

# **POVERTY AND SUSTAINABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: THE NIGERIA EXPERIENCE**

*Akhakpe Ighodalo, PhD*

Department Of Public Administration, Lagos State University, Ojo

---

## **Abstract**

The paper argues that poverty has remained a major obstacle to sustainable development and democracy in the global South. With the return to civil rule in 1999 in Nigeria, hopes were high that the return to democracy will stem the decline of the economy and provide the citizenry with the social dividends of democracy. More than a decade after the economy is still on it's knees with more than half of the population living on less than one dollar per day. With the use of dependency theory the paper posited that unless the people are empowered to make choices and participate in making decisions that affects their lives sustainable socio-economic development will remain elusive in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

---

**Keywords:** Poverty, Sustainable development, Africa, Nigeria

## **Introduction**

The global south has one thing in common. It is the ravaging plague of poverty that has stunted the ability of its people to transform themselves and environment in order to a state create of continuous improvement in their human and physical conditions of life. While the phenomenon of poverty is not restricted to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, countries in Africa attract more concerns because of the peculiar challenges they face which limit their abilities to tackle this recurring decimal in the life of people and their nations.

It is opined that the essence of every government is to realize the political, social and economic interests of its people, Modern governments have made one of their main objectives, the promotion or pursuit of the welfare and well being of their peoples. For this reason, policies and programmes are initiated and implemented. It would seem that more often than not, such efforts by government fail to address effectively the social and economic concerns of the people. This has led to crises in political, social and economic aspects of the people and society. The challenge that poverty poses for sustainable socio-economic

development is particularly worrisome given efforts thrown at it over the years without commensurate return in terms of better life for the people. There is hardly any government that comes to power in Africa without identifying with the imperative of fighting poverty as a basis for irreversible and sustainable social and economic development.

However, poverty has a way of spreading its tentacles to virtually all aspects of human life which makes it an issue that is topical in the quest for more enduring strategy for sustainable socio-economic development. The desirability for this cannot be overemphasized because it is connected to the political, social and economic development of the countries in Africa. How poverty can be managed to create room for sustainable development is the subject of investigation here with a view to creating a functional platform for breaking the vicious cycle of poverty in Africa.

To address issues raised in this study, the paper is divided into five sections. The first section examined conceptual and theoretical issues central to the study. The second analyzed the nature and causes of poverty in the polity. The third discussed the interface between poverty and sustainable development and efforts being made to address them. The fourth analyzed challenges facing the fight against poverty with particular reference to Nigeria and the fifth section made recommendations on how poverty can be mitigated to promote sustainable politico-social and economic development in Nigeria in particular and Africa in general.

### **Conceptual and Theoretical Issues**

Many concepts in the social and management sciences do not lend themselves to universal definitions. One of such concept is poverty. Perhaps due to its controversial nature it has been defined differently by different scholars. One of such views conceive of poverty as a deficiency and degraded human material conditions which inhibit the optimal realization of basic needs like food, health, education, shelter and clothing. From the foregoing conception of poverty, it is safe for us to say that poverty is a deplorable state of being that dehumanizes the human person. The World Bank uses income level of a people to determine whether they are poor or not. It sets a bench mark of \$320 dollars per annum as the poverty line. Similarly, people living below \$100 dollars per day are regarded as poor. (Bello, 2006)

From the conceptualization of poverty provided above, two perspectives to come to the fore. These are, the absolute and relative conception of poverty. The World Bank usage of the level of per capital income to determine a society's level of poverty can be regarded as an absolute view of poverty. However, one draw back to this method of conceptualizing poverty is that it cannot account for the non quantitative aspect of this phenomenon such as: life

expectancy, literacy, health care delivery, among others which are issues prevalent in developing areas of the world. Also, poverty can be viewed in its relative terms. Here, poverty is viewed as deprivation relative to societal norms. Every society strives towards certain minimum standard of living. The higher society and its people are able to attain this set standard, the more their well being. While no nation has been able to totally abolish poverty from its society, some of them have been able to achieve high human development by expanding capabilities through the choices they make to live a creative life. Some of these capabilities which individuals can have include: to lead a long and healthy life, to have access to quality education, to have access to resources needed for decent standard of living and participation in decision making and its implementation. These processes culminate into development.

