



**AN ASSESSMENT OF IMPACTS OF POVERTY
REDUCTION PROGRAMMES IN NIGERIA AS
A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY, 1970-2005**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research work is entirely my own composition, and where works of other persons have been used or referred to, such have been duly acknowledged.

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Joseph Iloabanafor Orji

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to the Almighty God and Humanity for the opportunity to belong to this planet and partake in its tribulations. The work is also dedicated to my wife, Nkeme; my children, Ada, Ike, Ifu and Emeka.

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ABSTRACT

This study assessed the impact of poverty reduction programmes as a development strategy in Nigeria from 1970 to date. The study first of all examined issues of poverty and underdevelopment in Nigeria, attributing it to lack of employment, high rate of illiteracy among the citizenry, poor infrastructure, inadequate access to micro credit facilities, mismanagement of public funds, bad governance, instability of the governments and its policies. The study also examined the efforts made by different governments in poverty alleviation within this period.

In carrying out this study, a total of 717 respondents made up of men and women between the ages of 25 and 56 years, were drawn from six geopolitical zones in Nigeria; and administered with questionnaires, and their responses collated and analysed. The chi-square statistical technique and percentages were used in analysing the collated data, and testing of the research hypothesis. Results revealed that poverty alleviation initiatives of the

Federal Government of Nigeria, since the 1970s till date have not significantly impacted positively on the lives of Nigerians, especially the poor; and has not led to the overall reduction of poverty in Nigeria. The findings of the research also seem to strongly suggest that Nigerians at the rural areas are more likely to associate with poverty alleviation programmes in which they participated in contributing ideas into the initial policy design stages of such programmes, which they will later consent to at the rural level.

The study concluded by suggesting that for any meaningful development alleviation programmes must be properly packaged, such that government would go into partnership with the rural people, in order to make implementation easier and successful; thus engendering economic self-sustenance, economic growth and development.

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CHAPTER ONE

A. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Liberal scholars see the state as a product of social contract, an outcome of the escape from the state of nature in which life was said by Thomas Hobbes to be “nasty, brutish and short.” In order to escape from anarchy of the state of nature according to these liberal theorists, men surrendered their power to a single sovereign, hence the social contract and emergence of the State. On the other hand, the Marxian school sees the State as a logical aspect of the emergence of class struggle in society. Thus the State is a product of indigenous social classes in classical capitalist state and not imposition from without like the colonial State. According to Hamza Alavi, “the essential problem about the state in a neo-colonial society (by extension colonial societies) stems from the fact that it is not established by an ascendant native bourgeoisie, but instead by a foreign imperialist bourgeoisie. Thus the bourgeois revolution in the colony in so far as that consists of the establishment of a bourgeois state and attendant level and institutional framework, is an event which took place with the imposition of colonial rule by the metropolitan bourgeoisie. Additionally the imperialist bourgeoisie had to create State apparatus through which it can exercise

domination over all the indigenous social classes in the colony. It was to bring these features into effect that led to the forceful colonization of Nigeria and indeed Africa in the name of “civilizing mission.”

The emergence of the colonial state was impacted principally by the needs of the colonizing power. It was a product of the crises of the industrial revolution in the homeland of the colonizing powers. Hobson in his book “Imperialism” (1902) stated that imperialism and by extension colonialism was a logical consequence of over production and under consumption in the industrialized world after their industrial revolutions. In the process, therefore, they needed markets and sources of raw materials to sustain their industrial development and growth. One has to understand the logic of colonialism before we can understand the forces and processes that impacted on the evolution of the Nigerian colonial state. In the advanced capitalist states that were the colonizing powers in Africa, the state was a creation of an indigenous home grown dominant class or what is called the bourgeoisie. In other words, in the advanced capital states or countries, the state is not disoriented from its dominant class base which is home grown, but that in one of the backward capitalist social formations like Nigeria, the state is an imposition by the metropolitan dominant classes in the foreign domineering companies like the UAC. John Holt, SCOA in Nigeria. When the colonizers

left and batons of leadership handed over to new leaders in West African countries, such governments and their leaders were confronted with the effects of colonization which manifested in structural problems of disequilibria in education and development as a result of uneven colonial penetration into West African hinterlands, anomalies ambiguities and contradictions contained in the various constitutions, thus making governance difficult.

As the emerging governments lacked capacity and resources to deal with the problems of development and international relations, their political leaders became overwhelmed by the severity of hunger disease illiteracy and poverty afflicting the citizens of countries of West African sub-region. To worsen matters most of these political leaders soon separated themselves from the sufferings of the people, engaged themselves in self aggrandizements and became insensitive to the yearnings of their people for basic economic and social amenities instead, they frittered away their nations' wealth in self enrichment and engaged in worthless development programmes. This state of affairs led to untold devastation of economics in the region: people had to live below poverty line, with little food, no shelter for them, and no adequate medical or educational facilities to give them some hopes. In each case, the oppressive conditions in which they lived led these people to evolve gradually

into a class of disgruntled citizens, desperate for change to alleviate their sufferings. And as the socio-economic conditions of the people of West Africa continued to nose-dive and worsen, political leaders are now under pressure to provide welfare for their people as a pre-requisite for socio-political stability in their countries. Besides, the new world order places emphasis on good governance, economic prosperity and social justice. Only those governments, who provide for the welfare of their citizens amongst others, are likely to enjoy international co-operation with the world industrialized nations. No doubt this is the major impetus for political leaders to be more concerned with the total welfare of their people, especially in the area of poverty alleviation.

Every society strives to develop its infrastructure both human and material resources for the well being of its people just like the concept of industrialization, democracy and modernization, development is one of such concepts. However, despite its universal currency, appeal and usage, there is yet to be a consensus on what development precisely means, both conceptually operationally. (It remains a controversial and value-loaded concept). Most developing countries have been ravaged by acute poverty of monumental proportion. The African continent generally and Nigeria in particular, have been devastated by misrule by some of her leaders, most of

whom spearheaded the struggle for independence. At that time soon after independence, they settled down to rule their people as though they were mere inheritors of the erstwhile colonial authority.

In almost all cases, the military provided the answer by way of coup d'état by toppling those political overlords. Usually such military governments professed to have come in as corrective regimes that would stay for only brief periods within which they would put things in order before handing over to duly elected democratic governments. But because “absolute power corrupts absolutely” these military governments often ended up entrenching themselves. In fact, most of them exhibited all the traits of the much vilified of their predecessors, and even more.

Compared to other sub-regions of Africa, West Africa has been retrogressing both politically and economically. From its initial post-independence period of relative political stability and abundance of financial and other resources, the region has become politically unstable and economically very risky for both foreign and domestic investment. Little wonder therefore, that international donors and foreign private investors have shifted their focus from West Africa to other more stable and less risky sub-regions in the continent.

West Africa is no more the favourite of international funding agencies. It has instead become a neglected, dangerous terrain for foreign investors. Progressively this new position of foreign companies, agencies and governments has led to capital flight and its attendant problems of low productivity and operational inefficiency in most of the productive sectors.

This study therefore, examines the concept of development and poverty as well as critically analyse the various poverty measures put in place by the government and how these programmes have impacted on the people. The study takes an overview of the conceptual problems associated with poverty and those programmes put in place for poverty alleviation such as the Operation. Feed the Nation (OFN), Green Revolution, Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI), Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP), National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), etc.

A fundamental question to ask is, how far have these programmes impacted positively on the people? It is the objective of this study to find out the operational deficiencies associated with how best these measures could be improved upon. But first, why is the researcher interested in this study?

Having been raised in a typical rural setting and from an economically disadvantaged area the researcher was particularly interested in the research topic. His quest had always intensified whenever he visited his home town,

(which is about 42 km from one of the state capitals in South-eastern Nigeria); and sees his people terribly bedevilled with abject poverty – no electricity, water and other vital social amenities that would have added succour to the living standard of the people.

The quest for philosophical explanation of poverty also pre-occupied the researcher's mind throughout his 27 years of public service career. As a military officer, he was fortunate to rise to the rank of a Group Captain. He was always faced with the challenges of using men and materials to achieve given tasks in the Nigerian Air force. His various military postings outside and within the country afforded him the opportunity to come to the grim reality of the astronomically high poverty level in the Barracks among military personnel and their families. Throughout his command appointments, the researcher dissipated his time, energy and attention towards fashioning out programmes or creating facilities that will alleviate the pains of his officers, men and their families who were undergoing afflictions in the hands of poverty.

Also during his military career, the researcher was appointed the pioneer military administrator of Gombe State one of the newly created states in the North-east of the country in 1996. Indeed, a rural State! This was an epoch-making period as the appointment afforded him the opportunity to be at

the other side of the divide, where he had diverse views of poverty level and its attendant social problems in the country, particularly Gombe State where 80 percent of the population live in squalor. His tour of duty in Gombe State afforded him the opportunity to evolve people-oriented policies and programmes that had direct positive bearing on the lives of the people, and had not ceased offering suggestions on viable programmes aimed at alleviating poverty to the State-even after retirement.

It is in this respect therefore that the researcher had to embark upon the evaluation of poverty alleviation programmes of successive governments in Nigeria with a view to ascertaining to what extent the programmes have alleviated poor Nigerians from the menace of poverty; and the success achieved as a development strategy.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Nigerian State had been hit by the twin problems of poverty and under-development. This may be attributed to a number of factors, some of which are mismanagement of human and material resources, indiscipline, the lack of political will by the government of the country, beginning from the post-independence and present day Nigeria. Rather than tackle development and poverty alleviation in the society, our policy makers or if you like,

politicians have appeared to have converted leadership positions and public offices into avenues of squander mania, embezzlement, corruption, money laundering abroad, to the neglect of the suffering people and development.

As a result of these underdevelopment and poverty in the land, the country has woken up to witness such anti-social activities and vices like armed robbery, cultism, drug trafficking, prostitution, child labour and trafficking, ritual killings, political thuggery and assassinations, etc.

This phenomenon has left the country highly underdeveloped socially, economically and technologically. This has created a situation of mass graduate unemployment and other social vices articulated from the foregoing.

Highly skilled trained manpower and infrastructure facilities are either under-utilised or non-existent. The various government programmes aimed at eradicating or alleviating poverty have not stood the test of time, as they have not actually impacted positively on the people.

When General Abacha took power from Shonekan led interim government in 1993, he introduced other poverty alleviating measures like Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP). However, upon coming to power in the new democratic order in 1999, the Obasanjo administration in an effort to alleviate the suffering and poverty in the land, introduced the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP).

However well intentioned, these programmes were hijacked by the politicians as the philosophy behind the setting up of these programmes were politicised, thereby undermining the objective of setting up these programmes. For instance, beneficiaries of these programmes are usually party faithful, loyalists and family members instead of genuine members of the society, i.e., the needy.

The distribution of aids by these agencies are also characterized by victimization, political instability, corruption, lack of acceptability, lack of commitment and the political will by the government, have been some of the reasons blamed for the non-performance and sustenance of these measures.

This research therefore, identifies the problems and consequences of poverty and underdevelopment, on a developing economy like Nigeria thus:

- a) Poverty has become a feature of the living conditions and life situation of the vast majority of Nigerians, i.e. that most Nigerians live in poverty.
- b) In all respects for which comparative data is available, the poverty situation in Nigeria is only slightly better than what obtains in sub-Sahara Africa as a whole and generally worse than

what obtains in low-income economies and as a whole and in many individual African countries whose GNP per-capita and natural endowments are much lower than Nigeria's.

- c) Certain sections of the population have been particularly vulnerable to poverty and continue to bear most of the sufferings associated with the scourge. Such severely affected groups include farmers and other rural dwellers, the teeming millions who operate the informal sector of the urban economy; the elderly and the aged; women, the disabled, and of course all those trapped in the remote regions where arable land is scarce and where draught, floods, environmental degradation, etc impede economic activity and keep both output and productivity low continuously.
- d) Poverty gives rise to many other serious social problems, some of which, not only impose enormous economic and social costs upon the non-poor and society in general, but also threaten the survival and stability of the society.

Poverty is definitely not just a problem for the poor, but for the non-poor as well, indeed for society as a whole. It is important that we look at the conceptual framework of the study of poverty in this work.

1.3 AIM AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The research study focuses on the questions being asked by many Nigerians on how the various poverty alleviation programmes of government, since 1970s have impacted on the people. The aim is to look at poverty alleviation measures put in place by successive governments and how these programmes have impacted positively or negatively, on the people. To achieve this, the study focuses at poverty programmes from the perspective of rural people, who constitute over 70% of Nigeria's population and prescribe realistic poverty alleviation programmes that would lift the people out of the abyss of poverty scourge. The various poverty alleviation measures have been critically examined as models of development and identified with the target population, (rural and urban dwellers), in terms of what package of poverty alleviation programme, would benefit the rural masses and the poor ones in the urban areas.

The research investigated new orientation in the partnership between policy makers and the masses, whom poverty alleviation programmes are targeted, with a view to making the conception of such policies to be masses

or consumer based, in order to ensure that policy package designed by the masses and included in the government's package are aimed at solving their poverty induced problems.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The researcher sought to provide answers to the followings:

- a) What impact has the various poverty alleviation programmes of government made on the lives of rural dwellers since the 1970s?
- b) What poverty alleviation programme package would best be suited and easily implementable at the rural level, where the majority of Nigerians live?
- c) What is the linkage between poverty alleviation programme, living conditions of the people and rural development? What other factors affect rural development and rural/urban poverty?

1.5 BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Poverty is a universal problem facing mankind, with serious consequences. It can be described as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, which lacks universally accepted definition. For instance, its economic dimension centres on nature and level of material deprivations which afflict the poor, and distinguishes them from the non-poor.

According to the Encyclopaedia Americana poverty is viewed from two different perspectives as signifying “monelessness and powerlessness”. Monelessness means not merely an insufficiency of cash but chronic inadequacy of resources of all types to meet basic human needs as nutrition, rest, shelter, etc and powerlessness refers to those people who lack the opportunity and choices and whose lives seem to be controlled by forces and persons outside their control – maybe by people in positions of authority or perceived evil forces or ill-luck.

As there are varying divergent views on the concept of poverty, we could observe that poverty exists when people lack the means to satisfy their basic needs. In Africa, and in particular Nigeria; the colonialists imposed capitalistic economic system which allowed for exploitation and domination of the rich individuals and companies in the available resources including exploiting the labour of others to increase their wealth. Besides, when the colonialists shifted emphasis from food crops to cash crops as deliberate government’s policy in order to serve the needs of the industries in the metropolitan Europe, shortage of food began to manifest amongst the rural dwellers who constituted 80% of the country’s population.

Furthermore, the lack of commitments and focused leadership at all levels of governments, daily eroded value systems and impoverished the

people; to the extent of the deprivations, prevalent hunger, disease, poverty and dearth in infrastructural development and amenities. The combination of the economic and political structures inherited by post independent African countries, especially Nigeria had paved way for social crises which the new leaders had failed to successfully address in most cases, the major population of Nigerians who live in rural areas had continued to experience low quality of life, misery, hopelessness scarcity of food, lack of shelter, poor health care delivery systems, high infant mortality rate, high level of illiteracy and above all, manifesting characteristics of under-development in all the ramifications. No doubt all these unenviable scorecards have continued to bring pressure on leadership.

Unfortunately, most of the post independence leaders who took part in Nationalist movements, and took over governments from the colonialists soon became authoritarian and did not care for the development and welfare of their people. Besides, leaders are continuously being overwhelmed by the severity of poverty, hunger and disease afflicting the people. And with the lack of capacity and resources in some cases to tackle these problems and those of development with international relations, they resort to silencing the agitations of the masses for improved living conditions and welfare, through high-handedness, clamping down on discerning voices against their

government. Some of these leaders opt for a single party system in practice and do not tolerate oppositions and plurality of parties.

However, in the new world order, authoritarian leaders and governments who are highly insensitive and hiding under the cloak of democracies to afflict their citizens with mismanagement of resources, non transparency in government business, denials of rights of individuals under the United Nations Charter and presiding over under-development; have no place in the comity of nations, who have indeed democratised and in keeping with the tenets of democracy worldwide.

Indeed, such leaders and their governments run the risk of being sanctioned and isolated in all aspects of endeavours. Because of the increasing agitations by the people for better conditions and welfare, the social crises and strife ensuing, coupled with the threat of sanctions from the international community; Nigerian political leaders and their governments had admittedly recognized the need for improving the living standards of their people, as a sine-quo-non for peace and harmony.

In these regards, the Federal Government of Nigeria had designed several programmes aimed at alleviating poverty and improving the living conditions of its people. Some of these programmes since the 1970s include:

- Operation Feed the Nation (OFN)

- Green Revolution
- DFFRI, Peoples Bank, Community Bank
- Structural Adjustment Programme
- Better Life Programme and Family Support Programme
- Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)
- National Directorate of Employment (NDE)
- Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI)
- Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP)
- National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP)
- National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS).

All these are geared towards raising the living standards of rural people and the urban dwellers, with the anticipated peace, harmony and development resulting thereafter. Nigeria is a country of about 120 million people, covering 4470km coastlines with enormous resources of natural gas and coal, vast array of solid minerals like gold, coal, tin, kaolin, columbite, zinc, limestone; etc.

One of the largest resources of tropical timbers, varied vegetation and topography with favourable climatic condition that require the growing of a

wide range of food and cash crops all the year round, Nigeria is one of the continent's poles of development. She is in a position to influence development in both West African sub-region and Africa in general. Therefore, the rating of Nigeria as one of the poorest in Africa and yet with other unenviable indices of underdevelopment calls for the need for political leaders to rise to these challenges and turn things around for the better.

Despite the various poverty alleviation programmes by successive governments, and the huge budgeting outlays attached to these programmes, the rural areas and the people have remained poor. Some of the features of this poverty are lack of basic social amenities, malnutrition, disease and ignorance. It is argued that all these problems resulting from policy inconsistencies, lack of political will, bureaucratic red tape, lack of transparency in business of government, lack of consumer oriented consultations in policy initiation or formulation, lack of capacity for policy implementation, obstacles arising from political and social considerations, poor leadership, inadequate support institutions and resources for policy implementation; all these are exacerbated by political instability and social crises. With these score cards, Nigeria will not be able to sustain a stable political system which would be supported by its citizens for accelerated development, which means that Nigeria would not be able to offer the desired

leadership expected in West African sub-region and Africa in general; and the central role as a development centre and pole in international affairs would remain a mirage.

Economic development considers human living conditions especially the individual well being as a more important focus of attention than the institutions and organizations within the social system (Ukpong 1994). Therefore economists of development persuasion are interested basically not only in the wealth of nations the highlights of which appear in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and aggregate economic indicators but also, they are interested in how the wealth is distributed among individuals and groups of people in a country or if there is inequality in the distribution of available resources within a country even if that country is endowed by adequate resources.

There is every likelihood that few people will be enjoying better living conditions while the majority would be languishing in a state of abject poverty, more problematic conditions arise in a situation whereby the country's material and human resources are under-utilised and unevenly distributed among the different component units of the country and to the extent that what it has cannot satisfy the yearnings and aspiration of the generality of the people who want to use them.

Coupled with the above scenario is the absence of the enabling environment for sustainable development. In such a situation, even if the distributive system is functioning properly, there is likely to be shortages of essential needs of people. In this case the country is said to be poor. It was Hoffman (1975:13) who once described an underdeveloped, poor or backward country in these words: "Everyone knows an underdeveloped country when he sees one. It is a country characterized by poverty with beggars in the cities and villages eking out a bare subsistence in the rural areas. It is a country lacking in industries or factories of its own usually with inadequate supplies of power and light, it usually has insufficient roads and railroads, insufficient government services, poor communications, and insufficient social infrastructures.

Nigeria is faced with most of these problems. That is why Nigeria has been ranked as one of the poorest countries of the world. Today in Nigeria, one of the principal concerns of both the federal and state governments is the formulation and execution of policies designed to propel the nation's economy to push up per capita output. It is expected that the rising output should raise the incomes of most Nigerians every year. Yet poverty not only persists, but also tends to exacerbate; clearly the rate of poverty is greater in recent times than in the past. Many attempts have been made by both the

Federal and State governments to reduce the incidence of poverty and inequality in Nigeria.

The Federal government for example has offered balanced wage adjustments since the Udoji Salary Review of 1974 aimed at reducing the income gap between high and low income earners and also to raise the standard of living of the people, particularly workers. Also the federal government introduced a progressive income tax system with the aim of narrowing the gap between the take home pay of people at different salary levels and to bring about some sense of equality among the income earners.

The introduction of Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) by the military administration under General Olusegun Obasanjo in 1976 and the Green Revolution of the then President Shehu Shagari in 1980 and the salary review of May 2000 were all attempts at reducing poverty in Nigeria. But the efforts so far appear not sufficient to move majority of Nigerians out of poverty bracket.

It is the objective of this research study therefore, to explore the whole concept of development and poverty, causes and consequences of poverty and inequality, and how best to tackle the problems which poverty and underdevelopment had created.

Over the decades, empirical statistics from the research findings on the level of poverty, especially at the rural setting shows that poverty had continued to exist and indeed degrade as well as ravaged the quality of life of the people in the rural areas in Nigeria. Worried by this trend, successive Nigerian governments had tried to tackle poverty in Nigeria, through the design and implementation of several poverty alleviation measures aimed at stemming the ugly trend of poverty in the land.

Since the 1970s, there had been such poverty alleviation programmes like: Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), Green Revolution, Direct intervention in rural development code-named (DFPRI), People's Bank, Community Bank, National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Better Life Programme; Family Support Programme, Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), universal Basic Education UBE etc. These programmes by the various governments of Nigeria were designed by policy makers and targeted at poverty alleviation in Nigeria.

Unfortunately, the quality of life of the majority of Nigerians had remained unenviable and embarrassingly low, despite the huge budgetary allocations by these governments to these poverty alleviation programmes.

Reports from World Bank, WHO, and various NGOs home based and abroad had at various times confirmed the worsening economic and social

situations in Nigeria with the unbelievable ratings as 23rd poorest country in the world, and the 2nd most corrupt country in the conduct of government business (courtesy of Transparency International). All these had been, in spite of the fact that, Nigeria is the current 6th World's largest producer of crude oil and with the greatest endowments in solid minerals, agricultural potentials and human capital of over 120 million people.

Nigerians and observers are anxious to know the impact of huge financial allocations to various poverty alleviation programmes, since the 1970s, as the problem to be addressed had continued to worsen, deteriorate and further afflict more Nigerians with the end not in sight. Besides, government needs to know why her poverty alleviation programmes had not yielded the desired impact on the masses, so as to enable her approach the poverty issue more programmatically.

This study therefore, identified the problems responsible for the persistence of hunger, disease and squalor in the rural communities in Nigeria, despite efforts by governments to solve them. The study has made recommendations that will assist the government through the policy matters, to come out with more realistic, implementable and rural based programme that would address the issue of poverty in Nigeria.

Researchers and social scientists are likely to find this study exciting, especially with the novel concept of Bottom-Top policy-design and implementation strategy enunciated. Furthermore, this study would provide the required clues for governments and NGOs to tackle the poverty problems at the root. And when this is achieved there will be improved social and political stability, which will stimulate and enhance economic growth development and improved welfare for the people.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In the course of carrying out this study, a number of constraints were encountered such as:

- a) Much time was spent on carrying out this research study from the printing and distribution of questionnaires to the target population, rather than whole population which was difficult to do;
- b) Funding: carrying out this research involves a lot of money. This includes travelling from one town to the other gathering vital data for the study; money was expended on the printing of questionnaire, typesetting and binding of the research work into a booklet; indeed,

generous incentives for both field officers and respondents in order to elicit their co-operation.

- c) Respondents: The researcher was faced with the problem of some respondents not co-operating fully in the providing answers to the questionnaire, seeing the exercise as an unnecessary distraction from their businesses. There was also the problem of some respondents having misconception about the whole exercise, because they thought providing certain information about them on issues were going to implicate them.
- d) Materials: The availability of some vital materials for the study was not without difficulties. Vital documents like journals, literature and other relevant sources of secondary data collection were encountered with some degree of hardship. Accessing the Internet for vital and relevant data was also not easy.
- e) Sample Size: Due to the large size of the population under study, the 36 states of the federation and agencies concerned with poverty alleviation, only a limited number, hence the selection of two States each from the six geo-

political zones of the country, making a total of 12 States and Seven hundred and twenty (720) participants altogether. However, in spite of the limitations, the overall objectives of the research were accomplished, as solutions were provided to tackle limitations.

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study covers the rural areas known for their poverty proneness, government agencies concerned with poverty alleviation and rural development; such government agencies include Community Banks, Rural Development Banks, National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), etc.

1.8 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Some terminologies and concepts were used during the course of this research and for proper paraphrasing, such terms have been explained thus:

- i. Poverty: Poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. This definition was captured by Chambers (1983) and more recently by Jazairy et al (1992:56). Aspects include material deprivation, isolation, dependence and

subordination (over land ownership, share cropping and the poor bargaining position of assetless labourers in labour – rich encounters), absence from organizations, lack of assets; vulnerability to natural disaster and insecurity. Jazairy *et al*, distinguish four types of poverty: (a) Intestinal (pockets of) poverty, surrounded by wealth (d) Material deprivation combined with isolation and alienation found in marginal areas and labelled peripheral poverty (c) Overcrowding poverty in areas of population pressure (d) Traumatic or sporadic poverty.

- ii. Development: Walter Rodney defined development as a many sided process. At the level of individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. A common consensus about development is that, development takes place only when the central problems of poverty, unemployment and

inequalities in a society have declined from high levels.

- iii. NEPAD: This refers to the New Partnership for African Development. It is an approach aimed towards forging a collaborative effort of eradicating poverty and evolving development strategy amongst the African countries.
- iv. FEAP: This refers to the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP). It is an investment promotion and poverty alleviation programme introduced by the Federal government for the purpose of stimulating appropriate economic activities in the various wards of each local government area in the country in order to raise the productivity and economic power of the people through the establishment of viable resource-based industries.
- v. NAPEP: This refers to the National Poverty Eradication Programme. It is a poverty alleviation

measure set up by the Obasanjo regime to cushion the economic hardship in the country.

- vi. DFRRI: This refers to the Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure. It was established by the Babangida regime in 1985, as poverty palliative. The major thrust of the programme was rural development.
- vii. NEPA: National Electric Power Authority. This is an authority established by the Federal Government of Nigeria charged with the generation and distribution of electricity in Nigeria.
- viii. BLP: Better Life Programme. This was established in Nigeria, to stimulate women in the rural areas towards achieving better and higher standard of living.
- ix. FSP: Family Support Programme. This was a programme of the Nigerian Government aimed at improving the life and lots of Nigerians, especially women in rural areas. The programme

had a policy thrust on the role of family in national development.

- x. NDE: National Directorate of Employment. Again, this programme by the Nigerian Government was given a mandate to provide 70% of job opportunities in the informal sector and micro business to young Nigerians, through training for skills acquisition and entrepreneurship development using micro credit schemes.
- xi. NEEDS: National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy. This is the latest concept at packaging a holistic approach to restoring Nigeria on the path of economic, social and political prosperity.
- xii. IFIs: International financial Institutions
- xiii. SIFs: Special Investment Funds
- xiv. PPAs: Participatory Poverty Assessments.
- xv. Pas: Poverty Assessments
- xvi. IMF: International Monetary Fund.
- xvii. WDR: World Development Reports

- xviii. CSOs: Civil Society Organisations
- xix. PRSPs: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
- xx. ILO: International Labour Organisation
- xxi. IDRPs: International Development Reports.

B. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.9 STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses form the basis upon which this research study was undertaken:

1. Ho: The various poverty alleviation programmes of government have not positively impacted on the people
Hi: The various poverty alleviation programmes of government have positively impacted on the people.
2. Ho: The socio-economic condition in the country is not conducive for sustainable nation development.
Hi: The socio-economic condition in the country is not conducive for sustainable nation development.
3. Ho: Most public policies targeted at poverty alleviation in Nigeria do not address the actual needs of the rural populace.

4. Ho: The non-implementation of poverty alleviation programmes by successive governments has not positively impacted on the people.
Hi: The non-implementation of poverty alleviation programmes by successive governments has positively impacted on the people.
5. Ho: The upsurge of social vices in the country may not be as a result of the prevailing poverty.
Hi: The upsurge of social vices in the country may be as a result of the prevailing poverty.

1.10. THE RESEARCH POPULATION

The term population refers to the total number or the aggregate of concerns, which by virtue of the common characteristics, may lead to the gathering of relevant information. The research population in this study therefore, refers to the different socio-economic status background. This includes rural dwellers, farmers, market women, civil servants, students, businessmen etc. Efforts were made to administer questionnaires and interview people across the six geo-political and senatorial zones of the country. These geo-political zones include North East, North West, North

Central, South West, South-South and South East political groupings of the country. This arrangement also has taken care of the diverse geographic' belts in Nigeria, - covering the Niger Delta Swamp and Mangrove vegetations, Savannah grasslands up to Sahel Savannah in the Northern fringes of the country. As expected, the vocations of the inhabitants in line with geographical belts; range from fishing, crops farming to animal husbandry in the Northern parts of Nigeria. The Fishermen in the Niger Delta areas, the crops farmers in the heart lands and the North; and the nomadic cattle herders and livestock farmers of the Northern parts of the country were covered in the 6 geo-political zonal structures from where the research population was drawn.

1.11. SAMPLE SIZE

A sample is a group of items taken from the population, so that the needed information can be obtained for the purpose of analysis. We have over 120 million people in the 6 geo-political zones in Nigeria, from where about 40 million adults and youths within 25 - 56 years could qualify as our research respondents. As can be expected, the question of how large a sample must be, to be considered adequate is not a simple one; because each situation presents its own problems. According to E.C Osuala, "if the phenomena

under study are various, as many phenomena in the social sciences are, a much larger sample is needed. The greater the variability of the phenomena, the greater the difficulty of obtaining an adequate sample. However, increasing the sample size is of little value if units are not chosen to ensure representativeness." Continuing, E.C Osuala stated "Three factors determine size of an adequate sample: (i) nature of population, (ii) type of sampling design and (iii) degree of precision desired. Using a sample that is too large is a waste of resources. Using a sample that is too small means getting results that are likely to be lacking in validity²." Having regards to the characteristics of our research population and considering the size of the population of the entire country where respondents are to be drawn, the researcher selected a sample size based on the 6 geo-political zones. In doing this, a sample of seven hundred and twenty (720) was chosen, and a questionnaire was designed and administered on the seven hundred and twenty (720) participants randomly selected for the study.

However, out of this number, only Seven hundred and Seventeen (717) questionnaires were completed and returned, and this figure (717) forms the sample size of this study. As earlier stated, the participants in the study include rural dwellers, urban dwellers, farmers, business men and women,

civil servants, and the general public all drawn from the six geo-political zones of the country.

