

**INAUGURAL LECTURE SERIES 313**

**DEVELOPMENT PATHWAYS,  
ZOMBIE ECONOMIC POLICIES  
AND POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES  
FOR NIGERIA.**

**By**

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# DEVELOPMENT PATHWAYS, ZOMBIE ECONOMIC POLICIES AND POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES FOR NIGERIA.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

MR Vice-Chancellor Sir, I give this inaugural Lecture to the glory of God and to the love of humanity, I cannot thank Him enough for His grace that has sustained me in my life for over forty years of sojourning in Ile-Ife and twenty eight years of lecturing in this great citadel of learning, and in particular for giving me the opportunity to deliver this lecture, the 8<sup>th</sup> in the history of Department of Economics. The main areas of my research in Development Economics are Development policies, Public Finance and Fiscal Policies, Agricultural Economics, Gender and Development.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, let me start the lecture from the premise of pedagogy. There are as many definitions of Economics as the number of economists we have. But the most popular one is that given by Lionel Robbins that: *Economics is the scientific study of human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses.* The fact is that every human being is an economist because in practice we all have limited resources or means whereas our needs and wants are limitless. This forces everyone to try to match what he/she has or can get against his/her diverse needs which keep on increasing daily.

The subject matter of Economics was best captured by Abraham Lincoln the 16<sup>th</sup> President of America and a very humorous man. According to a neighbour of Lincoln, Rowland Diller who narrated his experience titled "*what ailed the boys*", thus:

*I was called to the door one day by the cries of children in the street and there was Mr. Lincoln striding by, with two of his boys both of whom were wailing aloud. Why Mr. Lincoln, What is the matter with the boys? I asked. Just what is the matter with the*

*whole world, Lincoln replied I've got three walnuts (asala) and each of them wants two*

Ladies and gentlemen, in economic parlance we refer to this as scarcity which means “not enough”. Incidentally a significant proportion of the whole world is bedevilled by this problem as individuals, groups or nations and it is getting worse especially with the current crises. The ability of each nation to address the problem of scarcity satisfactorily has become the yardstick for grouping her as developed, developing or underdeveloped.

While countries of Europe, America, the Australia and the Asian Tigers who were at the same level with Nigeria less than half century ago are now classified as developed, African countries south of the Sahara constitute the poorest developing parts of the world and I am being euphemistic. Latin America, the Middle East, the Caribbean and some Asian Countries are also classified as developing but in all ramification these are far ahead of Africa!

### **1.1 Problems of Developing Economy:**

In the course of teaching Development Economics, I came about the fact that an American child eats sixteen times as much as an African child (Todaro 2003). This sets me thinking. No wonder while the average African/ Nigerian child presents a stunted growth and is hardly ever taller than six feet in rare cases, an American child presents a tall stature up to seven feet.

The African child eats the fingers and legs of chicken while the grown up eats the succulent parts. No eggs for the African child so that he/she may not start to steal. An American or European child eats at least an egg a day. These are still the practices in most areas of the continent despite the fact that our leaders have been travelling to the developed countries while they too (the developed) for whatever reasons religious, political or social have been visiting Africa for many decades!

At another level, any foreigner from a developed country visiting an African country for the first time, is likely to be shocked by the

scene facing him/her from the airport. The streets are dirty, the roads are rough or untarred, filled with potholes. Destitutes are all over the place even close to the disembarking halls! The lights are out, the water taps are dry and the human beings look hungry and depreciated with little or no hope of where the next meals will come from. A friend who lives in London described how she felt scared when she was to come to Nigeria for a Conference in the 1990s. She was told to change her pounds into naira notes and give to all who came close to her because, robbery was rampant.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen, these are some signs of underdevelopment. The questions we then want to ask are: What is development? Why do we desire it? Why are African countries not like European countries and the Americas? Why are rich, developed countries getting richer while our countries are getting poorer? Why are other countries in other continents of the world similar in characteristic of geography not as slow in response to policies as Africa or some Asian and Latin American countries? Are there certain inherent characteristics existing in the continent generally or Nigeria in particular that frustrate the achievement of development? Answers to these questions are more likely to be found in the nature of humankind and hence they are more amenable to inductive reasoning rather than theoretical deductive approach to economic modelling which cannot capture human behaviour explicitly. You may want to argue that there are stages of development, for example as recognized by Rostow in development theory (Rostow). As you would agree with me, there is no doubt that keeping too long on a stage dampens hope. The Yorubas say that when you stay too long while defecating, different flies will torment you. Remember that Nigeria and the current Asian Tigers were at the same stage in 1960s, but today they are far ahead of African countries south of the Sahara where Nigeria is a leader.

## 1.2 What is development and why do we desire it?

There are many definitions of development but all tend to agree that it signifies improvement in all areas of human life. Often, economic development is used as proxy for overall development.

For this lecture, permit me to adopt the World Bank definition of the phenomenon

***“Development refers to improving peoples’ lives through economic, social, political and technological change .It is a transformation that certainly requires nations to grow but it is also about reducing poverty and inequality ,building individual skills, having access to social services and raising the quality of life” Thus stated, economic growth is a component of development but depends on distributive policies, that is, how society deals with vested interest and social conflicts” (World Bank 2014).***

Development as a concept and as an area of study in Economics is relatively new because it was after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War that developing countries especially African leaders began to desire development having visited their colonial masters and having seen the remarkable differences between them (the developed) and their (African) countries especially in the area of availability of basic needs of food, shelter, clothing and their remarkably high standard of living as well as social interactions. For example, it was at such a time that an Emir was drinking cups upon cups of tea because he did not know that he should turn his cup upside down as socially required to signify his satisfaction after a few cups.

Development was at first equated with growth that is, increase in income. Hence once a country’s National Income or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was higher than another’s, it was assumed that such a country with higher GDP was more developed than the other one. This was a wrong assumption that made countries pursue growth up to the 1970’s. Interestingly, countries experiencing growth soon realized that it did not guarantee

development as a higher percentage of their population were still living in poverty. Other factors such as equitable distribution of income, poverty alleviation, gender equity, good health facilities among others which should have accompanied growth could not be guaranteed. Nigeria, the most populous African country and the largest Black Country in the world is one of the countries still bedevilled by the disadvantages of slow development and this had been realized by her leaders and followers for a long time. The social, political, economic and scientific methods by which development can be achieved remain a challenge to her.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, please permit me to highlight some of the characteristic features of developing countries as contained in Todaro (1995):

1. Low per capita income.
2. High population growth rate and high dependency ratio:
3. High rate of unemployment
4. Low productivity.
5. High population pressure.
6. Wrong choice of production techniques.
7. Deficient and inappropriate educational system.
8. Lack of or low level of investment
9. High incidence of poverty.

Other features of developing countries include unequal distribution of national income whereby majority of people, share only 20% of national income while only 5% of the population control over 60% of income. In relation to the developing countries, they rely very much on the transfer of private and foreign capital to them from the developed countries. Hence, the developed countries dominate the economies of developing countries. With these characteristics it is difficult for the developing countries not to be dependent on the developed ones. For they accept them (the developed) as their role models as Britain and America are Nigeria's role models.

It is also important for development to be sustained. That is, to keep improving or retained at the improved level. A pattern of development that permits future generation to live at least as well

as the current generation. For us in Nigeria, this has become a mirage. Take education, health, infrastructure like electricity, water and roads. There is no doubt that the past was better than now.

The question of why we want to develop is easy to comprehend. This is because human beings are rational, that is, we prefer good things to bad ones and development guarantees escape from poverty. Developed countries experience high level of good employment, good health, good infrastructures, good education for the citizens, safe environment, good and dependable security system. All these are lacking or poorly provided in the developing countries. For Nigeria, this has led to the migration of her citizens to the developed countries of Europe, America and Asia among others.

## **2. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION**

Two concepts are of prime of importance in this lecture, and they need some clarification. These are (i) Pathways to Development and (ii) Zombie Economic policies.

### ***2.1 Pathways to development.***

Pathways to development refer to the various approaches defined by certain ideologies, through which a country achieves development. Socialist ideologies for instance support the supremacy of the state over the market in providing economic and social goods and services. Capitalist countries on the other hand adopt laissez-faire stance and development through private ownership of factors of production.

The pathways to development are few and narrow (like the way to Biblical heaven) and all too often such factors as political, social, cultural, technological among others do constrain access and movement along the pathways. While some countries may be developing through export of their natural resources like minerals or agricultural commodities, others have developed by inviting foreign investment into different sectors of their economies especially in the extraction of mineral resources. This has tended to

inhibit industrialization, growth and development for a major reason that have been labelled “resource curse”, as appeared evident in Nigeria. This is because availability of crude oil has led to her over-dependence on crude oil to the utter neglect of other sectors like agriculture and manufacturing. The collapse of the oil market eventually has led to an increase in the level of poverty thereby inhibiting her in the pursuit of development in the real sense.

Some countries have relied on the openness to trade whereby they depend on net exports for growth and development. Imports have also played some useful roles in the development of some countries because they encourage technology transfer and contribute to technological catch up. This is made possible through large domestic investment financed by savings.

