlinson 1970), Wright and Russel (1975) and Otterbeck (1981) attributed its growing incidence in the 1970s to changing relationships between developed and developing countries. Interestingly, foreign partners were willing to hold minority interest if only to gain a foothold in a particular overseas market. Soetan (1985) examined the effects of Nigeria's indigenization decree for a sample of 36 of formerly fully owned subsidiaries of British multinational firms. In most cases, local participation was limited to equity ownership and less so in decision making, with major decisions still being taken by the parent company.

On the question of the overall benefits of the indigenization policy for Nigerians, Soetan (1996) reported that indigenization resulted in two major sources of inequality. First, while it was unquestionable that the role of elites in mobilizing for indigenization was a major factor in the success of the indigenization efforts, its capture by the small indigenous group of elites and resulting marginalization of most Nigerians, further widened the gap between elites and the common people, thus impairing distributional efficiency of the indigenization process. Second, while increased shareholding by Nigerians resulted in indigenous participation and ownership of divested shares, yet it was not accompanied by effective managerial and technical control envisaged by the government. Indigenisation occurred within a context of continued foreign dominance of strategic decisions.

4.2.3 Effects of Neo-Liberal Economic Reforms on Nigerian Firms

The vagaries of SAP on the Nigerian economy, in the 1980s and resulting adverse business environment presented sufficient concern on the performance of firms. Soetan (1999) reported findings from case studies and questionnaire interviews conducted in the U.K. with Chief Executive Officers of a sample of fast and slow growth firms. Lessons for coping in a recession were identified for Nigerian firms from key success and failure factors of U.K. firms. In her contribution to the literature on principles governing the growth and decline of firms, Penrose (1959) criticized the traditional theory of the firm for presuming that there is a 'most profitable size of the firm and for providing no further explanation than the search for profits of how and why firms reach that size. In her opinion firms do not grow because of:

'un-enterprising direction, inefficient management, insufficient capital-raising ability, lack of adaptability to changing circumstances, poor judgment leading to frequent and costly mistakes or simply bad luck due to circumstances beyond their control', Penrose, (1966:7).

In the context of the webs of dynamic economic changes Nigerian firms have been contending with since the 1980s, a proactive entrepreneurial Chief Executive is indispensable for any firm intending to weather the storms of economic uncertainties engendered by globalization and neo-liberal policies. Successful entrepreneurs were the oil in the corporate wheel without which overall growth would be jeopardized. Strategic diversification and thorough pre- and post-acquisition appraisal and speedy response to the trading and economic environment constituted the second and third success factors. Divestment of unprofitable activities was critical for firm performance as a loss making division would drag down corporate profits.

Through the Nigerian Communications Decree 75 of 1992, the Nigerian government liberalized the telecommunications sector and

created the Nigerian Communications Commission as the regulatory agency for the sector. Exploratory studies of the performance of the liberalized sector were few and far between, therefore, Arawomo and Soetan (2010) investigated the effects of macroeconomic policy reforms on the sector. Our findings showed that liberalization of the telecommunications sector was associated with innovation in the industry including mobile telephony, fixed wireless and cheaper services. It had also resulted in increased competition as consumers had access to a wider range of services. Challenges consisted of poor enabling environment and poor infrastructure, especially electricity supply. A weak regulatory regime resulted in poor services, network failure and consumer exploitation.

4.2.4 Corporate Governance and Firm Performance

In the past two decades, increasing scholarly and policy attention has been devoted to the role of corporate governance in mitigating managerial excesses associated with market failure and managerial moral hazard. The associated outcomes were amply underscored by the global financial and economic crisis and the corporate scandals that reverberated in several countries and regions of the world such as USA, Europe, Asia and Africa. Neo-classical economic theory relies on stock market discipline and competitive pressures as mechanisms for corporate control. In addition to exposing the weaknesses underlying the notion of corporate control for regulating managerial behavior, the recent corporate scandals have also highlighted the inextricable link between managerial behavior and firm performance. Dangers of a sole reliance on the market mechanisms to mitigate the problem of managerial opportunism were succinctly summarized by Ayogu (2001:6) as follows:

‘The so called invisible hands of the market are in fact visible. The managers are humans who run the corporations and sundry enterprises that populate the domain of ‘free’ markets. And “like the rest of us, corporate managers have many personal goals and

ambitions, only one of which is to get rich.” Disciplining errant managers has become a difficult problem when they are missing markets such as the market for corporate control. And even when no markets are missing, it seems that management have become adept at entrenching themselves’.