1.12 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE SAMPLE SELECTION

The six geo-political zones of the country was reflected or chosen and the sample size selected because of the representativeness of the geo-political zones and the size (717) on the entire population. These samples also reflected in the country, owing to its diversity of upper class, middle class and lower class strata of the society; hence the random selection of participants with different socio-economic status.

It is believed that in so doing, the sample selection exercise must have included all the vital segments of the society for which the poverty alleviation programmes are targeted.

1.13 INSTRUMENTS USED

The study employed the use of structured questionnaires and personal interviews to obtain data from the population sample in support of the study. The questionnaire was designed according to Likert³ pattern of agree, disagree and Yes or No and Unsure responses. Respondents were required to choose from any of the responses.

Also as expected, books newspapers, the Internet were consulted. Others include journals and other publications that are relevant to the topic. In addition, computers were used for typesetting.

1.14. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The procedure for conducting this research was through the use of structured questionnaires. The questionnaire also consisting of structured questions were administered to 720 randomly selected participants representing a wide spectrum of the society. The researcher did this by going round the six geo-political zones in the country. He employed the assistance of volunteers who took the questionnaires and distributed same to the various geo-political and senatorial zones and districts respectively, of the country.

A total of 720 questionnaires were distributed for administration, out of this number, 717 were completed and returned and this number (717) formed the basis and sample size of the study. Respondents were required to ask questions, if they did not understand any question or if they encountered any problems with any item on the questionnaire.

The questionnaires were collected immediately after completion in most cases. The volunteers had to personally go round the chosen population to administer the questionnaire.

1.15. SCORING PROCEDURE

The questionnaire used for this study contained twenty-three (23) sub-questions to which respondents were expected to provide answers. Responses were classified into strongly disagree, strongly agree, Yes, No, Undecided and open questions. The score points used were: 1-2 (Strongly disagree), 3 (Neutral or Undecided) and 4-5 (Strongly Agree).

1.16 STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES USED IN ANALYSING THE DATA

The descriptive statistical technique was used in analysing the data as presented in frequency and percentages. The data collected were analysed using the chi-square statistical tool for testing the Null hypotheses.

Chi-Square Statistics

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$$

Where O = observed frequency

C = Number of columns

E = Expected frequency

DETERMINING THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM:

$$\text{DF} = (C-1)(r-1)$$

Where r = Number of rows

C = Number of columns

LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE

This study is a survey research and the test is carried out under the 0.05 (5%) level of significance.

1.17. JUSTIFICATION OF THE METHOD

The chi-square statistics is applied to test the Null hypotheses. According to Creighton⁴, the chi-square statistics is used under the following conditions

1. Where there are two or more variables from independent samples, each of which is categorized into Yes, No, Agree or Disagree responses.
2. When the data is numeric, or the data is expressed in a Null form, meaning that, there is no relationship between the two variables. In a chi-square statistics, if the calculated value is greater than the table values, then the research hypothesis (Null) is accepted, and the alternate hypothesis rejected. All these conditions seem to favour the deployment of chi-square statistical method to test the null hypothesis.

Frequency distribution tables show the number of different responses to a particular question while percentages show the portion of each response group.

1.18. SUMMARY

In this chapter, the research population among all the 6 geo-political zones in the country was identified and sample size of 720 determined using appropriate sampling selection method – see E.C. Osuala (2001).

Besides, the instruments used to obtain data from the population namely Likert scales model was used to structure the questions administered to the respondents and books, newspapers, internet, journals, computers were sources of information and production. Volunteer Assistants who visited and administered the questionnaires to Respondents covering 12 States and 36 Senatorial Districts in the country administered a total of 720 Questionnaires, consisting of 23 subsections each. The volunteer assistants guided the Respondents to supply answers to the questions, and retrieved it afterwards. This may have accounted for the high degree of success – 717 out of 720.

The data collated were analysed using statistical techniques for instance chi-square statistics, which mostly met the research requirements as the tool

for data analysis and test for, null hypothesis. At this stage, let us present the Literature Review.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

A major problem with the literature on poverty alleviation and development as far as this study is concerned is that most works tend to focus more on poverty and development in general rather than being specific on alleviation efforts of individual countries. Attempt will, however, be made to look at these general issues and then try to tie them to the specifics later.

The first attempt at providing a definition of poverty based on subsistence was made by Rowntree (1941). Although his study was about poverty in the city of New York, his views on what constitutes subsistence living ought to have universal appeal. In his words, “my primary poverty line represented the minimum sum of which physical efficiency could be maintained. It was a standard of bare subsistence rather than living. In calculating it, the utmost economy was practiced. A family living upon a scale allowed for this estimate must be governed by the regulation, nothing must be bought but rather which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health and what is bought must be of the plainest and most economic description”.

Here, what is being emphasized is that only expenditures relating to those basic necessities would be tolerated. It means, for example, that a drunkard, whose income is enough for his basic things but who prefers to spend his income on alcohol instead of spending it on the basic necessities of life is not poor based on subsistence poverty. Thus it means that secondary poverty exists when income is enough to provide basic minimum items necessary for subsistence living but this income was diverted to other expenditures outside the categories necessary for subsistence.

In terms of countries, Nigeria cannot be considered to be poor based on these explanations because it has enough, which if well distributed, could eliminate poverty in the country. Perhaps this explains why the foreign creditors have not granted debt cancellation to Nigeria.

In discussion further, subsistence poverty; there are difficulties in determining the necessary minimum standards for subsistence living.

There are many items needed for subsistence living whose quantity may vary from region to region and from one individual to another. Take, for example, the housing and fuel requirements. The requirements for these essentials vary from region to region.

As Luck (1946:15) puts it, “the need for shelter varies according to locality and the social custom, it cannot be accurately measured. Fuel is

essential for survival in a cold environment but this is a regional and variable necessity. A similar consideration applies to clothing. In view of this difficulty in establishing standards of adequacy for essential things needed for subsistence living. Orshanky (1965:15) opined that there is no generally acceptable standard of adequacy for the essentials of living except food. It may be necessary to point out that even the minimum food requirements cannot easily be estimated below this too. It varies from one individual to another and even from one region to another.

As Betchelder (1976) observed, “poverty exists when the quantity of resources available to a person is less than some particular quantity of resources needed by that person.” However, it is not easy to use this definition in poverty court. The problem here is that nothing in the nature of man or in the nature of the world suggests the minimal resources needs that must be satisfied if a person is to be non-poor.

According to the Encyclopaedia America, poverty is viewed from two different perspectives as signifying “money less-ness” and “powerlessness.” monelessness means not merely an insufficiency of cash but chronic inadequacy of resources of all types to satisfy such basic human needs as nutrition, rest, warmth and bodily care. monelessness, however measured, is but a proxy.

This is because for many writers, the characteristics of poverty that concern them, includes powerlessness which refers to those people who lack the opportunities and choices unlike in the case of the poor, whose lives seem to be governed by forces and persons outside their control by people in positions of authority or by perceived “evil forces” or “hard luck.” There are no direct measures of powerlessness and hence mainly such surrogates must measure poverty as income.

As Brown (1975:134) opined, “poverty may be narrowly defined in economic terms. A poor person is a have-not, he has little or no ability of his inadequate personal resources. He is at the bottom-most rung of our society ladder.”

In ordinary usage, poverty is applied to three distinct conditions, economic inequality, economic dependence and economic insufficiency. But to assume that only the last forms the real problem perhaps, limits too narrowly the scope of the problems created by inequalities within modern economic organizations.

Acceptance of insufficient flow of income as the essential aspect of poverty merely shifts the difficulties of definition, since this concept predicates the assumption of standard, which could be physiological or social. A report issued by the United States Chambers of Commerce uses this

approach to define poverty. It stated that “poverty is largely a product of ignorance, changing industrial technology, prejudices that limit opportunity, worn-out firms and depressed companies inability or unwillingness of people to move to where jobs are; lack of and curable physical mental abilities.

Poverty is the condition that is said to exist when people lack the means to satisfy their basic needs. These basic needs may be defined as narrowly as possible to include only those necessary for survival in the community. Popular explanations among modern social scientists treat poverty as an aspect of social pathology.

Since the term pathological is used to describe an abnormal condition of deviation from the average or the prevailing type rather than from an ideal condition, such a concept obviously arises within a society whose economic development has sufficient quantity of the products necessary for its well being.

Social thoughts and popular opinion have gradually shifted from a fatalistic to a critical point of view towards poverty, its meaning, its causes and effects. The religious or fatalistic explanation of wealth as a gift from destiny and of poverty as a visitation and punishment was useful as consolation for the poverty – stricken individual or group. According to Thomas Malthus theory of over-population, poverty is an inevitable part of

society. This was undoubtedly influenced by the desire to explain in terms of law, the recognition, not always frankly admitted, that the ethical theory of poverty was untenable.

Poverty has been defended wholly on religious grounds, as a healthy and normal state, on physiological or philosophic grounds, as a condition conducive to mental, physical, moral and spiritual well-being generally. According to George and Lawson (1980). “poverty is a relative concept. It relates to the deprivations suffered by a section of the society in relation to what is regarded as necessary for normal living.”

This means inevitably that, the definition of poverty involves judgments that vary from person to person. They further stated that “it is insufficient to note that a substantial majority of the population are living in conditions of poverty.”

As Kakwami (1981) opined, there are three poverty indicators: The percentage in poverty, the aggregate poverty gap and the distribution of income among the poor.”

Samuelson (1980:762) in his view, believes that “it is a common mistake to think that only the unemployed are poor, or that only fatherless people – those who simply cannot earn in the market place, what is today

considered a minimum needed income. They and their children are deemed to merit public help.”

Akeredolu-Ale (1998), in his paper entitled “Social Revolutions is antidote to poverty” (Punch Newspaper, Dec 8, p. 12) averred, “poverty itself is a social problem, but it also creates and sustains other social problems. Continuing, he asserted that the additional problems arise mainly because the mechanisms and strategies through which the poor attempt to cope with their poverty, that is, to survive in spite of their poverty, are not limited to the positive ones, but often include some, which victimize other people, pose a threat to the economic and social order. One cannot but agree with this assertion, especially when the spate of societal ills, which includes violence, vandalism of public utilities, killings, robbery etc are traced to the poor trying to make ends meet.

We must be worried also with the persistence of poverty and its negative contributions to National development. Akerele-Ale (1998) captured it all in his paper, when he stated “poverty is also one of the potent causes of its own persistence since many elements of the poverty situation jeopardize the nation’s economic performance and hinder economic growth. (This, of course, is to the extent that inadequate national economic performance,

especially economic growth, is an important factor in the causation of persistence of poverty).”

2.1. POVERTY REDUCTION POLICY IN CONTEXT: AN OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSES

The way the poverty is framed clearly has an important influence on the ways in which poverty reduction policies come to be shaped. Shifting narratives of the causes of and solutions to poverty both produce and drive policy processes, making available and circumscribing spaces in which different forms of poverty knowledge can be articulated and mobilized. Capturing stories that invite particular interventions and imbue them with authority, these narratives establish frames of reference that define and bound what forms of knowledge count, and whose versions, claim and interest are legitimate. They often have embedded within them the advocacy of particular policy instruments. As Nustad argues, policy documents have a very particular epistemology: ‘what appears as knowledge is structure by the aim to which it is directed’ (2000:221). Constructed in a way that permits intervention, the promotion of particular technical interventions lend further persuasiveness to particular policy discourse. For in the coupling of appealing

story lines to clear-cut instruments, uncertainties are definitely dispatched: all that is required is to implement.

A closer look at the emergence of discourses on poverty reduction and development reveals a process of hybridisation, through which the versions of poverty that have captured mainstream attention at different points in time have selectively incorporated concepts generated by alternative development discourse. This process for hybridisation has given rise to the articulation of new variants that appear to offer a convergence of competing agendas, recasting elements of older approaches in an evocative new story-line that appears to have appeal across the board. Orthodox approaches have continued to propound a foundational narrative in which economic growth is the solution to development, reducing poverty through the trickle – down of the benefits of growth.

As Roe (1991) suggest, a strategy of working with rather than against blueprint development models is in many respects more reproductive than one that simply articulates a critique from entirely outside the frame of reference of the dominant discourse. Roe's analysis highlights important ambiguities in how the appropriation of the generative themes of alternative development discourses might be viewed. On the one hand, the process of incorporation by the mainstream might be regarded as a successful hegemonic strategy that

defuses critique by appropriating its principal tenets. Yet on the other, it might be cast as a tactical move that by modifying elements of the orthodox poverty reduction narrative and by offering ways of filling in details to make it less misleading and objectionable, serves to harness its discursive power and use it for wider impact. Quite how the lexicon of, alternative development with its emphasis on ‘participation’, ‘bottom-up’ and people-centred processes, has been interpreted and used within the mainstream, however, requires further attention. For as these terms have been redeployed within entirely frames of reference, they have come to acquire new meanings.

In this respect, questions of commensurability between the versions of poverty produced by different ways of measurement and definition become particularly produced interesting. For if alternative framings of poverty rely on an entirely different frame of reference within which to couch their claims to ‘getting it right’, the interplay between representations of these versions becomes especially important to investigate. If, as Hajer suggests, ‘discourse coalitions’ form around the recasting of a range of different positions and practices around a set of common ‘story-lines’, how have these incommensurabilities been dealt with in recent shifts towards a version of poverty that encompasses the ‘alternative discourse’?

In this section, we explore how the framing of poverty in mainstream development discourse has shifted in the post-war period. As well as providing a simplified overview of major shifts in the discursive construction of poverty, we look at some of the policy instruments for poverty alleviation, which have been associated with different stages in the evolution of discourses. Through a focus on how ‘poverty’ and ‘the poor’ are positioned within the mainstream, the section sheds light on some of the implicit rules about what constitutes legitimate and useful knowledge in policy processes for poverty reduction. This in turn leads to an examination of the opportunities and constraints for building policy processes that are genuinely responsive to the needs and priorities of poor people.

2.2. THE GROWTH DISCOURSE: THE CREATION OF DEVELOPMENT ORTHODOXY

As postulated by Escobar (1995:23,89) “Poverty on a global scale was a discovery of the post-World War II period. [...] A completely utilitarian and functional conception of poverty emerged, linked inextricably to questions of labour and production.”

Many of the foundations, which continue to underpin poverty reduction policy, were established in the forties and fifties, part of a discourse, which

linked a notion of material poverty to a notion of underdevelopment. Alongside aid programmes which were clearly motivated by the geopolitical considerations of the Cold War, there was an increasing focus on 'development' as an underlying theme in the relationships between the newly independent nation-states of the South, the former colonial powers and the USA. The framing of development in terms of poverty finds roots in the socio-political challenges of 'governing the poor' in 19th and 20th century Europe. Existing models of social policy – particularly the residual public assistance model of American liberalism – have also been influential in shaping development discourse (Hoebinkl 2000)

Early views of development conceptualised Southern countries as being at an early stage of linear, universal path towards a modern society. The essential components for making progress along this path were seen to focus on the nation-state, and economic change (McMichael 1996). Poverty was defined within this narrative as a material and monetary phenomenon, resulting from underdevelopment; whose countries were poor. This definition contracts sharply with the way that poverty was framed in the political discourse of the independence struggles of the South. Here, poverty was seen as the product of systematic denial of social and economic rights, rather than as the 'problem' of 'poor' countries. (Manji 2000) In subsequent academic

discourse, the concept of poverty as denial of rights was extended to the idea that the ‘underdevelopment’ and exploitation of some was an inherent and essential part of the ‘development’ of others.

The definition of poverty as a material phenomenon was underpinned by the assumption that living standards could be quantified by monetary measures (McMichael 1996); per capita income therefore became a key indicator of ‘wealth’ or ‘poverty’. The conceptual roots of income-based measures of poverty are often traced to the work of Rowntree in England in the 1880s. (Hossain and Moore 1999; Kandur and Squire 1999). By 1948, the World Bank’s definition of poor countries as those with a per capita income of less than \$100 led to the overnight framing of two thirds of the world’s population as poor. (Escobar 1995:24). This construction of poverty relies on the positivist notion that poverty is measurable and appears to establish the basic facts of global poverty. As Apthorpe argues, however, ‘basic’ is not an unarguable observation, but a consequence of discourse, and a different discourse, with different argumentation, turns up different facts (Apthorpe 1996).

Poverty came to be constructed as the essential, defining trait that separated ‘developed’ from ‘underdeveloped’ countries. Framing poverty as an economic problem allowed the solution – economic growth, facilitated by

capital investment – to be presented as a self-evident truth, which underpinned the transfer of resources between countries in the form of development aid. It also fundamentally defined the solution to poverty in terms that were technical, and presented them politically neutral.

The policies that resulted from this discourse prioritised the construction of physical infrastructure, which was conceptualised as the first step in a sequence of events, which would eventually lead to the take-off of economic growth. Where investment in ‘social infrastructure’ occurred, it was in the form of hospital and universities. 75% of World Bank aid in the fifties and sixties was concentrated on physical infrastructure, lack of which was conceived as the most important barrier to economic growth, and thus poverty reduction (Hoebink 2000).

Manji notes that as African infrastructure was being built with foreign aid, social problems, which in the colonial struggle had been framed in terms of rights and justice, were gradually re-framed. “the problem was no longer, it appeared, the denial of basic rights, but one of ‘poverty.’ While one demanded action to prevent violations, the other inspired only pity and preoccupations about the technically ‘correct’ approaches to poverty alleviation.” (Manji 2000:13) Voipio emphasizes political needs of non-poor elites in the South for “politically feasible strategies for maintaining the status

quo, or at least for controlling the pace and direction of social change,” framing the poverty as the problem allowed them to pursue this agenda. (Voipio 2000:186).

Science and technology were inseparable from modernization in the rapidly evolving development orthodoxy, and the knowledge required to make development policy was constructed as information, which would reveal the knowledge truth of a particular situation. The power of expertise and transfer of technology underpinned development policies, as well as fundamentally defining knowledge of some groups as more valid than others. They rendered the ‘subjects’ of development mute objects.

In this post-war model of development, poverty is an effect rather than a cause of underdevelopment, and is not therefore the direct focus of policy. Economic growth, facilitated by technical experts and national governments engaged in a donor-recipient relationship, is seen to result in poverty reduction, but modernization is prioritised over poverty reduction as a policy outcome. Despite criticism from many different perspectives, and the evolution of the discourse itself towards a periodical prioritisation of poverty reduction, many of the assumptions underlying this orthodoxy remain pervasive in the practices and poverty reduction strategies of powerful development finance institutions.

2.3. POVERTY REDUCTION MOVES TO THE CENTRE OF THE AGENDA

An ILO (1977) statement has it that ‘Basic needs include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption, adequate food, shelter and clothing [...] Second, they include essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, health and education facilities. A basic-needs oriented policy implies the participation of the people in making the decisions, which affect them through the organizations of their own choice. (ILO 1977) cited in (Oloko and Oloko 1987:48).

By the 1970s, some donors and other development actors were beginning to define their development agendas more clearly in terms of poverty. This was in part a response to the growing realization that the post-war development model had resulted in growth, but that this had not been widely translated into either ‘development’, or redistribution of the benefits of growth to the poor. A particularly important indicator of this shift towards poverty reduction is the agenda of the World Bank under the presidency of McNamara, who placed considerable emphasis on poverty alleviation as a key element of the Bank’s mission. This resulted in new areas increasingly

becoming the focus of Bank lending, rural development for small farmers, urban infrastructure, and service provision in the health and education sectors.

Concurrent with this shift in World Bank focus, other development actors were arguing that an integrated approach to development was necessary. A United Nations report on Integrated Rural Development is an early example of such an approach. It argues that “the very nature of the process of rural development and the size of the problem of promoting economic and social progress in rural areas require that action be taken on several fronts simultaneously, and not independently of each other [...] the concept of the ‘integrated’ approach [...] is a highly structural and systematic exercise in which all components in the system of development can be understood as important and appreciated for the part which they play individually and collectively.” Such approaches were influential in shaping policy instruments in the mid-1970s, in the form of Integrated Rural Development Programmes. They exemplified a narrative, which envisaged a central role for the state and social infrastructure in the process of development, which was viewed from a system perspective. This narrative frames the poor as components in the system of development, rather than simply as ‘the problem’ which development seeks to solve.

Alongside policy instruments like IDRs, project-based aid and lending became the most common means of operational policies derived from revised agenda of poverty reduction. For the World Bank project aid formed part of a broader relationship with the government of a borrower country, which included a policy dialogue aimed at achieving macroeconomic growth. Mosley notes, “It is quite possible for project funding and an ineffective policy dialogue to co-exist for a long time. The project mode provides a ‘safe’ format of aid-giving when donors and recipients disagree about priorities and general economic policies” (Mosely, Harrigan et al 1991:33). This description suggest that although poverty reduction may have been at the centre of the rhetorical agenda of donors, the dynamics of policy dialogue allowed Southern governments some space to shape policy implementation according to their political needs.

The evolution of the project, and its associated cycle, came to be an important component in the way that poor people and their knowledge were framed in development processes. The project cycle provided a space in which the donor discourses converged with certain elements of alternative development discourses, particularly that of participatory development and basic needs.

The 1970s saw the evolution of the ‘basic needs’ approach to development, which suggested that the focus of aid should shift from investment in capital formation to the development of human resources. The analysis of development it put forward was one, which suggested the integration of the social and the economic. It also suggested “participation, by itself, is a basic need.” (ILO, 1978:2), cited in (Cornwall 2001:2). This perspective owed a great deal to political movements for self-determination in the South, which located participation as part of a wider process of radical social change, based on rights and equitable resource distribution. (Cornwall 2001). Although different, the ‘basic needs’ approach and the rights-based social change agenda both offer an alternative framing of ‘the poor’ – as political individuals with rights and agency.

The project cycle allowed donors to absorb some of the language of these alternative agendas, and invest the notion of participation with a different meaning. From the mid-1970s, there was increasingly strong evidence to suggest that project were more likely to succeed if their beneficiaries were directly involved at different stages of the project cycle. Arguments, which equate participation with efficiency, framed the poor as ‘beneficiaries’ who have agency, which is confined by the boundaries of the

project itself, while knowledge and expertise effectively remain under the control of experts and development professionals.

The economic backdrop to the evolving agenda of poverty reduction in the 1970s was provided by the oil crises of 1973 and 1979, the slowing of economic growth, and the availability of ‘cheap’ development loans to the South. The election of right-wing governments in economically powerful countries gave unprecedented power to the international financial institutions (Mosley, Harrigan et al, 1991) and the debt crises of 1980 heralded a profound shift in the development discourse.

2.4. NEOLIBERAL RESURGENCE FROM SAPs TO SIFs

Manji (2000:14) states that “The social and political impact of these policies was to position the multilateral lending agencies [...] where they could determine both the goals of development and the means for achieving them. They legitimised direct intervention in political decision-making processes. They determined the extent of state involvement in the social sector. (Manji 2000:14).

A neo-liberal perspective on development came to dominate the agendas of many international development actors in response to the economic crisis. It swept away the brief focus on poverty reduction, which

emerged in the 1970s. Economic growth was firmly reframed as the solution to the problem of poverty, and the path to economic growth was to be found through the retreat of the State from the economy, and the opening up of all economic activity, particularly agriculture, to free market forces. Structural Adjustment Programmes were the basic policy instrument of the neo-liberal resurgence. They gave far greater weight to growth than to distribution and aimed, through macroeconomic reform, to realign domestic expenditure and production patterns in order to restart economic growth processes (Adepoju 1993).

The International Financial Institutions as a matter of technical economic necessity and efficiency presented SAPs. (Wuyts, Mackintosh et al, 1992). They framed the poor as rational economic agents taking reasoned decisions based on economic criteria, which could be adjusted through structural macroeconomic reforms. Their implementation however gave rise to impacts beyond the economic frame: it was closely associated with political conditionality. In many cases, SAPs were imposed on the governments of Southern countries, under the new regime of 'policy based lending' by the IFIs, Engerg-Pedersen notes that even where multilateral were not the principal donor in a given country, SAP's gave rise to greater co-ordination between bilateral donors. (Enberg-Pedersen 1996). The context of

conditionality and increased donor co-ordination resulted in the diminished power of national governments to set their own development policy agendas, or to find alternative solutions to the economic crisis. Conditionality can thus be seen as an important mechanism through which donors and lending institutions widened the sphere of their assumed legitimacy to shape the policies of national governments, a political reality which the technical focus of the mainstream discourse obscures.

The austerity measures imposed by the SAPs had a massive impact in the South, particularly in terms of provision of basic social services to the poor and of agricultural production and food security. Popular opposition to adjustment measures was widespread in many countries, taking a variety of forms and involving many kinds of civil society organization. Within the development arenas, opposition was increasingly vociferously expressed by agencies like the ILO, UNICEF and international development NOGs, who drew attention to the serious decline in social services, wages and employment which results from SAPs, and pointed out how the services, wages and employment which resulted from SAPs, and pointed out how the most vulnerable members of society were paying a high price for adjustment (Cornia, Jolly et al 1987).

Alongside the agenda which crystallised around explicit opposition to the negative effects of SAPs, other effects of SAPs, other challenges to the mainstream discourse continued to involve. Contemporaneous debates on participatory development, for example, were based on critiques of the problems of poverty in orthodox development. Such debates stressed the diversity of different people who are labelled 'poor' and the diversity of poverty as a condition. (McGee 1998). The distillation of such a complex, multifaceted phenomenon as poverty into a single measure of income or consumption was in view as a reinforcement of established patterns of dominance, maintained through the mechanism of technical and professional expertise. (Chambers 1997). This agenda advocated the use of a form of participatory research for planning and action with local people, which would rely on 'their' rather than 'our' understanding of problems and priorities, and would begin a process of reversals which would gradually transform the practice of development. It resulted in an explosion in the use and spread of participatory methodologies, particularly by NGOs, and particularly within the project cycle.

The late 1980s witnessed a 'marriage of convenience' between the orthodox and participatory approaches to development (Hoebink 2000), mirrored by a similar relationship between the monetary and basic needs

approaches to poverty measurement. The hybridisation of the policy agendas saw narratives of ‘participation’ introduced into a broader strategy of reform, which was advocated to offset the negative impacts of adjustment. The agenda put forward by UNICEF’s influential document ‘Adjustment with Human Face’ elucidates the failures of SAPs as one of implementation and failure to protect the most vulnerable members of society from the impacts of economic adjustment of social from the impacts of economic adjustments; the solutions it put forward as institutional reform, and the establishment of social safety nets. The proposed agenda for institutional problem involves ‘participation’, which as well as being seen in terms of effectiveness is also presented as being a possible solution to the problem of “generating the political support need to overcome short-term political and bureaucratic opposition.” (Cornia, Jolly et al, 1987:295).

The agenda represented by ‘Adjustment with a Human Face’ was already being taken up by the IFIs, in response to criticisms of the failure of adjustment. The versions of participation they adopted reinforced the framing of the poor as “beneficiaries”, and often defined their participation in terms of efficiency, and the investment of beneficiary time and labour into development initiatives, including social safety nets. Increasingly, NGOs were framed as the development partners of ordinary people, and institutional

alternative to the sale in terms of service provision and facilitating participation.

Social funds were one policy instrument designed to make this hybrid agenda operational, and they have endured and subsequently evolved. They aimed both to offset the social costs of adjustment and to enhance the political viability of adjustment programmes. The stated aims of social funds were to support the provision of social services through providing resources to intermediary governmental and non-governmental organizations; Cornia argues in many cases there was also an untested aim, that of building new coalition in favour of adjustment. (Cornia 1999)

Social funds were characterized as ‘demand-driven’ and therefore responsive to the needs and priorities of local people for poverty reduction. The rhetoric of social funds designates the community as an important space for capacity building for poverty reduction (Marc, Graham et al 1993; Narayan and Ebbe 1997), and thus appears to offer space for re-interpretation of the role of local people’s knowledge and expertise. The obstacles to occupying such spaces, which have been encountered, by different kinds of local actors are discussed later.

The structure of social funds in many ways foreshadows the future of direction of the mainstream discourse. They are illustrative of the widening of

spheres of intervention deemed to be legitimate under the rubric of poverty reduction, and the increasingly wide range of actors who are invited to have an active stake in poverty reduction policy. They suggest the critical importance of linkages and partnerships between the state (increasingly, in the form of decentralized local government), the private sector, NGOs and ‘the community’ – to the process of poverty alleviation. The frame of consensus and partnership in development was to become a powerful feature of new efforts to ‘mainstream’ poverty reduction.

2.5. POVERTY ASSESSMENTS AND PPAs.

Heobink (2000:215) states “Poverty alleviation is now embedded in a broader macro-economic and macro-political approach involving good governance and attention to the social sector. ‘Good governance’ refers to a macro-economic policy that is monetarily healthy and promotes liberalization, but also democratisation and improvement of the human rights situation.”

The agenda, which was put forward by the 1990 World Development Report, represents an important moment in the evolution of poverty reduction policies. It signalled a re-affirmation of the centrality of poverty reduction in development, and put forward the strategies it proposes in terms of achieving poverty reduction through growth. As such, it demonstrates shift away from

the previous orthodoxy of growth leading to development thence to poverty reduction.

The context of this shift was the ‘Washington Consensus’, a term which emerged to describe an apparent consensus amongst economists concerning the pursuit of macro-economic stability, trade and capital liberalization, privatisation and deregulation.

The term ‘consensus’ came to be associated however with a broader agreement amongst the donor community about the agenda put forward by WDR 90, namely labour-intensive growth, investment in human capital, and the provision of safety nets for the most vulnerable.

Picking up on the critiques of institutions that had begun to emerge in the late 1970s, WDR 90 presented a narrative of the causes of poverty, which included bad economic management by developing country governments; corrupt officials and institutions, and policy environments that did not favour broad-based economic growth (McGee 1998). This focus provided an increasingly large space to question issues of governance and institutions in the elaboration of poverty reduction policy.

Voipio argues that in the early 1990s there was a wide convergence of donor policies, rhetoric and operational approaches in the direction of WDR 90 agenda (Voipio 2000). This shift has led to an emphasis on holistic sector

– wide programmes, co-ordinated donor action and issues of governance. Robinson views the increasing convergence of the poverty reduction discourse as a merger of policy currents: the preoccupation with financial accountability and administrative representation. (Robinson 1995)

The emergence of the new agenda opened up new domains of actions under the remit of poverty reduction policy. It suggested that recipient governments and their counterparts in civil society move towards taking responsibility for implementing good governance initiatives. The implementation of this shift was however the continued context of political conditionality in relationships between donors and Southern governments. Robinson, whilst supporting the broad agenda of strengthening civil society, points out that caution in implementation is needed, in order not to undermine the autonomy and legitimacy of existing CSOs. (Robinson 1995)

The Bank's particular interpretation of the governance agenda, mirrored by many bilateral donors, placed a strong emphasis on the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies for poverty alleviation. This resulted in considerable investments in the production of information about poverty, and building capacity for evidence-based planning processes for poverty reduction. In 1994, Davies noted increased demand for new types of information that new doctrines and discourses had given rise to

(Davies 1994). The 1990s, perhaps even more so than the 1980s, were an era of methodological refinement of the orthodox approach to poverty measurement (Baden 1995). In the context of debates on consultation, the use of social science information, and the rights of poor people to define the poverty reduction agenda, some of these methodological refinements addressed issues of combining orthodox and participatory approaches to the production of poverty knowledge.