The attraction of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in production, Research and Development (R& D) have supplemented domestic investment and technology transfer through trade and indigenous efforts and have hastened industrialization and promoted exports. Trade Liberalization has eased the flow of capital, the circulation of skills and the sharing of information have stimulated economic performance. IT facilities and the internet have encouraged many productivity enhancing innovations and have become reliable development drivers.

## **2.2 *Zombie Economic Policies***

Zombie in everyday language refers to a person who seems only partly alive without any feeling or interest in what is happening around him/her. In some African religious stories, it refers to dead bodies that have been made alive by magic (*akudaya* in Yoruba language). Yet the military translates Zombie to mean obedience to superior order without questioning. In the context of economic policies, Zombie refers to the wholesale adoption of economic policies and theories propounded in western countries without necessary modification to suit our economy. These policies were introduced by the colonial masters, the Bretton Wood

Organisations, IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank and have in fact contributed to the crises of development in present day developing countries. Such questionable ideas and policies are still walking around like Zombie (Quiggin, 2010).

Zombie economics therefore explains the dependence of less developed countries on the developed ones in various aspects of international affairs such as foreign aid, private foreign investment and the transfer of technology. The dominance of developed countries over developing ones in economic aspects also extends to political (type of government), intellectual (education, health/science) technological, and cultural (unbridled appetite for western lifestyle) environments. The developing countries sometimes want to exercise some bargaining power on the developed countries especially when highly valued goods are involved. A good example of this is the oil sector where some oil producing countries in the developing countries formed an alliance named Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) through which they exerted some counter influence on the hegemony of developed countries in the area of trade relations. For example, this was utilized in 1974 and 1979 to jack up the price of crude oil to the advantage of member countries. However, in other areas of production, especially agricultural raw materials this influence is very minimal because in the sale of productions such as tea, coffee, rubber, cocoa etc., the developing countries have to depend on the developed ones for control and management since they themselves do not process the crops into finished consumable goods.

The developing countries are also handicapped by their technological, economic and institutional dependence on the developed countries. Unless these problems are solved, the developing countries may not be able to make progress. Perhaps it is now necessary for economists to use realistic rather than idealized models of individual behaviour given the spectacular failure of theories and policy approaches that were dominant for the past few decades.

### 3. DEVELOPMENT PATHWAYS: A REVIEW

At various times, the pathways to development in the developed world have been informed by some economic thoughts and theories. The developing countries including Nigeria have equally had to resort to these theories, applying them in one way or the other.

#### 3.1 *Application of Economic Thoughts*

The concern about development issues has grown with the study of economics. However studies of development economics started with the thoughts of the Mercantilists whose ideas became popular in Western European countries at the emergence of capitalism from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. For the Mercantilists, no state is powerful unless it has financial power which she uses in all her economic activities such as controlling businessmen and all institutions she sets up. They believed therefore that a state needs to be financially strong within and without to preserve her colonies. She should have dominance through the acquisition of financial power (*owo ni koko*). In this regard, a country should export much more than she imports so that she can have a positive balance. The Bullionists, another version of the Mercantilists, in fact believed that international trade is the pivot of development and that every state should guide the movement of the specie that is gold and silver in exchange for goods and services. They actually initiated the gold standard that was replaced by the Bretton wood agreement of July 1-July 22, 1944

In contrast, the physiocrats whose movement originated from France in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were economists who believed that the wealth of a nation and hence her development is hinged on land, that is agriculture. They believed that government should not interfere with the operation of natural economic laws in which land is the source of all wealth. Their most important contribution is that all must be engaged in production work and that agriculture alone could increase and multiply wealth. They also believed that it was only labour that is human efforts that could create wealth or add value. Francis Quesnay was a major contributor in this regard.

Up till today the physiocrats are still prominent in Southern France where agricultural production is very prominent. The current attention being paid to agriculture in Nigeria may have taken a cue from physiocratic thoughts.

A well-known economist whose ideas became popular in Europe from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was Joseph Alois Schumpeter. His theory centres on the role of innovation and entrepreneurship which he defined as the driver of development. An economy will always tend to move in a circle and get to a stationary state unless change is brought about in form of innovation and entrepreneurship. Innovation is different from managerial activity. A manager directs production under existing techniques while an entrepreneur directs the use of funds provided by the capitalist. Nigeria may also have been influenced by Schumpeter given the popular recommendation of entrepreneurship as the driver of development in the country.

Led by Adam Smith, the classical economists (also known as liberal economists) flourished in Britain in the late 18<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Adam and his co-theorists, David Ricardo, J. S Mill, Thomas Malthus and others propounded the theory of market economics as largely self-regulating and that the wealth of a nation was determined by the national income which was based on the labour of the inhabitants who were organized efficiently by the division of labour. For them there can be no unemployment since economies are self-regulating.

A very common necessary reasoning among these thinkers is the equation of the national wealth with development. These viewpoints dominated the activities and reasoning of many developing countries till the 1970s. The downturn of most economies and the great depression of the 1930s brought John Maynard Keynes' thinking on the economy of a nation into the lime light. He revolutionized the existing thinking that free markets would provide full employment, he argued that inadequate overall demand for goods and services could lead to unemployment. He

then came up with his aggregate demand function to show that increase in demand can come from any of the four components namely; consumption, investment, government expenditure and net exports. Hence the central argument is that government can stabilize an economy because during economic downturns like we have now, people's demand for goods like houses and cars will reduce, which in turn reduces investment spending. Government has to increase the output by investing in production to increase output. The import of Keynes argument is that changes in aggregate demand have effects on output and employment, including the business cycles: boom, depression, recession and recovery.

Keynes thoughts have dominated the study of macroeconomics in many developing nations for a long time but the conflict between his and the protagonists of free market, free trade cannot be overlooked. As a policy maker, he recommends government intervention to correct most macroeconomic distortions while free market, free trade say that government should take its hands off. How well each country/continent keys into these ideas or not is important in determining her development path.

### ***3.2 Application of Received Theories of Development***

The post-World War II theories of development as presented by Todaro (1995) derived from four major theories and sometimes conflicting areas of thought (1) The linear-stage of growth model which viewed the process of development as a series of successive stages of growth through which nations must pass to achieve development. For such theories, the right mix of savings, investment and foreign aid were all that was needed to enable developing countries proceed along the path which their developed colonial masters had followed.

As far as Nigeria is concerned, these theories are of limited relevance in view of their unrealistic assumptions. For example, the low income levels of citizens working in all sectors, and their attendant low level of savings—capital formation and investment

could not have prompted growth and development. The result of this was Nigeria's dependence on the advanced countries of Europe and America for imports of industrial goods and food while she remained the producer and exporter of primary produce such as Cocoa, Rubber, Groundnut, palm-oil to feed the industries of the advanced countries. Nigeria was the largest exporter of palm-oil in the 1960s. Malaysia took palm-nut from Nigeria and now she (Malaysia) is the largest producer of palm oil. Dependence on aids from such developed countries sometimes had strings attached and frustrated the path of development. Apart from the self-interest of the developed countries, Nigerian leaders' interest exclude those of the majority of her citizens who are the stakeholders. A ready example that come to mind is the discovery of iron-ore in my village *Akunnu Akoko*, Ondo State in 1959. Up till now it has not been exploited.

You may argue that iron-ore has been replaced by plastic in the Industrial World, but as at that time it was the bedrock of industrialisation but the leaders were more interested in refining the ore in their respective towns of *Ogbomoso* or *Ikene* negating the economic rule of location of industries. When this impasse could not be resolved, the ore has been left untapped till today! Prominent theories and Models of development at that period were W.W Rostow's stages of economic growth and the A-K Models.

There are two possible ways of promoting Capital formation: through savings and through credit. Availability of credit is highly dependent on savings. In more open economies, credit is made available through borrowing from foreign banks and multilateral development agencies and through attraction of foreign investment. However, improved savings is necessary in sustaining the borrowing aspect of this foreign investment in order to ensure non default in repayment while leaving some surplus to be invested in the economy. This makes it easy to accept the thesis that the most important constraints to development in Nigeria like other developing countries is low capacity to save. We should remember that capital is not interest free but interest elastic that is when we

save, we expect interest on it and hence savings depends on the amount of interest it can generate. In Nigeria, most people make their savings in non-interest bearing ways while in the rural areas the *esusu* or local thrift organisation thrive. The large volume of money saved outside bank therefore renders interest rate manipulation ineffective in guiding savings.

In fact, corruption and delay in payment of salaries actively discourage savings, stolen monies are saved in underground tanks, toilets and shelves thereby making the Nigerian government's efforts at manipulating interest rate and savings ineffective in promoting development. Olusi, and Oramah, (1995) made this clear that the patterns of savings whether cyclical or bunchy affects national investment management policies.



*Money*

Theories of Structural Change and International dependence Revolution dominated the thinking of 1970s. The model used economic policies and statistical analysis to explain the internal process of structural change that a country needs to undergo for it to achieve rapid growth and development. This theory was very radical and political. It upholds the relationship between the developing country and its international counterparts as the

determinant of its state of development. This could be institutional or structural but often leads to the proliferation of dualistic economies and societies which place political constraints on development. Emphasis of government policies were usually on poverty eradication and provision of employment opportunities and reduction in income inequalities. Notable policies of Nigeria at the period were the nationalisation of industries because foreigners who actively owned most of them did not reinvest their profit in the country and capital flight was rampant. Foreigners bought back their industries through unpatriotic Nigerians while most Nigerians were actually too poor to buy shares in the companies being nationalized.