Managerial economists view corporate governance as a pertinent mechanism for mitigating managerial excesses. Weak corporate governance enforcement is linked with the recent stock market collapse that affected several firms. It also serves to reduce asymmetric information between managers and shareholders and is crucial for aligning the interests of managers with those of the owners of the firm. Extant literature ascribes several roles to corporate governance but the symbiotic role of corporate governance and competition in mitigating managerial behavior has received scant attention. Studies from Nigeria have mainly been concerned with the effects of corporate governance on firm performance. Corporate governance mechanisms identified as influencing firm performance include: director shareholding, (Tanko and Oladele 2008, Sanda *et al.*, 2010); and board size (Kajola 2008); Soetan, Obembe, and Ojo (2013) found no significant effect of corporate governance (measured by ownership concentration, directors’ interest and foreign ownership) on productive growth.

However, competition exhibited a positive and significant effect on performance and a substitute effect on corporate governance. The lack of significant relationship between corporate governance and performance indicates that weak corporate governance is a reflection of a weak legal system and the rule of law. In a recent study of 51 quoted manufacturing firms in Nigeria, Soetan *et al.*, (2013) found a positive and significant relationship between directors’ shareholding and firm performance. This is not surprising and suggests as expected, that director’s shareholding may serve as a strong internal corporate governance mechanism to converge the interests of managers with those of the shareholders.

The Industrial Economics School interrogates firm behavior from the perspective of the structure, behavior and performance of groups of firms in related industries. Industrialisation is a key driver of economic diversification and poverty reduction. A key concern is the over-reliance of Nigerian manufacturing firms on foreign technology. Research and Development (R &D) is an important determinant of industrial performance. Thus protection of R& D inventions is expected to stimulate a virtuous cycle of ensuring adequate reward for inventors and encourage continuous R&D activity. Factors identified in literature as determining scientific productivity include: age (Clemente 1973 and Cole 1979); length of professional experience (Creswell, Paterson and Barnes 1984); length of time since obtaining a PhD (Allison and Steward 1974, Bayer and Dutton, 1977); personality traits such as, self confidence and ability to work independently (Merton 1973); intellectual curiosity, personal discipline and ability to work under pressure, (Wood 1990). Obembe, Soetan and Akinlo (2011) utilized descriptive and econometric techniques to identify key determinants of knowledge production among 53 researchers in Science and Technology-related departments at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

Factors such as large number of children, lack of departmental support, personality traits like extrovertiveness were negatively related with knowledge production. On the other hand, length of working experience, rank of lecturer (lecturers in the rank of Senior Lecturer) and level of conscientiousness were positively associated with knowledge production. The role of patents in encouraging practical application of knowledge and in facilitating reward were overwhelmingly supported by the respondents. However, the application of patent rights protection was criticized on the grounds that it would discourage the open access culture of Universities. It could also alter the incentive structure of academics from publications to a quest for financial gains. On the whole, the preponderant opinion supported the protection of patent rights in Universities.

5.0 BRIDGING RESEARCH GAPS IN FEMINIST ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS ECONOMICS: SUGESSTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The much needed change from the dominant neoliberal economics theory that rules the global academic and policy waves will require redefining the research agenda to be more human development centered. A few strategic suggestions are proffered on rethinking economics from the Nigerian perspective:

Efforts are ongoing in several parts of the world to develop alternative measures of national progress beyond the money-metric GDP. Similarly, research efforts are greatly needed to develop and contextualize alternative indicators of human well-being from the Nigerian perspective.

Rather than a sole focus on the productive sector, research studies should reflect the centrality of the reproductive economy to social reproduction by disaggregating the economy into productive and unpaid reproductive economies so as to highlight the effects of gender inequalities on the gender division of labour.