Poverty Assessments were an important mechanism for turning the poverty reduction agenda into poverty reduction policy. Although they were a policy instrument of the World Bank, they can also be viewed as a stage in the evolution of donor co-operation, as Norton notes, they “formed a major part of the analytical work sponsored by donor community in the early to mid-1990s” (Norton 2001:1). In addition, they were a policy instrument, which offered a space for different interpretations of poverty measurement to have an influence on policy formulation. Tjonneland et al noted that Pas represented an analytic shift, away from the description of poverty, towards the formulation of strategies for its reduction (Tjonneland, Harboe et al 1998). As such, poverty reduction policy is increasingly framed as having at its centre a process of research and information production, which are seen as the

first steps in the system of generating policy activities in multiple domains of intervention.

The recommended methodologies for poverty assessments emphasized quantitative analysis of household survey, from which a poverty line and poverty profile were generated. The development of the methodology for poverty assessments was however influenced by an increasingly wide range of voices – within and outside the World Bank –which were arguing that orthodox approaches to poverty measurement may not present an adequate view of the multiple dimensions of poverty, or the dynamics of its causes and effects. The voices, which can be characterized as a discourse coalition, came together in debates about how best to provide information to the nature of poverty, and one outcome was the development of Participatory Poverty Assessments.

PPAs are field-based, qualitative exercise which aim to provide information on poverty to policy makers from the perspective of poor people themselves (Norton 2000). In addition to the argument that starting with the analysis of poor people would enhance the accuracy and relevance of information for policy makers, some advocates of PPAs suggested that allowing ordinary people a voice in policy processes would also constitute the fulfilment of a basic right.

Although Poverty Assessments became a mandatory mechanism in the Bank's activities, PPAs were optional. They spread widely, however, and some argued that they achieved some success in deepening the Bank's understanding of poverty, influencing policy from poor people's perspectives, and strengthening policy implementation (Robb 1999). Other commentators, however, suggest that numerous obstacles exist which prevent the information generated by PPAs from influencing PAs (Whitehead and Lockwood 1998), and that PAs themselves had limited impact on the formulation of Country Assistance Strategies, the formal agreements made between lenders and national governments (Tjonneland, Harboe et al 1998). The difficulties evoked by the experience of trying to influence PAs with PPAs can be read as the difficulties of influencing hegemonic discourses and entrenched institutions with alternative agendas. Both commentaries suggest that there are problems to introducing alternative knowledge construction strategies in a way that has an impact on the content of policy statements, and thus the allocation of resources.

The design of later, 'second-generation' PPAs attempts to overcome some of these difficulties by placing a strong explicit emphasis on the establishment of multiple stakeholder networks and partnerships through which policy influence can be achieved, and they entered the policy arena

with the explicit intentions of creating policy change that will produce benefits for poor people (McGee and Norton 1999; Norton 2001). As such, the evolution of policy instrument reflects a broader shift in the discourse, which by the mid 1990s was becoming increasingly focused on the importance of multi-stakeholder partnerships for poverty reduction.

2.6. MAINSTREAMING POVERTY: CREATING SPACES FOR CHANGE AFTER THE CONSENSUS

Kanbur (2000:40) states that “There is no question that there is now broad agreement on education and health outcome being on par with income in assessing poverty and the consequences of economic policy. This is now so commonplace that it is easy to forget that it was not always the case, that twenty-five years ago great intellectual and policy battles were fought in the World Bank on broadening the conception of development and poverty reduction. Perhaps today’s new proposals on conceptualising poverty – for example, that empowerment and participation should in their turn be treated on par with education and health and income – will equally become tomorrow’s foundations (Kanbur 2000).

Kanbur encapsulates the evolution of the contemporary orthodox discourse. The extreme of the rhetorical consensus are illustrated by the recognition by the IMF, in 1998, of the interrelationship between economic

and social issues: “the main pillars of economic policy that would lead to progress in these areas [economic growth, inflation control and promotions of agriculture] include sound macro-economic and structural policies, with strong social component, and good governance and participatory development.” (Chu and Gupta 1998).

Donors and lenders follow a range of paths in their assistance to poverty reduction, from the micro-projects of safety nets and social funds, through micro level interventions, which increasingly include effort to put poverty on the political agenda (Tjonneland, Harboe et al 1998). The domains into which the poverty reduction agenda now spreads are firmly framed as political, institutional and social, as well as economic. The poverty reduction policy process thus engages with a wider range of different versions of poverty than was the case previously. The terms of engagement, however, remain very much in the realm of ‘invited participation’, where more powerful actors frame the way that others are involved in the policy process.

The dynamics of invited participation, and donor control over the issues and actors that are involved in the policy process, are perhaps best illustrated by the changing role assigned to the state in poverty reduction initiatives. As already noted, the agenda of liberalization had severely constrained, among

them, the agency of nation-states to decide their own development agendas, through the mechanism of political conditionality.

The 1997 World Development Report marked something of a break from dominant Bank policy, in that it argued that the state should be strengthened in certain respects. This evolution of the discourse on the role of the state was implementation –based, a response to the increasing difficulty of maintaining a broadly anti-state agenda whilst simultaneously interacting with the state at multiple levels of policy operation. Rademacher,(1999), notes that in the policy reversal represented by WDR 1997, there is “a notable absence of criticism [...] of the Bank’s own role in historically influencing the capacity of the state, particularly in terms of the deleterious effects of SAPs” (Rademacher 1999:4). The institutional focus does not extend to critical self-reflection.

The role for the state put forward in WDR 97 envisages it not as a direct provider of growth but as partner, catalyst and facilitator in the process of poverty reduction. As such, the boundaries of legitimised state activity in poverty reduction processes shifts again; the invitation extended to state actors to fully re-engage with processes of poverty reduction has been critical in shaping the development of contemporary poverty reduction policy instruments.

Changing views of the role of state actors in policy processes have had a strong impact on the way that governments and donors interact. Norton summarises some of the key features of such instruments in relation to state-donor relations in his discussion of changes in contemporary development practice as follows:

- * The framework within which donors provide balance of payments and budgetary support to developing countries is changing. The over-arching framework for such assistance from International Financial Terms (even from the IMF), and secondly, that leadership of the policy process must come from within the country itself if it is to be effective and sustainable.
- * In general the donor community is seeking increasingly to provide its assistance as contributions to the mainstream planning, budgeting and implementation processes of partner institutions. For work with governments in developing countries this implies donors accepting less direct control over some government actions than a project approach provided them. In return donors (to account for their resources against the purpose for which they are provided) must seek to use their resources to level pro-poor change in approach is evident in changing instruments for donor co-operation and in changing thinking about the nature of partnerships. There are implications for the instruments that donors use to deliver assistance, for the attitude, skills

and behaviour of donor staff, and also for the time frames within which policy goals are set, and commitments to support offered.

In short, the role of donor agencies is increasingly interpreted in a different way. Instead of seeking to show direct use of donor resources for reducing poverty – and account for their funds against this – donors are seeking instead to use theirs.

The change Norton describes illuminate broad shifts in the structure of policy interactions, which have resulted from different actors adopting and interpreting the objective of mainstreaming poverty reduction. The extended domain of poverty reduction interventions by external actors now explicitly includes the national policy process. There is also a departure from earlier practice implied by a focus on planning, budgeting and implementation processes.

These shifting relationships between donors, lenders and governments provide the discursive background to the emergence of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, the most recent mechanism for poverty reduction developed by IFIs. At the level of stated objectives, PRSPs represent a policy instrument, which is ‘nationally owned’ and relies on a foundation of consultation between government and civil society concerning poverty reduction. The guidelines for their implementation focus on supporting the participation of

civil society organizations in the design and monitoring of poverty reduction strategies, as a mechanism for building and sustaining country ownership in policy operation. They are presented as offering the opportunity for a range of actors to legitimately engage in policy formulation. Simultaneously, however, they remain instruments of political and economic conditionality, which are an essential part of the narrative of conditional debt relief established by the IFIs. As experiences with implementation begin, a range of constraints have arisen which highlight the boundaries of the space they offer different actors to exercise international, invited agency.

The way that participation has been framed in the mainstream discourse of development, and the way that different actors have attributed meaning to the term, is an important entry point for seeing how the framing of the poor has shifted over time. The current rhetoric of poverty reduction, exemplified by the WDR 2000, relies heavily on ‘the voices of the poor’ to counterpoint major policy messages. Particularly important in the narrative put forward by the WDR 2000 is the notion of ‘empowerment’, and its linkages with participation. The report recommends action in three areas, of which one is ‘facilitating empowerment’, framed as:

Making state institutions more accountable
and responsive to poor people, strengthening

the participation of poor people in political processes and local decision making, and removing the social barriers that result from distinctions of ethnicity, race, religion and social status (World Bank 2000: Foreword, vi).

Two features of the way that empowerment is employed in the construction of the new narrative are particularly relevant in terms of wider discourse shifts. The first is how firmly the domain of ‘empowerment’ is defined as the arena of state-citizen relations, at the institutional interface. The second concerns the analytic use of the term. Moore suggests that in the WDR, “the concept of ‘empowerment’ is more decorative than directional. It does not really structure the analysis. The term is used in diffuse and ambiguous ways” (Moore 200:1). Moore’s comments resonate with critiques of the absorption of other terms from alternative agenda into the development discourse, and the de-politicisation of meaning which results (Cornwall 2001; Rademacher and Patel 2001).

With such sweeping objectives as the elimination of barriers of discrimination, there is little in the WDR to suggest a strategy for operating the empowerment agenda, although empowerment is closely tied to the notion

of decentralized local government. As Oyen notes, however, there is no mention of more traditional mechanisms for empowerment, such as labour unions; and there is no mention given to the conflicts of interest, which would inevitably result from the 'empowerment' of the poor. She notes, "Efficient poverty reduction is not possible without facing up to those adversaries and accepting the fact that there are strong interests vested both in sustaining certain kinds of poverty, and in not paying the price in economic and symbolic terms that an efficient poverty reducing strategy calls for. How is the World Bank going to handle this aspect of poverty reduction? The WDR is presented within a model of harmony that is seducing all its goodwill and buzzwords of partnership, sharing of social capital, equality and acceptance (Oyen 2000:5).

The model of partnership underpins the way that 'empowerment' is used in the WDR. Creating and maintaining an illusion of consensus amongst stakeholders is an important part of the Bank's "hegemonic project" which aims if not to rule the world, at least to guide it through policy prescription" (Braathen, 2000:29). The meaning attributed to empowerment must be congruent with this notional consensus, and thus is essentially depoliticised. Skirbekk notes that the value given to empowerment in the WDR is fundamentally instrumental: it is, with security and opportunity, a dimension,

which is instrumental to the success of market values. Skirbekk, 2000:24). This attribution of meaning to the term 'empowerment' is one way that boundaries for the exercise of agency of policy actors are established. The evolution of the discourse opens spaces to act, but these spaces are limited by dominant understandings and shaped by the actions of those that occupy them.

The strategies and messages presented in the WDR 2000/1 can be regarded as the articulation of anew 'consensus' emerging amongst international development actors regarding the legitimate range of actors in poverty reduction processes. The evolution of this consensus can be read as the creation of a 'story line' which bridges different elements of a discourse to create an agenda to which people subscribe, and which pushes certain elements firmly into the mainstream. As well as embracing CSOs and locals government as partners, the 'story-line of the WDR 200/1 places strong emphasis on the 'community' as a development actor. The wider range of invited actors implies a simultaneous expansion about the ways that various concepts within the 'consensus' will be played out at different levels. The particular roles constructed for different actors within the consensus are, as the preceding discussion has highlighted, the product of the discursive shaping of mainstream narratives of poverty reduction. To make sense of the

politics of poverty reduction policy at a national level, it will be necessary to differentiate the effects this discourse has in various spaces, and explore the contradictions and convergences that are evoked.

2.7. COLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

This term describes the policy practices of European imperialist powers which had its primary focus as acquisition of colonies and keeping them permanently dependent. The earlier form of colonialism which swept the new world of the Americas and East Asia under the control of Western Europe almost collapsed with victorious battle against European imperialism by the thirteen original colonies of the United States against Britain. The second stage of colonialism came as a result of depressions of the 1870s in all capitalist European economies leading to the Berlin conference and the partition of Africa among European powers in 1884 – 1885. Colonialism therefore, is the political and military subjugation of independent people by an imperial power.

The integration of colonial economy of Africa into the world capitalist systems in the late 19th and 20th centuries had two contradictory effects. Africa's economic integration into the world system resettled in its

development as a peripheral capitalist economy but concomitant with this in the underdevelopment of its capitalist potential.

Theoretical debates about the formation of the world economic system centre among other issues, on the question of whether the world system, having been created by the geographical extension of capitalist activities out of Western Europe, is therefore, itself capitalist. One school argues that if capitalist trade relations dominate the world system, then the mode of production in all its component parts must also be capitalist.

The other school argues that although the dominant mode of production is capitalism, subordinate modes of production on the world economic system need not necessarily be capitalism. In fact they can remain a pre-capitalist stage or they can be transitional.

The latter school argues that, it is the internal developments in a specific social formation, especially the changes in relations of production (i.e. class relation), which determines the mode of production. In adopting the views that Africa's integration into the world capitalist system during the colonial era witnessed its emergence as a "peripheral" capitalist economy, I am essentially subscribing to the latter approach.

It is not however, the assumption of this study that without contact with Europe and without the institution of colonial rule, Africa would necessarily

have eventually developed into a full-fledge, independent capitalist economy. One can speculate only to a limited degree as to what the nature of economic development in most African states would have been, had there been no integration or contact all between African States and the emergent capitalist European nations.

To engage in such speculation would require construction of models of per-contact African societies, followed by construction of models of internal structural changes which would have been generated in each society, ignoring external factors such as war, conquest or trade. Such an approach can have only limited value. When therefore, the concept of underdevelopment is used, it is not necessarily meant to imply that Africa, was following a pre-ordained path of changes in her modes of production, similar to the stages which had been followed by Western Europe, nor is it meant to imply that without contact with the world economy, African would necessarily have become capitalist.

The concept of underdevelopment as used here is that which implies that the productive forces of African states suffered constraints imposed both by an external market and by an external bourgeoisie bolstered by the imperialist powers. Peripheral capitalist societies are underdeveloped because the forces for change unleashed by their contacts with core capitalist

countries, especially the development of new social groupings with the potential to become indigenous, productive capitalists are constrained by their externally- oriented economies.

They cannot imitate the model of capitalist development in the western world. The structure of the international market system, reinforced by production organized primarily for export, restricts them.

When peripheral capitalist countries who undergo periods of formal colonial rules, then they are also constrained by a foreign state structure which regulates their internal economic development in its own interest? or at least, in the interest of its own bourgeois.

Prior to its encounter with representatives of the rising merchant classes of Europe in the late 5th and early centuries, African societies were composed of a number of pre-capitalist economic formations. The period of Africa's integration into the world capitalist system coincides with the period of development and consolidation of capitalism. Originally, it provided raw materials, which was necessarily for Europe's long – distance trade with Arab and Asian countries. Later, it provided slaves to work on the plantations of the West Indies and America. After slave trade was abolished, a new role emerged as a supplier of raw materials for the developing industrial production of European powers.

It can be safely stated that the late 19th century when all the African societies were colonized, the world economic system was capitalist, or rather, it was dominated by capitalism. Africa's international economic relations, therefore, were with a dominant capitalist power. African States were subjected to the demands of capitalist profit both in international trade and in internal trade, but its sale of cheap bulk commodities in the international market place did not result in the emergence of internal capitalism.

Rather, it resulted in an almost monoculture system of agricultural production dependent for profits upon the European controlled external market and organized internally, on the basis of pre-capitalist land tenure relationships. The cheap bulk commodities, which Africa produced, were exchanged for more expensive manufactured consumer goods, further reinforcing Africa's external dependence and reducing the opportunities for development of a diversified internal system of production and exchange.

Africa's agricultural sector developed both before and during colonial rule, as the producer changed from cultivating the soil purely for their own use/needs, to cultivating cash crops for profit. The search for profit resulted in rural social differentiation, as some farmers made higher profits than others, were able to consolidate large areas of land for their own use, and began to engage in money-lending and the hiring of labour, but land remained communally

owned and without private ownership in land, capitalist productive developments could not be consolidated. One of the theories of the inter-relationship between capitalism and imperialism was formulated by Lenin, in his “Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism” Lenin posited several reasons for the acquisition of colonies by capitalist nations, which also applies to Africa. One of the most important of these reasons was that colonies would provide raw materials, which could be used for production in the imperialist economy? Africa, thus, provided such raw materials in the form of cocoa, palm oil, timber, etc and also in the form of minerals. A characteristic of this use of colonies for raw materials, Lenin reasoned, was the cartelisation of raw material buyers in the late 19th century. These buyers tried to capture raw material sources so that they could obtain a dominant position both over the actual producers and over the manufacturers of capitalist Europe.

A second function of colonies, Lenin postulated, was to provide new markets for the capitalist powers. He argued that the purpose of manufactured goods was typical of capitalism, which needed a constantly expanding market for the manufactured goods because of the fact that there were not enough buyers within the capitalist nations themselves to support capitalist production. Over – production of manufactured goods then as its counterpart

the under-consumption of those same goods as fewer workers were employed in the machine dominated factories.

A third function, which Lenin maintained the colonies fulfilled, was that of providing super-profits for the capitalist world. Basing his argument on the labour theory of value, Lenin contended that in the colonial countries, where less capital per unit of labour- power was used, the rate of profit from production would be higher.

In analysing peripheral capitalism, one must also concern oneself with the actual mechanisms by which, through underdevelopment of the mode of production, unequal exchange can be maintained. One of the secondary means by which a capitalist society can remain underdeveloped is through the institution of monopolistic or oligopolistic controls on capitalist competition. That is to say that, the monopoly stage of developed capitalism in the core, imposed on underdeveloped capitalism in the periphery, further exacerbates unequal relationships.

Thus, African States both its economic and its social formations was typical of the peripheral capitalist societies which were created in what is known as the “third during” the period of European colonial rule.

Certainly, there was change in Africa’s economy during the period of colonial rule certainly new methods of production and new social methods of

production and new social classes developed. But inherent in this development was the contradiction by the needs of the core capitalist economies; and that it was not in the interest of core capitalist nations to allow capitalism to develop completely in Africa. Rather, its role was to be secondary to the needs of capitalism in the core and therefore, not only its productive forces, but its people would find their overall evolution thwarted. This development of a peripheral economy, under both economic and political rule of European powers, continues to be reflected in the economy of contemporary African States, hence the underdevelopment and poverty ravaging the continent.

2.8. CONSEQUENCES OF COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA

Since most African States gained independence from colonial powers, none of the political regimes in Africa has been both willing and able to effect a withdrawal from the world economic system, which is the basis of support both for the state apparatus and for the social class on which the State is based.

In 1967, Roger Murray, reviewing Fitch and Openheimer, argues that, the petty bourgeoisie had no specific role in the relations of production in sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, its political ideology was unpredictable. But such

an argument overlooks the objectives influence of peripheral capitalism over the structure of social class and political relations.

Whatever the social class, which obtains State power, in Africa, its options will remain the same, either to continue its roles as a dependable producer for the world market, or to withdraw from the world capitalist system. Any social class which having attained power, does not effect such withdrawal in the future, will be obliged and will eventually opt for continuing compromises which will support its own position of class rule and here lies the underdevelopment.

The only means by which a real withdrawal from the world capitalist system can be effected, is by a massive mobilization of the population to make the effort of divesting productive activities and investments; in effect, the State must change its class base. The question for some States in Africa, therefore, is whether it is possible to politicise the so called 'masses' to the point at which they adopt a socialist ideology which will spur them to work in the interest of such a reorganization. One response to this question is to maintain that until the economy is in fact capitalized and until there is a large proletariat, socialist class-consciousness in African States is impossible.

Another response is to note that, there have been instances in sub-Saharan Africa of mobilization of both the peasantry and the proletariat

around a socialist part, but only in times of anti-colonial warfare. Without a militant anti-neo-colonial struggle for African States in the present is unlikely. It is the contention of the researcher that, Africa's colonial heritage, its dependent political economy, the underdevelopment of its productive forces, its truncated class structure and finally a pessimistic prognosis for progressive political politics in such a content nevertheless, as the past affects the present; so the future can render the past irrelevant. It is hoped that the ongoing changes in the world economic system combined with continued analysis and internal changes in African States will remove its colonial heritage and re-orientate on the path to integrated economic, social and political development. When this is achieved, underdevelopment would be removed.

2.9 UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The term underdevelopment is relative. It is relative in the sense that it could be conceptualised from all ramification of human endeavour, i.e. physically, morally, mentally etc. Walter Rodney's book "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" is the quintessence of the analogy of underdevelopment. According to Rodney, under-development makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development; and is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been enormous and from a strictly economic view-point, some human groups advanced further by producing

more and becoming more wealthy. Rodney's postulation only makes sense when the world is taken as a unit of analysis in which you have different geographical areas e.g. North – South and also different nations and the relationship that exist between them is exploitation i.e., exploitation of one country by another.

Consequently, Rodney defines underdevelopment as a situation whereby one group underdevelops the other. In this context therefore, the unequal relationship between the advanced capitalist states and Africa (or third world countries) occasioned by colonialism is brought to bear. This unequal relationship is the bane of under-development and poverty among African States.

2.10. THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

Development is one of the key concepts that is well deliberated and much talked about. However, despite its universal currency, appeals and usage, there is yet to be a consensus on what development precisely means both conceptually and operationally. It remains a controversial and value loaded concept. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus that development connotes among others, the progress, improvement, upliftment or desirable changes in the totality of certain aspect of human life. This could be social, economic, political or technological change.

In classical philosophical school, it could be referred to as the good life, which in relative terms, varies from one person to another. One can say therefore that development is a multi-dimensional or multi-faceted phenomenon. Development changes over time and space. What is considered or defined as development in 2005 may not be considered as development in many years later. Consequently, it should be stressed that all these dimensions of development are used for analytical purposes, otherwise, they are all intimately related.

Development is a dynamic phenomenon, which is continuous and unending. By this, it is both an end and a goal or desirable level of human condition and at the same time, a means of attaining one's goal.

2.11. VARIOUS ASSUMPTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

The Euro centric School views development as being equated with the present conditions of the social, economic characteristics of the contemporary Europe and North America. Here, it has to do with the living standard of the people. Development in this sense include high level of industrialization, high level of science and technology, stable political system, material affluence, secularism, achievement as a means of social advancement and finally, institutional or structural differentiation.

These indicators are used to dichotomise the contemporary world into developed and developing countries and these characteristics is what is referred to as modernization. But to some people, development means a transition from tradition to modernity.

2.12 DEVELOPMENT CONCEIVED AS SOCIO-ECONOMIC

To the classical and neo-classical Western European social scientists, particularly Adams Smith and David Richard, they see development simply as an economic growth and which essentially connotes rapid and sustained life in the material productivity of a society. Two indicators measure an economic growth itself: The Gross National Product (GNP) and the Per Capita Income. The GNP is the total or aggregate goods products within a year, while the per capita income refers to the GNP divided by the total population of that country. The concept of development is based on the assumption that everybody partakes in the process of economic growth and equally benefits from that process. Therefore, it is assumed that, the higher the economic growth, the higher the per capita income. These assumptions are of course obscurities since it cannot tell us what exists in reality. A good testimony of this abounds in the case of Nigeria. This points to the fact that there appears to be a gross mal-distribution of the benefits of economic growth. Against this

background, these figures only inform one of the potentials of development given other factors such as good leadership.

Studies have shown that in virtually all developing countries and despite these rapid figures, there has not been any improvement in the economy or standard of living of the people. Rather, what is obtainable is a seemingly absolute level of poverty, i.e., a condition of life so degraded by poverty, where people are unable to meet their basic human needs.

Absolute poverty is more pre-determined, pervasive and conspicuous in rural areas where the majority of the third world countries reside. Therefore, because of these shortcomings some people have discredited this school of thought. When development is viewed from social terms, this concept has increasingly been viewed over the years as the qualitative improvement or transformation of the socio-economic living standard of the generality of the people. This qualitative improvement must affect life of the people. Here, emphasis is on the people and the quality of the human life. In more concrete term, it refers to the maximum satisfaction of basic human needs viz; adequate and decent need for food, water, shelter, clothing, education and modern social and infrastructure services these also includes good roads, electricity, recreation facilities, etc.

This view has been articulated and propagated by radical or Marxist social scientists. Therefore, unlike the economic growth perspective, which emphasizes material productivity, the Human/social School emphasizes distribution improving or making the majority of the people meet their basic human conditions. It views development in terms of the productive forces as well as the relations of production. The higher the level of productive forces, the higher the development. The emphasis here is on equality. Dudley Seers offered one of the generally accepted conceptions of development purely from human/social term. He pictured the question to the human/social analysis of development from three basic angles:

- i. What has been happening to poverty
- ii. What has been happening to unemployment
- iii. What has been happening to inequality

To him, if all these three are prevalent or existing in the society, then that would mean the non-existence of development. Development accordingly is eradication of these three, paving way for the improvement and upliftment in the standard of living of the people. Similarly, he observed the issue of self-reliance as one of the key components of development. To him, development must be a self-generating and self-sustaining phenomenon.

It is not an intermittent thing, but one that is self-propelling. This means, development is not a thing that comes from above, but one that is generated within the capacity of the people.

2.13. RECENT PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT

The recent conception of development is that, in addition to out-come of the issues raised above, development includes other issues like democracy, human rights, free market economy, environmental control, population control, gender equality etc. In other words, unless a political system adheres to the principles of democracy, particularly liberal democracy and unless there is existence of human rights, equality between sexes are permitted, development by this implication ceases to exist.

Nevertheless, there are controversies as to what constitutes development in the real sense of the word. To this end, there are generally, two major contending theoretical schools as to what constitutes development. Sometimes development is seen as modernization or liberalism; American political scientists mostly express this view. They equate development with modernization. Again, the parliamentary or presidential system and their respective institutions are another ways by which they equate development. Huntington talked about the gap between mobilization and participation, that

is, the closer one is to the modern state, necessarily implies a state of development.

A corollary to this is the view that for the contemporary third world countries to develop. They must undergo the historical stages of the present advanced countries. Here, certain cases are identified.

- i. The crisis of identification
- ii. The crisis of legitimisation
- iii. The crisis of integration

Identity: By this, it means, they must have people that constitute a particular country. They must come together as collectives in order to identify within one's institution and be committed to it. The modernization school examined all societies as being faced with that crisis and which prevail in sequences. To them, the present underdeveloped societies must pass through the historical experiences of the advanced countries in order to develop. To this end, development is seen as a progressive movement, which has a technological implication, which suggests that there is an end towards which society is moving, from an absolute state of primitivity or an original state of nature. The chief proponent of this doctrine is W. Rostow and this has become the original premise of most western societies. In Rostow's classical

scheme, he views underdevelopment as an original state from where all societies have to struggle to move away from towards a state of good society.

This assumption of the theory of development states that all societies were once at the feudal state. Secondly, this classical societies move through an evolutionary screen as identified in five stages of W. Rostow (the classical scheme); in his book titled “The Stages of Economic Growth”. These five stages are identified as follows:

- i. Traditional stage
- ii. Transitional stage
- iii. Take off stage
- iv. Drive to modernity
- v. High mass consumption stage.

The theory has it that, the process of change is, essentially indigenous in the societies themselves. Eminent scholars such as Mclellan as shown in his book supported Rostow’s view. “The Achieving Society.” It is assumed generally by recent opinions of development that for third World countries to develop, one requires the increasing skills, capital, certain attitudes, good leadership, democratic political system, which in all, can only be tale-guided by Europe.

2.14. MARXIST APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

The Marxists offered attempt or an alternative perspective, which contends that, if the under-developed countries can break off from the international capitalist system, and then development can be achieved. To them, development is something that can only take place by the people concerned.

Capitalism according to Marxists has brought every society within its system. This therefore, means the idea of dependency does not help in achieving development.

Some scholars however, talk of development in terms of basic needs. They contend that development should be geared towards the basic needs of the majority of the people. They hold the Marxist view that mankind must find food, shelter and clothing first and foremost, before politics, religion, sex and other essentials.

One time World Bank President McNamara even suggested that countries should direct their development strategies towards ameliorating the conditions of the poorest 40% of their population before thinking of developing. People are made to think or conceive that unless you satisfy the basic needs, such as the necessary amenities, there is no outlet.

2.15. DEVELOPMENT VIEWED AS SOCIO-ECONOMIC

TRANSFORMATION

This school of thought sees development as the transformation of the socio-economic order. This appears to be the least acceptable of all schools. It seeks to prevent the accumulation of wealth by few elements in the society. This school also advocates for the political and economic power to be transformed into the hands of the people. It preaches a revolution, which puts democracy in its true perspectives, and allows the creative potentials of individuals to take place. It is the least popular as it not only threatens the internal class relations in the society, but it also threatens the external interest and influence that operate with the society. Creating a new social order is then the greatest task. Hence, one understands the El Salvadorian struggle betted since strives to remove the dominant group. Also the Chilean case of 1970 when Allende was overthrown and a worst military junta appointed by the U.S.A. and in power. This school if advanced through class struggle as according to Marx and it does not take place until people are conscious.

Development as a transformation of both social and economic institution Marx contends, involves class conscientiousness, which is a rare commodity in capitalist system including the perverted form of capitalism as in Nigeria.

2.15.1 Explaining underdevelopment:

Like development, there are two major contending schools of underdevelopment. In other words, those factors underlying the processes of development are experienced while we try to explain underdevelopment. According to the classical view, underdeveloped societies are so because of the following reasons:

- a) There are shortages of capital
- b) There are lacks of entrepreneurial skills (or managerial capabilities).
- c) Lack of achievement motivations as per the mental set of a developed mind.
- d) Internal obstacles have been identified as hindering development.

These vary from State to State, e.g. in Latin America, there is a landed oligarchy where a very small minority owns landed property to the exclusion of majority. (The Somoza family owned well over 60% of the landed property in Nicaragua around 1930).

However, the internal obstacles have other problems:

- i. The famous vicious circle of poverty.
- ii. Lack of development
- iii. Poverty

- iv. Low savings.
- 2. The demographic explosion. Teeming population with teeming mouths to feed.
- 3. Unfavourable natural environment i.e. poor soil, land, climate etc. Yet 60 years ago, these areas said to have unfavourable natural environment supplied goods used in their industrialization processes.
- 4. Poor quality of labour with consequence low productivity, nevertheless, like development, there are two major contending schools of under-development:
 - i. The modernization School
 - ii. The under-development Theory.