And yet another set of theories that surfaced in the 1980s and 90s were the Neo-classical (Neo-liberal) counter revolutionary economic thoughts. The beneficial roles of free markets, open economies and the privatization of inefficient public enterprises dominated the economic thinking of the period. Olusi, (2007) reviewed the policy and noted that it failed to achieve its development objectives in Nigeria because of its inappropriate application (zombie). This was not because it was inconsistent with the economic principles passed down to us from the developed countries but because its adoption in Nigeria was frustrated by lack of freedom, too much government intervention and regulation of the economy. The corruption level became outrageous. Most privatized companies were bought by government officials and the proceeds also went into private pockets.

The tendency for Africans in general and Nigeria in particular to play into the hands of foreigners by personal and group interests has been the reason why what works in other climes in terms of development tends to fail in the continent. It often leads to a compromise of values and self and to the total failure that often extends much beyond the compromiser in the end. This is the Zombic syndrome. The struggle to generate enough income through primary product exportation that Nigeria pursued then and is still pursuing now without adding value is at the base of the so

called natural resource curse in the continent of Africa. Nigeria is a leader in this respect. Primary producers can never become economically prosperous because of diminishing returns that always inseparably go with primary products just like siamese twins. It is only with manufacturing that they can attain increasing returns and consequent prosperity. Hence adding value through manufacturing is a *sine qua non* to growth and development, not just providing production incentives to farmers which will cause further glut in the world market, thus, further lowering prices, contrary to what free market free trade policies prescribe. What Nigeria and other African countries need to do now and subsequently is to control and exercise discretion in the adoption and application of the received theories.

What the foregoing discussions emphasize is that the advanced countries were dictating to us how to manage our development. At times, it gets to the point of “*take it or leave it if you take it, we do not care if it leads to development, if you do not, it will lead to you not enjoying our support in your development efforts*”, after all, as it is often said, “*he who pays the piper dictates the tune*”. Hence, developing countries often find themselves between the deep blue sea and the devil. Often times they choose to be Zombies, implying following the path of their masters willy-nilly. Since development efforts can also be political and social, a ready example of this assertion is the recent attempt by Obama to make us legalise the gay and the ungodly abortion practices. Perhaps it was the refusal of Nigeria to accept this as well as other heinous Zombie policies that made him not to visit the country during his tenure as American president. If so, I give kudos to our former President Jonathan and the National Assembly members who have started to realise the evil effects of adopting Zombie policies. What we should realise is that development is the problem and aspiration of developing countries. The advanced countries are welfare states, what they are pursuing is growth. Hence we are free to adopt the pathways that suit us in Nigeria. The Yorubas say “*sokoto aghawo, bi o soni lese a fun ni nitan* (borrowed trousers do not fit

perfectly). It is because of this that we need to review the roles of government in promoting development.

### **3.3 How did the developed Countries achieve development?**

Our best examples of the developed countries are mostly the European countries and the Americas. China and the Asian Tigers namely: Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore have joined the group of developed countries, even though they were at the same level with Nigeria less than half century ago.

The question of why African countries and indeed Nigeria, an oil producing one, are not developing fast are best answered by considering the pathways of development of today's developed countries. Basically, the developed European and American countries of today imbibed the mercantilist policies which promoted trade with the other nations of the world as the starting point to achieve development. This was led by King Henry the 7<sup>th</sup> of England in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Nearly all European countries pursued economic nationalism which sought to protect national interest by creating wealth through the promotion of exports and resisting imports. Wealth created through this way helped to boost each country's relative political standing. The traders/merchants benefitted from this arrangement as well as through the protection of their industries from foreign competition and policies of tax exemption for infant industries and other industries. England and all other countries benefitted from increased national revenue from imports and taxes from nationals who earned higher income since their economies were flourishing. For each nation, national interest to create wealth and build political power was behind the Mercantilist policy design and implementation. Do Nigerians love their country this much?

In 1776, after England had established itself as the undisputed leader of the industrial World, Adam Smith an intelligentsia of the country published the "Wealth of Nations" and criticized the inefficiency of Europe for relying on trade. He advocated that the invisible hand of the market, which he considered as a more efficient system for controlling the inefficiency should be imbibed.

He advocated free market (FM) which guarantees exchange of goods on the basis of individual self-interest. What the invisible hand does is that it prompts the individual to produce goods and services in order to satisfy himself but in the process he satisfies other people e.g. while a butcher or baker produce to make profits, they are also indirectly satisfying consumers' needs for meat and bread.

This, according to Adam Smith, would result in global efficiency whereby all nations will open up their borders to imports with no protection given to the infant industries in any form. Other countries that were not as industrialised as England refused this proposition hence continental Europe opposed Adam Smith's postulation. Such include Friedrich List of Germany (As shown in his book National System of Political Economy published in 1841) and referred to the theory as cosmopolitan doctrine that was meant to "Kick away the ladder" by which England attained the summit of industrial greatness to prevent others from climbing.

With regard to America, she was still young when England was industrialised but she was also sceptical about England's proposition of free trade and open door policy. Adam Smith warned America that she would be making a mistake to protect her industries. He also specified in this same book that only nations with native manufacturing would be able to win a war driven by an image, and America was fighting Britain in a vicious war driven by an image of Britain as an oppressive Colonial power in the minds of the Americans. As a result of this lack of trust in the invisible hands with its notion proposing a free market development policy, America and other countries saw Adam Smith's recommendation as being driven by the self-interest of England, the foremost industrial country. Ericus Reinet noted that the slang among Americans then was "don't do as England tells you to do, do as the English did".

The invisible hands can never promote development because the prevailing conditions of the developing countries are different from

those of the developed countries. In my paper (Olusi, 2004) titled “Privatization and Commercialisation of public enterprise, the relevance of Adam Smith’s invisible hand in developing countries” which I presented at the Social Science Conference in France, I also reiterated that the adoption of Smith’s invisible hand theory and the free trade proposition have not worked for Nigeria in her bid to get industrialized. Hence we can as well say what the Americans said when they were growing up. I was greatly opposed because the Conference was full of Adam Smith’s faithful’s. They refused to publish my paper which eventually got published in America. We should however note that in the process of development in Europe, and America, there were two types of self-interest groups, the Mercantilist policies which protected the self-interest of a state to the exclusion of others. The second was the one driving free market development advocated by Adam Smith. England, the industrial giant did not care about other less industrialized nations. Both of them were policies of exclusion in which Nigeria has become a victim.

David Ricardo in 1817, published his book “The principles of political economy and Taxation” in which he introduced the theory of comparative advantage which took the interest of all imperial powers as a group. According to the theory, two nations will benefit from trade if each specializes in the production of goods where she has comparative cost advantage. Many countries found this attractive because they had colonies which produced primary goods like raw materials for the European Industries. The theory gave justification to colonialism which made it more acceptable to other European Countries unlike Adam Smith’s free market theory. Also because Ricardo’s theory encouraged free market, the control of invisible hands in showing the direction of development, English self-interest policy became attractive to all colonialists, and imperial powers. Again the Americans did not find it attractive because they had no colonies as they were also colonized at that time. An American member of House of representative in 1820s likened David Ricardo’s theory of Comparative advantage to “an English product meant for export only”. Today, the theory is not

only acceptable to America as the leader of the industrial free World (IFW), she has become the greatest champion of the theory. Also both capitalists and communists have imbibed the theory. For the capitalists, Ricardo's free market, free trade (FMFT) theory is attractive because it preaches the supremacy of the market over government control of production and trade. For the communist societies, it is attractive because the theory is based on labour theory of value which highlights the importance of labour in generating national wealth.

Although Ricardo's theory of development which many stakeholders including nations and political leaders of different ideological leaning adopted, but it nevertheless excludes the interest of colonies, the biggest chunk of the World of which Nigeria is one. Development is about people hence the interest considered so far are those of exclusive groups of the industrial world and their political ideologies, hence the pathways are still those of self-interest.

Americans showed more interest in David Ricardo's theory in the 1820s since their self-interest aligned with the colonies up to the period of (WWII) but after this, they aligned with the interest of former colonizers as the leader of industrial free World (IFW). This shows that self interest in relation to development policy can change in form or can evolve in the directions of inclusions overtime and geography. In the case of America, it was evolutionary self-interest because what America did not accept became the important driver of her development policies.

The conclusion is that self- interest can change over time and space with regards to development concerns, such as income distribution, poverty, civil rights and the environment among others. Thus the effectiveness of development policy is affected by the pathway of evolutionary self-interest perceived to be driving it. Hence the right pathway to development is a mental construct or perceived symbolism in people's mind about an event, activity, action, of a person or a thing in relation to development concerns.

The summary of our review of the development pathways of the European and American countries is that (1) they were led by self-interest and (2) they neglected the colonies hence they operated the policies of exclusion and merely kept the colonies as raw material producers for their (European and American) growing industries. Nigeria was and is still a victim of this ideology.