With its dominant focus on neoclassical paradigm that ignores gender inequalities by assuming them as given, the discipline of economics needs to be engendered. To mainstream gender into economics, it is important to incorporate gender social relations and its incorporation into capitalism into economics pedagogy. Recognising that mainstream economics relies on model building, it is important that feminist economics researchers mainstream gender into economics and particularly into macroeconomic models by disaggregating such models by gender. In addition, feminist economics should go beyond working within the boundaries of neoclassical economics to developing qualitative methodologies for a gender-aware economics. Thereby, the effects of gender inequalities in the economy will be more easily highlighted for appropriate policy interventions.

So far, more empirical studies have focused on the instrumental rationale for gender equality (Smart Economics rationale), while this is commendable, yet it is also desirable that research efforts also be made at engendering empirical research especially to ascertain the direction of causality between growth and gender equality. More studies at assessing the direction of causality would elucidate policy pathways to reduce the adverse effects of gender inequalities on growth as well as the reverse relationship.

Since international trade is a key driver of globalization, more research studies are needed on the gender dimensions of international trade and the intractable issue of gender wage gaps. Findings would inform policies on closing such wage gaps for more sustainable human development outcomes.

As the queen of the Social Sciences, Economics should be engaged with empirical testing of its theories and hypothesis. However, a 'one-size fits all' quantitative methodological approach should be discouraged. Rather, a multi-disciplinary, multi-methodological approach involving a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods including case studies, focus group discussions and other qualitative methods that borrow from other social science disciplines should be adopted. This is more critical in the current economic environment fraught with greater instabilities in the trading environment.

In consonance with Newer Theories of the firm, the role of different stakeholders (male and female) and their influence in the organization of the firm should be investigated to complement the traditional theory of the firm; this more holistic approach would broaden our understanding of the nature and boundaries of the firm in the Nigerian context. Indeed intensive research into heterodox economics should be the fulcrum of research activities in economics so as to clarify dissenting world views adopted by neo-classical and heterodox economics.

Newer theories of the firm like managerial and behavioural theories of the firm have the potential to enrich our understanding of the real world firm and the behavior of its agents. To be more realistic, Business Economics/Managerial Economics needs to be country specific and should not be solely limited to neoclassical microeconomics. Reformed Business Economics curricula should also borrow insights on the functionings of the capitalist economy from other branches like Economic History, Political Economy, Institutional Economics and Marxist theory. It should go beyond taking market forces as infallible to consider issues of market failure and the rationale for government intervention in societal welfare.

The determination of key variables that influence the performance of the firm is inconclusive. It is especially pertinent to establish whether firm performance is caused by efficiency or profitability. Therefore, further empirical studies to determine the key influences on firm performance are required.

On balance, corporate governance has been shown to have no significant influence on firm performance in Nigeria. The weak legal environment has been implicated for weak corporate governance in Nigeria. Further studies are needed to unravel the several causes and manifestations of weak corporate governance so that appropriate policy prescriptions can be made to strengthen corporate governance mechanisms in Nigeria.

From the pedagogical perspective, the mainstream tenet that discourages the teaching of heterodox economics such as history of economic thought and institutional economics in undergraduate and postgraduate curricula should be revised. Furthermore, the axiomatization of economics with technical jargons should be complemented with in-depth interrogation of the theoretical and historical roots of the discipline. Closely related to this is the 'over-use' of mathematical models in economics such that economics currently looks more like a precise Natural Science subject rather than

a Social Science discipline concerned with human behavior. The danger with this lies with exclusion of issues such as climate change, growing inequalities in wealth and income, the evolution and prevention of the recent global financial crisis, that escape mathematical models. There is a need for a re-orientation from over-reliance on quantitative to an incorporation of qualitative methods; this will involve the adoption of a causal rather than a mathematical methodology to explain economic problems from the causal perspective rather than the construction of mathematical models. After all, as succinctly stated by Fullbrook (2004:196), the qualitative approach was adopted by older and more fruitful approaches to economics like Adam Smith's 'Inquiry into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.' Unfortunately neoclassical economics has set an unrealistic expectation that to be useful, better theories have to be quantified.