2.15.2. The under-development theory from the modernisation schools:

From the perception of this school, lack of development means absence or lack of development. It is a situation characterized by poverty, low productive capacity etc. The underdevelopment theories attribute underdevelopment to factor internal or that are indigenous to the society, e.g. lack of capital, skill and traditional values.

In order to develop therefore, they need western paternalism. Their technology, education, value system etc. by this, it is hoped that one can eventually achieve capitalist development in the periphery.

The underdevelopment theory and its variance emerged as a critique or antithesis of modern school. Its major contention is anchored on the utmost ending that, underdevelopment is not synonymous with lack of development nor was it original to the societies that are afflicted. It is not a thing that existed for ages neither was it caused by factors internal to the societies. But rather, the dialectical and historical process of domination and exploration of one society by another; hence the concept of development and underdevelopment are dialectically related e.g. Europe developed because it was able to exploit other societies.

The under-development theory therefore observes the relationship of domination and exploitation in the society. The school further argued that, present underdeveloped countries prior to contacting Europe, were stepping up efforts towards development before their incorporation into the global capitalist system. In other words, they were also developing competently and favourably with their European counterparts, until during the period of historical accident. To this end, its process however was halted or subverted as in the case of Nigeria. Consequently, a centre peripheral relationship emerged. This means, the development of the centre led to the underdevelopment of the periphery.

Average population growth rate in the sub-region is marginally above the African average. The distribution of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is also highly skewed with Nigeria alone accounting for about 50 percent of the sub-regions total GDP and the three largest economies – Nigeria and Cote d’Ivoire – accounting for about 73 percent of the total GDP. The annual growth rates in real GDP in the sub-region were relatively high in the sub-region.

In all, only three countries recorded negative growth rates while twelve of the sixteen countries recorded growth rates that were above average for Africa. Overall, the West African average of 3.7 percent was far higher than the African average of 1.7 percent. However, only six countries–Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Mali and Nigeria - recorded higher GDP growth rates than their population growth rates and some of these GDP growth rates were only marginally higher than the corresponding population growth rates. As a result, per capita GDP growth rates were negative or only marginally positive in most of the countries.

What can be deduced from the above literature review is that there is so far nothing concrete as an assessment on the impact of the various alleviation programmes undertaken by the different governments that came to power since the 1970s to date. As it is, therefore, it is not easy to say whether the

alleviation programmes have impacted on the people or not. And if not what measures are to be adopted.

It is for this reason that this research was undertaken in order to look into this important aspect of our national development.

CHAPTER THREE

POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

3.1. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Man, from time to time, is faced with many socio-economic organising problems. He battles with problems either individually or collectively. Such problems include loss of job and consequently income, injury on the job, sickness, old age, etc. These could lead a person into a state or poverty. All efforts geared towards alleviating the sufferings of persons through the provision of cash benefits, free medical, vocational and rehabilitation services are considered under the all inclusive term, social security (Graig, 1959; Cotary, 1964; Larogue, 1966).

Social security is a term that is difficult to define. It was perhaps the difficulty involved in defining the term that led the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to establish criteria, which comprised the important aspects of social security function. It involves providing supplementary income to self-supporting individuals or groups having family responsibilities to support curative or preventive medical care (Ijere, 1978). It is on this basis that the ILO fashioned out the following as the working definition of social security.

Simply put, social security is the result achieved through comprehensive and successful series of measures aimed at protecting the public (or a large section of it) from economic distress. In the absence of such measures it would cause the Stoppage of earnings in sickness, unemployment or old age and after death; for making available to that same public, medical care as needed and for subsidising families bringing up young children (ILO 1958:11).

Another strategy of dealing with poverty is through the use of national provident fund. This is a multipurpose programme whose aim is to achieve various objectives of the social security whose duty involves reducing possible price fluctuations that could result in the absence of marketing boards; although in Nigeria today, they are not seriously regarded as important instruments for poverty alleviation, which was why they were abolished in the 1980s. As we noted, poverty arises in the first instance because of their basic economic needs from the economic resources at their disposal. In this case, the essence of social security to some extent, is to enable workers maintain, at least the minimum living standards.

An increase in national income of a country means that the country has much more finance necessary for the well being of the people. In a free market economy, the resources available to the State are filtered into private

hands in unequal proportions through' unequal distribution of malfunctioning distributive system.

It then means that although the national income has increase, it is necessary to maintain a tolerable standard of living. It is because of this situation that the State sometimes comes to the rescue of poverty stricken members of the society, through various forms of social security. As long as poverty alleviation expenditures enable individuals to perform their functions effectively, it is regarded as investment in human resources for development (Sam and Nagvi, 1964).

Increased productivity depends to a certain extent, on the quality of labour force. If the available labour force is in danger of being reduced by illness, poverty, etc., it becomes all the more necessary to increase the amount and scope of poverty alleviation measures, which help to restore the balance and improve existing resources. This includes provision of medical care for workers to enable them to recover rapidly and fully their capacity for work after illness or accident.

Similarly, the provision of income to families to ensure an adequate standard of living even for dependants, unemployed, old age, are all at poverty alleviation.

There are ways in which poverty alleviation benefits enable the individual to maintain or recover his place in productivity (Larogue, 1960). Other programmes such as “Better Life for Rural Women” and “Family Support Programme” are indirect means of providing assistance to the perceived less privileged members of the Nigerian society even though there is no agreement among scholars on the efficiency of these programmes by individuals, groups or the government.

Among these institutions are the Peoples Bank of Nigeria and the Community Banks. It is necessary to examine these institutions in the light of their important role in the poverty alleviation programmes.

One of the specialised financial institutions in Nigeria that serve the interest of the small borrowers is the Peoples Bank of Nigeria (PBN). It is a Bank designed to assist the less privileged groups in the rural and urban areas. It came into existence in 1989 when the first branch was opened at Ajegunle, Lagos by President, General Ibrahim Babangida. The major purpose of this bank was to provide short-term loans to poor people for the purpose of establishing small business.

Essentially, the people or groups of people provided with funds by this bank would have been idle if this bank had not been established and financial credit extended to them. Other specialised financial institutions were the

Community Banks. The Community Banks were established across the country by the various communities for the main purpose of providing loan and other financial services for small – scale producers in various parts of the community where the banks were located. These banks came into being in 1992 through Decree 46 of that year and were usually managed by the people within the community where the banks were set up. In 1992 budget speech, former president Ibrahim Babangida stated that the community banks ownership would involve community development associations, farmers' co-operative societies and even trade unions within the community (Babangida: 1992).

The survival and effective functioning of these banks lie mainly in the trust and understanding of the community where the banks are established. Government's emphasis on the fact that beneficiaries of these banks must be people who belong to community development associations was understandable. It was the government's belief that through these associations, pressure could be mounted on the borrowers to repay the loans advanced to them when due.

Again, even though the performance of the community banks was less than expected, it was equally a step in the right direction. It did help in no small way towards poverty alleviation.

3.2. NON-FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

Apart from these formal financial institutions that play pivotal roles in poverty alleviation through the acceptance of savings and provisions of credit facilities to the less privileged members of the community there are a large number of non-formal institutions that operate in various parts of the country.

They render a number of essential services to individuals and groups; they provide avenues for small deposits for small loan demands and for debt rescheduling (Oladeji and Ogunrinola, 1992). Since the formal financial institutions find these unattractive, the low-income earners and the less privileged have no other choice than to use these informal sectors for their savings and loans facilities.

These traditional financial institutions operate under different names in different parts of the country such as Rotating Credit Association or Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (Boumani; 1976); Esusu/Ajo Associations, or the informal savings and credit associations (Oladeji and Ogunrinola, (1992); and money lenders (Wai, 1957; Bhaduri 1977; Chipeta and Mllandawire, 1989).

In terms of performance appraisal, it is interesting to note that in spite of the high demand for loanable funds available to them, their interest rates are low compared to the interest rates from the formal financial institutions,

Isong, (1958); Buhari, (1977). It is instructive to note that the rate of loan default from borrowers from these informal financial institutions is equally low, low even though the loans are given without collateral securities. This invariably shows that these traditional non-formal institutions perform better in terms of poverty alleviation than the other financial institutions.

Nkom (1982) observed that motivated by the desire to advertise their “concern” for the suffering rural masses, successive governments in Nigeria have tried to outdo each other in the introduction of new strategies and programmes portrayed in sleek slogans and catchy acronyms. Programmes have tended to be dropped by succeeding governments long before they have enjoyed the minimum gestation period required to show any meaningful results.

In attempt to “buy” legitimacy and political support, each government has tried to white-wash its agricultural programmes in order to distinguish them from the ones of its predecessors. However, “achievements” claimed for such programmes in speeches, statements and printed releases of Ministers, Commissioners, project officials and other top government functionaries were at variance with the reality on the ground. So erratic, discordant and ineffective has been the pattern of government intervention in Nigerian agriculture that it has been identified as one of the major problems

militating against sustained improvement in agricultural output and rural living standards.

Nkom (1989), went further to point out that governments in Nigeria have found it so easy to abandon projects at will, set aside laudable programmes initiated by their predecessors, embark on self serving policies and programmes and orchestrate a reckless and wasteful use of “development”. This according to him, is largely a reflection of the extent to which the machinery of planning, formulation and implementation of public policies has been divorced from the people. Rural development programmes and their objectives have tended to be designed by people who are far removed from the rural environment and their knowledge of the rural development problem is basically, shaky and unreliable.

This is particularly so because the others do not see it as necessary to consult or involve the rural population in the design and implementation of some of these rural development projects and programmes. Thus the wide discrepancy between the objectives and content of those programmes, the needs, priorities and resource endowments of rural communities has been astonishing (Uyanya, 1988).

On the new policy on agriculture, which is another rural development programme, Nkom (1989) noted “the essential issue facing the rural areas

today is not just the lack of continuity or sustained momentum in rural development policies and programmes but the nature, content direction and mode of formulation and implementation of these policies and programmes”.

Nkom (1989) argued that “one thread that has consistently run through all policies and programmes introduced by successive Nigerian governments (since political independence in 1960) is the non-involvement of the rural masses in policy formulation and implementation as well as the failure to align or synchronise policy objectives and resource endowments or constraints of the rural population.

Since these policies and programmes were not anchored in the people’s needs and priorities, they have not enjoyed the kind of mass support, commitment and participation which would have enabled them to succeed or acquire momentum of their own outside the whims and caprices of government functionaries. Nkom, (1989), concluded “new agricultural policy falls within this category of policies. It is principally intended to advance the objectives of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and not necessarily the interest of the masses. Nkom asserted that, the policy has been inspired largely by the ideology and interest of the World Bank and IMF and met the needs, and objective realities of the people.

The policy is, in fact, an elaborate package to marginalize the peasantry. If Nkom's assertion is anything to go by, then it is a serious issue. This is because the overwhelming economy of Nigeria is in the and most of the rural people are farmers.

Adekunle, (1986) noted that, "the logic which seems to undergo and the equation (of rural development in Nigeria) is this: "Develop agriculture first and everything else will follow". In other words, what is good for agriculture can as well serve as a weapon for rural transformation, and improvement".

Similarly, Alubo (1987) argued that "the World Bank has been planned and implemented not only to under-develop the rural areas, and indeed the entire country, but to structure agricultural production (70% of which is still peasant based) to the need of agriculture, business and international capital in general". In the same vein, Watts (1983) asserted that, rather than develop rural areas, any country, which accepts World Bank's strategies of rural development, ends up re-enacting what Andrae Gunder Frank once caustically called the "Development of underdevelopment".

In this discussion on the Green Revolution, Nzimiro (1983) asserted "the Green Revolution has not contributed much to either food production or rural development. The Green Revolution Programme merely modernized hunger and did not provide more food".

3.3. TACKLING POVERTY

In the years during the cold war, the World Bank shifted from growth to modernisation even though the quantitative growth indices remained important variable in their development analysis. Here, the World Bank began to finance educational projects such as the building of schools and colleges and conducting studies on nutrition and on populations. The structural indicators of development here, that is to say school buildings, student enrolments, nutritional standards and demographic factors, were pursued on the premise that, the traditional structures and values in the third world technology and modern decision making process.

Therefore, these structures, institutions and values would have to be altered to create demand for products and services from the industrial. Countries, Mabogunje, (1980). This also was said to have led to the creation of a consumerist culture in most developing countries, which further deepened dependence and exacerbated income inequalities between individuals, between regions of a country and between rural and urban areas, Mabogunje, (1980).

By the early 1970s, both the growth and modernizations models gave way to the “basic needs approach which became widespread officially as a response to the deepening poverty and hunger in the third world countries”.

In an address to the Board of Governors in 1973, Robert McNamara, the president of the Bank made an urgent and passionate call on the world community to realise the full nature of poverty which had become a condition of, and pervasive throughout the developing countries, in which according to him, up to 40 percent of the early 800 million people in the regions were in the state of absolute poverty.

He challenged the Board members thus: “are not we who tolerate such poverty, failing to fulfil the fundamental obligations accepted by civilised men, since the beginning of time?” (Susan George, 1978). This clarion call by Robert McNamara was to remain the central theme in all his important speeches and correspondences during his tenure as the president of the World Bank. This significantly also served as the turning point of the World Bank operations and “its shift towards agriculture and rural development especially in Africa” In the preface to the book, *The Assault on World Poverty*, published by the Bank in 1975, McNamara noted that despite what he considered the unprecedented changes and progress witnessed in the developing countries since 1955, poverty has remained a permanent feature of their economies.

The manifestation of this poverty included malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, squalid environment, high infant mortality and low life expectancy,

which have all reduced vast population to, conditions far below human decency (The World Bank Report, 1975). Robert McNamara then asked, “Who should act?” He was convinced that the poor people “trapped” as they are, could hardly help themselves – rather, “the initiative in enabling them to have more power and resources and most of whom are neither rural nor poor” (The World Bank Report, 1975).

With this new focus on poverty and rural development; agriculture became the strategic sector, which the World Bank moved into primarily because it is the principal occupation of the vast populations in the developing countries. Any attempt to fight poverty, hunger and malnutrition would have to deal with the crisis in agriculture. The World Bank however, from the start considered that while it recognised the crucial role of the peasant producers, it was unlikely to achieve its goal of promoting development under traditional subsistence agriculture.

On the contrary, the increase and expansion of production and productivity would require access to and the use of new technology, capital and support services and a fundamental change in farming methods and practices, which were all considered essential in the modernisation of agriculture. Accordingly, the Bank clearly states that the new seeds – fertilizers – water technology for wheat, rice and maize provides the first

major opportunity for extending science based agriculture to low income scale producers of traditional crops (The World Bank Report 1975:5).

This is precisely the World Bank's reaching out development strategy through the Green Revolution model. In line with this, the World Bank's rural development package provides specific plans and programmes to build basic rural infrastructure such as rural water supply, rural roads and to supply agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, chemicals, new seeds and agricultural machinery.

As part of this, the central role of the Bank is also to provide and generate domestic capital, provide technical and managerial personnel and of course supervise the whole exercise of the agricultural and rural development process in the developing world.

3.4. EARLY ATTEMPTS AT POVERTY ALLEVIATION

During the 1950s and 60s development policies to alleviate poverty centered on growth maximisation; the poor were expected to gain from the "trickle down" of the benefits resulting from overall rapid growth. It was growth first, followed by gradual tricking down of the benefits to the poorest categories in the nation.

Experience, however, showed that despite rapid growth rates achieved in many developing countries, poverty was found to have increased. A prominent Pakistan economist and chief adviser to his country's government had become disillusioned with the woeful consequences of this growth – maximisation model that GNP as this will take care of our poverty. According to Hag (1976:35) this trend should be reversed in order to take care of our poverty. The 1970s witnessed the birth of new poverty – oriented or equity – centered development strategies, prominent among them being rural development, basic needs approach and redistribution – with growth. In place of the blind pursuit of growth these strategies advocated for:

- i) The provision of the basic needs for the poor through raising their purchasing power to improve their access to basic social services.
- ii) The investment of a certain percentage of national income on projects and programmes whose benefits would accrue directly to the poor.
- iii) The promotion of integrated development of the various sectors of the rural economy, both agricultural and non-agricultural; and the provision of essential social and physical infrastructures which would greatly improve the welfare of the rural poor.

It was believed that, over time, these measures would bring about a transfer of substantial income-yielding assets and opportunities to the poor, which would

enable them to achieve significant increases in their income and living standards (Nkom, 1982).

Many African governments found it convenient to embrace the rhetoric rather than the substance of these approaches and consequently different push, this time from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in favour of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) as a means of alleviating poverty via structural economic reforms and growth maximisation.

Even though the adjustment programmes supported by the World Bank differed in some minute details from country to country, the common features all include:

- i) Reduction in macro-economic imbalance.
- ii) Change of selective prices in favour of tradable
- iii) Liberalisation of terms of trade.
- iv) The shifting of international terms of trade in favour of rural sector.
- v) Increased efficiency in public sector activities in checking rigorous attention of the size, comparison and composition and quality of public investment and expenditure.

While these adjustment programmes succeed in bringing about some level of growth in most countries, they worsened the poverty of the majority of low and medium income of people in Nigeria generally.

They worsened income distribution with the benefits they generate being captured mostly by the top hierarchy of the income profile.

3.5. CONTAINING RURAL POVERTY

Poverty is too complex to yield to any one dimensional solution or policy. Since it is caused by a multiplicity of factors, no single instrument can suffice to uproot it. The battle against poverty has to be fought on the many fronts (both simultaneously and sequentially) using different strategies and instruments. A balanced approach on rural poverty should be handled on two broad perspectives. The first revolves around a well thought out and interrelated set of policies targeted at improving the income, skills, productivity, welfare and participation of the poor in the economic sphere.

The second element involves a comprehensive package of reforms designed to alter those structures, processes and mechanisms which govern the ownership, distribution and utilisation of assets as well as the distribution of benefits, rewards and rights in the society such that, almost everybody can earn an honest livelihood and not be forced into the dreadful alternatives of holding out his hand for charity, or, and robberies.

In designing a package of interrelated policies for uplifting the poor and the weak, emphasis should shift away from redistribute or scarcity transfer

payment (i.e. social welfare) to more important issues such as human resource development, employment creation, provision of basic social services and infrastructure, community action programmes on regional development and last of all, social security transfer payments. It is instructive to note that several countries in Africa now have well over three decades of experience as independent nations. The level of development however remains abysmally low and unimpressive. The search for a solution is currently being directed at the political arena to examine the issue of governance in all its ramifications and the extent to which it can explain the emerging patterns of development. More often than not, analysts focus attention on ascertaining the development prospects of each country.

Little or no consideration is given to the steering of the ship, thus it has been difficult to obtain a balanced view of the situation. In Nigeria, the endowment of human and natural resources is immense but their development for the betterment of the welfare of the citizens has been problematic. Nigeria's population is well over 120 million and the country is liberally endowed with about 98 million hectares of cultivable land. Mineral resources including petroleum, tin, columbite, iron ore, lead, zinc in abundance across the country.

The national jurisdiction over fishery resources is extensive and this includes about 900km of the Atlantic coastline. It is needless to emphasise its enormous agricultural potentials. Paradoxically, although the country is a land of plenty, it currently ranks among the low – income countries of the world that are in want.

Nigerians need to look inwards to identify the source of their development problems and design appropriate solutions. Lack of resources cannot be the culprit, nor is it proper for Nigerians to continue to bemoan the negative role played by external forces over the past three decades. Even though the country's economy is open and all sectors have witnessed massive importation of all sorts of goods and services, there is a crucial issue in the affairs of this country, which has been in the hands of Nigerians since independence, over forty years ago.

The issue is governance. Although systems of government have also been imported, the responsibility for governance has rested primarily on Nigerians. Political power is, therefore critical in understanding the emerging development pattern. As the country continues its turbulent march towards the 21st century, a cultural reawakening which will condition the unfolding political agenda is required. Thus, it is the objective of this research study to

examine the development problems and poverty in the country and highlight the interplay between them.

3.6. SOME BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AND CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT

The concept of development has undergone considerable change over time. In its orthodox form, development is virtually synonymous with economic development, which in turn, is seen in terms of the growth and cultural transformation of the economy. But over time, equity considerations have become increasingly prominent in the discussion of economic development. Hence development includes not only growth and structural transformation issues, but also such equity issues as income distribution, full employment and unfettered opportunities for the people to realise their economic potential.

The concept of development has been further broadened in more recent times to accommodate non-economic issues, particularly those related to social, political, legal, cultural issues. This broadened development concept, otherwise known as the concept of sustainable development, takes a long-term view of development. It conceptualises development as one, which

meets the needs of the present generation, sustained improvement in the quality of life of the present and future generations.

Development in this broad sense implies consistently improving human socio-economic welfare. It is a holistic view of development in which micro and macro-economic, social, political, cultural and technological variables are engineered, combined and implemented as an organic and dynamic whole for the benefit of the people, (Onimode and Synge, 1995).

Development in this context is not primarily a problem for economics but rather, one that requires the inputs of economists for achievement of the larger goal of improved total human welfare. It is one in which economic development in turn fuels economic development through a sustainable and cybernetic process (Onimode and Synge, 1995).

Arising from the foregoing is the fact that development variables are now all-encompassing, spanning a wide range of economic, social, political, environmental and even gender variables. Development indicators, therefore now span these wide ranging variables:

Poverty: Poverty can be conceptualised as a phenomenon that exists at national, community, household and individual levels. At the national level, poverty represents a state of general socio-economic underdevelopment arising from poor human resource endowment, poor natural resources

endowment, low productivity and stagnating national income or gross domestic product, inadequate availability of social and infrastructure facilities and services and a general inability to provide a minimally decent level of living for the ordinary citizens.

At the community level, poverty is a state of general socio-economic deprivation arising from environmental and natural resources degradation, inadequate access to social services and basic infrastructure, inadequate local employment and income generating opportunities and general appearance of physical decay and wasting of community assets. At the household or individual levels, poverty is the inability to gain access to basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing, decent shelter and so on, inability to fulfil basic economic and social obligations and a general lack of self esteem.

Inadequate income to meet basic needs, lack of skill or opportunity for gaining employment, lack of access to productive assets and social constraints of self-improvement are some of the underlying factors in the incidence of poverty. Poverty may be chronic (structural) or transitory (conjuncture). It may also be absolute or relative. Chronic poverty is a long term, persistent poverty, the cause of which are largely structural; transitory poverty on the other hand is temporary transient and short-term in nature. Absolute poverty has been characterised as the lack of access to resources required for

obtaining the minimum necessities required for the maintenance of physical efficiency. Relative poverty is on the other hand, the inability to attain a given minimum comparable standard of living.

Poverty indicators are used as measures of poverty in evidence and depth. They summarise the income, living standard and social condition of the poor. But because poverty is multi-dimensional, the type and range of indicators required to capture the overall degree of poverty are wide. They can however, be broadly categorised into income and social types of indicators.

Income indicators are often expressed in terms of household income, income distribution and consumption patterns. Social indicators, which are used to compliment income/consumption indicators generally, measure the degree of access to social services and infrastructure. Key social indicators include: life expectancy, infant mortality, nutrition, and access to such social amenities as drinking water, sanitation, health services, education, transport, decent shelter and so on. If possible all these income and social indicators may be captured by one measure of poverty threshold, which can be used to separate the poor from the non-poor.

This threshold measures is the poverty line, which is cut off level of living below which a person is regarded as being poor. However, it is not

easy to capture all the wide-ranging economic and social dimensions of poverty in one all-inclusive poverty line, hence poverty line is often expressed simply as an income or expenditure threshold.

Food Security: Food security has become an all-important concept for analysing a wide range of issues associated with food and nutrition at national, household and individual levels. It deals with a range of issues encompassing food production, food supply, food consumption and food nutrient intake, ultimately at household and individual levels. As such, it has become an important component of human welfare and development indicators. Food security in a general context has been defined as the ability of countries, regions or households to meet their required levels of food consumption at all times (Siamwalla and Valdes, 1981). However, since the ultimate focus of food security is normally on households, food security has also been defined as a situation in which a household has both physical (supply) and economic (effective demand) access to adequate food for all its members and it is not at undue risk of losing such access (Shama, 1992).

The later definition points to the three essential components of household food security, which are: physical access to adequate food availability, adequate economic access to food, and sustainability of access to food over time. Food security is however, not synonymous with food self-

sufficiency. While food self-sufficiency connotes the capacity of a country or households to supply all the food it requires from internal sources and without resources to external supply sources (as in a state of autarky) food security does not require self-sufficiency in food supply, as long as a country has adequate capacity to import additional food it requires to augment its supply from external sources, without undue risk. Food insecurity may also be transitory or chronic. Transitory food insecurity is temporary or transient, arising from temporary shortfalls in food supply relative to the requirement, or temporary loss of adequate effective purchasing power for food.

Seasonal and annual fluctuations in food production, temporary loss of employment and similar factors often create transitory food insecurity. It is in general, the type of food insecurity that arises from inadequate sustainability of access to food.. Chronic food insecurity is, on the other hand, persistent and almost intractable in nature.

Factors Affecting Food Security:

Two broad groups of factors determine food security status. These are supply – side and demand side factors. The supply side factors are those that determine food availability. The demand side factors on the other hand, determine the degree of access to food or determinants of total entitlement to available food.

Common of these two groups of factors is however another set of factors that affect the stability of both the supply of and demand for food over time. There are however, some differences in the make up of factors that determine food security of national, household and sometimes, individual levels.

(a) Factors affecting national food security:

There is almost no end to the factors, which can affect the food security status of a nation. But in the final analysis, it can be stated that factors associated with socio-economic development are also those that influence national food security status. Hence the World Bank (1991) observed that the food security situation in a country is largely determined by economic, social, political and institutional factors. In this regard, government policies are particularly important to the food security situation in a country. But climatic factors as well as the quantity of national resources endowment are also key determinants of national food security.

(b) Factors affecting food security:

The supply – side factors include: households' food production and seasonal and annual variability in food production, quantity and quality of available food production resources, food production technology,

food and non-food producer prices, household food storage and preservation practices, and availability of market supply of food.

The demand – side factors on the other hand, determine the degree of access to available food. They are in other words, determinants of household entitlement to available food. At the household level, these demand – side factors include: nominal household income and variability in income over time, rate of consumer price inflation, value of household's economic assets, quality of human capital in the household, household demographic factors such as number, gender and age composition of household, and socio-cultural factors like health and sanitation conditions, education, cultural norms, food consumption habits, taboos and so on.

The Poverty-food-security-development nexus

National development should be expected to have systematic poverty reduction as one of its consequences, although even the most developed economy would normally still have its pockets of poverty. Hence increasing poverty in a country can be directly associated with lack or inadequate rate of national development.

However, economic growth alone does not necessarily reduce poverty because the benefits of growth may be too slow in trickling down to the poor, or the benefits may completely bypass some segments of the society due to

their inadequate capacity to take advantage of the opportunities offered by economic growth. This is why targeted socio-economic policies and programs are often required to help these weak segments of the society. Thus, there is nothing in development, or less still, in economic growth that guarantees poverty eradication. But economic growth and development are necessary conditions (though not sufficient) for a movement towards poverty eradication.

The relationship between poverty and food security is even more complex. Although there is an association between poverty and food insecurity, the association can be weak or strong, depending on a number of factors. Generally, poverty is not only an economic phenomenon but also a social, political and cultural phenomenon.

Similarly, food insecurity is not wholly an economic phenomenon. The non – economic factors in both poverty and food security may therefore, weaken their association to varying degrees. But there is doubt that food insecurity is often indicative of poverty. While it is possible to have food insecurity without poverty and poverty without food insecurity, poverty and food security normally enjoy a strong interrelationship. The connection among poverty, food insecurity and underdevelopment provides a basis for seeing the development of countries from broad perspectives.

B. POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT – THE NIGERIAN FACTOR

Broadly defined, development refers to advancement through progressive changes in economic, social, cultural, technological and political conditions of a society, leading to an improvement in the welfare of the citizens. No society can develop if there is a high level of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, malnutrition, child mortality, political instability and inequity in income distribution. Nigeria has been involved in development planning since 1962. The first national development plan covered the period from 1962 -1968. From 1970 to 1985, three five-year development plans were designed and implemented. During the 1990s, the rolling plan approach has been adopted and a number of three-year rolling plans have been executed.

The country is, therefore, not lacking in ideas in terms of what constitutes development. The outcomes of the various development efforts, however, indicate that, there have been serious problems with the implementation of development plans considering the social and political aspects of poverty, which had impacted on the people very severely.

3.7. PROBLEMS OF THE HEALTH SECTOR

With regards to the health sector, for instance substantial resources have gone into the improvement of health services. Since 1970 when the first truly indigenous plan document was produced, health services infrastructure has considerably improved. Population per physician fell from 24,667 in 1970 to 5,356. There has also been a substantial decrease in population per trained nurses from 5,233 in 1973 to 750 in 1986.

Similarly, there has been a substantial decrease in population per trained nurse from 5,233 in 1973 to 750 in 1986. Although there is wide variation in these ratios across the States, however, they compare favourably with other Africa countries and reasonably well with all developing countries (see World bank Report, 1992: Deton et al, 1991).

It has been estimated, that only 35 percent of the population has access to modern health services (see Federal Ministry of Health, 1988), although available information relating to nutritional, demographic and health status fails to show that the country has attained the desired level of health development. Over the years, crude death rate has been declining steadily; the mortality rate as at 1992 is higher than expected.

Besides, by 1992 deaths occurring between ages 1 and 5 as shown in table 3.1 appear to be far more frequent than infant deaths. This relationship

between children and mortality is unusual by international standards. Indeed, a recent study of the health sector in Nigeria indicates that, the country is lagging behind in both the absolute level of mortality and its rate of exchange when compared to other developing countries like Indonesia, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru and Egypt (World Bank Report 1993).

Of the various factors militating against improvement in health status, four appear to be very critical. First is the lack of proper motivation for the available personnel. Due to UN remunerative emoluments and limited financial incentives, a high proportion of health personal that would ordinarily have worked in the public sector now operates in the private sector. Corporation or private sector efforts with the development objectives of the health sector has not been tackled effectively; therefore their aggregate impact on the overall health sector is minimal.

Besides, those in the public and private sectors, health workers are concentrated in the urban areas and are therefore, inequitably distributed to meet the needs of the populace. Moreover a large number of highly trained personal have left the country in search of greener pastures, since 1986 when the Structure Adjustment Programme (SAP) was introduced.

This has adversely affected the quality of health services delivery and the training of health personnel in the country.