*We should also note as observed by Mabogunje that "in the process of their development, most of the present day developed countries began by protecting their nascent industrial development within a Mercantilist economic framework whilst learning what their neighbours were doing to improve on their economic base. It was only after they had achieved that basic transformation that they exposed their economies to the prescription of free market (FM) and free trade (FT). The situation presents the image of a hen hatching its eggs first by deep and heated protection before the chick can emerge to participate in the full glare of the day. After that, the chick emulates what others have done to survive and grow".* I make bold to say that for the developing countries in general and Nigeria in particular, this has not been the case. Our development has been dictated by the British since amalgamation in 1914. Hence the existence of many Zombie policies emphasized by (FMFT) policy but it is necessary to review the theories passed down to us.

#### **4. GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPMENT**

The role of government in development has remained contentious in the literature. For instance, the free market theorists would always favour laissez-faire policy implying, minimum government intervention in development. The alternative view on the other hand, subscribes to the imperatives of a deliberate and active role of government. This is a Keynesian position in economic management. It is my considered opinion that the developing world at their present stage of development cannot afford to leave their development pathway to the vagaries of the market forces as canvassed by the classical economists. Hence, in what follows, I intend to underscore the imperatives of government intervention in

development process and provide a critical evaluation of governmental efforts in the area of planning with reference to agriculture in Nigeria.

#### **4.1 Imperatives of Government Intervention**

It is very important to examine the role of government in achieving development. This is because government collects revenue and spends this in an economy. The main difference between government and private spending is that government can borrow from institutions and can print money (seigniorage) to fund its activities. However, promoters of free market and trade claim that government has no direct role in direct ownership and production of goods and services for the purpose of promoting development (Doug 1997). Unfortunately most people believe that promoting development is government's most important role in the country. Most Americans and indeed Nigerian politicians act as if the state, that is, government were duty-bound to generate businesses, jobs, wages and profits. This stance is more pervasive in developing countries of which Nigeria is foremost. Hence poor countries were expected to undertake *dirigiste* (French word which means to direct) economic progress while rich ones were to offer foreign aids programmes. Aids come in form of loans or gifts. When loans are given in monetary terms to leaders of developing countries, some of the leaders embezzle the loans. Nuhu Ribadu for instance claimed that up to £220 billion had been stolen by Nigerian leaders since independence (*Masterweb News report. Thursday, October 19, 2006*) and the repayment has been frustrating the achievement of development objectives. However, when assistance is not given in cash, clients do not usually appreciate services rendered but which is not prone to corruption and embezzlement (NIAF 2014).

This stance has however, led to growing incidence of poverty. Economic growth and development will come only when governments realise that their proper role is to stay out of the way to stop impeding the development that could have taken place naturally but for its intervention. The *dirigiste* philosophy was a Western ideas; a zombie ideology. Even the concept of

development was an idea introduced by the West to the developing countries. The question to ask is why do governments intervene in economic activities? How far has this helped their achievement of development? If not why not?

The basic assumption of the protagonists of free markets, free trade idea is that the markets are efficient and, using the factors of supply and demand, can channel resources to their most efficient uses. Unfortunately this assumption is not realistic in a developing country like Nigeria. When left in its free state, activities of the market make the poor poorer and the rich richer. Hence the failure of the market is the first reason for government's intervention in economic matters. A good example of this is price control e.g. price of petrol per litre often instituted by government to protect the poor from being exploited. The provision of public schools to take care of the children of the poor is another pro-poor policy but what we discover is that public schools are not well taken care of and teachers are not well paid or paid as at when due. How can they ever be efficient and effective? A hungry man is an angry man.!

Another reason for Government intervention in economic activities is its provision of goods that the private sector cannot provide or do not wish to provide because the private sector sets out to maximize profit while government maximizes welfare. It is only when fees are charged that public goods like roads, dams, bridges, water and social goods can be provided by the private sector. Otherwise such non-exclusive goods can only be provided by governments in a democratic setting like Nigeria's but they never function well.

The need for government to regulate the activities of the private sector through legal framework is another reason for government's interest in economic activities. Firms and establishments need to be controlled to suit the aspirations of the country e.g. banks need to be directed as to which sectors to channel their loans and advances while Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) need to be

paid and controlled. Conditions for setting up private institutions and business concerns need to be set by government. In short the *modus operandi* of the private sector is generally dictated by the government through the enactment and implementation of policies so as to achieve some macroeconomic objectives such as price stability, full employment, economic growth and external balance.

The protection of citizens usually referred to as security/defence is a major function of government even in its interference in economic matters. Providing different armed forces and civil defence are the functions of government. In fact according to Adam Smith, the main functions of government are to provide defence and education while economic activities are left in the hands of the private sector if growth and development are to be achieved. However we should not spend so much on defence/security that we have nothing to defend.

The removal of \$1billion from excess crude account has been widely debated in Nigeria. Since it is our own money and attracts no interest, this may be a wise decision but how to ensure that it is rightly spent is a challenge given the level of corruption. My suggestion however is that the country should engage boko haram in further discussion to save lives and spend the money on developmental projects. After all it is negotiation that has led to the release of over one hundred girls so far. Do not forget that boko haram have given poverty as a major reason for their insurgency. Guns and other ammunition can never attain peace.

The Nigerian government intervenes in the economy through its yearly budgets and economic policies. Every year the direction of the Nigerian economy is revealed through the budget which is expected to be operated from January to December after its presentation by the President and approved by the National Assembly which is then signed into law by the President. The Budget often shows the sources of revenue to government on one side, and the expenditure on the other side of the balance sheet. Excess of expenditure over revenue is often referred to as deficit

while excess of revenue over expenditure is often referred to as surplus both of which have implications for growth and development of the country. When surplus is recorded there could be some developmental activities that have not been included while deficit signifies over spending. Balanced budget signifies appropriate revenue and expenditure. I cannot remember when last the Nigerian budget recorded a balance or even a surplus. It often records deficit which can necessitate borrowing from outside or from within the country. Amortisation of this constitutes a heavy burden on the economy. Out of the ₦8.612 trillion for 2018 budget, debt servicing which consists of interest and capital repayment is expected to be ₦2,014 trillion. The fact is that interest is a recurrent expenditure while re-payment of loan is capital expenditure. So when we spend too much on loan repayment and interest, then we are forced to borrow to finance developmental projects. That is why Nigeria is always indebted to Paris club, London club, G8, D8 and any other association. When we cannot pay at the right time, we begin to beg or negotiate for extension or rescheduling of payment or write-off. Sometimes we give-off our precious oil in payment for outstanding debts. Delay in budget approval has become a common practice. This is because politicians have vested interest and often pad the budgets with questionable and white elephant projects. This causes delay in the approval stage and makes it difficult to achieve good implementation throughout the year. When budget approval is delayed, project cost increase and become unachievable within the stipulated period. A good example is the Lagos-Ibadan express way project that was to cost ₦167b at inception but had to be reviewed upwards to about ₦300b four years later.

In our research, Olusi and Dada (2015), we utilized variables such as GDP, aggregate government expenditure, imports and exports of goods and services, broad money as percentages of GDP, annual inflation rate and annual growth rate of population and total population to examine the growth and by extension development effect of fiscal variables, specifically, government expenditure in oil rich developing countries of Nigeria, Indonesia and Saudi

Arabia. Our results showed that a long run equilibrium relationship existed in all the three countries. Fiscal variables, government expenditure in particular have positive effects on growth. However, the magnitude of the effects of government spending varies from one country to another. Nigeria's own effects on growth was the least.

Also Olusi and Orisadare (2015) analysed the dynamic effects of fiscal policy shocks on economic activities in Nigeria from 1970-2009. Using the structural Vector Auto Regression Approach discovered that positive government revenue in Nigeria has an immediate positive effect on variables like output, private consumption and investment but this becomes insignificant in the period after the shock. Positive government expenditure has negative effect on GDP and positive effect on private investment in the period of the shock. The summary of this is that fiscal policy in the course of the last decades has become less effective in stimulating economic activities in Nigeria. This goes to prove that government spending should be done with caution. Problems of government spending on growth are often due to government's inefficiency in spending which is always manifested in anomalies like inflated contract prices, lack of good supervision and the use of inferior materials. These are generally captioned by the word corruption. Hence corruption is one of the main reasons for the inability of government spending to bring about growth and development in developing countries. Borrowing money to finance projects may retard growth even in oil-rich countries especially where corruption is endemic like Nigeria. My suggestion is that most developmental projects should be handled by both public and private enterprises (PPP) in partnership to start with. For instance, the Federal Government has announced its intention to re-introduce toll collection on major roads all over Nigeria once again. I strongly suggest that this should be done in conjunction with the private sector on contract basis so that there can be the assurance of retrieving monies collected that can also enhance the repair or indeed fresh construction of good roads. The same applies to all government projects.

Also, as much as possible, Budgets should be tax-funded while the collection of taxes should be more rigorous and not limited to public sector workers mainly. This is because when budgets are funded with debts, progress in terms of development will always be slow unless supervised by the credit-giving body as the World Bank. The current practice of emphasizing expenditure and playing down revenue sources is unacceptable. Too much avoidance and evasion of tax is frustrating the funding of Nigeria's Budgets. The usual delay in approving budgets is worrisome. Up till now the 2018 Budget has not been approved. This leads to delays in achieving developmental projects.