Thus there is the need for a radical reform of economics education such that it will reflect how individuals and societies make decisions and provide for their needs in the real world. The economics curricula need to retain the baby and throw out the bath water. Following Ormerod (2013), heterodox researchers like those of the World Economics Association, while a lot can be said about the core model of agent behavior, and latest models of international trade; the main reforms will entail: (i) incorporation of key episodes in economic history in the teaching of macroeconomics; (ii) exploring behavior out of equilibrium with modern simulation software; and (iii) incorporating gender-awareness into the economics curricula.

6.0 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1 From Washington Consensus to Home Grown Human Development Paradigms: Policy Prescriptions for a Human Development Approach

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, this inaugural lecture has addressed the implications for human development of the gender equality deficits from neoliberal IMF/World Bank globalization policies embarked on by successive Nigeria governments since the adoption of SAPs in 1986. While globalization is assumed to be a tide that lifts all boats, in reality its effects are uneven and have gender differentials. A major flaw with globalization policies is the over-reliance on market forces that overlooks and penalizes non-market activities produced, mostly by women. The global economic and financial crisis has called to question the efficacy of the Washington Consensus whose neo-liberal policies have impoverished Nigerians for over three decades. Indeed a recent World Bank report placed Nigeria third among countries in the extreme poverty league (Vanguard Newspaper, April 11, 2014).

Since charity begins at home, rethinking development in the Nigerian context must begin with alternative, home grown policy matrixes that are compatible with the Nigeria's socio-economic realities rather than imported Western philosophies. New approaches to development must put people, not markets at the centre of development. This would involve restructuring global governance processes by reducing the influence of the Bretton Woods institutions of IMF and World Bank, giving a greater say in global policy architecture to the United Nations, coalition of national NGOs and other organizations concerned with human development. Governments of developing countries also need to play a greater role in regulating national markets - as the recent global financial crisis has shown that

unfettered market forces without government regulation spell disaster for human well-being.

With limited access to opportunities and productive resources, women are relatively less likely than men to benefit from any opportunities offered by economic reforms. This lecture is premised on the argument that in addition to the instrumental rationale for gender equality as a key driver of sustainable human development, gender equality has intrinsic value as a development objective in its own right and is crucial for human rights and social justice. Gender equality and the empowerment of women (MDG 3), has been pinpointed as a key requirement for achieving all the other MDGs; with only a few months left to the 2015 deadline for achieving the MDGs, I offer strategic policy directions for engendering Nigeria's human development from over 20 years of research and consultancy experience in gender and development.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, The analysis of gender inequalities in this lecture has centered on elucidating structural and systemic gendered constraints that block the achievement of sustainable human development in Nigeria with a view to proffering gender-transformative policies to address them. To unstop the multiple and intersecting constraints that perpetuate gender inequalities in Nigeria, policy priorities should focus action on several fronts in the following areas:

1. Reducing Gender Gaps in Human Capabilities
2. Closing Gender Gaps in Economic Opportunities
3. Addressing Labour Market Discrimination against Women
4. Promoting Policies to Increase Women's Participation in Decision Making at all levels.

6.1.1 Reducing Gender Gaps in Human Capabilities

With its focus on broadening human well being, Sen's capability approach should be a useful tool for gauging policies for their ability

to reduce gender inequalities in capabilities; deliver good health, and knowledge; improve people's ability to earn income by participating in the labour market without discrimination. In contrast, neo-liberal economic policy typically constrains government's fiscal policy space to implement social policy, industrial policy and investment in health and infrastructure. Relaxing these constraints is critical for policies to provide health care and social protection with salutary effects on the reproduction of human capital. Education has been identified as a key pathway for gender equality and increased growth. As there is generally less cultural resistance to women's participation in education, government should make mandatory investments to improve gender equality in education, especially at the secondary and tertiary levels where gender gaps are widest.

This requires the incorporation of social policy objectives into macroeconomic policies so that policies can deliver social justice and result in improvements in people's lives. Equity, effective poverty reduction, participation of the poor in decision making, freedom from discrimination and broadening of human capabilities are some of the mandatory goals for social justice.

In view of its suggested impact on economic growth and on all the MDGs, there is a *prima facie* case for leveraging the business case for investing in gender equality. Gender equality has been implicated to increase economic growth through greater accumulation of human capital, education of girls and women and their resultant and higher productivity through participation in the labour market.