Development is a multi faceted term that has attracted views with large doses of ideological bias. Hitherto, development of a country or society was judged by the level of per capital income of its citizens. From economic points of view, development seeks to create a ceiling in terms of need satisfaction above or below which no individual should be. The economist's view of development appears restricted. Conception of development should embrace wider issues of empowerment of the people to make choices, to participate in decision making and serve as agent of change. Hyden (1994) sees development as a product of human efforts and not just a "received paradigm". This position on development relates closely with that proposed by Rudebeck (1997) that the cultural values of a people should be used to bring progressive changes in their lives, where each stage is better than the preceding one.

Africa has unique cultural values which could help in the sustenance of the practice of development painted above. This is embedded in its communal way of life that preceded colonial rule and has continued to resist the onslaught of globalization. Its referent is captured by Ake (1993) thus:

*Africa cultural "values" the communalization of being rather than its privatization which is what Western Culture values. In the Western tradition being is seen in terms of separation, in dependence and conflict. African cultures regard being as communal. Persons have identity only because they belong to a community their, freedom lies in the concrete capabilities, privileges and immunities which derive from communal capabilities, privileges and communities which derived from communal life.*

It would seem that these ideas have not characterized the development paradigm in Nigeria. Where these values are upheld, poverty could be drastically reduced because each individual could leave for the other. Thereby reducing greed, strive and avarice. In this wise, development once initiated can be, sustained by integrating the people's cultural values into such process. This could improve the people's living standard in a sustainable manner because each person contributes to the wellbeing of the other. Thus, development should be pursued cooperatively for it to be sustained. The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) views sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (cited in Oyeshola, 2008). Emphasis in this perspective is on sustainable development. There is the need to preserve both finite and non finite resources in the pursuit of development. Therefore, it behooves on all to engage in socio-economic activities which are compatible with the preservation of the environment.

Relatedly, development can be seen as a process in which the natural resource base is not allowed to deteriorate. In recent times, concerns over the feverish search and exploitation of both finite and non finite resources have been expressed along side the crisis and conflict they generate between oil bearing communities and merchants of these resources (Olojede *et al*, 2000; PEFS 2004; Onimode, 2007). These developments particularly in the 80s and 90s intensified underdevelopment and poverty in less developed areas of the World. This is why radical scholars see under-development as part of the process that produced development. Development and underdevelopment therefore, become two sides of the same coin. (Nigeria Economic Society, 1980). The development of the North is part of the dialectic process in which the South is underdeveloped.

Attempts have been made by scholars to launch a theoretical platform on which to make meaning out of the intractable phenomenon of poverty and (under) development in developing areas of the world. The modernization theory that has undergone several changes argue that underdevelopment in the south is caused by internal factors, such as lack of capital, traditional mode of production, lack of skilled man-power, etc Attempts by Keynesian theorists to increase investments that could stimulate, "output creating capacity creating effects of investment to bring about investment", it has been argued "failed to take cognizance of the structural rigidity that characterizes developing economies" (NES 1980). A radical theorizing on these issues argue that Africa and other developing areas of the World are under-developed because of their incorporation into the world capitalist order or system where they play subordinate roles, such as: the production of primary goods whose prices are

inherently unstable and cheaper relative to capital goods produced by the advanced countries which command higher prices (Osaghae, 1999).

Gatung (in Weede, 1993) “structural theory of imperialism” supports the foregoing argument by exposing the imbalance in trade relations between the developed and Less development Countries (LDC). For him, developing countries suffer from vertical trade and feudal interaction patterns. Vertical trade refers to the fact that most rich industrialized and powerful countries tend to export processed and finished goods while, developing countries export raw materials to the developed world. Both have different effects on the economy and society. For developing countries it is often negative like resource exploitation leaving a “hole in the ground” while the same process in developed countries leads to the production of sophisticated goods which contribute to capital formation (Gatung in Weede 1993). However, these theories are not water tight to avoid critique. For as has been argued, all theories are born disputed (Weede, 1993). However, for this study, the dependency theory appeals to us because of its ability to explain third World under-development in spite, of its short comings. Afterall, all theories are born refuted.