The general belief that politicians frustrate the realisation of development may not be far from the truth in Nigeria. The country runs the American Presidential system of government which is very expensive. In December 2010, Sansui, the former governor of Central Bank of Nigeria accused our legislators of spending almost 25 per cent of the national budget on themselves, an observation that did not go well with them. This made the legislators not to pass the Freedom of Information Bill which sought to ensure transparency and accountability in governance until late 2011. Another bill has just been signed into law by the president which has granted immunity to the legislators while in office. It seems our legislators cannot see the conflict in earning the equivalent of \$100,000 a month when most primary school classrooms have no roofs! At best, village huts in Nigeria have roofs. Nigeria can spend lavishly on her American-style legislators but cannot consider spending one Naira on "her village type education". The legislators play the "politics of the stomach" and this can never help the country to develop. Until politicians are driven by the image of self-interest and inclusion, we may be deceiving ourselves and hoping against hope that development is imminent.

#### ***4.2 Development Planning Experience with Agriculture***

Nigeria's political independence in 1960 spurred her genuine quest for development since the leaders of that time had opportunities to visit and experience the aura of living in a developed country

especially Britain the country's colonial headquarters. At independence, Nigeria had already imbibed the Mercantilist orientation which made it necessary for her to produce primary products such as cocoa, rubber, groundnut, palm-oil for export to the developed countries. To enhance this, her first policy thrust was the adoption of development planning which gained popularity in the 1950s because non-communist France had practiced it successfully. Three of such plans were implemented during the Military Regime from 1962 to 1980. Titled First (1962-1968), Second (1970-1974) and Third (1975-1980) and Fourth (1981-1985) National Development Plans, each spanned an average period of five years during which policies towards improving agriculture were enacted and implemented. The Fourth National Development Plan was enacted for 1981-85 but its implementation was truncated by the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme in 1986.

By and large, the common objectives of the various plans include: (1) Ensuring food supply to keep up with the growing population; (2) Expanding the production of export crops; (3) Production of Agricultural raw materials for the manufacturing industries; (4) Creating rural employment activities; and (5) Evolving appropriate institutional and administrative approach to facilitate a smooth integral development for agriculture in the country.

The priority accorded to each of these objectives is well brought out considering the funds allocated to a basic sector like agriculture which is shown in the table below. Table: 1

### **Plan allocations to agriculture in Nigeria 1962-1980**

Plan period	Total Plan Size	Allocation to Agriculture	Percentage to Agriculture	Allocation to other Sectors
1 <sup>st</sup> Plan 1962-1968	2.2 billion	183.8million	13.8	85.2
2 <sup>nd</sup> Plan 1970-1974	3.2billion	215.33milion	10.5	89.5
3 <sup>rd</sup> Plan 1975-1980	30billion	3 billion	10.0	90.0

*Source: Computed from plan data 1-3 National Development Plans National Planning Office, Lagos.*

At no plan period did the allocation to Agriculture reach 20 percent of total budget outlay in a country where over 70% of population are engaged in Agriculture. The plan objectives of improving Agriculture were not achieved and the attendant policies and programmes like Operation Feed the Nation of 1976; Inauguration of Agricultural Development Bank aimed at giving loans to farmers since 1973; Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme of 1977; abolition of import duties on tractors; tax holidays to investors in agriculture etc. were not well implemented. Hence food importation into the country increased and exports of cash crops dwindled the current hues and cries over food insecurity in the country is hypocritical because the right policies were not enacted. *Enito mugari sun to lalape on bosomi, atana loti bosomi* (Somebody ate *gari* soaked in water and dreamt that he got drowned in a river, he should have known that he got drowned since the previous night). The British colonial government established the Marketing Boards after the World War II in 1945. Cocoa Board in 1947, groundnut, cotton and Palm produce in 1949, arguably the beginning of Zombie policies which even though recorded some benefits to farmers. However, this had to be scrapped at the inception of the Structural Adjustment Programme in 1986.

Explanations for the poor performance of the plans and their policies are twofold. First is the emergence of crude oil exploration and exportation in Nigeria. Since its discovery by Shell D'Arcy later known as Shell BP in 1956 and its first exportation in 1958 (World Bank 1975) revenues from oil replaced those from agricultural produce. This phenomenon referred to by Olusi and Olagunju (2005) as proof of the presence of Dutch Disease in Nigeria. In Yoruba language, this can be interpreted as; *ariyawo ko'yale* (old wife divorced in favour of a new one). The poor attitude to Agriculture by both governments and the Nigerian citizens exhibits this attitude. Ethnic grievances, corruption and the likes led to coups and countercoups and finally to a civil war when the Eastern region considered secession from Nigeria. The war started on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1967 and ended on January 15, 1970. Thus, the

new wife came with huge challenges. A huge sum of revenue was spent on the importation of arms and ammunitions to quench the war. It has been stated that about one million people died in the Civil War while total spending to execute the war could not have been less than \$600 million.

However Nigeria's fortune in oil price rose from \$3/barrel to \$13 in 1973 as a result of embargo against Arab oil by the West in support of Israel during the Arab -Israel, War. So huge was the revenue from oil that General Gowon the then Head of State stated categorically that the problem of Nigeria was not how to get money but how to spend it. (Thank God he is still alive to see the Nigeria of today) Udoji Salary Commission of 1974 increased minimum wage to ₦72 per month. Unfortunately for Nigeria, what could have been spent on modernizing Agriculture to achieve food security was to a large extent wasted on travels to England and other countries and *Owanbe* parties at home. Nigerians did not need Visa to England and other Commonwealth Countries and there was no limit to the amount of money we could take along to spend on the manufactured products of the developed countries. Even though naira was not a legal tender in England, it was accepted in exchange for expensive industrial goods in Liverpool and Oxford Streets of London where shops played Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey's music. Here again the wise saying that "*Akoni owo omode akara lofi nje*" is appropriate. When Uncle Ben's rice was introduced, we all preferred it to sweet *Ofada* that was grown in Nigeria because we did not need to remove pebbles. Again, when Nigeria was caught in the debt trap and visas were reintroduced, the advanced countries shut their doors once more against prodigal Nigeria through other strict entry conditions.

The second reason for the failure of the plans under the military era was the practice of direct agricultural production to the neglect of the private sectors. In the end, the contributions of the sector to GDP became very low as their institutions were also not careful enough to prevent corruption by the officials. It was this production management problem that led to the formulation of the

4<sup>th</sup> development plan 1980-1985. According to Olusi and Oiogunde (2002) management of any production process has to coordinate men, material and money so that increasing returns can be achieved. Food importation had increased in Nigeria and the Fourth plan aimed at involving the grass roots in planning which could be said to be democratic because it emphasized development planning at the local government level could not take off.

The Fourth National Development Plan was designed to gulp ₦82billion out of which the Federal Government was to invest ₦70.5billion. The first civilian government after the civil war that implemented the plan had as her development objectives the following; (i) increase in the real income of the average citizens; (ii) even distribution of income; (iii) reduction in the level of unemployment; (iv) increase in supply of skilled manpower; (v) increase in the participation of citizens in economic activities and so on. In all there were ten objectives. It was the largest and the most ambitious plan which depended on oil resources for the achievement of its proposals. However the realised oil receipts were much below expectation thereby distorting the plan implementation. Only 54percent of export proceeds projected were realised. Of the ₦79.449million would be realised from petroleum exports between 1980 and 1984 but only ₦52.78million or 66% was earned (Okigbo1989). As resources to finance the plan dwindled, so also unemployment rate skyrocketed. The GDP growth fell to its lowest of 1.25 percent compared to 5.5, 13.2 and 4.6 percent of the previous plans. The Fourth plan period became the most difficult in the economic history of Nigeria. The few achievements of the plan included the implementation of Agricultural Development Programme (ADP) in many states, the commissioning of Egbin Power Station, Dry Duck project at snake Island Lagos and 87 telephone exchange located all over the federation.

The Fifth National Development Plan which was to have been executed from 1985-1990 had the following as objectives;

1. Diversification of agricultural sector.

2. Revitalization of agricultural sector.
3. Domestic production of raw materials for the local industries to reduce the importation of locally manufactured goods
4. Production of employment opportunities.

However as noted by Oladeji and Olusi (1996), the ensuing volatility of the oil market internationally constituted a constraint on the plan, thereby bringing to an end the traditional five-year development planning in Nigeria. The plan was not executed but was incorporated in the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) that was introduced in 1986. The SAP brought to an end the five-year planning model in Nigeria.

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) undoubtedly had negative effects on several aspects of the economy, but most importantly the educational sector. The policy led to the collapse of the tertiary educational system, research and development capacity and consequent emigration of highly trained human capital to seek greener pastures overseas particularly in Europe and America. It is ironic that with globalization which is the pride of FMFT, labour market remains non-globalized, making only the best brains to migrate and left mainly unskilled labour behind. Nigeria has lost a lot of her investment in human resource to the West especially US and the Middle East over the last three decades, it is estimated that about 12.5 million Nigerians now live abroad. Most of them are highly qualified medical doctors, scientists, engineers and other professionals. According to a former health minister Eyitayo Lambo, about 8,000 Nigerian medical doctors live outside in the US, UK and Canada. The West provided a very conducive environment that easily attracted highly qualified African citizens and from other third world economies on whom a lot of resources had been invested with offers of residency and/or citizenship. Most of our young ones are now citizens of America, Canada and others, and are in fact making unprecedented waves in those countries, whereas they were trained in Nigeria by Ahmadu Bello University, Obafemi Awolowo University,

University of Ibadan and others here in Nigeria. They all went out of the country when SAP was having its toll on the universities.