While it has highlighted the value of gender equality for growth, gender-aware analysis has shown that growth is not enough to improve the well-being of women and men. With little or no attention to redistributive policies, neo-liberal policy reforms and the attendant goals of macroeconomic stability are achieved at a high cost to human development. As a result of their relative disadvantage from limited access to productive resources and opportunities, neo-liberal

policies have disproportionate negative effects on women. Improving access to assets, credit and employment would not only improve gender equality but would also result in greater accumulation of human capital.

In view of the link between women's education and reduced fertility, better access to family planning and reproductive health services are important for realizing the demographic dividends of female education. Nigeria's Maternal Mortality Ratio is one of the highest in the world and results from poverty, unequal power relations at the household and institutional failures from poor delivery of Maternal and Child Health (MCH) services. Innovative policies and projects like the Ondo State's government *Abiye* Project to improve women's access to MCH services especially at the Primary Health Care level will greatly reduce maternal morbidity and mortality.

Gender equality also impacts the next generation through greater spending of income under women's control on their families and their children's education. Increasing government budgets for gender equality programmes chiefly through the integration of gender equality into policy making at all levels is a vital policy intervention for sustained reduction in gender inequalities. Allocation of a greater share of government budgets to human development priorities will reach larger segments of the poor and marginalized among whom women are in the majority. Gender budgets are useful for redressing the adverse effects of gender differentials and would promote government commitment to gender equality. Gender-focused CSOs should play a crucial role in monitoring government budgets for gender sensitivity and impacts.

6.1.2 Closing Gender Gaps in Economic Opportunities

Given the predominance of women in subsistence agriculture and the rural bias of poverty and inequality in Nigeria, investments in rural infrastructure and policies to reduce rural poverty and urban-rural

income gaps are critical for reducing gender inequalities and improving income and employment generation for rural people.

The mainstream view of the economy with its predominant focus on productive activities needs to be revised to incorporate unpaid activities involved in social provisioning that underpins the economy. The inclusion of informal sector activities in the recent initiative to rebase Nigeria's economy is a welcome development but remains meaningless to the ordinary Nigerian whose life remains untouched by the rebased GDP. In addition, a lacuna exists for the inclusion of unpaid care activities mostly produced by women. This will attribute value to women's work and direct policy attention to supporting the care economy thus freeing more time for women to participate in the labour market.

Subsistence agriculture and the informal sector where women are concentrated should be assisted with credit, small scale labour saving technology, training and other government assistance programmes to help women transition to more productive enterprises. With other categories of informal sector operators, cross border traders should be empowered with literacy and business skills for enhanced enterprise performance.

A holistic approach premised on multi-stakeholder approach would entail networking and partnership with the private sector and NGOs, for example with targeted microcredit schemes channeled through women's associations as was successfully done by the Grameen bank's microcredit project where the predominantly women borrowers had high rates of loan repayment and low rates of loan diversion.

6.1.3 Addressing Labour Market Discrimination against women

Labour market discrimination which is reinforced by gender stereotypes that view women as lazy workers contributes to occupational segregation that confines women to low productivity

sectors of the labour market. Policies to address women's exclusion from certain occupations include skills training, improved access to information, mentoring and networking with support groups to improve women's employability in the private and public sectors. Stronger enforcement of international labour standards and norms is a must for improving the welfare of workers and especially women in export and other sectors where their vulnerability is highest. Given that women are mostly concentrated in the informal market, policies are needed to improve the well-being of informal sector workers. Provision of basic services, social safety nets, credit and government training programmes will help female entrepreneurs overcome barriers to their productivity.

6.1.4 Promoting Policies to Increase Women's Participation in Decision making at all levels

There is no doubt that the traditional notion of the male breadwinner is outdated. While men have customarily worked for pay, increasingly more women have entered the labour market, however, women's share of family responsibilities have not diminished. They also tend to have less autonomy or voice in decision making both at the household and public spheres. Societal norms dictate that leadership is the preserve of men and/or that women make poor leaders. Women's low participation in politics is also constrained by their household responsibilities which are intensified where women have to add on the care of the aged and/ or of family members with HIV/AIDS.