Table 3.1: Selected Health Indicators, Nigeria, 1965 – 92

Indicators	1965	1970	1989	1992
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 pop.)	51	51	47	43
Crude Death Rate (Per 1000 pop.)	23	21	15	14
Total Fertility Rate	6.9	6.9	6.9	5.9
Life Expectancy at Birth (years)		40		50
- Male		43		54
- Female				
Under – 5 Mortality Rate (Per 1000 L.B)				192
- Male				174
- Female				
Infant Mortality Rat (per 1000 L.B)	166	139	100	84

Source: World Development Report (various issues)

Secondly, is the critical shortage of essential health facilities as well as media supplies and equipment. Most of the health facilities in the public

sector have been reduced to mere consulting clinics and their activities are often hampered by incessant power failure. Essential drugs are equally out of stock and quality of those available from private stores cannot be guaranteed. Thirdly are the institutional constraints arising from the separation of responsibilities for the management of health facilities by levels of government. The authorities of the Local Government Areas (LGA) are in charge of Primary Health Care (PHC), while secondary hospitals are under the control of the State government.

Management and budgetary responsibility to support the primary health care (PHC) system: In this connection there seems to be no effective coordination of activities and PHC services are being rendered across the board in spite of obvious comparative disadvantages. For instance, rather than providing the desired technical support, tertiary and secondary health care institutions compete with the PHC facilities to promote PHC services and thus overstretch their meagre resources. This has tended to undermine effective referred services to patients and supervision of health workers at the PHC level.

Fourthly, is the problem of inadequate funding by the government. Federal expenditure on health has been fluctuating widely and has declined considerably in recent times. Available data indicate that local expenditure on

health in real terms averaged N470.957 million between 1981 and 1985 but plunged to N343.301 million between 1986 and 1991. Federal expenditure on health in 1986 was only 60.62 percent and in 1991 only 55.71 percent of the level in 1981.

Between 1980 and 1985, the share of health in the total Federal expenditure averaged 1.95 percent and even declined marginally to 1.9 percent between 1986 and 1991.

3.8. PROBLEMS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SECTOR

The education system has witnessed considerable expansion over the past twenty years. The numbers of primary school education programme was launched, to about 37,000 in 1982/83 (that is by about 85 percent) with the number of pupils rising from 6 million to 14.5 million. During the period, the number of secondary schools increased more than three fold from about 18,000 to about 59,000. Secondary students enrolment rose from 0.7 million in 1975/1976 3.2 million in 1983/1984. Enrolment tertiary institutions increased from 145,000 in 1980/81 to 255,000 in 1983/84 with 40,000 students added to universities, 20,000 to polytechnics and another 20,000 to tertiary level teacher – training college. (see World Bank Report, 1993).

Available data on school enrolment ratios also indicate that remarkable progress has been made in terms of increasing access to education (See Table 3.2) although considerable regional disparity still exists. Nonetheless, there remains a substantial lacuna to be filled with respect to access to basic educational opportunities in various parts of the country. Recent estimate of adult illiteracy shows that 43 percent of the male population and 58 percent of the female population do not have any formal education (World bank Report, 1993).

The educational system has been facing a variety of problems, which, in recent times, have contributed to the deteriorating output performance and rapid decline in the quality of education. These include scarcity of basic textbooks and other instructional materials as well as teaching aids inadequate motivation of the teaching force at all levels and highly deficient physical infrastructure. The teaching profession is lowly rated in terms of emoluments and payment of teachers' salaries is very irregular.

Besides, public sectors funding of education has been grossly inadequate in recent times. Education expenditure represented an average of 5.1 percent of total federal government expenditures between 1981 and 1991 with a range from 2 percent of total budgetary allocation in 1987 to 8.3 percent in 1989. In real terms, federal expenditure on education in 1989 was only 68

percent and in 1981. As a percentage of GDP the expenditure averaged about 1.1 percent during the period (see World Bank, 1993).

Table 3. 2: School Enrolment Ratios, Nigeria, 1965 – 1991 (percent)

Enrolment Ratio	1965	1970	1988	1989	1991
Primary					
School	32	37	62	76	71
- Total	24	27	48	-	62
- Female					
Secondary					
School	5	4	16	22	20
- Total	3	3	7	-	17
- Female					
Tertiary	-	2	-	3.5	4

Source: World Development Report (various issues) – 1993

The problem of funding seems to be more acute at the tertiary level. This is evidence by the frequent trade disputes between the university lecturers and the federal government concerning the issues of funding and emoluments. Inability to find a lasting solution has exacerbated the deterioration in the quality of the teaching and level of staffing. Average teacher/student ratio for all university disciplines stood at 1:12 in 1985/86 but deteriorated to 1:15 in federal universities and 1:17 in State universities by 1980/90. Some universities have reported staff shortages as high as 40 percent

in some disciplines compared to levels recommended by the National Universities Commission (see World Bank Report, 1993).

In view of the enumerated problems the educational system of Nigeria has been characterized by very poor student achievement at all levels. At the secondary school level, for instance, available statistics of the results released by the Western African Examination Council (WAEC) from 1990 to 1992 indicate that failure rates in the senior school certificate examination (SSCE) average about 50 percent for all subject and 70 percent for English.

This had led to reduction in the number of suitable qualified candidates for tertiary education. Moreover, the incidence of examination malpractice has assumed an alarming proportion in recent times. Evidently, out of the 522,818 students who wrote the 1995 SSCE examination in Nigeria only 404,682 (or about 77 percent) got their full results. The results of 53,360 others were partially released while the results of 64,770 (or about 12 percent) were withheld by WAEC).

3.9. OTHER SOCIAL VICIES

A malignant wave of social insecurity is currently blowing across the country. The critical sources include bribery and corruption, drug abuse, armed robbery and religious fanaticism. These are considered in turn:

3.9.1. Corruption: Although corruption is a worldwide phenomenon, it is the single most important social problem in Nigeria today. It has afflicted a variety of social groups and the nations have suffered severe losses economically.

The financial sector has been ruthlessly hit (in the form of misuse of depositors' funds, wilful default and shady deals in loan disbursement) forcing a number of financial institutions to fold up. The political elites have introduced bribery into every village in the country as revealed by experience since 1979 when attempts were made to bring civilians back to power. It has been a vicious circle of political shenanigans.

Candidates who have nothing credible to offer in order to convince the electorates are often prompted to bribe their way through. It is now becoming increasingly difficult for anyone seeking an elective office to hope to win without offering bribes. The rising vulnerability of the electorates can be explained on two grounds. First, it is the fact that majority of the electorates have been impoverished in the country which they believe have been unleashed on them by past and present leaders.

Whereas the masses of the people wallow in abject poverty, political office seekers/holders live in opulence and demonstrate unpardonable acts of conspicuous consumption. Second is the fact that the electorate is cock sure

that there is practically nothing to gain from the candidates when they are elected into office.

This is what they have learnt from their disappointment over the past several years. This, in estimating their possible votes; candidates often consider how much money a voter has to receive before voting. In the past, the relationship between bribery and success at the polls could be inverse in several places but now it is quite possible that the highest bidder and giver of bribes is the likely winner. Clearly, this is a dangerous trend.

3.9.2. Armed robbery: Armed robbery has assumed an alarming proportion. A team of police and military personnel was set up in Lagos State (the most populous state in the country) to combat the menace of men of the underworld. The security outfit included 4000 men specially selected from the Army, Navy, Air force and the police. It was launched by the middle of May 1996 and was jointly funded to the tune of millions of naira by the Federal and Lagos State government (see Daily Times, May 15, 1996). The situation has been worsened by the harsh socio-economic conditions in the country including joblessness, homelessness and abject poverty among a large number of able-bodied school leavers.

3.9.3. Religious upheaval: Religious riots constitute another dimension of social insecurity that has engulfed the country in recent times. The role being

played by religions under the present economic circumstances cannot be over-emphasized. With the rising cost of health care services, many Nigerians have relied on spiritual healing which in recent times has been the pre-occupation of several religious sects.

However, some negative signals are emerging. The embers of sectionalism is being fanned not only by ethnicity and linguistic affiliation but also by unwholesome religious practices including intolerance (often leading to riots), struggle for power (leadership tussle), false claims, hypocrisy and undue commercialisation of spiritual talents.

3.9.4. Problems relating to governance: Although Nigeria became independent about 44 years ago, the establishment of democratic governance remains an elusive goal. So far, we have had about 26 years of military rule and the country remains a non-starter as far as political development is concerned. The struggle for political power is tantamount to a struggle for the nation's wealth – with the more one grabs, the greater the incentive to disallow others from getting close to the corridors of power. To those seeking power, the ulterior motive is to amass wealth rather than to contribute meaningfully to national development. Invariable power seekers try to get more than a fair share of the national cake when in actual fact their contribution is so little or even negative. The burning desire for ill-gotten

wealth has resulted in high-level of political instability, which is manifested of the fact that Nigeria power elites have no regards for governance as a serious business. Such instability has caused a considerable setback for the nation.

There have been cessation of well-intentioned policies and policy implementers are changed frequently and with justified reasons. The uncertain policy horizon is unattractive for investors of any sort and it is antithetical to any meaningful development.

3.10. SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPERATIVES FOR BALANCED DEVELOPMENT

As noted earlier, development is multi-attributed concept. At this juncture, it will be imperative to highlight the critical social and cultural pre-requisites, which must be fulfilled so that future development efforts can yield desired results.

3.10.1. Development of local knowledge and talents: Shackles of the dependency syndrome which have bedevilled the country since independence need to be shattered so that the often talked about self-reliance approach to national development can be transformed from a rhetoric into reality. This does not imply (as it is always misperceived) that emphasis should be placed

on the realization of authority in every sector of the economy. It is to reinforce the belief that charity begins at home.

To be self-reliant is to self-discipline and to have respect for and confidence in the societal values including local knowledge, norms and cultural heritage. Incentives must be created for the identification of talents and the development of local knowledge and the citizen must appreciate the value in facing challenges.

As the leaders designed their development programmes, they should ask questions such as: What is the extent of local input (human and material) required for the execution of the programs? Is the timing appropriate in terms of being in tune with the prevailing social condition? Are they culturally compatible? Are they likely to engender considerable socio-cultural dislocation?

Any development programme that is not based on the right type of response to each of these questions is apt to fail.

3.10.2. Improving Funding for Education and Health: The desired level of economic growth cannot be attained unless the social sector is properly developed. Education and health are critical for the development of the stock of human capital required for engendered productivity increases in the productive sectors of the economy. Accordingly, Nigeria has well-articulated

education and health policies which clearly specify the goals, structure and strategies for improving the education and health sectors.

However, the various tiers of government have not fulfilled their financial obligations of those sectors. For effective implementation of the articulated policies, adequate budgetary provisions should be committed especially for the provision of facilities, maintenance and repair of equipment, staff emoluments and provision of essential drugs in the hospitals.

3.10.3. Enhancement of the Traditional Health-care System: There is need for the government to provide incentive for the development of the traditional health care system. Research into materials such as leaves, herbs and roots being used by the traditional doctors should be encouraged with view to modernizing the system. Some of the drugs, which are imported from foreign countries, are extracted from such materials. From time to time, some of the materials are carted away, under several guises, free of charge from African to foreign laboratories for analysis and subsequently transformation into a variety of medical uses. But for how long will Nigeria remain a supplier of raw materials?

3.10.4. Encouragement of Cultural Approach to Child Nutrition: An important area of emphasis in child nutrition is breast feeding. This is an important part of our culture which has been discarded but which we are not

trying to rediscover. For some time now several young women have abandoned breast-feeding of their children in favour of using various forms of powdered milk. They have been misled by the erroneous belief that the civilized approach in child nutrition is to begin with powdered milk in feeding bottles. Thus it is common to find a lot of nursery mothers especially in the urban areas give breast milk to their babies for only one month after birth.

Nutritional supports of breast-feeding for at least first six months. Attempts need therefore to be made to disseminate information regarding proper methods of child nutrition including breast-feeding to all nooks and crannies of the country. The various women organizations in the country should be involved in enlightening the women folk about the need to preserve critical cultural values associated with proper upbringing to children and child nutrition in particular. In the connection, the use of the mass media, especially the radio is highly desirable.

3.10.5. Promotion of the Cultural Values of Family Institution: The family institution is a veritable tool for accelerating social and political development. The protection of children from bad peers and crime is primarily a family responsibility. If the family is negligent in this connection, society at large will be afflicted with the negative repercussion. The family has a role to play in the area of political socialization. Any political candidate

emerging from a well –disciplined family is likely to be highly principled in selecting his likes or dislikes in politics. This is crucial because if the political leadership does not consist of those with the best talents there will be the fostering of inefficiency in decision-making and mismanagement of available resources.

The extended family system in Africa is indeed a virtuous tradition, which should be sustained. It has a lot to contribute to societal development. Each member of the family is his brother’s keeper and the care of the aged by other members of the family is obligatory. In other words, the system provides social insurance against unemployment, disability and old age. This form of social security saves the government the burden of prohibitive social expenditure.

Although the significance of the system has waned in some respects due to economic hardships, the basic philosophy is apt to remain for a long time to come.

3.10.6. Support for the Security of the Nigerian State: A major determinant of the perpetual existence of Nigeria is the security of the State. Nothing should be done to encroach on the freedom of the people to practice their religion in any part of the country. The role of the imperialists and their agents in causing disaffection among Nigerians through a variety of religious

indoctrinations, unsolicited aids, awards and gambits should be carefully watched by the authorities to ascertain the possibility of ulterior motives. The government has to be in constant dialogue with the major religious bodies with a view to ensuring that the bodies provide appropriate guidelines for curbing unethical practices and dogmatism among religious groups.

The body must develop a system of sanctions to curtail the preparation of atrocities by religious fanatics, hoodwinkers and pretenders, including the misuse of frivolous honorary awards purportedly being granted by unpopular institutions.

3.11. PUBLIC POLICY MAKING AND IMPLEMENTATION IN NIGERIA

Politics and policy – making are interwoven. The study of politics is not complete without the examination of what government actually does. The study of the activities of government is an important aspect of policy science; and therefore, the study of Government falls within the purview of public policy. When we study public policy, we therefore want to comprehend for instance the circumstances that make it difficult for government to implement its own policies, and the wishes of the people.

We also want to understand the environmental factor that hinders the implementation of government policies, i.e. the constraints in policy implementation.

Public policy therefore could be conceptualised as a long series of more or less related activities that government pursues at a particular time. Public policy implementation has been described as one major problem confronting developing countries. In relativity, the successful implementation of public policy is difficult in the first world countries; it is more difficult in reform-oriented governments in the third world, (Egonmwan, 1999). Consequently, stripped of all technicalities, implementation problem in the developing countries is the problem of widening gap between intentions and results. This is best understood when viewed against a theoretical framework as explained below:

The Marxian theory of public policy is focused on the economic strength of the society: In the Marxian perspective, it is the sole determinant of the political super-structure. The argument is that the mode of distribution of any society determines social relations and the mode of distribution is simply how people produce what they owned, that is the tool or instrument. Social role is the kind of relationship that exists between the producer and the owners of the means of production (supplier and buyers). According to the

Marxists, society is divided into 2: those who produce (suppliers of labour) and those who appropriate what is produced (capitalists). This is equally applicable in international system where some regions of the world are suppliers of raw materials and cheap labour to other regions.

Marxists looked at development in terms of historical stages and it was through this that the society was divided into antagonizing classes. They claimed that development started under the primitive stage or mode of production where the means of production is jointly owned by all and the result was that there was no division (class) and conflict in that society. The primary function of the state in the capitalist society therefore according to the Marxists is to maintain or serve the interest of capitalism by creating conditions favourable to profitable primitive accumulation. However, they further argued that in order to avoid revolution or to reduce conflict between classes, which the workers may embark upon, the State is involved in creating conditions for social harmony by providing policies and programmes that legitimise the capitalist society. Those who hold the means of production therefore, use the instrument of ideology to sensitise the working class about the viability of private property. Also, they use ideology to convince people that there will be upward socio-economic mobility. As a result of these

tendencies, they make it difficult for people to understand that they are extremely exploited.

Public policies in capitalist society could be categorized according to their intentions. In other words, it is either the policy is serving the purpose of accumulation or legitimisation. Example of accumulation policies are privatisation whereby people want to enrich themselves easily, subsidies, fiscal and monetary policies, etc. Example of legitimisation policies includes social welfare, free education, free health care, increment of workers salary, etc.

In summary, the Marxian paradigm examines the content of policies in terms of class interest. Using this theory, one will attempt to ask: Why has government continued to pursue a particular course of action? Or, why is policy implementation problematic in Nigeria? However, if, as Claude Ake, (in Anifowose, 1999), has pointed out “politics is the competition among groups to make public policy conducive to the realization of their interests and ideologies” then the role of the ruling class is determinant in what the State does and what the State chooses not to do in the value allocation process.²

3.11.1. Public Policy – Making Process

Policy – making is a complex activity involving a pattern of actions, extending overtime and involving many decisions. As a course of action, it is useful to conceive policy making as a processual activity involving a series of distinct stages, which constitute what we here refer to as the policy cycle.

Policy making therefore is a concentric or consequential pattern of actions involving a number of functional categories of activities. Ideally, it starts with policy formulation, implementation, feed back (evaluation). However, before policy-making process swings into action, a policy problem has to be identified by policy makers. Smith, (2001), defined a policy problem as a condition or situation which generates a human need, deprivation or dissatisfaction, self-identified or identified by others for which relief is sought. Egonmwan, (1999), also conceptualises a policy problem as a social situation which many people consider adverse or intolerable in its effects on a large number of people over a long period of time, (1999), From this premise therefore, people anticipate or desire qualitative change whenever a policy problem is envisaged.

However, from social point of view, a policy may vary from society to society because of the dynamism of human nature. In this regard, therefore, before a social problem can be said to be a public problem, Egonmwan,

(ibid), opined that the following indicators need to feature prominently in such a problem. These indicators he highlighted thus:

- a) That a large number of people are in unfortunate conditions, suffered deprivation, and are dissatisfied with an undesirable situation.
- b) These adverse conditions are recognized by some or a large number of people.
- c) In addition to those who suffered the unsatisfactory situation, the government is aware of the situation as they have responsibilities for coping with it.
- d) People outside the immediate social problems (third party) must show concern.
- e) Large number of people should think that something should be done about the situation apart from merely recognizing the undesirable situation.
- f) Conflicting interest and cognitive disagreement should be presented by different groups. This will motivate the government to step in and make necessary investigation and take appropriate action.
- g) Apart from objective situations, the values and perception of people also determine what a public problem is. The value and perception of

policy makers is one of the problems confronting policy making in any nation. (Egonwan, *ibid*).

The above condition prescribed by Egonwan is by no means exhaustive, but these to a large extent capture the realities of Nigeria's social situation.

However, as maintained earlier, whenever a policy problem is identified, it passes three main stages. These are: formulation, implementation and feedback (evaluation) stages.

At the level of policy formulation, the first thing is that when government decides what to be done and what is to be achieved, that process involves the following, (Johnson, 2001).

- a) Goal formulation involving multiple groups with varying conflicting objectives.
- b) Problem identification and definition as a result of partial ignorance of problem situation.
- c) Agenda – setting/setting of objectives involving attempts by individuals and groups to influence policy decisions.
- d) Seeking of policy alternatives and evaluating such policy alternatives, i.e. analysis of policy options.
- e) The policy choice.

The above, therefore, are classical policy formulation process. However, some scholars like Joan Corkery have contested those outlines as very simplistic, i.e. not capturing the reality of policy process(es). To them, policy formulation process involves the following:

- a) determination of policy content
- b) design of implementation strategy
- c) monitoring, review and revision of policy.

However, once a policy choice is made and has passed through the normal process, i.e. legislative enactment, then we enter the stage of reality.

Implementation stage therefore as Barrett and Fudge conceptualise, is the ability of an organization to bring together men and materials in a cohesive organizational unit and motivate them in such a way as to carry out the organization's stated objectives, (Johnson, 2001). This stage involves the translation of goals and objectives of policy through various programmes. Thus, policy implementation is often regarded as programme implementation. It is regarded thus because, policy makers have to interact with different agencies and institutions controlled by people with different political persuasions.

However, the difficulty of this stage is usually compounded by certain idealistic or utopian assumptions of policy formulators. Egonmwan described

this state as the stage ‘where you grapple with reality’ (Egonmwan 1999), and therefore highlighted certain assumptions that are associated with this stage.

The first assumption according to Egonmwan is that the implementing agencies will faithfully comply with the policy handed down to them. Secondly, that the policy handed down is implementable, i.e. resources, knowledge, technical know-how, money, manpower, availability of material, etc, to implement a given policy. Thirdly, is that the change contemplated is technically feasible or possible and fourthly, there should exist institutional arrangement for implementing a programme, i.e. the Standard Operating Procedure (SOP).

These assumptions if neglected are capable of constituting impediments of execution of government policy or policies. The formulation of policy is therefore theoretical, while its implementation is practical. Consequently, there is a gap between practice and theory. This is typical of Nigeria’s situation. In some cases, policies are complicated and cannot even be comprehended by the people, even when the goals are clearly stated and resources are made available. It is still difficult and problematic to translate policies to action even under the best of circumstances. For example in Nigeria, policy for economic recovery or policy aimed at transforming the Railway System, are bound to provoke varying and conflicting interests

which may jeopardize that policy. SAP was aimed at economic recovery, because the Nigerian economy was a deep crisis, but the implementation of it rendered such lofty policy useless.

In summary, the popular impression, however, is that public policies do not work. In general, people point to the failure of public policies to meet their elementary needs and they blame government for these lapses. The verdicts which people return on their government in consequence of their negative experiences with public policies raise serious questions about the legitimacy of government and, hence of its authority to make binding decisions, (Adesina Sambo, 1999).

3.11.2. Contending Factors in Public Policy Implementation in Nigeria

Literatures that sought to analyse the contending factors in policy implementation in third world and indeed Nigeria are replete with the “failure-prone policy process” theses. The “failure-prone policy process” thesis therefore argues that policy – makers in the developing nations are guilty of setting unrealistic goals. The thesis further argues that the policy formulation process engenders expectations among the people, which can hardly be matched by the capacities of the system. It states that goals are unrealistic because they are set at very comprehensive levels, because decision makers lack reliable information on which to base their calculations

and, sometimes, because the possibility of expressing alternative policy options is either suppressed or non-existent, (Adesina Sambo, 1999: 305).

Following this therefore, scholars like Albert Hirschman are of the conviction that the fundamental problem of developing nations, lies in the inability of their policy makers to make decisions that will induce development due to certain psychological and social structural inadequacies that inhibit them from bringing to bear the needed amount of knowledge and commitment to make proper judgments about the allocation of resources, (Adesina Sambo, 1999: 304).

Continuing, Hirschman argues that it is fashionable for developing countries to opt for comprehensive or fundamental solutions to policy problems. The choice that these countries make, according to him, compounds the failure of policy for two reasons. Firstly, is that developing countries hardly possess governments with the policy – making apparatus adequate to the task of producing a comprehensive programme. Secondly, he said this inadequacy is met with the introduction of policy solutions from elsewhere, usually from advanced developed economies, solutions that are hardly suitable to local problems. Hirschman finally posited that the adoption of foreign solutions to policies in third world countries undermines the capacity of local intellectual resources to act on local problems, deepens the

underdevelopment of local talents and deprive them of the opportunity to master the problems on their own terms, (Adesina Sambo, 1999: 305). Worth mentioning in this respect are many white elephant projects like the Ajaokuta Steel Company.

However, it is an incontrovertible fact that policy failure in Nigeria is much more pronounced at the implementation stage. This rightly accords with Bertsch's assertion that the possibility of carrying through with policy programmes and implementing policy choices is circumscribed by administrative, economic and political constraints.¹⁷ Administrative constraints include, among others, the lack of trained experts to administer the complex programmes and projects which comprehensive goals and plans demand and the negative consequences of the conflict of roles between elected political office holders and appointed officials in the civil service bureaucracy, (Egonwan, *ibid*).

Lack of adequate funds to execute a well-planned or designed policy agenda also account for the failure of policies in developing countries.

Accordingly, Bertsch, (in Anifowose, 1999), attributed this fact to government indebtedness and the reluctance of international financial institutions to sustain the profligacy and indiscipline which led to the indebtedness, coupled with the fact that funds from donor agencies are

attached with severe conditionality. Added to these, he argued, is that the capacity of developing countries to source funds internally is severely limited, (Egonwan, 1999:306).

Another important factor of policy implementation in the third world exhumed in the 'failure-prone' thesis is political consideration. Many of these countries belong to what Gunnar Mydal referred to as "Soft States", in (in Anifowose, 1999). To him, these States suffer from severe/acute social indiscipline such as corruption, arbitrary enforcement of the law and abuse of power. According to Mydal, these pathologies are without prejudice to regime types and the standards of morality in these States. A major source of these social pathologies he avers, could be located in the attempt to enforce an amazing array of official restrictions and regulations that amount to an open invitation to bribery and pay-offs. The economies of many of these countries he submitted are choked to death by innumerable regulations administered by innumerable persons, (Egonwan, *ibid*)

Again, Mydal's submission manifests in the Nigerian socio-political context. Nigerian political leaders are both malaise, which manifests itself in all aspects of her national life; Transparency International rated Nigeria in the year 2004, as the most corrupt nation in the world. Corruption no doubt is the major stumbling blocks to policy implementation in Nigeria. The recent

Senate – budget scandal is a case in point. Consequently, until government unfolds its strategies for tackling corruption in Nigeria, otherwise, the anti-corruption crusade is therefore tantamount to political victimization, or it will best be described as ‘lip service.’

However, some scholars – especially the Marxists do not subscribe to the ‘failure-prone’ thesis due largely because of the ‘neglect of the analysis of the context of social action which defines the possibilities and limitations of policy making’²² Such scholars therefore tend to ask: What are the peculiarities of policy environment in the developing countries of the world and in what ways do these peculiarities affect the discharge of the policy – making function in these countries?, (Egonwan, 1999:307).

Following from the above premise, Claude Ake applying the Marxist theory of environmental determinism avers that human beings (policy makers inclusive) are largely products of their environment; that they do not act in vacuum; that whatever it is they do, they do so always in response to the necessities of the situation in which they find themselves; that the environment in other words, shapes their values, preferences, attitudes and behaviour. Advancing this further, Ake rhetorically asked; what then are the necessities of the conditions under which policy makers operate in the developing countries? This question according to him calls for the

stipulation of the objective realities which confront policy makers as they seek to make policy choices, (Egonwan, *ibid*).

Arising from the above, Ake succinctly identified some critical conditions or factors that shape policy behaviour in developing countries. Among these factors he said has to do with economic dependence and the nature of politics in these countries.

Economic dependence Ake observed is a feature of post-colonial societies because the colonial masters never really left their colonies, the fact of political independence notwithstanding. In the case of Nigeria Ake avers thus:

The successor policy – elite did not fight the colonial system to change it but merely to inherit it. The logic of colonialism did not allow the Nigerian policy class to be anything more than marginal economically. Being weak economically, the class relied on politics and mass mobilization to come to power, (Egonwan, *ibid*).

The other factor Ake analysed is the nature of politics in third world countries, i.e. what is the form of struggle to control the commanding heights of the State? Ake again, used Nigeria as a critical test case in his analysis.

He argues that political competition of Nigeria is very intense which is due largely to the pervasiveness of State power. Continuing, Ake posits thus:

The State is everywhere and its might appears boundless.

Control of state power assures the total dominance of the holders while all others remain losers. The State subverts the interests of those who control it, runs by rules of the dominant class and is by implication, incapable of mediating political competition, as speculated in the liberal theory, (Egonwan, *ibid*).

Consequently, it is to be noted that politics and economics cannot be easily diffused. In this regard, the linkage between the economy and policy behaviour is very instructive, (Egonwan, 1999:308). A dependent economy coheres with a dependent State. Together they breed a category of policy – makers who are materially weak and who crave political power in order to amass wealth. Ake succinctly pointed out the implications of this linkage thus:

...public policies are made on the basis of political considerations. Major economic policies in Nigeria are replete with economic irrationalities and have, therefore, been limited in their developmental impacts. Political

considerations cover the utilization of manpower so much so that critical positions where policy decisions are taken about the commanding heights of the economy are filled with those who are politically safe, but who may have limited and/or inappropriate technical know-how, (Egonwan, *ibid*).

However, corroborating Ake's position, Adesina Sambo tersely brought out the linkage between the economy and public policies in the third world countries and posited thus:

The political imperatives of public policy decisions is nowhere demonstrated as in the expanding economic role of the State. State economic expansionism has been rationalized on altruistic grounds... it would appear that as the State's role in the economy expands, so also does the opportunities for appropriation by those who control state power. Policy makers have simply written themselves into the policy – decisions they formulate and implement. State Economic expansion has led, not in-expectedly, to irrational and inefficient bureaucracies and parastatals

whose burden, especially with dwindling revenue, has become unduly heavy on socio-economy, (Egonwan, *ibid*).

3.10.4. The Challenge of Policy Implementation in Nigeria: The Guideposts

From the foregoing analysis, we have attempted to x-ray the contending factors in policy implementation in Nigeria with inferences taken from the inured ‘failure-prone policy process’ thesis (which seems to inundate the literatures on the subject), and from the Marxist perspective. Given therefore that these thesis or perspective to a large extent captures the reality in most third world countries, the question now is: to what extent can the so called ‘failure-prone policy process’ continue to be relevant in countries like Nigeria with track record of incessant policy failures? In other words, what are the possibilities of a ‘successful prone policy process’ in the third world countries as scholars like Adesina Sambo, (*ibid*), rhetorically asked?

In attempting to respond to the above question, liberal scholars have tended to see politics as ‘the authoritative allocation of values’. When politics or policy is viewed from this perspective, liberalists would then heap blames on the government and the policy – makers entirely for the success or failure of policies. Consequently, when we conclude in this manner, the eclecticism

of scientific political inquiry will be lacking, hence we tend to address issues superficially.

Arising from the foregoing therefore, it seems no magic wand is yet to be found for a successful policy implementation in Nigeria. Be this as it may, any solution to a successful policy – making process, must therefore take into cognisance the socio-political milieu of the Nigerian State.

The following palliatives seem necessary for a successful policy implementation in Nigeria:

- a) **Transparent Democracy:** For a successful policy implementation, every aspect of government intentions has to be democratised and transparent in order to carry the citizens along. Accommodation rather than the repression of public opinion, especially political opponents or dissent is also very vital for a successful policy implementation.
- b) **Top-to-Bottom approach of:** The top-to-bottom approach policy formulation and implementation should be discouraged or discontinued. Governments should involve citizens (those policies are targeted at) in the policy – making process, for ‘he who wears the shoe knows where it pinches’.
- c) **Realistic Budget:** Governments as a matter of fact should try as much as possible to always work out a realistic budget for the

accomplishment of policies. Many policies in Nigeria fail at the implementation stage because of unrealistic budgets.