Mabogunje (1977) had painted a type of development where Universities are expected to be the institutions building on indigenous ideas, adopting and modifying new ideas in the economy. Promoters of FMFT policies are quick to describe as huge the remittances Africa receives from its diaspora from the West which they often termed as "*turning brain drain to brain gain*" estimates of this according to Moyo (2006) amounted to \$20 billion, with Nigeria accounting for the largest of \$5 billion, followed by South Africa with \$1.5 billion and Angola with \$1.1 billion.

The SAP eventually metamorphosed into the three year rolling plans over the period 1990-1998. The three-year rolling plans became operational as from 1990-1992. The main objective of the first National Rolling Plan, 1990-1992, was to review the country's development in the midst of raging Socio-political and economic uncertainties. Rolling plans were prepared at all levels of the three tier government. It is unfortunate to say that at the end of ten years of rolling plans (1990-1999) Nigerians were not better off than they were during the years of fixed medium term planning (Okojie 2002).

Thereafter, General Abacha came up with the vision 2010 where it was recommended that all plans, perspective, medium and annual plans should be integrated. So vision 2010 became the first perspective plan for the country. However the vision 2010 did not live beyond Abacha in 1998.

With the coming of the Obasanjo Administration, The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) was drafted and adopted for implementation. With the NEEDS the emphasis was placed on socio-political and economic reform of the country which the previous plans failed to achieve. Hence the NEEDS strategy focused on empowerment, wealth creation,

employment generation, poverty reduction as well as value reorientation. Again, most objectives of NEEDS were not realized. Annual budgets crossed the threshold of billions to trillions of naira but per capita income of Nigeria fell to one dollar per head. In the area of education, despite increase in the number of institutions, the cost of education became exorbitant. There are over 100 federal and state Universities while private universities have also increased to over 100. The high school fees paid in private universities (about one million naira) in most cases has led to a reduction in the access of the citizens to university education. NEEDS had planned to create seven million jobs by 2007 but the policies of government did not encourage this. In a bid to reform both private and public institutions, many employees lost their jobs. The CBN retrenched 804 employees through mandatory retirement in 2005 (CBN 2005). NEEDS failed in the area of infrastructural development, electricity supply declined rather than show improvement. It was so bad that Adegboyega (2006) observed that "we have to look beyond Obasanjo's reform package if we must get out of the energy problems" Leadership under Obasanjo added Vision 20:20:20 to one of its endless search for a development pathway. The Vision aimed at making Nigeria one of the first 20 economies in the world by the year 2020. We are now in year 2018, but the country is ranked 158<sup>th</sup> which is a far cry from the target. For the country to meet up with the high income OECD nations in all aspects of development, Nigeria must move miraculously from its 157<sup>th</sup> position! It must be acknowledged that Nigeria's Vision 20:20:20 like other development plans and other development initiatives is just a vision. The Buhari government is back to planning but I ask, have we learnt any lessons from the past? Meanwhile, it is needful to remind us of the challenges of development planning in Nigeria. These challenges include among others;

1. Corruption and embezzlement of funds meant to be used for plan projects thereby frustrating the achievement of plan objectives;
2. Lack of plan discipline: Indiscipline in the process of implementation of plans has frustrated the achievement of

objectives and led to abandoned projects in all parts of the country, for instance, the Ajaokuta steel complex which could have hastened Nigeria's industrialization are not yet completed after 2 decades of their projected completion dates;

3. Lack of commitment: Usually, the implementation of policies that affect all citizens is taken with little or no interest by government officials. This explains why plan objectives are not achieved since they are not personal projects;
4. Absence of relevant data also constitute a major problem in plan construction and the designing of relevant objectives. The statistics of Nigerian population for example remains controversial. So also are disaggregated data about the population is not available. The absence of correct data about all sectors of the economy means that planning will at best be a guesswork which may not be appropriate for the achievement of stipulated objectives;
5. Overambitious plans are made when the available resources are much at variance with the projected plan objectives and development projects. This often leads to plan failure and abandonment of projects;
6. Lack of continuity of government programmes: Usually, frequent changes of government often leads to changes planned orientation and agenda.
7. Public service inefficiency: There are lots of bureaucratic processes which delay the implementation of plan objectives or lead to high costs of execution; and
8. Lack of symbiotic relationship between Public and private sectors; the expected partnership in achieving plan objectives is lacking. Once a project will not bring appreciable profit to the private sector, they do not participate in achieving it. Since the objectives of the public and private sectors are different, working together becomes difficult for them.

## **5. DEVELOPMENT PATHWAYS TRAVERSED IN NIGERIA**

In the course of my research engagements, I have come to identify with Nigeria, the following pathways, namely; Agricultural development, Industrialization, Globalization, Gender-Mainstreaming in Development, and Foreign Assisted Development.

### **5.1 Agricultural Development**

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I expect everybody to ask me what the solution to our development challenges is. If that is the case, then I have three answers. The first is agricultural development, the second is agricultural development and the third is agricultural development.

First of all, it is not true that an agricultural country cannot develop. Australia and New Zealand are agricultural countries and yet they are developed because they have modernized agriculture which contribute highest to GDP in both countries. In fact agriculture is the blood of both countries who also export beef, milk and food crops, fish etc. to many advanced countries of the world. They hold yearly competitions for farmers for the best livestock and farm production.

A more important fact is that the rural areas are taken along in the design and execution of the farming methods. I think Nigeria should take a cue from these countries by having an agreement with them to train Nigerian farmers and students how to practice agriculture. It is always said that about 5 percent of the British are farmers, just as 12 percent of Americans are. Nigerian farmers are over 70 percent and we still import agricultural produce into the country. This makes it necessary for us to examine agricultural policies in Nigeria. Agricultural policies in the country have been formulated yearly for long yet there has been little or no improvement. The current policies aim at;

1. Attaining self-sufficiency in food production;

2. Increasing agriculture related raw materials for the industrial sector so that importation of raw materials will be reduced;
3. Modernisation of all aspects of agriculture such as distribution, storage, processing and production adopting modern technologies so that the other sectors can gain from the sector;
4. Provision of more rural employment opportunities through agricultural development towards increasing farmers' incomes and improving the lot of rural dwellers and reduce unemployment;
5. Establishment of institutions to cater for the needs of farmers and promote farming

All of these have been said in different ways before now but not much progress has been made. The last regime in Nigeria went to the extent of reducing cost of farm inputs like fertilizers, herbicides and the process of making them available to farmers directly through e-wallet. By this method, farmers could phone the sources of such inputs and get supplies directly. This growth enhancing method and others led into a lot of outcry about the success of agricultural production in the country. The world became aware of this and so many studies on the drivers of success of agriculture in Nigeria were initiated.

Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) conducted a study to verify this. At Ile-Ife and its environs, Ayanwale and Olusi conducted a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) within a larger study and discovered that only a few i.e less than five percent of farmers actually had a telephone used with e-wallet programmes. Another study in Kwara state claimed that small scale farmers were not even aware of the e-wallet programme phones which were actually expected to hasten access to farm inputs like fertilizers. The more serious aspect of this is that farmers, like most policies, little is now heard about e-wallet since governments have changed hand. This lack of continuity is a major setback in the implementation of policies in

the Nigerian efforts to achieve development. There is no doubt that the distribution of the wallets could have been frustrated by corruption, however, while it was being implemented, international bodies like African Union (AU) and the World Bank actually hailed the programme. Uganda and Afghanistan copied the programme from Nigeria and may be doing well. My honest suggestion is that e-wallet is one of the best innovations that can end fertilizer corruption in Nigeria and it must not be allowed to die in the radar of politics. Farmers' timely access to inputs is a sine qua non in the process of increasing agricultural productivity in the country. It is also necessary to note that the World Bank supported the project with millions of dollars on buying telephones. While the Nigerian government spent a fortune in pushing the wallets. It was estimated that a sum of \$150 million was given to Nigeria by the World Bank in support of the second phase of the programme.

Yes we can export yam tubers but as a perishable product, this may not be a long run programme. This actually happened. Until we learn to add value to our farm products, Nigeria's agricultural products will not be earning their potentials from the world markets. As for yam, we can be exporting *ebe*, yam flour and *iyan* flour instead of raw yam. This will enable relevant industries use yam only as raw materials and enhance production. Moreover, given the high level of hunger in Nigeria, it is important that we feed ourselves satisfactorily before looking outside for markets for those food crops we consume within. This is true for all our crops. Rice is now a staple food. Nearly all states now grow rice. It is now mounted in pyramids for exhibition.



Outside this country and specifically in Britain ground rice is popular so also is rice krispies. It is important for Nigeria to encourage agro allied industries to use Nigerian produce here at home rather than looking for foreign markets for our raw materials. This will achieve so much desired diversification of our economy faster than the direct export of crops. We should take a cue from Australia and New Zealand.

## **5.2 Industrialization and Development**

The relationship between industrialization and development is universally accepted as direct and positive. This is because industrial production is amenable to increasing returns which leads to mass production and enhances development whether economic or social. Industrial production refers to the use of primary resources to manufacture final and intermediate goods. This implies that value has been added while the products can be consumed by the public or other industries. Industrialization was the norm of the present day developed countries in their early days of development. With proper industrialization, the following benefits can be realized.