### **The Nature of Poverty and Development**

Since the days of the social contract theorists, it has been argued that the *raison d'être* of the modern state is to ensure the realization of the material betterment of its citizens. For this reason, development programmes are formulated and the economy organized to realize these goals. Before the advent of Colonial rule in Africa, the various communities, Empires, kingdoms, and so on, were at different levels of development. Though, the economic and social mode of organization were rudimentary. Yet, they served the purpose of that time. It took the epochal events of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism to lay the foundation for today's under-development of these societies.

In an era where Less Developed Countries (LDCs) have lost the initiatives for development by putting in place functional development plans which are implementable, they equally lost steam when it mattered most especially in the area of plan implementation. Two basic concerns attend to development plans in the 70s and 80s in Africa. First, some of these plans were over ambitious in a bid to satisfy the electorates who need just the basic necessities of life. The second factor was that development plan had heavy doses of `Western values, precepts and techniques of plan implementation.

The development of towns and cities consequent upon the newly introduced colonial economy led to the creation of economic enclaves which were given priority in development plans. In the post independence era, the rural populations were gradually neglected by

subsequent governments as urban areas started springing up in the major cities. Thus, the phenomenon of urban bias became the norm in the country's march towards development. This has also brought about gap between the rich and poor in the society. It is not surprising, as Lipton (1993) has argued that "the rural sector contains most of the poverty and most of the low-cost sources of potential advance, but the urban sector contains most of the articulateness, organization and power". This disjuncture in development planning has been a major cog in the wheel of development in the country.

Also, the development paradigm put forward by most LDCs at independence were fashioned along those of the advanced countries. The theory of economic development appropriated and used by the emergent ruling class at independence was not the best suited for their environment. In essence factors which were considered, hitherto as non-economic and were not taken into cognizance proved fundamental to the success or otherwise of development. To incorporate them in a constructive manner may prove beneficial to the process of development. The social concern of the people should therefore be given priority in areas of roads, electricity, medicare, education, shelter among others. These are some of the basic necessities the governments of LDCs need to kick-start development.

However, this has not been the case, going by the plethora of illiteracy, food shortages, lack of regular power supply, poor shelter, bad roads in towns and cities, to mention but a few. While most countries in Africa are potentially rich in men and materials resources, they are found among the poorest countries in the World. For example, extant and empirical statistics show that Nigeria ranked forty (40) out of one hundred and nineteen (119) developing countries on the global hunger index (The Punch Newspaper, 2006).

### **Causes of Poverty and Unsustainable Development.**

Causes of poverty and underdevelopment are multi-dimensional and cannot be easily exhausted within the confine of this discourse. In what follows however, we briefly highlight some of these factors particularly as they relate to Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

Faulty development plans as we have noted earlier is one of the banes of development in various facets of life of these countries. Development as received paradigm from the West has tended to alienate the people of these countries. The immediate effect of this trend is that development plans and processes become statist exercises while the people that are to benefit from such programmes stand aloof.

Failure of government to empower and mobilize the people for development programmes and projects accounts substantially for lack of socio-economic and political advancement of these societies. Where the people do not know their right and lack the

rudimentary knowledge to appreciate the essence of development, its process becomes comatose. In Nigeria, over 65% of the populace are illiterates yet, the present educational institutions are poorly funded.

Socio-political conflict and crisis in Africa and other developing areas of the world make them hot-beds of ethno religious and communal conflict and crisis. Urban and rural riots and violence are daily occurrences militant groups litter the various zones in the country. Some of them includes: Boko Haram, Niger Delta Militants, Ecomog, Bakasi Boys and various cult groups across the country, pose dangers to development and increase the level of poverty in the society.