3.11.3 PROBLEMS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES IN NIGERIA

In spite of all the attention the Federal Government seems to be giving to the alleviation of poverty in the country through its numerous agencies, poverty continued to rise. Some of the factors militating against the smooth operations of government poverty alleviation measures are:

- a) Virtually all the programmes lack targeting mechanisms for the poor and do not focus directly in the poor.
- b) Frequent policy changes and inconsistent implementation have prevented continuous progress and created a climate of uncertainty, resulting in most operators having very short – run perspective of the objectives of the programme.
- c) Severe budgetary allocation, mismanagement and bad governance have afflicted the programmes, resulting in facilities/infrastructure not being completed or even established.
- d) Many intervention programmes are developed on the rather erroneous assumption that the poor generally constitute a

homogenous group and therefore relatively uniform prescription could be applied across broad. However, studies have proved that the contrary is the case. So strategy to alleviate poverty would not be the same.

- e) Fraudulent activities and mismanagement resulting in wastage of resources and failure to achieve cost effective results. Funds earmarked for programmes are not judiciously utilized and they are either misapplied within the programme or diverted to other uses outside the programme.

In attempting to alleviate poverty, it must be realized that poverty is a dynamic phenomenon and so its alleviation. As such, it is only alleviated if the intervention is sustained. According to poverty alleviation experts, there is no single intervention scheme that has been generally accepted or adopted as the only scheme for poverty alleviation, different appropriate schemes must be designed, implemented and maintained before any meaningful success can be achieved in poverty alleviation.

Therefore, alleviating poverty in the society requires a logical systematic, sometimes confrontational and sustained approach in order that persons, groups or societies that were thought to have been alleviated do not relapse into poverty. Furthermore, scholars agree that for poverty alleviation

programmes to be effective, it could be on short or long term basis depending on the degree and level of poverty intended to be alleviated.

CHAPTER FOUR

POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES IN NIGERIA

A. INTRODUCTION

4.0. Successive Federal Governments of Nigeria had initiated several programmes, which were aimed at reducing and alleviating rural poverty. Some of these programmes as noted since the 70s include the OFN, Green Revolution, DFRRI, Better Life for Rural Women, Family Support (FSP), Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP), National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP), National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) and lately National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) among others. Although several claims of successes of these programmes by their initiators and cronies are evident, it is the view of this researcher that emphasis should be laid on the failures of these programmes so as to identify the whys, etc in order to reinforce current programmes aimed at poverty alleviation especially rural development and sustainable activities for the improvement of quality of life.

The Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) programme was home grown, but targeted at food production and self- sufficiency at the rural areas. The

advent of Green Revolution, on the heels of OFN was indicative of the inadequacy of this programme to address the food production problems and allied activities meant to elevate the living standards at rural level. Again, came DFRRI, which unlike the Green Revolution with universal acclaim and acceptance especially amongst capitalist countries was a home initiative, targeted at food production, rural development, rural infrastructures, skill acquisition and micro business development. The ambitious plans of DFRRI in the self-assigned tasks became unwieldy in conception, implementation and even obtaining the enabling Act without duplicating functions with already existing establishments tasked with similar functions. The lack of inputs from the grassroots rural dwellers and stakeholders in rural development and poverty issues did not help matters in the success of DFRRI, just like the other programmes whose policy concepts were rather handed down from the imperial powers now masquerading under various multinational establishments in the developing countries. Besides, when the Better Life Programme (BLP) was incepted and targeted at elevating the living standards of the rural women. Such targeted but isolated approach to poverty problems at the rural areas failed to wholly tackle the problems. The lack of deep rooted conceptualisation and packaging of the programme to address the real problems of poverty merely reduced its

activities to slogans and jamborees by exclusive women in corridors of power using electronic and print media to implement the programmes. Again the usual absence of inputs from the targeted beneficiaries at the rural level during programme design and conceptualisation was noticeable with the BLP. The short – comings in the BLP and earlier programmes geared towards rural development, were thought to have been taken care of, by the advent of FSP/FEAP. The FSP shifted emphasis to the role of family in rural development, and so the programme mobilized women from the three tiers of the government of Nigeria – Federal, State and Local governments. The programme intervened in several areas aimed at enhancing the self-sustenance of the rural women and better health practice by them and used their children/infants. The success of this programme to the initiators may have prompted its expansion, and re-christening of the programme to FEAP, with more budgetary allocation of about N4.5 billion in the 1997/98 fiscal year. The expanded FEAP did not survive into the years because the initiator abruptly was displaced, coming with the demise of her husband and then Head of Nigerian Government, Sani Abacha. Similarly, this programme was known to be the pet project of one technocrat, who was guided by theoretical concepts and outcomes of guided visits to Latin American and South East Asian countries, with little or no inputs from rural stakeholders who were to

benefit from the programme. However, arising from criticisms of the FSP, FEAP was to include an innovative rural development approach where specific or peculiar projects were to feature and be sponsored, in line with requirements and not necessarily the needs of the particular local areas of interest.

The NDE programme was established to compliment the efforts of other poverty and rural development measures, specifically mandated to train unskilled young Nigerians towards skill acquisition and entrepreneurship development. This, it is hoped that backed by the micro business funds put together by the Federal Government of Nigeria could boost employment generation in the informal sector. How far this programme is succeeding is still open to debates, as it is observed that the NDE programme had been severally afflicted with political decisions like suspension of the programme, usurpation of the functions of the NDE through politically motivated outfits like PAP, NAPEP which barely served political aggrandizement policies of the Government for political loyalists and party members. Finally, the NEEDS document was according to the authors and sponsors put together as a holistic approach to turn round the economic, political and social problems in Nigeria which had combined to impede economic growth and national development. Although the authors and sponsors claim that the package had

taken into account at the programme design stage, the identified problems which had made earlier programmes unsuccessful; Nigerians are yet to even come to terms with the all-ambitious, highly technical and controversial NEEDS document as the messiah for their economic recovery.

In summing up the common feature characteristics of the various programmes targeted at rural development and enhancement of quality of life for Nigerians at the rural areas, it would be safe to observe that these programmes suffered from bureaucratic bottle-necks, participation of the beneficiaries at the programme design stages, apathy by the people against the programme, lack of continuity – often due to incessant changes in governments, political instability, poor funding, unattainable ambitious plans, absence of established permanent infrastructures for implementation, duplication of functions with existing establishments leading to antagonism and sabotage, mismanagement of funds, materials and equipment meant for the programme implementations, resistance from elites suspicion of the influence of multinationals' interests and government doing the bids of foreign governments and capitalist industrialised institutions.

4.1. THE GREEN REVOLUTION IN NIGERIA

The concept of Green Revolution emerged in the 50s at the time the two major world political spheres were engaged in bitter struggle to spread their political ideology and benefits to the underdeveloped countries of the world and their peoples; who were struggling for imperial powers. While the communists/socialist states were advocating political and military revolution as means of achieving socio-economic change in their spheres of influence, the capitalist oriented states on the other hand countered other neo-colonialists strategies by advocating the “Green Revolution” as part of their universal ‘Food Aid’ package to the poor countries in South America and Africa.

Nigeria, therefore, embraced the Green Revolution strategy in April 1980, when the Federal Government of Nigeria formally launched the programme. The primary objective of the Green Revolution strategy was to modernize the agricultural sector of the economy especially to achieve self-sufficiency in food production. At the launching of the programme, the Federal Government announced the initial release of about N18.3 million. And under this arrangement, various projects, such as; land clearing schemes, farm mechanization centres, agro-service centres, river basin development schemes, national accelerated food production programme and tractor hiring

service were all to receive increased development funds. In addition, there would be increased supply of fertilizers and other material inputs, as well as more micro-credit guarantee schemes for farmers in the agro-sector.

4.1.1. Policy on Green Revolution

The Federal Government's policy on Green Revolution included:

- a) Improving nutritional balance of food intake of rural dwellers.
- b) Improving rural housing and environment.
- c) Creating opportunities for human resource development and self-employment particularly in both farming and non-farming sectors.
- d) Improving rural health.
- e) Promoting production and consumption of a wide range of agricultural goods and services.
- f) Utilizing rural resources to lay a solid base for security, socio-cultural, political, economic growth and development activities of the country by linking rural development to governmental activities at local, state and federal levels.
- g) Providing self-sufficiency of food within a stipulated frame.

4.1.2. Implementation Strategy for the Green Revolution

The implementation strategy for the Green Revolution involved the total mobilization of plant, animal resources within a food policy for Nigeria.

In addition, it included expertise engineering of the factors of production, and prudent monitoring of the supportive institutions like – marketing storage; processing, etc., which the areas of involvements were: seed marketing, land clearing, control of soil erosion, rural integrated projects development of grazing reserves, etc; all with the aim of self-sufficiency in food production within five years.

4.2. DIRECTORATE OF FOOD, ROADS AND RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE (DFRRI)

The Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures was a domesticated strategy by Babangida Administration to complement the efforts of the Green Revolution, especially at the rural areas where over 70% of Nigerians live. Because of rural backwardness in all its manifestation; declining food production, poor transportation system, poor healthcare delivery, rural-urban migration, squalor, high rate of illiteracy, non-existing and decaying infrastructure facilities, it became obvious that the past policies of government including the Green Revolution, had failed to deliver services to the people through the government alone. This was the reason why the Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructures was established as a domestic interventionist initiative through which the government could

deliver improved living conditions to the people. The setting up of DFRRRI was announced during the 1986 budget speech of the then Head of State of Nigeria, Ibrahim Babangida as part of his new socio-economic and political package of his administration. The Directorate at its inception in 1986, was allocated the sum of N340 million. This was later increased to N500 million during the 1987 budget year. Similarly, in 1988, this level of budgetary funding was maintained for DFRRRI. In the President's Budget Speech in 1986: "The establishment of Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DFRRRI) was a conscious attempt to move away from the past narrow sectional pre-occupation fibre surpluses to overall formulation of national rural development strategy with emphasis on alleviation of rural poverty and enhancement of the quality of rural life". No doubt, Mr. President's speech recognized that rural development holds key to sustained agricultural transformation and National Food Security.

4.2.1. Policy on DFRRRI

The Federal Government of Nigeria's policy on DFRRRI were:

- a) Same as in the Green Revolution
- b) Concentrated on social mobilization, infrastructure development and productive activities.

4.2.2. Implementation strategy

DFRRI was charged with using the local and state governments ministries of; Local Government, Co-operative and Community Development, Lands and Survey etc. Also, River Basin and Rural Development authorities, Federal Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, NEPA and Rural Electrification Boards, etc as avenues through which to accomplish her mandates by the government.

4.3. BETTER LIFE PROGRAMME IN NIGERIA (BLP)

The Better Life Programme came into being in 1987, to stimulate women in rural areas towards achieving a better and higher standard of living.

The programme initiator was the wife of the then Head of State of Nigeria – Ibrahim Babangida and was designed to promote the declaration of women in 1975 by the United States Government. The programme was to pay attention to amongst others, all forms of discriminatory practices against the women.

The programme had the following objectives:

- a. The mobilization of women for effective national development.
- b. The need to bring women together for better understanding and resolution of the problems through collective actions.
- c. The need to raise women’s consciousness concerning their activities, rights, social, political and economic responsibilities.

4.3.1. Strategy for Implementation

The BLP strategy for implementation was centred at using.

- a) the co-operative societies to bring women together for better understanding, and resolution of their problems through collective actions and to raise their consciousness about economic responsibilities.
- b) Socially, the programme was much interested in expanding the range of recreational activities in the communities.
- c) Facilitating increased awareness and participation in the States' health care delivery programmes such as Expanded Programme on Immunization, O.R.T (Oral Rehydration Therapy), drug abuse, etc.

4.4. THE FAMILY SUPPORT PROGRAMME IN NIGERIA (FSP).

The Family Support Programme was inaugurated in 1994, by the wife of the then Head of State of Nigeria Mrs Maryam Sani Abacha. It was a child of necessity borne out of the need to improve the life and lots of Nigerian masses, especially women in the rural areas. It was to improve the previous experiences of women in Development Programme by broadening its coverage and sharpening its focus. This programme was a shift of policy thrust on the role of family in national development, particularly as it effects major social sectors such as health, education and economic empowerment amongst others.

4.4.1. Objectives and Aims of the Family Support Programme (FSP)

The policy objectives of the FSP are in the following areas:

- a) to improve and sustain family cohesion through the promotion of social and economic well being of the Nigerian family for its maximum contribution to national development.
- b) To promote policies and programme that strengthen the observance and protection of human rights and the advancement of social justice and human dignity.
- c) To promote decent health care delivery in reducing material and child mortality and morbidity through improved health care system.
- d) To sensitise government on the need to provide adequate shelter for all Nigerians.
- e) To carry out public enlightenment campaigns to sensitise the general public on matters of human decency, civil responsibility and concern for the welfare of the disadvantaged.

4.4.2. Strategy for Implementation of FSP Programme

The strategy for implementation of (FSP) programme are as follows:

- a) Sponsoring media captions, news talk, television and Radio discussions.

- b) Establishment of relevant clubs and societies so that the rural family – life shall be touched through the assistance given to women by loan and etc.
- c) Mounting workshops, seminars, symposia and public lectures to mobilize the people through competitions and quizzes, publications and training schemes.

The programmes was to be implemented at the three tiers of government; Federal, State and Local Governments.

4.5. NATIONAL DIRECTORATE OF EMPLOYMENT (NDE)

Federal Government of Nigeria established the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) with clear mandate to provide 70% of job opportunities available in the informal sector and micro-businesses.

The programme implementation strategy includes training Nigerians on how to take advantage of the opportunity, including Youth Corpers to achieve the followings:

- a) Make unemployed youths to have marketable skills through the entrepreneurship development programme.
- b) Start Your-own-Business Programme for other employable, but unemployed Nigerians.

4.6. NATIONAL ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (NEEDS)

4.6.1. Statement of Vision and Mission

The vision for Nigeria's development derives from her history, endowments, experience, and aspirations. The visioning process has drawn inspiration from the views of a cross section of stakeholders and the provisions of the Constitution regarding the overall thrust of the aspirations of Nigerians. The vision underscores the necessity and urgency to build a modern Nigeria that maximizes the potentials of every citizen to become the largest and strongest African economy, and a force to be reckoned with in the world before the mid 21st century. Nigeria envisions a 21st century that is Africa's century, and with Nigeria among the leading nations.

The most recent articulation of this vision as embodied in the 2001 Kuru Declaration is as follows:

“To build a truly great African democratic country, politically united, integrated and stable, economically prosperous, social organized, with equal opportunity for all, and responsibility from all, to become the catalyst of (African) Renaissance, and making adequate all-embracing contributions, sub-regionally, regionally

and globally.”

The Mission of President Obasanjo’s Government is to use the instrumentality of the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) as a nationally coordinated framework of action in the close collaboration with the State governments and other stakeholders to consolidate the achievements of the last four years, and build a solid foundation for the attainment of Nigeria’s long-term vision. Over the medium term, the NEEDS will lay the foundation and achieve significant progress in the areas of wealth creation, employment generation, and poverty reduction.

4.6.2. Core Values

NEEDS is anchored on the imperative to restore the fundamental values of Nigeria, which have weakened over the years. According to the Vision 2010 Main Report, “Nigeria is a multi-ethnic society, with a value system that derives from the diversity of its people, religion and cultures. The elements of this value system include respect for elders, honesty and accountability, cooperation, industry, discipline, self-confidence and moral courage”. President Obasanjo captures the essence of the new value system as one that puts Nigeria, selfless service to the country and love of fellow citizen above all else. According to him: “Always ask what is in it for Nigeria. I see a new Nigeria in the hands of the Lord. Our Mission is the creation of a New Nigeria where all the negative values in our society are reversed and in their place are established enabling values of a caring, well governed society where justice and equity reign”.

These are the fundamental values upon which NEEDS rests. More specifically, the Strategy hopes to lay a solid foundation for a national self rediscovery and string values based upon:

- Enterprise, competition and efficiency at all levels.
- Equity and care for the weak and vulnerable
- Moral rectitude, respect for traditional values, and extolling of our culture.
- A value system for public service that makes efficient and effective service delivery to the citizens.
- Discipline at all levels of leadership.

According to the 2002 Kuru Declaration all public officials (elected and appointed) swear to abide by certain codes of values embodying the development objectives and human capital improvement needs of the country. NEEDS as a development strategy recognizes that these values cannot take root and be sustained unless conscious efforts are made to mobilize the people around them. Without paradigm shifts, fundamental changes in mindset and acceptance that it cannot be business as usual, especially by the elite, the change that NEEDS seeks to bring about will be difficult to attain and sustain.

4.6.3. Fundamental Principles

Under the “Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of state Policy”, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria mandates as follows:

- The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government;
- The State shall, within the context of the ideals and objectives for which provisions are made in this Constitution - harness the resources of the nation, promote national prosperity and an efficient, dynamic and self-reliant economy;
- control of national economy in such a manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity.
- The state shall direct its policy towards ensuring
 - a) The promotion of a planned and balanced economic development;
 - b) That the material resources of the nation are harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common good;

- c) That the economic system is not operated in such a manner as to permit the concentration of wealth or the means of production and exchange in the hands of few individuals or of a group, and
- d) That suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizens.
- Government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels.
- The national ethics shall be Discipline, Integrity, dignity of Labour, Social Justice, Religious Tolerance, Self-Reliance and Patriotism.

In other words, the Constitution clearly stipulates that policy must be directed to balance the objectives of efficiency, effectiveness, and equity in order to ensure a broad-based poverty reducing growth and development strategy, the dividends of which will be distributed fairly among all classes. The NEEDS is based upon these principles. It is the strategy aimed at achieving the directive principles of state policy. Its focus is wealth creation, employment generation, poverty reduction, corruption elimination and general value re-orientation. Three other principles that underpin the NEEDS are:

- An incentive structure that rewards and celebrates private enterprise, entrepreneurial spirit and excellence; and
- New forms of Partnership among all stakeholders in the economy to promote prosperity – among all arms of government; Federal, State and Local; public – private; civil society and the International community; and indeed all stakeholders.
- A public service that delivers prompt and quality service to the people.

B. POVERTY ALLEVIATION: DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL INTERVENTIONS

4.7. THE DOMESTIC POLICIES

Until the inauguration of a Poverty Alleviation Programme Development Committee (PAPDC) by the Nigerian government in 1994 all efforts at poverty alleviation were essentially ad-hoc. Poverty alleviation programmes and strategies were not crystallized and consolidated within the nation's overall development objectives. This is borne out of a casual perusal of the various National Development Plans over 1962 – 85 and the National Rolling Plans from 1990. National Development and Rolling Plans were

significant in the sense that they provided and still provide the guiding principles and programmes for the achievement of development objectives.

It can be observed that the Plan documents state that:

“the primary goal of economic planning in Nigeria is the attainment of rapid increase in the nation’s productive capacity with a view to improving the living standards of the people”.

This statement suggests some concern with poverty reduction, which entails improved living standards. However, poverty alleviation objectives were tangential and not explicit objectives of all the plans. The poverty – related objectives during 1962 – 85 included:

- a) increase in per capita income
- b) more even distribution of income
- c) reduction in the level of unemployment and
- d) increase in the supply of high level manpower.

In a related vein, the First National Rolling Plan had, among other things, the objectives of:

- a) creating ample employment opportunities as a means of containing the unemployment problem, and

- b) enhancing the level of socio political awareness of the people and further strengthening the base for a market – oriented economy and mitigating the adverse impact of the economic down-turn on the most affected groups.

Although these statements have no direct concern with poverty alleviation, they have implications for poverty. The increase in per capita income with more even distribution of income would lead to poverty reduction. Similarly, an increase in per capita income has a direct impact on the level of unemployment.

4.8. GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES RELATED TO POVERTY

4.8.1 Agriculture Sector Programme:

These include the Agriculture Development Programmes such as:

- (i) The National Agricultural Land Development Authority.
- (ii) The strategic grains Reserves Programme
- (iii) The Programme for Accelerated Wheat Production.
- (iv) The Programme for the development of artisan fishery, supply of farm in puts, services and credit extension to farmers.

4.8.2. Health Sector Programmes: -

- i) The Primary Health Care Scheme

- ii) Guinea – worm Eradication Programme which succeeded in reducing the number of guinea-worm cases from 650,000 in 1988 to 222,000 by the end of 1992.

4.8.3. The Education Sector

- i) The Nomadic Education Programme developed curricula for nomadic education.
- ii) Adult literacy programmes were initiated.

4.8.4. The Transport Sector

- i) The Urban Mass Transit Programme was established in 1988 to save the transportation system from collapse.

4.8.5. Financial Sector Programme

- i) The establishment of the National Economic Reconstruction Fund with the aim of providing long-term loans at concessionary interest rates to promote small and medium scale industrial projects.
- ii) The People’s Bank of Nigeria, which extends credit to the poor who cannot afford to meet the condition of the Commercial Banks.

4.8.6. Manufacturing Sector Programme

- i) The promotion of Small-Scale Enterprises (SME’s) through the provision of credit facilities and other infrastructure forms of support.

(Nigeria: National Planning Commission 1994, and 1995) World Bank (1996).

However, despite the noble aims as enunciated by these policies, the incidence of poverty has continued to loom large, the phenomenon has continued to spread and deepen. Many factors have tended to compound the poverty situation, among which are: Slow economic growth, economic mismanagement, infrastructure deficiencies, weak political commitment to poverty alleviation programmes and measures, and a host of macro-economic and sectoral problems such as inflation, rising unemployment, exchange rate depreciation, external debt overhang and other myriad of problems (CBN, 1999: 68-73).

These problems are further acknowledged by Alice (2001: 4-5) as follows: -

- i) Poor macro-economic and monetary policies resulting in low economic growth rate and continued downwards slide in the value of the Naira from 1986;
- ii) Dwindling performance of the manufacturing sector that has the capacity to employ about 20 million people but currently employs only about 1.5 million by all the 2,750 registered members of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN).

- iii) Increasing foreign debt overhang of almost \$30 billion, requiring for servicing from all economy earning just \$10 – 15 billion;
- iv) Poor management of the nations resources, coupled with large-scale fraud and corruption most of which has been siphoned out of the country in hard currency; and
- v) Poor execution of Government Programmes and projects especially those aimed at the provision of social welfare services and those aimed at the provision of economic infrastructure.

4.9. CURRENT EFFORTS AT POVERTY ALLEVIATION

At the inception of the current democratic dispensation since 1999, the Government has expressed serious concern about the poverty situation in the country. The Ahmed Joda Panel and the Anjo Abdullahi Committees established in 1999 and 2000 respectively were tasked with streamlining and rationalizing the existing poverty alleviation institutions and the co-ordination of existing programmes. These efforts culminated in the introduction early in 2001 of the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) and the establishment of the National Poverty Eradication Council (NAPEC)

4.9.1. THE POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMME (PAP)

This was an interim measure introduced in early 2000 to address the problems of rising unemployment and crime wave, particularly among youths. The primary objectives of PAP are three – fold:

- i) Reduce the problem of unemployment and hence raise effective demand in the economy;
- ii) Increase the productiveness of the economy; and
- iii) Drastically reduce the embarrassing crime wave in the society.

The orientation of PAP is holistic in nature and if properly planned and managed; could reduce poverty in Nigeria. Emphasis was placed on the creation of jobs with the target being the employment of 200,000 idle hands with an allocation of 5,000 per state. To actualise the programme, the Federal Government earmarked N10 billion, which was later raised to N17 billion by the Senate. This pointed to commitment by Government.

However, while this programme was linked to Public works employment, it appeared that it could be a one-off affair rather than a revolving one.

Similarly the political connotation of the PAP met with resistance from states controlled by opposition parties, while the timing and phasing of the programme were not explicitly stated.

4.10. THE NATIONAL POVERTY ERADICATION PROGRAMME (NAPEP)

Introduced in 2001, NAPEP is the current programme which focuses on the provision of “strategies for the eradication of absolute poverty in Nigeria (FRN, 2001:3) NAPEP is complemented by NAPEC which is to co-ordinate poverty related activities of all the relevant ministries, parastatals and Agencies. The poverty – reduction related activities of the relevant institutions under NAPEP have been classified into four, namely: -

4.10.1. Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES)

- which deals with capacity acquisition productivity, credit delivery and enterprises promotion;

4.10.2 Rural Infrastructure Development

Scheme (RIDS), which deals with the provision of portable water irrigation water, rural and urban transportation, rural energy and power support;

4.10.3. Social Welfare Service Scheme

(SOWESS) which deals with special education, primary health care, food security, micro and macro credit facilities, rural telecommunication and;

4.10.4. Natural Resource Development and Conservation Scheme (NRDCS)

This deals with the conservation of land and space, agricultural, water and solid minerals (CBN, Vol. 39, No.4)

In effect, the current poverty eradication programme of Nigeria is centred on youth empowerment, rural infrastructure development, provision of social welfare services and natural resource development and conservation.

By way of Summary, it is noted that the current NAPEP Blueprint has the following features:-

- i) It adopts the participatory bottom-up approach in programme implementation and monitoring.
- ii) It provides for a rational framework, which lays emphasis on appropriate and sustainable institutional arrangement
- iii) it provides for pro-active and affirmative actions targeted at youths, women, farmers and the disabled;
- iv) It provides for inter-ministerial and inter-agency co-operation.

- v) It provides for technology acquisition and development particularly for agriculture and industry;
- vi) It provides for capacity building.
- vii) It provides for the provision of agricultural and industrial extension services to rural areas; and
- viii) It provides for integrated schemes for youth empowerment, development of infrastructure, provision of social welfare services and exploitation of natural resources, (Aliu, 2001: 12 – 13)

As discussed earlier, the Nigerian economy is bedevilled by the problems of low economic growth, rapid population growth, mismanagement of available resources and large-scale corruption. Therefore, for NAPEP to make a meaningful dent on poverty, there is a need for poverty reduction programmes to be implemented within the framework of rapid economic growth with equity controlled population growth, sound economic – management, and good governance among others.

4.11. EXTERNAL INTERVENTIONS

It is an acknowledged fact that the story of Africa has only been that of failed promises, it has been wrought by wars, famines and hunger. According to Aluko Olokun (2000) the dream of a great African renaissance came after social, political and economic realities of the continent has defined 37

development plans which were said to be alien to Africa or drafted by experts and institutions that failed to appreciate the peculiarities of the continent. Some of the partnerships or initiatives including the United Nation's New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990's, Africa – Europe Summits' Cairo Plan of Action, World Bank led strategic partnership with Africa, the International Monetary Fund-led poverty Reduction Strategy papers (PRSPs), Japan – Led Tokyo Agenda for Action, African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) of the United States among other Programmes designed to promote African Development. However, the current programme which African leaders are pursuing in this direction is the New Partnership For African Development (NEPAD).

4.12. NEPAD AND POVERTY REDUCTION

Historically, access to the institution of the international community, credit and aid have underlined the logic of African development. Credit has led to the debt peonage, which has continued to hinder the growth of African countries. In Africa 340 million people, or half the population live on less than \$1 per day. The mortality rate of children under 5 years of age is 140 per 1000, and life expectancy is only 54 years. Only 58 percent of the population has access to safe water. The rate of illiteracy for people over 15 is 41

percent. (Olokun; 2002). The NEPAD Programme for African advancement calls for a reversal of this trend.

NEPAD's long-term objectives as it relates to poverty as contained in its policy document states that the programme is intended to:

“Eradicate poverty in Africa and to place African countries both individually and collectively on a path of sustainable growth and development and thus halt the marginalization process”, (AU: 2001).

In terms of assessment, it should be noted that NEPAD is still yet to be implemented, it is a mission statement hence our capacity to evaluate its role in poverty reduction is limited to only the aim and objectives.

4.13 THE AFRICAN GROWTH OPPORTUNITY ACT. (AGOA)

This is another external programme that has attempted to address trade relations most especially in the agricultural sector between the United States of America and Africa. This Act was passed by the Clinton administration with the following aims and objectives:

- i) To remove all existing restrictions on some specific goods of the benefiting countries.

- ii) To create a common border between the United States and the Saharan African continent.
- iii) To give more access to Sub-Saharan African goods in United States markets, which they cannot, ordinarily compete with goods from other countries in the United States market.
- iv) To create a much more conducive trade relations between the United States and the AGOA benefiting countries of Sub-Saharan Africa;
- v) To promote and create growth of the African local entrepreneurs.
- vi) To lessen the customs and tariff duties on AGOA benefiting countries' goods.
- vii) To encourage specialisation on the production of goods.
- viii) To encourage sustainable economic growth and development and.
- ix) To give benefiting countries the opportunity to decide the price of their commodities and quantity of exports (Cross Roads, 2003).

While AGOA seeks to promote the entry of goods from Africa into American markets, the question however is to what extent have the productive capacities of African small – scale producers been enhanced? The stimulation of the productive impulse and capacity of the Average African producer goes along with the reduction of poverty and the liberation of the entrepreneurial spirit of the small producer. This generates employment and

consequently a reduction in poverty levels. It is essentially because of this that our capacity to measure AGOA as a programme for poverty alleviation is limited.

4.14. THE INTERVENTION OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS

The World Bank group and the International Monetary Funds efforts at assisting countries to understand the poverty situation in their economy, assess the level and determine to reduce the level, knowing that most developing economics are held back with debt obligations, have proved quite successful in most developing countries. It has helped Nigeria in its negotiations with our creditors and the Paris Club has made a promise to write-off our debts if certain conditions are fulfilled.

The World Bank and the IMF determined in 1999 that nationally – owned participatory poverty reduction strategies should provide the basis for all their concessional lending and debt relief under the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. This approach builds on the principles of the comprehensive development papers on Poverty Reduction Strategy by country authorities for submission to the Bank and Fund Boards.

In the view of these multilateral institutions, there are core principles underlying the development and implementation of poverty reduction strategies, and these are as follows:

- i) Country – driven, involving broad-based – participation by Civil – Society and the private sector,
- ii) Result – oriented, and focused on outcomes that would benefit the poor;
- iii) Comprehensive in recognizing that the nature of poverty is multi – dimensional and it can only be addressed in fiscal and institutional terms;
- iv) Partnership – oriented involving bilateral, multilateral and non-governmental agencies.

The World Bank approach is long term and is based on the establishment of key processes, which should reflect a country's individual circumstances and characteristics. In order to develop an effective poverty reduction programme, there is a need to:-

- i) Develop a comprehensive understanding of poverty and its determinants, beginning with and where they live and the main barriers against moving out of poverty. Furthermore, the multi-dimensional

nature of poverty has to be understood such as low income, poor health, education, gender, insecurity and powerlessness.

- ii) A proper understanding of poverty provides for a proper choice of a mix of macro-economic structural and social policy to choose from;
- iii) Develop a capacity to test outcomes and adjust as possible. (Akanji, CBN Vol. 39 No.4).

From the foregoing it is obvious that the Bilateral and Multilateral interventions with regards to poverty reduction seeks to lay more emphasis at the level of capacity building of poor countries and not just through the instrument of debt – relief.

4.15. SUMMARY

In this section, we can observe that the Nigerian State through several governments has always placed the concern with poverty reduction as its greatest concern. However, various programmes and sectoral approaches towards the reduction have not yielded results. This as has been noted, is essentially due to poor policy implementation.