- Employment generation.
- Improved standard of living.
- Improved balance of payments or economic growth for a country.

- Stimulation of other sectors.
- Development of skilled manpower.

The pursuit of industrialization has led to the formation of many Zombie policies in the developing countries because such countries energetically pursue this as a way of achieving development even when they do not have the necessary resources such as capital, technology and supporting infrastructure. However, industrialization is still considered the fastest pathway to achieving development because it impacts on a society through increase in goods and services.

Nigeria's interest in industrialization manifested immediately after her political independence in 1960. Although agriculture was the lead sector of the economy, the manufacturing sector played a significant role in stabilizing the engine of the country's development in terms of employment. The manufacturing sector alone contributed 11% to the GDP of Nigeria between 1970 and 1980. However by 2017 this contribution had dropped to 28% .

Many local industries in Nigeria now operate under severe economic and environmental conditions such as poor energy, poor infrastructural facilities including bad roads, lack of access to funds and high interest rates on bank loans. While those that cannot endure hardship have closed their factories and have migrated to neighbouring countries like Ghana where electricity is said to be stable with conducive business environment. Many companies at Ikeja, Ilupeju etc. have become worship centres, event centres and cinema houses!

Nigeria's industrial sector's competitiveness as exhibited in the manufacturing sub-sector has been dominated by Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs). These characteristics include, use of obsolete and outdated technologies, labour intensive methods. Hence, they operate below "bench mark" best practices and innovate at levels far behind the industrial leaders. So they are not competitive. The playing field is not level given the fact that any Nigerian

businessman has to provide private electricity, water, transport and even private security to supplement the unreliable public sector supplies.

Several meetings have been held by government and stakeholders and the ministries of commerce and industry to put industrialization back on track. The vision 2020 and transformation agenda which are the latest strategies reflect the quest for industrialization in Nigeria. However the sector is still being haunted by the identified diverse problems. It is because industrialization has a lot of benefits such as employment generation, stimulation of other sectors, development of skilled manpower, improved balanced of payments and economic growth that solutions should always be sort. We should note that the present state of industries in the country is not acceptable if growth and development will be achieved. This is why it has become necessary to discuss the way forward.

The current initiatives at providing solutions to industrialization problems in Nigeria include;

- Improve access to credit. The role of Bank of Industry (BOI) is acknowledged in this regard, but its efforts still needs to be complemented by private sector.
- Local manufacturing of industrial machine is necessary because such will be amenable to our environment, Innoson motors is the first made in Africa automobile, a manufacturing company in Nigeria producing trucks, is also acknowledged. We need more like him for a realistic industrialization to take place
- Industrialization needs agricultural raw materials to function hence both should be developed together because of the backward and forward linkages existing in agro based industries.
- Government policies on industrialization and agriculture must be realistic and favourable to both sectors.
- The provision of basic infrastructure like roads water and electricity will enhance productivity in the industrial sector.

- Nigeria's educational system must make Technical courses like agricultural engineering which include fabrication of machines among others. If possible this should be compulsory for students in secondary schools so that their current disinterest in technical courses can be arrested.

### **5.3 Foreign Assisted-Development**

Nigeria has also benefitted from external sources in form of Foreign Direct Investment and funds from other donor agencies. The first type of foreign assistance is that which is disbursed directly to governments only and has two broad varieties: bilateral foreign assistance (government to government) and Multilateral foreign assistance which is disbursed through institutions like the World Bank and the IMF or regional banks like the Africa Development Bank. More than \$500billion of this type funds is said to have been stolen from Nigeria since independence (Nigeria/Africa Master Wed. News Report)

The second type of aid is that disbursed mostly by international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) like foundations to institutions in Africa and hence Nigeria for human capital development and institution building. In some cases, a few government agencies like the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada, are also involved in this type of foreign assistance. The amount disbursed appears more meagre when compared with multilateral assistance but has been quite successful and has been the saving grace of the continent when we remember that the conditionalities of the World Bank and IMF loans have constituted the death knell of the region in the last three decades.

Multilateral foreign assistance in Africa and the third World countries has been variously criticized by many authors and has led to the so called IMF riot. Nobel Laureate in Economics Joseph E Stiglitz in *Globalization and its Discontents*, described it as leading to broken promises. William Easterly sees it as doing so much ill and so little good in *The Whiteman's Burden* while outspoken Darubisa Moyo perceives it as unable to lead African development

and hence calls it dead in Dead Aid. The basis of foreign assistance is the big push theory which Easterly says commits three economic-reductionism development assumptions i.e. caricatured in “The image of three legends”.

- Poor countries are stuck in a poverty trap from which they cannot emerge without an aid financed big push;
- Whenever poor countries have low growth, it is because of the poverty trap rather than bad government; and
- Foreign aids gives a big push to countries to achieve a take-off into self-sustained growth.

However it is sad to state that in spite of increases in bilateral and multilateral foreign assistance, growth declined in Africa and poverty increased. Easterly (2007) reviewed some and analysed available data to establish Nigeria’s experience with foreign assistance. Using a ten year-moving average, he concluded that there was a negative relationship between foreign assistance as percentage of GDP and growth in per capita income. This is only a relationship and not causal. Indeed the reverse causality is possible, that is, a fall in growth of GDP per capita can cause foreign aids to increase to ameliorate the living conditions of the recipient countries. He also demonstrated that poor countries on the average, tend to grow faster than rich countries when they have good government, using democracy as a proxy for good government and that the result holds when, we control for reverse causality from economic growth to good government.

The study by Peter Boone of the London School of Economics found that foreign assistance financed consumption rather than investment contrary to the big-push theory, Boone (1994). Boone also found that after controlling for reversed causality, foreign assistance still had no effect on investment and on growth also. In another study by two World Bank economists, Craig Burnside and David Dollar, a different result was found. It showed that the relationship between foreign assistance received and growth depended on the policy climate of the receiving country. In countries with good policies, low budget deficits, low inflation and

free trade, the study found that foreign assistance had a positive impact on growth. This finding of Burnside and Dollar was given a wide publicity including influential print media like the Economist and The New Yorker. Based on these results, Easterly observed, President George W. Bush announced a \$5 billion increase in US foreign assistance leading to the creation of the Millennium challenge corporation to administer the foreign assistance given by the U.S.

Specifically for Nigeria, the U.S is the largest foreign investor. The U.S foreign direct investment is concentrated largely in the petroleum, mining and wholesale trade sectors. U.S exports to Nigeria include wheat, vehicles machinery, and kerosene, lubricating oils, Jet fuel, civilian aircraft and plastics. Nigeria is eligible for preferential trade benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). US imports from Nigeria include crude oil, cocoa, cashew nuts and animal feeds. The United States and Nigeria have a bilateral trade and investment framework agreement. In January 2016, U.S Secretary of Commerce Penny Pritzker visited Nigeria on a fact finding Mission with Senior U.S big men executives who comprised the advisory council on doing Business in Africa. The council's visit underscored the broad U.S commitment by both government and the private sector to advance economic engagement with Nigeria. The BNC meeting of March 30, 2016 identified three sectors of focus, security cooperation, economic growth and development and governances and democracy. Nigeria and U.S belong to certain organisations including IMF, World Bank and World Trade organisation. Nigeria is also an observer to the Organisation of American States.

With this overwhelming evidence, why do promoters of Free Trade development policies continue to increase foreign assistance? There are three main reasons, the first is self-interest, the second is self-interest and the third is self-interest. In the first case, it is in the interest of the bilateral and the multilateral agencies to continue to give assistance in spite of overwhelming evidence as to its limited usefulness in order to maintain client states which will

continue to receive more assistance provided they specify existing or new conditionalities which may not favour their development aspiration. Second, it is in the interest of institutions like the World Bank and the IMF which are established to do just that and must make returns to the founding member countries. Thirdly, it is in the interest of the officials who have targets to meet to continue pushing for more assistance otherwise they will lose their sources of livelihood. All said and done, foreign assistance to Nigeria and all third World countries is driven by the images of evolutionary self-interest and exclusion that seems to recede more and more in the direction of less and less accommodation towards perfect exclusion.

#### **5.4 Foreign Supports through International NGOs intervention.**

After independence, across many African countries, many foundations in the West, particularly America, offered scholarships for University education in the US and Europe to train Africans and to equip them to face emerging challenges of nation building in the continent. The Rockefeller foundation and Ford foundation were in the forefront of this endeavour.

##### ***5.4.1 Rockefeller Foundation***

In Nigeria, the Rockefeller foundation offered scholarships for the graduate training of Nigerians that graduated with first class or Upper second class honours from the Nigerian universities. The Foundation sponsored their training in the top American Universities as its contribution to capacity building. Those trained under the scheme were expected to return home to teach in their respective universities.

The Foundation ran this programme for about two decades and stopped when Nigeria attained the status of an oil producing country. There were no strings attached to this programme except that those trained must return to Nigeria to teach in the universities. This placed Nigerian universities on a very sound footing in their formative years and put them on a high pedestal of global

reckoning and recognition before the devastating effects of SAP took its toll on them.