The unjust international capitalist order creates inequality and resource gap between and within nations. The trade relations between the advanced and developing countries decisively favours the latter because of the nature of goods and services they produce and sell to the developing world. While capital goods like tractors, vehicles, aeroplanes and computers enjoy stable prices and their technologies could be used for varieties of products, primary goods produced in countries in the globalize South like: oil only leave “a hole in the ground”. This has made the state in Nigeria, for example, extractive and by implication “rentier” (Graf in Osaghae, 2002).

In developing countries like Nigeria, force is required to continue the extraction of resources in the economy and for the better part of Nigeria’s post independence years, it was under military/authoritarian rule. Military rule that was to be a short and corrective exercise became alternative political party with its retinue of Governors, Sole Administrators etc. As de facto government, they were not accountable to the civil population for their role in governance. Corruption and mismanagement became hallmarks of this regime. Expectedly, poverty increased in the 80s and 90s due to bad governance.

In spite, of years of economic development planning and efforts to revamp the rural economy, the ideology of this sector has not brought rural development defined in terms of employment generation and bridging the gap in income. The ideology of the rural economy seems not to promote rural welfare and development. The rural sector should not be seen as suppliers of food, raw materials or serving the urban sector only. These roles can only be optimized if they lead to the growth and development of rural industries, trade, commerce and other services (Olatunbosun, 1975). Previous development plans have tended to promote urban development at the expense of the rural areas. This can be gleaned from investments into infrastructural development, job availability, siting of industries and income disparity in favour of the urban areas. Yet, it has been argued that maintaining this rigid occupational

dichotomy siphoning of resources from the rural areas to develop the urban sector, to the detriment of the rural sector and its population would negate the process of development (ibid).

Consequences of the alarming rates of poverty are overarching. From whatever angle one looks at the unfolding events in Africa, they portend serious danger to national development and survival many Africans leave below the poverty line. Without any meaningful source of livelihood, they take up arms against perceived and imaginary enemies. Also, the populace they are fast losing confidence in the political system and their leaders to bring them out of penury and squalor. This has made various parts of the continent, flash points of violence and insecurity. Many children of school age are out of school or cannot enroll in schools because of their parents inability to pay tuition fees. Also, social welfare has been on the decline as unemployment and inequality increase both in the rural and urban sectors.

Yet, the economy has not kept pace with the growth in population particularly the growing numbers of school graduates from various levels of education. And as the saying goes “an idle man is the devils workshop”. This development has created an “army” of unemployed youths that could be exploited for criminal activities. The nature of the economy makes resource extraction the dominant economic practice to the detriment of production and capital formation. This has given the people a materialist perception of the state as source of wealth accumulation with all its attendant trappings of inter and intra group suspicious and conflicts. Even in the face of dwindling resources population growth is progressing geometrically with governments failing to deal with the situation directly.

### **Efforts at Poverty Alleviation: An Overview**

In recognition of the devastating effects of poverty on the environment, its people and the democratic process, that the President Obasanjo administration in Nigeria established the National Poverty Alleviation Programme (NEPEP) in 2001 with the objectives of coordinating and monitoring all poverty eradication efforts at all levels. Since its inception, it occasionally embarks on key intervention programmes aimed at integrating the poor particularly at the grassroots into the National Economic Development Process (NEPEP, 2002). This new scheme on poverty eradication has been structured to have four factor schemes. These are:

The Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES) is concerned with availing the unemployment youths with opportunities in areas of skills acquisition, employment and wealth generation.

The second is the Rural Infrastructure Development Scheme (RIDS). The aim of the scheme is to make sure that there is provision and development of infrastructure needs in the areas of transport, energy, water and communication, especially in the rural areas.

The third is the Social Welfare Schemes (SOWESS). This is conceived to provide basic social amenities or services including quality primary and special education, strengthen the economic power of farmers provide, primary health care, among others.

The fourth scheme is the National Resources Development and Conservation Scheme (SRDCS). The general aim of this scheme is to bring about both participatory and sustainable development in agricultural, mineral and water resources each of these areas, have specific programmes to actualize their vision.