Gender inequalities in political participation has been more difficult to redress, this means that while women constitute a sizeable proportion of voters, they are marginalized in access to political office and their needs and priorities are largely ignored in policy making. Therefore, greater political participation of women in decision making is critical for better scrutiny of governments budgets from a gender perspective at all levels. Strategies for closing gender

gaps in political participation include, mentoring, affirmative action, training in self assertiveness, lobbying and advocacy skills. The proposed implementation of the INEC Gender Policy and affirmative action to increase women's political participation is a laudable initiative.

Gender mainstreaming of national and sub-national development policies is important for integrating gender equality objectives into development. Therefore, increased investment in the MDGs beyond 2015 and mainstreaming gender into development programmes like the current administration's Vision 20-2020 (which made reference to gender equality without concrete policy targets and strategies) is vital for engendering development.

7.0 CONCLUSION

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, debates about the impact of globalization and market liberalization on inequality have been intractable. A key facet of the debate, its gender dimension, is central to sustainable human development. This concerns whether globalization has had similar effects on men and women and whether its accompanying economic growth has translated into more income and employment opportunities for women and their families. The past three decades have witnessed increasing female participation in the labour market, for most women, such participation has been accompanied by their segregation into low productive activities in the informal sector or in agricultural activities. Most female entrepreneurs are concentrated in less profitable sectors. Thus globalisation policies need to be accompanied by policies to facilitate gender equality and women's empowerment. Special policies are required to address gender inequalities - to release human capabilities; reduce gender gaps in access to economic opportunities; address labour market discrimination; increase women's autonomy in decision making at all

levels; and ensure full development of the capabilities of both men and women for sustainable human development in Nigeria.

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, kindly allow me to appreciate the support of individuals and organizations who have been used by God to contribute to my career and make today's lecture a reality. I want to specially appreciate Professor Simi Afonja who encouraged me to explore Gender Studies in my field of specialization. I also thank Professor Adewuyi who advised my husband and I to apply to the then University of Ife after our postgraduate studies at the University of Manchester, U.K. and also brought our applications to the then Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. I am grateful to Professor Dele Olowu who mentored my research activities at various times. I wish to appreciate the support of my colleagues in the Department of Economics and in the Faculty of Social Sciences. I also warmly acknowledge the support of Professor Ayobami Salami, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic) and Chairman of CGSPS Governing Board and the cooperation of the academic and support staff of the Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies.

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I have been privileged to make an impact for gender and development not only at the international and national levels but also in Obafemi Awolowo University. As Director, Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies from 2010-date, I have been able to reposition the Centre in the following ways:

- Institution of Annual Staff Retreat and Work planning Exercises;
- Commencement of the online Postgraduate Certificate Programme in Gender Studies in collaboration with the Centre for Distance Learning with the second set of students already on the programme.
- Fundraising towards continuation of the Female Scholarships Scheme beyond Carnegie Corporation grants, with over 30 scholarships awarded and a few more in the pipeline;
- Preparation of draft Anti-sexual Harassment and HIV/AIDS Policies; Obafemi Awolowo University is one of the few Nigerian Universities that has developed these policies that are pertinent for improved learning and working environment.
- Staff capacity building – with the support of the University and Carnegie Corporation of New York, all the Centre's academic staff have attended training workshops abroad to sharpen their skills in gender and development and one is about concluding her PhD programme in Gender Studies from the U.K.
- With the support of our Vice-Chancellor, Professor Bamitale Omole and through the generosity of Her Excellency, Erelu Bisi Fayemi, a state-of-the art Erelu Bisi Fayemi Gender Centre building has been donated as a permanent site to our Centre.

Most importantly, I give thanks to God Almighty who saved me through the shed blood of His Son Jesus Christ and I am eternally grateful for this unmerited favour. In addition to dedicating this lecture to Jesus, the Lover of my soul, I dedicate it to the memory of my later father, Barrister Henry Ayodele Ogunfeibo, a foremost gender sensitive man who though blessed mostly with girls, yet never made a distinction between any gender. I am thankful that all my life he never showed me any form of gender discrimination. He made me feel special, loved and cherished and did his best to support my education to the highest level – May his tribe increase!

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I thank you for listening! God bless you all!!!

All the glory must be to the Lord

For He, is worthy of our praise.

No man on earth should give glory to Himself,

All the glory must be to the Lord.

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