Similarly most intervention from external sources are either through the instruments of debt relief or capacity building. It is noted however, that an

effective policy – reduction programme can only be achieved through effective implementation through good governance and transparency.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

A. TABLES

TABLE 5.1 GENDER DISTRIBUTIONS OF RESPONDENTS.

S/No	Gender	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Male	515	71.83%
2.	Female	202	28.17%
3.	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.1 above shows the gender distribution of respondents. Out of the 717 participants in this study, 515 respondents, representing 71.83% were male participants. 202 respondents, representing 28.17% were female participants. All the participants in the study were drawn randomly from six geo-political zones and senatorial districts of the country. From the table above, the low percentage of female participation (28%) indicates gender bias occasioned by possible cultural afflictions noticeable in our national life, therefore the researcher considers the distribution satisfactory for analysis.

TABLE 5.2: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

S/NO	Age	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	25-30	112	15.62%
2.	31-35	80	11.16%

3.	36-40	125	17.43%
4.	41-50	192	26.78%
5.	47-56	120	16.74%
6.	51-56	88	12.27%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.2 above shows the age distribution of respondents. The age of respondents range from 25 years to 56 years. As can be seen from the table, majority of participants (26.78%) fall between the age brackets of 41 – 46 years of age. This age bracket falls within the productive labour force and vibrant active population of the country who are likely beneficiaries of governments’ poverty alleviation programmes.

TABLE 5.3: EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

S/No	Gender	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Primary	300	71.83%

2.	Secondary	215	28.17%
3.	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.3 above shows the educational distribution of respondents. Out of the 717 participants who took part in the study 300 respondents, representing 41.84% hold Primary School Certificate or School Leaving Certificate. 215 respondents representing 29.99% hold the secondary school leaving certificate such as G.C.E. '0' level, NECO and SSCE certificates. 202 participants representing 28.17% hold the post secondary school certificates, such as NCE, B.Sc. B.A, and HND etc.

TABLE 5.4: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

S/No	Gender	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Civil/Public servants	250	34.87%

2.	Businessmen/Women	152	21.20%
3.	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.4 above shows the occupational distribution of respondents. 250 participants representing 34.87% out of the 717 participants were civil servants. 152 respondents representing 21.20% were businessmen and women. 315 participants (43.93%) were randomly selected from the general public, across the six geopolitical zones of the country. Participants were drawn from the urban and rural areas.

TABLE 5.5: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: Are you aware of poverty alleviation programme of government?

S/No	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Yes	350	48.81%
2.	No	367	51.19%
3.	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.5 shows that 350 respondents representing 48.81% said they are aware of the existence of poverty alleviation programme of government while 367 respondents (51.19%) said they are not aware of any government poverty alleviation programme. Majority of those interviewed (51.19%) were not aware of these government poverty alleviation programmes. Therefore, poverty alleviation programmes of the government lack adequate public enlightenment, and should be reinforced and strengthened.

TABLE 5.6: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: Does a Cooperative Association exist in your locality?

S/No	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Yes	489	68.20%
2.	No	228	31.80%
3.	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.6 above shows that, 489 respondents representing 68.20% said a cooperative association exists in their locality. 228 respondents representing 31.80% however said non of such associations exist in their locality. Therefore, majority of the respondents (i.e. 489 or 68.20%) said a cooperative association exists in their locality.

TABLE 5.7 QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: Has your NGO/Association been consulted to make input in government poverty alleviation policies?

S/No	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Yes	107	14.92%
2.	No	610	85.08%
3.	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.7 above shows that 107 respondents representing 14.92% said their NGO/Associations have often been consulted to make input in government's poverty alleviation policies while 610 respondents representing 85.08% however said there has not been anything of such. Majority of the respondents (85.08%) therefore, said government has not consulted their NGO/Associations for input regarding poverty alleviation policies.

TABLE 5.8: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: What do you think will reduce poverty in your community?

S/No	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Education	150	20.92%
2.	Distributing motorcycles to the youths	58	8.09%
3.	Giving out soft loans	315	43.93%
4.	Provision of social amenities to the rural areas	194	27.06%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.8 above shows that 150 respondents representing 20.92% believed that education will go along way in alleviating poverty in the community 58 respondents (8.09%) said distributing motorcycles to the youths is the sure way of alleviating poverty in the community. 315 respondents (43.93%) however believed that giving out soft loans to the people will go a long way in alleviating poverty in the community. 194 respondents (27.06%) were of the view that the provision of social amenities to the rural areas is the only sure way of alleviating poverty in the community.

Majority of the respondents in the study therefore, believed that giving out soft loans to the needy, will tremendously alleviate poverty in the community.

TABLE 5.9: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: How would you assess the participation of NGOs in government’s initiated poverty alleviation policies.

S/No	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Low	250	34.87% %
2.	Very Low	212	29.57% %

3.	High	200	27.89%
4.	Very high	55	7.67%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.9 above shows the assessment of NGOs participation in governments initiated poverty alleviation policies. 250(34%) of the respondents said their participation is low. 212 (29%) said the participation of the NGOs is very low. 200 (27%) of the respondents however said their participation is high. Meanwhile, 55 (7%) respondents said the participation of the NGOs is very high. Majority of the respondents (34%) therefore said participation is low.

TABLE 5.10: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: How would you classify poverty alleviation programme in Nigeria?

S/No	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Sectoral	101	14%
2.	Sub-Sectoral	215	30%
3.	Reliable	98	14%

4.	Community rural development	303	42%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.10: above shows that 101 respondents representing 14% classified poverty alleviation programme in Nigeria as sectoral 215 respondents (30%) said poverty alleviation programme of the government is sub-sector. 98 respondents (14%) said the programme is commodity/rural development based. Therefore, majority of the respondents (42%) classified poverty alleviation programme of government as commodity and rural development based.

TABLE 5.11 QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: In your opinion, is poverty linked to crime/societal vices in your community?

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Yes	430	59%
2.	No	287	40.03%
3.	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.11 above shows that 430 respondents (59%) said that poverty is linked to crime societal vices in the community. 287 respondents (40.03%) said poverty is not linked to crime/societal vices in the community.

TABLE 5.12: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: Which class in the society do you think the programme you mentioned in Question 1 is or was targeted at?

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Women	115	16.04%
2.	Youth	105	14.64%
3.	Petty Traders	117	16.32%
4.	Rural dwellers	225	31.38%
5.	Elites	5	0.69%
6.	Civil servants	120	16.74%
7.	Urban dwellers	20	2.79%
8.	None	0	0%
9.	All	10	1.39%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.12 above shows that 115 respondent representing 16.04% said that the poverty alleviation programme of government is targeted at women. 105 (14%) said the programme is targeted at the youth. 117 (16%) respondents said the programme is targeted at petty traders. 225 (31%) of the respondents said the programme is targeted at the rural dwellers. 5 (07%) respondents said the programme is targeted at the elites. 120 respondents (16%) said the

programme is targeted at the civil servants. Therefore, the public does not appear to understand the beneficiaries of governments poverty alleviation programmes.

TABLE 5.13: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: How would you assess the participation of the people in the programme?

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Low	215	30%
2.	Very Low	340	47%
3.	High	112	16%
4	Very high	50	7%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November, 2004.

Table 5.12 above shows that 215 (29%) respondents when asked to assess the participation of people in the poverty alleviation programme of the government, said it is low. 340 participants (47%) said people's participation in the programme is very low. 112 (15%) of them said participation is high, while 50 (6.9%) of the respondents said people's participation in the programme is very high.

Majority of those interviewed therefore expressed disappointment about the programme and said peoples' participation in the programme is very low.

TABLE 5.14: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: What do you think has influenced or impeded people participation in this programme?

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Illiteracy	15	2%
2.	Lack of awareness	50	7%
3.	Lack of transparency in its operations	367	51%
4	Lack of incentives from government	215	30%
5	Bureaucracy	70	10%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.14 above shows that, 15(2%) respondents said, illiteracy is responsible for low participation of people in the respondents (7%) believed that, lack of awareness among the people is responsible for people's participation in the poverty alleviation programme of government. 367(51%) respondents were of the belief that lack of transparency in the mode of operation of the programme is responsible for the low participation of people in the poverty alleviation programme of the government. 215 (30%) of the respondents said they believed, lack of incentives from the government is responsible for the non-participation of the people in the programme. 70(10%) respondents however, believed that bureaucratic bottlenecks in the

conduct of government business are a major factor impeding people's participation in the programme.

Majority of the respondents therefore believed, lack of transparency in the operation of the programme is the most inhibiting factor to peoples' participation in the programme.

TABLE 5.15: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: What do you think is/was the social objective that influenced the programme(s) you mentioned in question 1.

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	To improve food production	120	16.73%
2.	To create employment	212	29.6%
3.	To reduce social unrest	12	1.7%
4	To improve vocational output/productivity	158	22.04%
5	Governmental social security obligation	117	16.31%
6	All of the above	98	13.67%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004

Table 5.15 above shows that 120 (16.7%) of the respondents, believed that poverty alleviation programme of government was put in place, so as to improve food production. 212 (29%) said they believed that the programme was set up to create employment. 12(1.6%) said they believed the programme was established to reduce social unrest. 158(22%) respondents said they believed, the programme was set up to improve vocational output/productivity. 117(16%) of the respondents said they believed the poverty alleviation programme of government is governmental social security obligation to the citizenry, while 98(13%) of the respondents said all the listed options are possible reasons why poverty alleviation programme of the government was established.

Majority of the respondents i.e. 212 (29%) therefore, believed the programme was set up to create employment opportunities.

TABLE 5.16: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: The various poverty alleviation programmes of the government have not made any significant impact on the people.

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly disagree	237	33.05%
2.	Strongly agree	480	66.05%

3.	Undecided	0	0%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.16 above shows that 237 (33.05%) of respondents said they strongly disagreed with the statement that the various poverty alleviation programmes of government have not made any significant impact on the people, meaning that, the programmes have actually impacted positively on the people. 480(66.05%) of the respondents however said they strongly agree with the statement that the programmes have not made any significant impact on the people.

TABLE 5.17: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: Political instability, intolerance and inconsistency of government policies could be said to be some of the setbacks that have hindered the efficacy of poverty alleviation programme of government in the country

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly disagree	150	20.92%
2.	Strongly agree	501	69.87%
3.	Undecided	66	9.21%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.17 above shows 150 (20.92%) of respondents who strongly disagreed that political instability, intolerance and inconsistency of government policies could be responsible for the inefficiency and non-performance of the poverty alleviation programmes on the people. They therefore disagreed with the statement.

501(69.87%) however, strongly agreed with the statement. 66(9.21%) of the respondents meanwhile said they do not know. Majority 501(69.87%) of all those interviewed believed that political instability etc are responsible for the inefficiency of the poverty alleviation programmes.

TABLE 5.18: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: Sustainable national development is being undermined by high poverty rate in the country

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly disagree	280	39%
2.	Strongly agree	430	60%
3.	Undecided	7	1%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November, 2004.

Table 5.18 above shows that 280(39%) respondents said they strongly disagreed that poverty is in no way hampering national development. 430(60%) of the respondents said they strongly agree with the statement.

7(1%) of the respondents however, said they are undecided on the statement. Majority of the people interviewed therefore believed that high poverty in the country is undermining and hampering national growth and development.

TABLE 5.19: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: Most public policies targeted at poverty alleviation in Nigeria do not address the actual needs of the general populace.

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly disagree	98	13.67%
2.	Strongly agree	580	80.89%
3.	Undecided	39	5.44%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November, 2004.

Table 5.19 above shows that 98(13.67%) respondents said they strongly disagree that most public policies targeted at poverty alleviation in Nigeria do not address the actual needs of the rural populace. In other words, those policies actually address such needs of the rural populace.

580(80.89%) respondents however agreed with the statement that such policies do not actually address the real issues.

TABLE 5.20: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: The upsurge of social vices in the country e.g. prostitution; armed robbery, ritual killings, child trafficking etc are all as a result of the high poverty level in the country.

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly disagree	280	39.05%
2.	Strongly agree	430	59.97%
3.	Undecided	7	0.98%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November, 2004.

Table 5.20 above shows that, 280(39.05%) said they strongly disagreed that poverty is responsible for the upsurge of social vices in the society. 430(59.97%) respondents said they strongly agree that the upsurge of social

vices in the society is as a result of the high poverty level in the country.

7(0.98%) respondents meanwhile said they couldn't decide on this statement.

TABLE 5.21: QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENT: The participation of people in these programmes had been politicised and selective, for political loyalists only.

S/NO	Options	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly disagree	200	27.89%
2.	Strongly agree	418	58.30%
3.	Undecided	99	13.81%
	Total	717	100%

Source: Field Study, November 2004.

Table 5.21 above shows that, 200 (27.89%) of the respondents said they disagreed that the participation of the people in the poverty alleviation programme has been politicised. 418(58.30%) of the respondents however

said they strongly agree that the programmes have been politicised, especially for political loyalists, who oftentimes are the beneficiaries of these facilities.

B. SUMMARY

Presentation of Results and Analysis of data in this chapter revealed low gender participation by females, high degree of Respondents within the active productive labour force and low educational qualification of most Respondents who had mere Primary School/Leaving Certificate. Furthermore, most Respondents were members of the general public who were drawn from both rural and urban areas, mostly uninformed of governments' poverty alleviation programmes. Although most Respondents agreed that co-operative Associations existed in their local areas, however almost all of them confirmed that government never consulted these co-operative Associations during formulation and design of poverty alleviation policies. Although they agreed that the programme was aimed at reducing poverty at community level, but lacks the participation by NGOs.

Poverty is linked to crime and other vices in the society, and targeted at rural dwellers, even though the low participation by the people in governments' poverty alleviation programme had been largely due to intransparency in its execution by the government people; they generally

agreed. Interestingly, most respondents were aware of the social objectives of governments' Poverty Alleviation Programmes, which they summed up as job creation, employment and improved output productivity. However, they were unanimous in their views that no significant impact on the welfare of the people had been made by previous poverty alleviation programmes of governments. This chapter revealed that political instability, intolerance and inconsistency in government policies, continuously undermine sustainable national development due to high rate of poverty in the country. Continuing, most respondents believe that most governments' public policies aimed at poverty alleviation do not address the actual needs of the people; therefore they traced the upsurge of social vices in the country to high poverty level. Besides, the respondents agreed that beneficiaries of governments' poverty alleviation programmes are selective, just as it had been politicised in favour of political loyalists only.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERPRETATION OF DATA AND FURTHER ANALYSIS

6.1. Having tabulated the responses in tables as done in the preceding chapter, chapter 5 now presents a discussion of the results as obtained and also further analysis. In order to do so, we shall treat each question based on the research hypotheses as well as on the following basis:

- i) Are our findings consistent with existing knowledge and view?
Are they different and in what way?
- ii) Any new findings in the cause of investigation?
- iii) Proof of hypotheses based on collated data.

6.2 THE CHI-SQUARE STATISTICS

As stated in chapter three of this research the chi-square statistics is being used to further test the collated percentages. The chi-square according to Osuala (1993) is denoted by the Greek Letter X^2 it is frequently used in testing hypotheses concerning the difference between a set of observed frequencies of a sample and corresponding set of expected frequencies. The chi-square statistics is a sample statistics and it is computed as follows:

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O-E)^2}{E}$$

Where: O = Observed frequency

E = Expected frequency

In the course of testing hypothesis or set of hypotheses via the chi-square method, some Degrees of Freedom (Df) were determined. The chi-square test can be used to determine whether a set of theoretical or expected frequencies such as frequencies obtained from normal or binomial distribution or from other rational uniform or ideal methods fits a corresponding set of observed frequencies of a sample.

The number of degrees of freedom for this type of test can be obtained as follows:

$$Df = g - u$$

Where DF = degree of freedom

g = The number of groups, classes or components of the observed or expected frequencies in a sample.

u = The number of known constant values which are used as constraints for finding the expected frequencies, of the sample.

6.3 PROOF OF HYPOTHESES

6.3.1 **HYPOTHESIS ONE:** This hypothesis states thus:

Ho: The various poverty alleviation programmes of government have not positively impacted on the people.

Hi: The various poverty alleviation programmes of government have positively impacted on the people:

To test this hypothesis, we shall construct a contingency table based on questions 8 and 19 from the questionnaire and table 4.16 and table 4.17

CONTINGENCY TABLE

S/NO	Options	Questions		Total
		4.16	4.17	
1.	Strongly disagree	237 1)	150 4)	387
2.	Strongly Agree	480 2)	501 5)	981
3.	Undecided	0 3)	66 6)	66
4	Total	717	717	1434

To calculate the expected frequency for each cell, we will multiply the row total by the column total for the cell and divide the product by the grand total

$$\text{Thus for Cell 1: } \frac{387 \times 717}{1434} = 193.5$$

$$\text{Cell 2: } \frac{981 \times 717}{1434} = 490.5$$

$$\text{Cell 3: } \frac{66 \times 717}{1434} = 33$$

$$\text{Cell 4: } \frac{387 \times 717}{1434} = 193.5$$

$$\text{Cell 5: } \frac{981 \times 717}{1434} = 490.5$$

$$\text{Cell 6: } \frac{66 \times 717}{1434} = 33$$

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O-E)^2}{E}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(237 - 193.5)^2}{193.5} + \frac{(150 - 193.5)^2}{193.5} + \frac{(480 - 490.5)^2}{490.5}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(501 - 490.5)^2}{490.5} + \frac{(0 - 33)^2}{33} + \frac{(66 - 33)^2}{33}$$

$$\frac{1892.25}{193.5} + \frac{1892.2}{193.5} + \frac{110.25}{490.5} + \frac{110.25}{490.5} + \frac{1089}{33} + \frac{1089}{33}$$

$$= 9.78 + 9.78 + 0.22 + 0.22 + 33 + 33$$

$$= 86.$$

There are three rows and two columns in our contingency table. To determine our degree of freedom (df), the following is computed:

$$(df) = (c - 2) (r - 1)$$

$$df = (2-1) (3-1)$$

$$df = 1 \times 2 = 2$$

$$df = \underline{2}$$

P = 0.05 (5%) level of significance. Checking DF of 2 under 0.05 level of significance it gives you 5.991

Therefore $86 > 5.99$

Based on these calculations, we therefore accept the null hypothesis that says that various poverty alleviation programmes of government have not positively impacted on the people and so, reject the alternate hypothesis. In chi-square statistics, if the calculated value is less than the critical value you will then reject the null hypothesis and accept if it is greater than the table (critical).

From our calculations the calculated X^2 value (86) is greater than the X^2 table value (5.991) under the 0.05 level of significance hence the acceptance of the null hypothesis. Curious look at the various poverty measures that the government had evolved over the years, beginning from Obasanjo's Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) of the 1970s, Shagari's Green Revolution Programme, Buhari's Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRFRI) non of these programmes have actually addressed the real issues or impacted on the people, due to lack of sincerity, transparency and the lack of

the political will by the policy makers to translate their vision into action. This phenomenon has significantly and negatively affected the impact of the programmes on the people.

6.3.2 HYPOTHESIS TWO

Ho: The socio-economic condition in the country is not conducive for sustainable national development.

Hi: The socio-economic condition in the country is conducive for sustainable national development.

To test this hypothesis, we shall construct a contingency table based on questions 19 and 20 from the questionnaire and table 4.17 and table 4.18.

CONTINGENCY TABLE

S/NO	Options	Questions		Total
		4.16	4.17	
1.	Strongly disagree	150 1)	280 4)	430
2.	Strongly Agree	501 2)	430 5)	931
3.	Undecided	66 3)	7 6)	73
4	Total	717	717	1434

To calculate the expected frequency for each cell; we will multiply the row total by the column total for the cell and divide the product by the grand total.

Thus for Cell 1: $\frac{430 \times 717}{1434} = 215$

Cell 2: $= \frac{931 \times 717}{1434} = 465.5$

Cell 3: $= \frac{73 \times 717}{1434} = 36.5$

Cell 4: $= \frac{430 \times 717}{1434} = 215$

Cell 5: $= \frac{931 \times 717}{1434} = 465.5$

Cell 6: $= \frac{73 \times 717}{1434} = 36.5$

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O-E)^2}{E}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(150 - 215)^2}{215} + \frac{(280 - 215)^2}{215} + \frac{(501 - 465.5)^2}{465.5}$$

$$+ = \frac{(430 - 465.5)^2}{465.5} + \frac{(66 - 36.5)^2}{36.5} + \frac{(7 - 36.5)^2}{36.5}$$

$$= \frac{4225}{215} + \frac{4225}{215} + \frac{1260.25}{465.5} + \frac{1260.25}{465.5} + \frac{870.25}{36.5} + \frac{870.25}{36.5}$$

$$X^2 = 19.65 + 19.65 + 2.71 + 2.71 + 23.84 + 23.84 = 92.4$$

Therefore $92 > 5.99$

Based on the obtained value, we therefore accept the null hypothesis that say the socio-economic condition in the country is not conducive for sustainable national development and reject the alternate hypothesis. Looking at the socio-economic condition in the country today, we all agree that the country is today confronted with mass unemployment, low GDP and social vices of unprecedented dimension. This has significantly retarded national growth and development. For instance, there is today, a threat to national security arising from some Islamic fundamentalists in the far North of the country. This group of bandits often attack Christians at will and in most cases, with massive destruction of lives and properties.

There are also the issues of ethnic conflict, youth restiveness across the country, this has often scared foreign investors, which in turn retard development and lead to poverty in the land.

6.3.3 HYPOTHESIS THREE

Ho: Most public policies targeted at poverty alleviation in Nigeria do not address the actual needs of the rural populace.

Hi: Most public policies targeted at poverty alleviation in Nigeria do address the actual needs of the rural populace.

To test this hypothesis, we shall construct a contingency table based on questions 21 and 23 from the questionnaire and table 4.19 and table 4.21.

CONTINGENCY TABLE

S/NO	Options	Questions		Total
		4.19	4.21	
1.	Strongly disagree	98 1)	200 4)	298
2.	Strongly Agree	580 2)	418 5)	998
3.	Undecided	39 3)	99 6)	138
4	Total	717	717	1434

To calculate the expected frequency for each cell, we will multiply the row total by the column total for the cell and divide the product by the grand total.

Thus for Cell 1: $\frac{298 \times 717}{1434} = 149$

Cell 2: $\frac{998 \times 717}{1434} = 499$

Cell 3: $\frac{138 \times 717}{1434} = 69$

$$\text{Cell 4: } \frac{298 \times 717}{1434} = 149$$

$$\text{Cell 5: } \frac{998 \times 717}{1434} = 499$$

$$\text{Cell 6: } \frac{138 \times 717}{1434} = 69$$

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O-E)^2}{E}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(98 - 149)^2}{149} + \frac{(200 - 149)^2}{149} + \frac{(580 - 499)^2}{499}$$

$$+ \frac{(418 - 499)^2}{499} + \frac{(39 - 69)^2}{69} + \frac{(99 - 69)^2}{69}$$

$$- \frac{2601}{215} + \frac{2601}{215} + \frac{6561}{499} + \frac{6561}{499} + \frac{900}{69} + \frac{900}{69}$$

$$X^2 = 17.46 + 17.46 + 13.15 + 13.15 + 13.04 + 13.04 = 87.3$$

Therefore $87.3 > 5.991$

We therefore, accept the null hypothesis, which says, most public policies targeted at poverty alleviation in Nigeria do not address the actual needs of the rural populace. The government seems to have politicised poverty alleviation in the country. This is because the programs have been hijacked for political victimisation and settling of political loyalists. It appears only followers of some political parties do enjoy the benefits of the programme, rather than the actual groups that need those facilities. For

example the distribution, which often inputs i.e. fertilizers, farming implements etc, are being done on party membership basis.

Members of the opposition parties do not benefit from such facilities. The phenomenon has therefore, defeated the goals and objectives of poverty alleviation, which include: mass employment, through skills acquisition, provision of soft loans etc, to the citizenry but for which it has been hijacked for political expediency.

Some government policies/measures aimed at poverty alleviation that was misplaced:

- i) National Directorate of Employment (NDE)
- ii) Directorate for Food Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI)
- iii) National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP)
- iv) People's Bank of Nigeria (PBN)

It can be honestly said, that these packages put in place by the government were hijacked and appear misplaced in the first place. Instead of the government creating jobs through industrialisation of the country especially the rural areas, the government embarked upon creating these *ad hoc* agencies, which became avenues for squandering public funds, most of which were never accountable. Just as it was said from the foregoing, these policies or measures do not actually address the real issues hence the

inconsistency in the implementation and adoption of new acronyms and nomenclature, whenever a new government comes on board. This is but to say the least.

6.3.4 HYPOTHESIS FOUR

Ho: The non-implementation of poverty alleviation programmes by successive governments has not positively impacted on the people.

Hi: The non-implementation of poverty alleviation programmes by successive governments has positively impacted on the people.

To test this hypothesis, we shall construct a contingency table based on questions 19 and 20 from the questionnaire and table 4.17 and table 4.19

CONTINGENCY TABLE

S/NO	Options	Questions		Total
		4.17	4.19	
1.	Strongly disagree	150 1)	98 4)	248
2.	Strongly Agree	501 2)	580 5)	1081
3.	Undecided	66 3)	39 6)	105
4	Total	717	717	1434

To calculate the expected frequency for each cell, we will multiply the row total by the column total for the cell and divide the product by the grand total.

$$\text{Thus for Cell 1: } \frac{248 \times 717}{1434} = 124$$

$$\text{Cell 2: } \frac{1081 \times 717}{1434} = 540.5$$

$$\text{Cell 3: } \frac{105 \times 717}{1434} = 52.5$$

$$\text{Cell 4: } \frac{248 \times 717}{1434} = 124$$

$$\text{Cell 5: } \frac{1081 \times 717}{1434} = 540.5$$

$$\text{Cell 6: } \frac{105 \times 717}{1434} = 52.5$$

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O-E)^2}{E}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(150 - 124)^2}{124} + \frac{(98 - 124)^2}{124} + \frac{(501 - 540.5)^2}{540.5}$$

$$+ \frac{(580 - 540.5)^2}{540.5} + \frac{(66 - 52.5)^2}{52.5} + \frac{(39 - 52.5)^2}{52.5}$$

$$- \frac{676}{124} + \frac{676}{124} + \frac{1560.25}{540.5} + \frac{1560.25}{540.5} + \frac{182.25}{52.5} + \frac{182.25}{52.5}$$

$$X^2 = 5.45 + 5.45 + 2.89 + 2.89 + 3.47 + 3.47 = 23.62$$

Therefore $23.62 > 5.991$

From the X^2 calculation, the obtained value i.e. 23.62 is greater than the table (critical) value. Based on the obtained value, we therefore accept the null hypothesis, which says the non-implementation of poverty alleviation programmes by successive governments, has not positively impacted on the people and therefore, reject the alternative hypothesis. There have been several attempts to institutionalise poverty alleviation programmes by the government.

The Obasanjo's regime of 1976 – 1979 introduced the Operation Feed the Nation (OFN). The Green Revolution Programme followed this by the Shagari's government. The military government of Buhari/Idiagbon introduced the Back to Land programme. When that government was overthrown by the Babangida regime, the military government introduced the Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI). The second coming of Obasanjo as civilian president, introduced the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP).

It is disheartening to note however that, noble as these efforts at poverty eradication and alleviation were, the government never seemed to have exerted the strong political will and determination to really execute these

programmes, as these programs have been hijacked for political settlement of hangers-on.

6.3.5 HYPOTHESIS FIVE

Ho: The upsurge of social vices in the country may not be as a result of the prevailing poverty.

Hi: The upsurge of social vices in the country may be as a result of the prevailing poverty.

To test this hypothesis, we shall construct a contingency table based on questionnaire and data from table 4.11 and table 4.20

CONTINGENCY TABLE

S/NO	Options	Questions		Total
		4.11	4.20	
1.	Strongly disagree	430 1)	280 4)	710
2.	Strongly Agree	287 2)	430 5)	717
3.	Undecided	0 3)	7 6)	7
4	Total	717	717	1434

To calculate the expected frequency for each cell, we will multiply the row total by the column total for the cell and divide the product by the grand total.

$$\text{Thus for Cell 1: } \frac{710 \times 717}{1434} = 355$$

$$\text{Cell 2: } \frac{717 \times 717}{1434} = 358.5$$

$$\text{Cell 3: } \frac{7 \times 717}{1434} = 3.5$$

$$\text{Cell 4: } \frac{710 \times 717}{1434} = 355$$

$$\text{Cell 5: } \frac{717 \times 717}{1434} = 358.5$$

$$\text{Cell 6: } \frac{7 \times 717}{1434} = 3.5$$

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O-E)^2}{E}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(430 - 358)^2}{355} + \frac{(280 - 355)^2}{355} + \frac{(287 - 258.5)^2}{358.5}$$

$$+ \frac{(430 - 358.5)^2}{358.5} + \frac{(0 - 3.5)^2}{3.5} + \frac{(7 - 3.5)^2}{3.5}$$

$$= \frac{5625}{355} + \frac{5625}{355} + \frac{51122.25}{358.5} + \frac{5112.25}{358.5} + \frac{12.25}{3.5} + \frac{12.25}{3.5}$$

$$X^2 = 15.85 + 15.85 + 14.26 + 14.26 + 8.75 + 8.75 = 77.72$$

Therefore $77.72 > 5.991$

From the X^2 calculation, the obtained value i.e. 77.72 is far greater than the table value. Based on this obtained value, we therefore accept the null hypothesis that says the upsurge in social vices in the country may not be as a result of the prevailing poverty in the country and therefore, reject the alternative hypothesis. It is a fact that poverty may lead to some societal vices like prostitution etc. However, armed robbery, ritual killings, drug trafficking, cultism etc. may not necessarily be as a result of poverty. Some of these social vices may be as a result of greed, insatiable quest for materialism and so forth. It is the contention of this researcher that the government should provide the enabling environment by empowering the people through industrialization and gainful employment, to stem the tide of the aforementioned ills brought about by poverty.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.1. This research study examined the fundamental problems of poverty and development in Nigeria beginning from the early 1970s to the present day. Attempts have been made to show that past and existing strategies have not adequately addressed the issues of poverty alleviation and development in Nigeria.

Poverty alleviation is about how to reverse the poverty causing processes. Consequently, poverty alleviation programmes ought to be specific. The study analysed the remote and immediate causes of poverty in Nigeria and argues that poverty in Nigeria is prevalent and endemic. The causes identified include: lack of employment, inadequate access to such assets as land and capital, minimal access by the poor to credit facilities, lack of participation by the poor, failure to draw the poor into the design of development programmes and large scale corruption.

The study also revealed that although poverty alleviation initiatives have relatively impacted positively on the lives of the people especially the poor, such impact has been marginal and has not led to the overall reduction or the elimination of poverty thus bringing about development in Nigeria.