The goal of the NAPEP is to eradicate poverty from Nigeria by 2010. NAPEP swung into action by providing varied services and programmes with a view to alleviating poverty from the larger segment of the society. It would seem that the level of poverty is so deep that coordinated and consistent programmes have to be executed for them to make appreciated impact on poverty (Asaolu and Aderati, 2006). The new head of the NAPEP Muktar Tafawa Balewa has given the programme a new lease of life by introducing programmes which if vigorously pursued could make far reaching impact on the level of poverty in the country.

One of the most visible programmes of the poverty alleviation exercise is the Keke NAPEP Schemes that has reduced the ‘army’ of unemployed Nigerians by providing them with tricycles to add to the means of transportation in various parts of the country. This has helped in some ways to engage the unemployed youths in economic activities. In the North of the country, the NAPEP schemes also, aim at taking a lot of children off the street by providing them with five (5) thousand naira each to augment their education expenses. In this part of the country, it is common to find children roan the street begging for arms. Apart from this group causing social nuisance to the society, they are potential weapons in the hands of unscrupulous politicians who might catch in on their social conditions to lure them into criminal activities.

In spite, of efforts so far made by government, to alleviate poverty, available evidences demonstrate that the phenomenon has not change in any qualitative way. And there is no indication that sustainable development is being realized. The situation in the oil rich Niger-Delta Region is instructive. As has been observed: “...while the internal resources needed to support eradication of poverty from the Niger-Delta region are available through oil revenue, poverty eradication has remained a problem of astonishing dimensions” (PEFS,

2004). While ideas have not been in short supply, on how to eradicate poverty, the very processes of arriving at it and implementation have been far from efficient and effective.

### **Poverty and Sustainable Development: Challenges and Prospect**

Several factors promote poverty and unsustainable development in the global south. Over the years, governments have single handedly pursue poverty reduction and sustainable development. Yet, governments do not have the human and materials resources to initiate, formulate and implement poor-friendly developmental agenda. Since the 1980s, governments across the continent of Africa have had to cut down in its capital projects due to dwindling state resources. The current global economic melt-down means that in these States foreign exchange, inflow of aids and grants from the developed countries to developing one's have reduced drastically.

Corruption and mismanagement remain dominant phenomena in the developing countries. In Nigeria, corruption and financial linkages remain high as governments at all levels are caught in the web of these pernicious phenomena. Monies meant for uplifting the material well-being and welfare of the people, find their way into private pockets of the ruling political and economic elites. The prebendal use of state resources to satisfy private interest has continued under civilian rule that come on board. The profligacy in governments spending, minds burgling tales of public office holders, shows that it is skill business as usual as far corruption is concern in Nigeria. The fight against corruption seems to be faltering as the big corrupt and corrupters are treated with kind gloves by the stated (see Akhapke, 2008).

In most African States, urban bias in developmental policy agenda seem to be the vogues. While the rural areas where majority of the people live, are left in fridges of the major thrust of development programmes. Such urban bias in government programmes and strategies of development have not translated into sustained growth in employment and income equality in such areas. The supposedly developed urban sector has not succeeded in meeting the demand for employment by a growing army of the unemployed youths. Thus, the present emphasis on the rural areas may be borne out of the need to exploit rural lands as natural resources for the production of raw materials for the industrial sector (Olatunbosun, 1975) and not for any integrated approach to sustainable rural development.

Similarly, feverish search for and exploitation of both finite and non-finite resources in mineral bearing areas have led to the land and livelihood of the people in these areas being devastated due to environmental unfriendly practices. In the Niger-Delta region, Olojede *et al* (2000) has shown how oil pollution attendant on oil exploitation by oil multi-national companies in collaboration with government has destroyed farmlands, aquatic life and other

sources of livelihood of the people in these areas. Their activities and actions have exacerbated the rate level of poverty and underdevelopment in the country.

While, efforts have been made by successive government to tackle the hydra-headed challenge of poverty and mal-development, in the country, institutional framework and strategies evolved over the years, have not been indigenous in conception and character. For example, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) as implemented in Africa fails to fulfill its promises of bringing about growth and development in African States. Instead, the macro-social conditions of the people have worsened especially in the areas of income inequality illiteracy, unemployment, high cost of living among others. (Raple, 2008) For Ake (1994), years of political and economic liberalization in Africa have not bought development and poverty reduction. What has happened in Africa is the democratization of disempowerment. Increasingly, “African SAPs have resulted in much deep despair, widespread mal-nutrition and premature death... much of the burden (of SAP) falls on children” (ibid). In all these, the people are left isolated from the whole reform processes because these programmes were not ab-initio internally propelled.

These developments in the domestic polity are re-enforced by the structure of the international capitalist order that reserve the role of producer of primary produce to developing countries like Nigeria in the name of comparative advantage. Under this structure, Africa countries have little chance of breaking into the league of industrialized nations in view of their subordinate role in the global capitalist regime. The discovery of oil in Nigeria and the use of its resources as a prebend have intensified intra-class and ethnic conflicts which have left many homeless, displaced and more made refugees in their own country.

Yet, in the dark areas of the continent’s existence, there is glimmer of hope, if only promises of today are harvested to create a better tomorrow. For too long, the people have been kept out of decision making processes. What is needed is not choiceless democracy but empowerment of the people to play crucial role in policy initiation, formulation and implementation. Popular participation should not be reduced to casting of votes at periodic elections but making the people co-partners in the development process.

There is need for massive rural development because this is where over sixty percent of Africans in live. If there is to be development and poverty reduction, it must begin from the rural area. For national welfare, cannot be maximized unless rural welfare is prioritized. To bridge the gap between the rural and urban sectors, government should transform the existing development strategies which tend to neglect agricultural production, to permit the

rural sector to make its essential contributions to the over all development of the continent, particularly with a net resource transfer to the non agricultural sector (Olatunbosun 1975).

Leadership remains one of the major concerns of the continent of Africa. Africa has not been fortunate to have its fair share of patriotic and disciplined leaders who harbour in them, vision and mission to transform the continent as a whole. Corruption remains a recurring decimal in Africa politics and society. This has to change if poverty is to be reduced drastically and development sustained. Respect for the rule of law and constitutionalism hold the key to development. Laws in the statute books should be activated at all times to moderate the actions and activities of state managers. Good governance should be made the Corner stone of public service. In a State where or country there is no certainty of the law and punishment for the breach of available ones, corruption becomes the order of the day. In Nigeria, since where the law is mute, corruption and insecurity run side by side.

Self sufficiency and self reliance are pivotal to poverty reduction and sustainable development. Leaders must learn where necessary, steal and adapt technologies, from their climes to build capital and engage in massive productive of goods and services. No country freely reveals the secret of its development to another unless, it is appropriated and domesticated for the benefit of the populace. At the same time, international best practice should be converted by all in other to compete favourably in the global market place.

Government should develop mechanisms to check-mate unwholesome practices in the exploration and exploitation of both finites and non-finite resources in oil bearing and producing communities. These activities have led to poverty and mal-development. As Onimode (2007) has rightly observed;

*The mass poverty in the third world, the generally lower level of national integration in most of these countries, the pervasive lack of democracy and popular participation as well as wider inequality in these countries than in the North, have rendered mal-adjustment and mal development very inflammable issues.*

The issues raised in the above submission are quite fundamental to the resolution of challenges posed by poverty and mal-development in Nigeria Resolving them in the positive direction, will define the future of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. This will involve tackling the social concerns of the people that include: provision of basic infrastructure amenities, such as: education, political mobilization of the citizenry, medical facilities, housing and food, among others.

## Conclusion

Poverty is a global phenomenon that emanates partly from a skewed international capitalist order. We acknowledged the numerous policies of government thrown at this problem. Yet, the problem of poverty and mad-development still persist. The paper identified several factors which precipitated and continue to sustain this sorry state of affair in Nigeria and other part of the global south. In countries of the south, the level of national integration is very low. Most of these countries are torn apart by inter-ethnic and religion crises and conflicts. In the absence of binding laws they draw closer to the state of nature where life is said to be solitary, brutish nasty and short!