7.2 SPECIFIC FINDINGS

The findings of this study show that:

- 1) The various poverty alleviation programmes of government e.g. OFN, DFRRI, PBN, NIPE, FEAP, NAPEP etc have not positively impacted on the people.
- 2) 2) The socio-economic conditions in the country are not conducive for sustainable national development. The country today is faced with threats to national security, and corporate existence arising from the activities of some interest groups, inter-ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts, resource control and youth restiveness; all have potential to destabilize the country and scare away foreign investment in the country and resultant poverty that follows.
- 3) Most public policies targeted at poverty alleviation in the country do not actually address the needs of the people, especially the rural populace. This is evident in the manipulation and diversion of funds to family members and political loyalists. The programmes are also characterised by lack of honesty, accountability and fairness etc.
- 4) The non-implementation of poverty alleviation programmes by successive governments has negatively affected the populace. This is evident especially during changes of governments, hence the various acronyms and nomenclatures given to these poverty

alleviation palliatives e.g. NDE, DFRRI, OFN, FEAP and NAPEP etc.

- 5) The upsurge of social vices in the country is as a result of the prevailing poverty in the country. There is mass unemployment, very low GDP, absence of basic infrastructures, poor health care system, and poor educational management, lack of access to capital amongst others.

7.3. THE IMPERATIVE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT AS A PANACEA FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION

For any meaningful development it is important to note that poverty in Nigeria is overwhelmingly a rural problem. In 1985, 86.6 percent of those living below the poverty line were in the agricultural or rural sector. This figure had dropped to 60 percent in 1992. But of the total population of poor people in 1992, 10 million of them were extremely poor out of which 85% were living in the rural areas (Okunmadewa, 1996).

Not only are income levels much lower in the rural areas, one finds that incidence of malnutrition, infant mortality and illiteracy is much higher than in the urban centres. In fact what compounds rural poverty is the lack of access to basic social amenities and infrastructures such as potable water, electricity, modern health facilities, good schools, road and communication facilities.

The worsening levels of productivity and poverty in the rural areas directly threaten the average Nigerian. In a predominantly agrarian and

poverty – stricken country such as Nigeria, rural development is not only a logical imperative but also a basic precondition for sustained national development and poverty reduction. The history of economic development in Europe and other parts of the world indicates quite clearly that industrial development was preceded by and dependent upon, a successful transformation of the agricultural or rural sector. It was the transformation of agriculture along modern productive lines, which provides the foundation for the take-off of industrial development (Staaaz and Eicher 1984). In other words, agriculture was the leading sector of their economies.

As Lipton (1977:23) has argued, “developed mass agriculture is normally needed before you can have widespread successful development in other sectors.” Successful industrialisation and poverty alleviation depends upon a viable transformation rural base to supply the urban areas with food and raw materials for their industries to generate the kind of increased income that would stimulate domestic markets, and to generate the initial capital required for financing industrial take off. Without reduction, rapid industrial development would be “doomed to self strangulation” (Lipton 1977).

Rural development can be defined as the process of bringing about enduring changes or improvements in the structure of the rural sector such that productivity and output are greatly increased, the technology and techniques

of production are radically revolutionized and the living standard of the people, especially of the rural poor, are significantly enhanced. Rural development as defined here connotes:

i) Improvements in the material welfare of the rural population as seen in the availability of those basic goods and services required for the sustenance of a decent life.

ii) A substantial reduction of mass poverty and its correlates of illiteracy, high mortality and starvation.

iii) The provision of production employment of the working age population.

iv) The enhancement of people's access to those productive resources, social services and infrastructure which would increase their productivity and ability to provide for themselves.

v) The increased participation of the people in the political and economic decisions affecting their everyday lives and the future of their society.

Rural development thus encompasses radical improvement in the total gamut of agrarian social relations, especially those relationships governing land tenure, access to land technology, labour, physical infrastructures, access to inputs and services and political organisation of society. The central

objectives revolve around the productivity, welfare and quality of life of the rural producers.

The principal aim of rural development should not revolve narrowly around the achievement of significant increase in the output of food and other services required for sustaining the national economy. It should, first and foremost, focus on significantly improving the benefit, which the rural producer derives from his present output. How can we ensure that the producer derives maximum benefit from his present yield such that he feels he is motivated to expand and revolutionize his production?

What is largely responsible for the stagnation and decline of rural production as well as the increasing rate of rural poverty in Nigeria revolves around the fact that the misery of the peasant producers has, over the years, tended to increase as their export output and general productivity have gone up. This is because of exploitation burden imposed on the rural producers via taxes, marketing board surpluses, the extortion of middlemen and money lenders, negative and declining terms of trade, over-valued currencies, retrogressive state policies and other unfavourable mechanisms of surplus extraction.

The exploitation framework has helped to undermine the productive base of the peasant, thus rendered him poorer and poorer even when his

output expands. This is why the peasants find it difficult to sustain even the levels of output, which they had attained in the 1940s, and 50s, and 60s, with a far more primitive technology than what is currently available. Poverty can only be the inevitable lot of any producer caught up in the web of such an unfavourable climate.

7.4. ECONOMIC RECOVERY MEASURES AND THE RURAL SECTOR

Oleru (1984) identified some of the causes of recession in the Nigerian economy in the 1980s, which includes among others:

- ii) The over-dependence of the economy on oil as the major source of government revenue and foreign exchange.
- iii) The deteriorating in the international oil market, which adversely affected both quality of oil exports from Nigeria and oil prices and led to drastic reductions in government revenue and foreign exchange earnings.
- iv) The high propensity of Nigeria to import
- v) The nature of the manufacturing industries most of which are dependent on foreign technology and imported raw materials.

vi) The unhealthy attitude of many Nigerians to acquire cheap money from the oil boom leading to massive rural – urban migration and neglect of agriculture and

vii) Faulty planning and gross mismanagement of Nigerian's resources.

The first step to revamp the ailing economy was taken in April 1982 with the formulation of the president Shehu Shagari austerity measures. The measures adopted by Government can be conveniently grouped into four major categories. These are (i) fiscal (ii) monetary and credit measures (iii) foreign exchange control measure and (iv) direct measures brought in additional problems specifically, it has been observed that the austerity measures have led directly or indirectly to:

i) The closing down of many factories and retrenchment of their workers.

ii) Scarcity of consumer's goods and concomitant rise in black marketing and exploitation.

iii) High inflation rate in the country.

iv) A gloomy business climate.

v) Of course, all these had direct negative effects on almost all social sectors in Nigeria, particularly, the rural. People who had little or nothing.

The rural population were at all the times at the receiving end of the

hardships. Oleru observes that owing to the large scale suffering resulting from the austerity measures, many Nigerians became highly sceptical about the policy. They argued that after all, the objectives of all development plans are the improvement of the welfare of the people.

Therefore, any policy that tends to reduce their social welfare is not in the best interest of the people. The same explanation applies to other governments' economic recovery policies such as Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the ongoing commercialisation and privatisation exercise. Umar (1989) observed that in 1986, the Federal Military Government introduced the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), with the following as some of its major objectives: (a) to reduce the dominance of unproductive investments in the public sector (b) to rationalize public sector enterprises (c) to reduce complex administrative controls (d) to encourage greater reliance to market forces and (e) to restructure the reliance on the petroleum sector. It is important to point out that though many people particularly Government officials have attempted to document the successes of SAP, there seems to be a consensus that SAP has caused untold hardship to all Nigerian's particularly the low income earners in this country.

To show the people's dislike for SAP, there were many riots and protests, which took place in many parts of the country during the period.

General Babangida's government reacted by issuing out SAP relief measure which are targeted mainly at the urban working class but less so far the poor rural people. The rural farmers were affected in a number of ways. For instance prices of agricultural commodities were not commensurate with the cost or production. Similarly, fertilizer became very scarce and costly too. In addition, pest and diseases in many instances drastically reduced agricultural production. One would have therefore, expected that some pragmatic efforts should have been made to alleviate the problems of the rural people.

In case of privatisation and commercialisation, programmes include:

- i) To restructure and rationalize the public sectors in order to lessen the dominance of unproductive in the sector.
- ii) To re – orientate the enterprises from privatisation and commercialisation towards a new horizon of performance improvements, viability and overall efficiency.
- iii) To ensure positive returns on public sectors investments in commercialisation enterprises.
- iv) To check the present high dependence on the treasury by otherwise commercially oriented parastatal and so encouraged their approach to the Nigerian capital market.

v) To initiate the process of gradual cession of the private sector of such public enterprises, which by their nature and type of operations are best, performed by the private sector.

vi) To promote wider shares ownership in private enterprises.

To ensure active participation by all classes of Nigerians, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) in its monetary policy circular No.23 (Amendment No1 of 18th January, 1989) directed all banks to grant credit facilities to Nigerians who may wish to borrow to enable them purchase the shares of privatised companies in privatised enterprises are generally guided by the government policy of wide geographical spread of ownership.

Laudable as the objectives of privatisation and commercialisation exercise might sound, one can rightly say that the main benefits went to the urban sector and the ignorant rural people who do not know how to go about buying shares. In addition of course when the whole exercise fails, it is still the same rural people who will be at the receiving end. They will pay for the problems, which they had no hands in or were not their making.

7.5 THE WAY OUT OF THE CONTRADICTIONS

In Nigeria today, there is an urgent need to review the mode of execution of all rural development programmes. The approach to rural

development programmes from the top needs to be revised. It is not very true that, the rural people do not know what they want. They should, therefore, be involved in all the programmes.

Vigorous analysis, evaluations and re-evaluation are needed for all rural development programmes. The issue of taking the rural people's interest, as the last in our analysis should be reversed. We ought to foresee the effects of every action of the government, particularly such economic measures like Austerity measures, SAP and commercialisation exercise from the point of view of the rural populace. Most importantly, there is the need for the re-definition of the word "rural development". What exactly do governments mean by these two words? What are the principles and strategies involved in rural development? What exactly do we want to achieve by developing the rural areas? To be more precise, rural development is for what purpose? Is it a sustaining programme to the rural people? Such pertinent questions beg for urgent answers.

Waterson's (1965:293) often quoted remarks that "there have been many more failure than in the implementation of development plans" is often interoperated an authoritative indictment of the idea of planning and can also be paraphrased to replicate the history of rural development in Nigeria.

Perhaps it was against this background of government failures that Palmer and Parson (1983), William (1971) have all argued, conclusively that rural development programmes in Africa in general have tended to perpetuate rather than alleviate poverty. This is an unfortunate situation because the crux of the rural problems is the issue of rural poverty. In addition, for rural development to make any meaningful contribution, it must alleviate poverty.

That, instead of most of these rural development packages of the government, multinational and organizations to alleviate poverty; they rather create more poverty than solutions.

7.6. PROSPECTS FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN NIGERIA

The outcomes of demographic studies in poverty and the attempts at poverty reduction through various government initiatives and interventions indicate that successful poverty reduction strategy in Nigeria will require strong and focused emphasis on economic growth, access to social services and infrastructure and targeting the rural dwellers.

7.6.1. Economic Growth:

To gradually reduce poverty amongst the Nigerian citizenry, economic growth must be rapid, broad – based and employment generating. To generate such growth, certain sectors or sub-sectors of the national life would be given the deserved attention. These sectors are employment, finance,

infrastructure and human resources development in general. The government may maximize its position by focusing its efforts on the policy aspects of improving the welfare of its human resources. In addition, it can rely more on the informal and private sectors to increase capital investments. This strategy, if adopted, has the potential to generate wealth, create employment, and enhance the skill of the people. The measures therefore, would improve self-reliance and turn the economy around.

7.6.2. Access to Social Services and Infrastructure:

Sustained long-term growth depends critically upon increasing the access of poor people to qualitative social service and essential infrastructure. This would enable the poor people to increase their annual capital and make full use of their main assets, namely their labour. The main priorities are health, education, water supplies and sanitation, rural roads and urban transport. This requires an increase in funding in order to expand the number of available facilities and to improve the service at each facility. For example, increasing the supply of and providing access to potable water is an important poverty reducer, this is not only because of the health benefits but also many household members spend time seeking good water when they could engage in other gainful activities.

Affordable and timely mass transportation is important in the urban context and the opening of rural roads will provide people with access to jobs and to markets. So, access could be made sustainable through community participation, in the development and maintenance of infrastructure and provision of services. Thus, it is only by the participation of the poor in the projects that concern them, that such projects could succeed and their survival guaranteed.

7.6.3. Environmental Management Strategies:

Housing: Housing strategy aims at redressing the situation of inadequate and poor housing, which is the scourge of the poor. The main objective would be to provide stable and healthy shelter for the poor. This could be achieved by using appropriate technology such as local building materials. Furthermore, to accelerate the process of housing production a review of the land use decree is necessary. This is to ensure that land allocation and use promote mass housing.

7.6.4 Waste to wealth programme: The waste to wealth programme would involve the turning of urban waste such as industrial, commercial and household waste into useful products. The objective of the strategy includes the disposal of wastes, thereby preventing its hazardous accumulation. Furthermore, the programme will create employment opportunities, thus

generating income and wealth. So the waste to wealth strategy if properly handled, would improve the wealth of the people and create job opportunities, which will alleviate poverty.

7.6.5 Political strategies: Political mobilization and sensitisation in the present context involves the relationship between the government and the poor. Both elements involve no power relationships; the empowerment of the poor implies loss to entrenched power holders. The issue that will arise therefore is how best to manage the transition as well as the new relationship of the political awareness of the people through formal and informal local organization.

- a) Promotion of self-help and self-reliance among the poor and ensuring that local elites do not become obstacles to popular participation by the masses especially the poor.
- b) The provision of adequate legislation that would enhance grassroots politically aware grassroots would use their political power wisely to ensure good governance. Thus avoiding situations in which some politicians will use money to buy votes.

7.6.6. Empowerment of Women: Closely tied to mass political participation and empowerment of the people is the related issues of empowerment of the

women folk. So more as to attention could be focused on the education of women; so as to achieve this gender consideration could be used in fixing admission into educational institutions, including universities could be encouraged. Furthermore, religious, cultural and well-being of the women education and empowerment of women will reduce poverty amongst the female folks.

7.6.7. Policy Options: Several demographic studies carried out on poverty had revealed the serious level of poverty in the country. The Nigerian Government has made many attempts at reducing poverty through various government initiatives and intervention programmes. However, most of these government programmes could not make the desired impact on the target populace. With Nigeria's abundant human and material resources, there is no excuse for the level and severity of poverty observed. Therefore, there is need to adopt a suitable policy to achieve the desired results:

7.6.8. Option 1: Provision of employment:

Employment is a system whereby jobs are made available to a grater number of citizenry. In the year 2000, the Federal; government introduced the Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP) that was later changed to Poverty Eradication Programme (PEP). The programme was meant to employ about

3,5000 youths in all the Local government Areas in the country on a salary of 3,000 per month for one year.

However, unemployment remains one of the contextual issues in this country because it is a stopgap measure and therefore, it demands urgent and resolute action. Employment could be achieved by laying emphasis on the informal sector, creating small-scale projects and guided self-initiatives. The government could therefore evolve and pursue policies that would stand the test of time. The main actors providing employment are the Federal, State and Local Governments. Therefore, employment is capable of alleviating poverty as more jobs would be made available and the poor would be meaning fully and productively employed. The informal sectors both in the public and private institutions, businesses, etc must be exploited in order to generate more employment.

7.6.9. Advantages: Employment would enhance the socio-economic well being of the citizenry thereby minimizing poverty, which would in turn reduce crime rates due to joblessness. Additionally, it would reduce the rural-urban drift and its attendant consequences such as political and social unrest.

7.6.10. Disadvantage: Some Government employment policies such as PAP and PEP could kill initiative, thus preventing youths from acquiring skills.

7.6.11.Option 2: Area Development

Area development is a government programme that attempts at raising the general standard of living in a mapped out geographical area. This is carried out through raising the total income in those areas by making investments in natural resources or physical capital goods. This is often done regardless of market criteria. It is assumed that such investments in the particular environment would raise the incomes of poor people in the affected areas. The 3 tiers of government and private sector participation could undertake these. Such projects as the locating of cottage industries or farm settlements would provide employment and higher incomes to local population.

7.6.12. Advantages: This programme would ensure even development across the country. Additionally, it would open up rural areas and provide social amenities and infrastructure. So, it would improve the well being of the populace. It would provide employment, increase income receivables and ensure rural development, which would reduce poverty.

7.6.13. Disadvantages:

- a) It may fail if the patronage by the community is not encouraging
- b) It could lead to capital flight from viable developmental projects to welfare and could be mismanaged by government officials charged with the implementation.

7.6.14. Option 3: Human Development:

Some of the perceived priorities of the poor include provision of potable water, functional transport system and basic health care. For the human being especially the poor to realize his or her human potentials, such basic necessities of life must be guaranteed and provided for him.

7.6.15. Education: Education is a tool of enlightenment that could solve the provision of ignorance and could provide relevant skills, It has already been shown that poverty is greater influenced by lack of education. Therefore, the Nigerian government could design an educational programme that could take care of the poor in our society.

The main focus of such an education could be general education and vocational skills development., Also, scholarship could be provided for the children of the poor to further their education. Therefore, as a veritable tool of enlightenment education could remove ignorance and alleviate poverty.

7.6.16. Advantages: The advantage of this option is that, education can eradicate ignorance, prevent or alleviate poverty, equip the recipient with relevant and appropriate skills., Others are spirit of self-reliance encouraged participation in policy making and enable the poverty stricken groups to have access to educational facilities.

7.6.17 Disadvantages: The main disadvantage of rapid expansion in the educational system is lack of qualitative education as observed in most of the youths.

7.7. COMPARISON OF OPTIONS

The three options recommended are vital and necessary for poverty alleviation. However, option two has one advantage and two disadvantages, while option one has one advantage and disadvantage. But the advantage of option one outweighs the advantage of option 2. On the other hand, option 3 has one advantage, but a weak disadvantage. Therefore, option 3 is recommended for adoption.

7.8. OPTION ADOPTED

After a careful analysis and comparison of the 3 broad anti-poverty programmes, option 3, which is on human development, is recommended. This is because of its weak disadvantage and long-term prospects.

7.8.1. Summary:

Despite the abundant human and material resources available in Nigeria, majority of its citizens are extremely poor. The current estimate of

people who live below the poverty line is higher than what was obtainable before the discovery of oil in Nigeria. Historically, the Nigeria poverty situation could be traced to the colonial educational system, which was not designed to produce people with self-reliant skills.

The colonialists prepared the early-educated Nigerians for white-collar jobs. Therefore, poverty is on the increase in Nigeria and poverty trend could be traced to Nigeria's colonial history. The oil boom of 1971 to 1973 improved the welfare of Nigerians and poverty declined. Also, there was an economic growth from 1985 to 1992, which led to a significant reduction in the number of poor people. However, the decline incomes and welfare from 1993 to 1995 was due to the reversal of government policies, which increased the percentage of poor people. Therefore, modest economic growth on its own can reduce poverty, while the reversal of some government policies could aggravate poverty situations.

Certain factors are responsible for the steady increase in poverty within the county. These include, fluctuating oil prices, poor macroeconomics and sectoral policies and servicing of huge external debts by the Nigerian government. It is further compounded by Government's investments in unproductive ventures and large- scale corruption in the polity.

Consequently, the high standard of living experienced by Nigerians in the 70s declined in the 90s. This could be attributed to falling oil prices at the world market, servicing of external debts and large – scale corruption. Poverty is a human condition, which affects about 50 percent of Nigerians. It is characterized by hunger, unemployment, and lack of adequate shelter, clothing and self-esteem. It is also characterized by humiliation, hardship and the lack of a sense of dignity. This has led to the poor persons not to participate or influence the community in which they live. It is clear that both in urban and rural areas, the lower the level of education, the higher the chance of being poor. Also, the two extreme age brackets that is the elderly and the children are more prone to poverty; in view of being amongst the weak section of the society.

Additionally, there is a wide consensus that the incidence of poverty amongst women is very high and that they account for a greater population of the poor. So poverty is strongly influenced by educational background, age and gender. It is reported that 70 percent of Nigeria's poor and 95 percent of the extremely poor live in rural areas. Therefore, even those without assets who migrate from the rural areas to urban or semi-urban areas searching for work.

Furthermore, population growth also contributes to food shortages and rising unemployment; it increases pressure and social economic amenities, escalates poverty and leads to a declining quality of life. Therefore, poverty in Nigeria is overwhelmingly, a rural problem that is further aggravated by high population growth.

The Nigerian Government has appreciated the existence of poverty in the country and has taken measures to alleviate its negative effects on the

people. These measures include provision of health, education, housing, water sanitation and access roads. Others are in the area of direct credit delivery and some macro-economic policies directed at small-scale production. Therefore the Nigerian government has appreciated the poverty situation in the country and has established institutions to combat poverty.

Some of the factors militating against the smooth operations of government poverty alleviation programmes include lack of targeting mechanisms for the poor, frequent policy changes, which creates a climate of uncertainty. Furthermore, poor budgeting, mismanagement and bad government have affected those schemes.

7.9. CONCLUSION

Despite the abundant human and natural resources available in Nigeria, majority of its citizens are extremely poor. The current estimate of people who live below the poverty line is higher than what was obtainable before the discovery of oil in Nigeria. Historically, the Nigerian poverty situation could be traced to the colonial educational system. The colonialists prepared the early-educated Nigerians for white colour jobs.

Therefore, poverty is on the increase in Nigeria and poverty trend could be traced to Nigeria's colonial history. The oil boom of 1971 to 1973

improved the welfare of Nigerians and poverty declined. Also, there was an economic growth from 1985 to 1992, which led to a significant reduction in the number of poor people. However, the decline in incomes and welfare from 1993 was due to the reversal of government policies, which increased the percentage of poor people. Therefore, modest economic growth on its own can reduce poverty; while the reversal of government policies could aggravate poverty situations.

Certain factors are responsible for the steady increase in poverty within the country. These include: fluctuating oil prices in the international market, poor macroeconomics and sectoral policies and servicing of huge external debts by the Nigerian government. It is further compounded by government's investment in unproductive ventures and large-scale corruption in the polity. Consequently, the high standard of living experienced by Nigerians in the 70s declined in the 90s. This could be attributed to falling oil prices at the world market, as earlier on stated.

Poverty is a human condition, which affects about 70 percent of Nigerians. It is characterized by hunger, unemployment, and lack of adequate shelter, clothing and self-esteem. It is also characterized by humiliation, hardship and lack of a sense of dignity. This has led to the poor persons not to participate or influence the community in which they live. It is clear that both

in urban and rural areas, the lower the level of education, the higher the chance of being poor.

Also, in the two extremes of the society, there is a wide consensus that the incidence of poverty amongst women is very high and that they account for a great population of the poor. So, poverty is strongly influenced by educational background, age and gender. It is reported that 70 percent of Nigerians are poor and 95 percent of the extremely poor live in rural areas. Therefore, even the urban poverty is as a result of those without assets who migrate from the rural areas to urban or semi-urban areas searching for work. Furthermore, population growth also contributes to food shortages and rising unemployment. It increases pressure on social and economic amenities, escalates poverty and leads to a declining quality of life.

Therefore, poverty in Nigeria is overwhelmingly a rural problem that is further aggravated by high population growth. The Nigerian government has appreciated the existence of poverty in the country and has taken measures to alleviate its negative effects on the people. These measures include provision of health, education, housing, water, sanitation and access roads. Others are in the area of direct credit delivery and some macroeconomic policies directed at small-scale production

Therefore, the Nigerian government has appreciated the poverty situation in the country and has established institutions to combat poverty. Some of the factors militating against the smooth operations of government poverty alleviation programmes included lack of targeting mechanisms for the poor, frequent policy changes, which crates a climate of uncertainty. Furthermore, budgeting, management and government problems have affected these schemes. Also, fraudulent activities and mismanagement which result in wasting of resources and failure to achieve cost effective result.

A successful poverty alleviation programme would require a strong and focused emphasis on economic growth. This economic growth generates wealth and enhances the skill of the people. In addition, sustained long term growth depends critically on the participation of the poor in the project that concerns them; thereby ensuring the success and survival of such projects. Other programmes include the environmental management strategies, housing and waste to wealth programmes, political strategies and empowerment of women.

7.10. IMPLICATIONS

The position of this research work; that the poverty alleviation programmes of various governments of Nigeria since the 70s had not

positively impacted on the living conditions of Nigerians at both rural and urban areas; was informed by the overwhelming results obtained from field work and eventual analysis using statistical tools. Besides, all poverty indicators have continued to manifest with the living conditions of majority of Nigerians. And the implications of the researcher's position are that the poverty alleviation programmes had failed to achieve the objectives for which they were designed; Governments' huge budgetary expenditures on poverty alleviation programmes had not yielded commensurate results on the improvement of the living conditions of Nigerians, the poverty programmes may have suffered from poor project design, implementation, execution and evaluation. Besides, the apparent lack of involvement of stakeholders and beneficiaries especially at the design stages of poverty alleviation programmes may have affected the success of the programmes grossly. Therefore, poverty as a known scourge has continued to grow in size and complexity daily, while the approach by governments to arrest the situation had remained ad-hoc. As a result poverty had continued to pose a threat and undermine national security, hamper human development and formation of social capital, poses a serious threat to the nation's social solidarity and political stability, hampers economic growth, degrades the environment and thereby posing a more direct threat to life; with costs such as wastage of

public funds on poverty eradication which could have been available for other objectives, escalation of prostitution, worsening of HIV-AIDS pandemic and other major health problems, religious fanaticism and intolerance, etc.

7.11. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is the candid belief of the researcher, based on the foregoing study that:

- a) Government policy on poverty alleviation should follow a multi-sectoral approach where all the stakeholders are given specific roles to play.
- b) Government should determine how the intended beneficiaries are to be identified to ensure that the benefits reach them directly.
- c) Government should initiate a comprehensive method of sustaining the programmes over a specified period of time.
- d) The poor should be drawn into the design of programmes that affect them. Towards this, a Bottom → Top approach should be adopted in the conceptualisation and the design of poverty alleviation programmes.

- e) Governments poverty alleviation programmes should be backed by and supported with comprehensive public enlightenment programme at the rural areas, so as to draw the people massively to the programme.
- f) Poverty alleviation programmes should be packaged to cater for different vocations in different geographical zones. For instance, the riverine and arid areas should enjoy designed-to-type poverty alleviation programmes to enhance local people engaged in marine life and farming activities.
- g) Permanent Ministry of Poverty, Welfare and Rural Development should be created by all States in Nigeria, and be tasked with the welfare, poverty reduction and rural development. With this in place, there would be continuity in the programmes relating to poverty and rural development, instead of ad-hoc arrangements so far.
- h) All those likely to participate in any form of poverty programmes and rural development should undergo capacity building and ethical orientation training.
- i) The Federal, State and Local Governments should prescribe adequate and severe sanctions against anybody or group or corporate entity found to embezzle, misappropriate or undermine the resources provided for poverty programmes and rural development.

- j) Legislation on budgetary allocation of at least 40% of total budget or monthly revenue accruable to the States and Local Governments should be made mandatory, for poverty programmes and rural development in Nigeria.

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APPENDIX I

**ST. CLEMETS UNIVERSITY
TURKS AND CAICOS ISLAND,
BRITISH WEST INDIES**

August 19, 2004.

Dear Respondent

LETTER INTRODUCTION

I am a Post Graduate Student of Management of St Clements University, Turks and Caicos Island, British West Indies. I am conducting a research on “AN ASSESSMENT OF IMPACTS OF POVERTY REDUCTION PROGRAMMES IN NIGERIA AS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY, 1970-2005”. This Questionnaire is designed in order to elicit vital information for the study. The research is in partial fulfilment for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. To this end, your response and cooperation are required and any information given in this regard will be treated with strict confidence.

Thank you for your cooperation and valuable contribution towards the success of this research.

Yours faithfully,

Orji Iloabanafor Joseph

APPENDIX II

SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

Gender: Male Female

Age: _____

Education Qualifications _____

Occupation _____

Local Government Area _____

Senatorial District _____

Number of dependant's _____

SECTION B: GENERAL QUESTIONS

Read the following statement carefully and tick the response that corresponds with your opinion appropriately:

1. Are you aware of any poverty alleviation programme of government?

Yes No

Please list them, if yes _____

2. Does a Cooperative Association exist in your locality?

Yes No

3. How has your association contributed to government's poverty

alleviation policies?

Financial contribution

Provision of highbred seedlings

Provision of social amenities

Enlightenment programs

4. If your association did not make any contribution, what do you think went wrong?

Not consulted

Consulted

Consulted but not willing to contribute

5. If consulted but unwilling to contribute or participate what was / is the reason for the unwillingness to contribute?

6. Do you belong to any NGO?

Yes No

7. Has your NGO / Association been consulted to make input in government poverty alleviation policies? Yes No

8. How would you assess their participation?

Low

Very low

High

Very high

9. What do you think will reduce poverty in your community?

Education

Distributing Motorcycles to the youths

Giving out soft loans

Provision of social amenities to the rural areas.

10. How would you classify poverty alleviation programme in Nigeria?

Sectoral

Sub-Sectoral

Reliable

Commodity rural development

11. In your opinion, is poverty alleviation linked to crime / societal vices

in your community? o

If Yes, give example(s)

12. If no, what are the other consequences of poverty in your community?

13. Which among the poverty alleviation programme you listed in question 1, do you think has positively impacted on the people?

14. Which class in the society do you think the programme you mentioned in question 1 is or was targeted at:

Women

Youths

Petty traders

Rural farmers

Rural dwellers

Elites

Civil servants

Urban dwellers

None

All

15. How would you assess the participation of people in the programme?

Low

- Very low
- High
- Very high

16. What do you think has influenced or impeded people's participation in these programme?

- Illiteracy
- Lack of awareness
- Lack of transparency in its modus operandi
- Lack of incentives from government
- Bureaucratic bottlenecks

17. What do you think is / was the social objective that influenced the programme(s) you mentioned in question 1?

- To improve food production
- To create employment
- To reduce social unrest
- To improve vocational output / productivity
- Government social security obligation
- Government social objective not known

SECTION C: The following statements may refer to an opinion you hold concerning the poverty alleviation programmes of government and how these programmes have positively or negatively impacted on the masses of this country. Please read each statement and choose a response from the following scales that agrees or disagrees with your opinion about the programmes.

The scale ranges from 1-5, indicating the degree of disagreement or agreement with the statement, thus:

1 – 2 = Strongly disagree

3 = Neutral or undecided

4 – 5 = Strongly Agree

18. The various poverty alleviation programmes of the Government have not made any significant impact on the people	Strongly Disagree Agree 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
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19. Political instability, intolerance and inconsistency of government policies could be said to be some of the set backs that have hindered the efficacy of poverty alleviation programme of government in the country.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
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20. Sustainable National development is being hampered 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
by high poverty rate in the country.

21. Most public policies targeted at poverty alleviation 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
In Nigeria do not address the actual needs of the rural populace.

22. The upsurge of social vices in the country i.e. 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
Prostitution, armed robbery, ritual killings, 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
Child trafficking, etc are all a result of the high
poverty level in the country.

23. The participation of people in these programmes 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
Has been politicised and selective, for political
Loyalists only.