Under these circumstances, development programmes and policies are difficult to implement. In view of challenges identified and discussed, institutions of environment should work by the roles and values of such institutions and promote genuine democracy with its encasing checks and balances, in order to make the people the true recipients of government programmes for poverty reduction and sustainable development.

## References:

- Ake, C. (1993) "Deeper into Original Sin: The Context of Ethical Crisis in Africa Public Services" in S. Rasheed and D. Olowu (Eds) *Ethnic and Accountability in African Public Services*. New York: United Nations Economic commission of Africa.
- Ake, C. (1994). *Democratization of Disempowerment in Africa*, Cass Occasional Monograph No 1, Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd.
- Akhakpe, I. (2008), Food Crisis, Climate Change and Human Development in Nigeria: Challenges and the Way-forward". *The Nigerian Journal of Energy and Environmental Economics*. Volume1, Number 2 December.
- Alemike, E. and Olumodeji, E. (1998) "Basic Needs Approach to Rural Development and Radical Sceptism: A Critique". *Nigerian Journal of Social Works*. Vol. 2
- Bello, M. (2006) "Reflections on Poverty Reduction Strategies" in A Saliu *et al*, (EDS) *Democracy and Development in Nigeria. Vo: 2 Economic and Environmental Issues*. Lagos: Concept Publishers
- Edozien, E. (1980) "The Development of Economics and Economics of Development" in *The Nigerian Economy Under The Military*. Proceedings of The Annual Conference of The Nigerian

Economic Society.

Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) (2001), *The Obasanjo Reforms: National Poverty Eradication Programme*, Abuja: Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation.

Hyden G. (1983) *No Short-Cut to Progress: African Development Management Perspective*. London: Heinemann.

Lipton, M. (1993) “Urban Bias and Inequality” in M. Salicson and J. Passe-Smith (Eds) *Development and underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Inequality*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Olatunbosun, T. (1975), *Nigeria’s Neglected Rural Majority*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press.

Olawoye, J. (2010) “Sustainable Rural Development: Challenges, Opportunities and Lessons from Nigeria” in L. Poopola and O. Olorunnisola (Eds) *Contemporary Issues In Sustainable Development: Lessons For and Challenges to Nigeria*: Ibadan: The Post-Graduate School, University of Ibadan.

Olojede, I. *et al*, (Eds) (2000) *Nigeria: Oil Pollution, Community Dissatisfaction and Threat to National Peace and Security*. African Association of Political Science, Occasional Paper Series. Vol. 4, No. 3

Onimode, B. (2007) “The Economic Basis of the National Question”. In E. Osaghae and E. Onwudiwe (EDS) *The Management of the National Question in Nigeria*. Okada” Igbinedion University Press.

Osaghae, E. (1999). “Democratization in Sub-Saharan African: Faltering Prospect, New Hopes” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*17.1:9

Osaghae, E. (2002). *The Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers

Oyeshola, P. (2008) *Sustainable Development: Issues and Challenges for Nigeria*. Ibadan: Daily Graphics Nigeria Limited.

Programme on Ethnic and Federal Studies (2004). *The Niger Delta Question: Background to Constitutional Reform*. PEFs Monograph New Series No 8.

Rapley, J. (2007). *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*. London: Lynne Rienne Publishers.

Rudebeck, C. (1997). “To Seek Happiness: Development in a West African Village in the Era of Democratization”. *Review of African Political Economy*. 24:11

The Punch Newspaper (Lagos) “112.5 Million of Nigerians Live in Poverty”. 4 February, 2012 p.19

The Punch Newspaper (Lagos) October 10, 2006.

Toyo, E. (2010) “The Poverty Question” *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development*. Volume10, No 3 September.

Weede, E. (1993) “Urban Bias and Economic Growth in Cross National Perspective” in M. Selicson and J. Passe Smith (Eds) *Development and Under Development: The Political Economy of Inequality*. London: Lynne Reinner Publishers