#### **5.4.2 Ford foundation (FF)**

The Ford Foundation (FF) first came to Nigeria in 1958 and took part immediately in the training of some public service professionals as part of her preparation for independence in 1960. With a regional office in Lagos, this international organisation awarded over 600 grants totalling about \$250million that have been disbursed to corporate bodies, institutions and individuals in Nigeria since 1958. It was to promote knowledge and strengthening of organisations and networks in West African Sub-regions. Its focus was in the area of education, health and agriculture. In the area of education FF made early contribution to secondary education by establishing the first Comprehensive High School in Aiyetoro, Western Region and another one in Port Harcourt, Eastern Region. These were set up as pilot projects with the hope that Comprehensive Secondary School would become a general pattern of secondary education in Nigeria. Aiyetoro High School was heavily funded by the Ford Foundation and staffed with Americans and Nigerians. The curriculum based on the British American and Swedish experience was wide and comprehensive. The objective was to provide a secondary school where admission was not necessarily based on merit but to open the school to all children who had completed primary school education (Taiwo 1980).

The school provided educational opportunities for all children within a given radius of Aiyetoro and Port Harcourt. These schools were very much like American Schools which emphasized scientific and technical education and plain secondary education. Workshops were arranged for teachers and other workers. Unfortunately, the programme was not well received and hence had to be abandoned.

Ford Foundation also supported education ministries and encouraged the girl-child education in Northern Nigeria. By 2001

Ford Foundation had advanced a total sum of \$375,000 to ensure general support for training, technical assistance and capacity building with respect to endowment, building and investment management for universities in Nigeria. (Ford foundation report 2001-2005).

It was the contribution of Ford Foundation to the development of agriculture that I benefited from. I enjoyed the scholarship for my Ph.D. programme in 1987 through the International Institute for Agricultural Development. Likewise I have also enjoyed some travel grants from Ford Foundation to international conferences in the course of my teaching Development Economics in this university

#### ***5.4.3 Funding of Academic and Policy Research Networks***

This was another approach of foreign assistance to Nigeria and the third World Countries. Some of these arose in the late 1980s in reaction to the dearth of highly competent research and policy issues emanating from the implementation of adjustment and liberalization policies in Africa. Some of the assistance had the inputs of the World Bank, and other UN organisations like the World Health Organisation. The International Health Policy Programme (IHPP), which was the initiative of the Pew Charitable Trusts, which was one of such networks. The Consortium of founders include Carnegie Corporation of New York (which funded my first Research in 1994 on the impact of Better Life Programme for Rural Women and Nutrition in Nigeria). The IHPP sought to build the capacity of developing countries' researchers in conducting quality policy research. Nigeria is a member of the teams raised to receive three grants each lasting for three years with possible extension for a maximum of one year. Results of research conducted on each country to their policy makers were presented at conferences, workshops and seminars in different parts of the West African Countries.

#### ***5.4.4 Africa Economic Research Consortium (AERC)***

Another discipline-specific network developed through this type of intervention in Africa is AERC, (based in Nairobi, Kenya). It was

established in 1988 as a not-for-profit organisation devoted to the advancement of economic policy research and training. Its mission is to strengthen local capacity for conducting independent, rigorous enquiry into the problems facing the management of the economy of Sub-Saharan Africa. AERC is funded by a consortium of donors. It conducts bi-annual workshops for research where young African researchers present research proposals, interim research reports and fund research reports which are peer-reviewed by resource persons and other members of the AERC network. Through the bi-annual workshops, researchers received various comments they would not otherwise have had access to. In addition to technical capacity of members, the consortium is built and regularly updated through different workshops and seminars. This includes exposure to econometrics and modelling as well as report writing and writing for journal publications. I am happy to say I was one of the first two women from Nigeria to conduct a research for this Consortium. In our study, titled *Addressing Gender Bias, Graduate Training in Economics* (Odubogun and Olusi, 1995), we were able to highlight reasons for women's low participation in the study of Economics and we made suggestion for its improvement. A major reason from the study was the use of mathematics in teaching of the subject. Although the situation is now changing, as increasing number of women are now enrolling for postgraduate training in Economics. Through the AERC intervention, Africa has been able to retain highly qualified economics teachers and researchers in the continent.

#### ***5.4.5. African Technology Policies Studies Network (ATPS)***

The African Technology Policy Network (ATPS) is a multi-disciplinary network located in Kenya. ATPS comprises the international policy makers, researchers and practitioners who promote science and technology policy research, and practices within the framework of Africa. The network aim is to improve the quality of technology policy decision making in Sub-Saharan Africa and to strengthen the region's institutional capacity for the management of technological development. The goal is achieved through a combination of research and dissemination efforts,

Training initiatives and linkage target to policy makers and research end-users. Fifteen (15) African Countries including Nigeria, Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho etc. comprise ATPS network. It is jointly funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the Carnegie Corporation of New York and Rockefeller foundation. Like AERC, the network operates by accepting proposal from researchers and approving them after peer review. The selected ones are funded by grants and researchers meet in a biennial international conference to consider the results of their researches. The findings are disseminated through publications, dissemination seminars and policy roundtables. End users i.e. policy makers and other end users get the results through reports, Journals, books, workshops, conference and seminars. A number of us in the Social Sciences were able to do some research studies for this body. My research report titled *Impact of Agricultural Technology Adoption by Small-holder Farmers Policy Options in Nigeria* (Olusi,2001) was able to highlight the problems of small holders farmers who constituted the bulk of agricultural producers in Nigeria. Policy options were suggested and the results were disseminated to all participating countries in 2001. It cannot be over emphasized that until adequate attention is given to small holder farmers, our dream of revamping agriculture may not materialise.

## **5.6 GLOBALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

The concept of globalization which became very popular after the 1994 Marrakech, Morocco agreements is another development pathway expected to launch the developing countries into attaining development through more rigorous trading practices with the advanced world. It is usually defined as the integration of the world into a global village through trade under World Trade Organisation (WTO). The existing GATT (General Agreement on Trade Tariff) was seen as limiting the extent of exchange because of imposed import and export duties limiting the movement of goods and services among countries. Hence it was agreed that barriers to trade should be removed so that the developing

countries could get out of poverty and tow the path of development.

We should remember that Britain and other advanced countries had adopted and introduced the Mercantilist (exchange) pathway which they towed at their own time. It is a question of call a dog any name it is still a dog. From our discussion so far, Nigeria had not attained development through the adoption of mercantilist process and the advanced countries now introduced another dimension referred to as globalization. The volume of trading among world countries had increased because of the high technological breakthrough and privatization of government concerns and trade liberalization in the world. This made it possible for them to introduce another high level trade policy that was compulsory for all countries to imbibe. I always refer to this as the integration of unequals that is the North consisting of industrialized nations and the South consisting of countries that are yet to attain the goal of industrialization. Nigeria is one of the latter. As stated by Olusi (2001) and Oyelaran Oyeyinka, (1999), national competitiveness is a major policy goal for the achievement of development through globalization. Olusi, and Folorunso (2006) studied the effects of globalization on Nigeria's economy. Our findings include the fact that right from outset, the developed countries predicted biases in favour of the industrialized world who would collect 70 percent of revenue from trade while Asia and Latin America would gain 30 percent and 27 percent respectively. Africa was expected to lose up to \$3 billion per annum because of the expected high prices of food imports! (UNECA, 1995). The question is why will a country enter into an agreement which she knows cannot benefit her? The fact is that as a part of the global economy system, no country could actually be insulated from the globalization train.

Two major observations of Nigerian economy we made at that time and which are still very true now are that the level of poverty in the country is increasing and that the rate of development is very slow. Nigeria has always been projected as dependent on global

business rather than Nigerian business. Trade alone cannot eradicate poverty (Fitzgerald, 2000), it needs to be combined with other factors like good social and environmental conditions. Trade liberalization embedded in globalization encourages perfect competition and access to financial resources (Yashin 2002).

Many industries have folded up in Nigeria and many of them have not been exporting manufactured goods despite increased globalization in the recent years. In no year has Nigerian manufacturing sector utilized 50 percent of her capacity. The increasing dependence on outside sources for inputs and finished goods makes a mockery of the assumed equality of players in the global trade arena. The Nigerian economy has been weakened within globalization and instead of industrializing the country, Nigeria is gradually being deindustrialized. This is confirmed by growth of imported items in the country. At the inception of globalization on the eve of the Millennium, Nigeria's population was about 2% of total world population which makes her the 10<sup>th</sup> most populous country in the world and she is expected to reach the 6<sup>th</sup> position by 2025! Nigeria's share of world's exports of goods and services fell from 0.55percent in the 70's and slumped to 0.18 percent between 1985 and 1990 (Olusi and Folorunso 2006).

The implication of globalization under WTO'S agreements on Nigeria's industries suggests that Nigeria should have been exporting goods to the industrialized nations by now but this has not been so. It was in fact agreed that trade liberalization should enable the industrialized nations to increase their imports at zero duty from 20 percent to 43 percent without restraints. Tariffs were expected to be reduced on textiles, clothing and footwear, leather goods by industrialized nations from 6- 3.6 percent in 5 years (UNECA, 1995). It is remarkable that Nigeria's industrial sector has not been contributing much to her GDP and has been providing very little employment (Olusi and Folorunso 2006). This is worrisome because government has not been paying attention to the sector for many years. The problems of the industrializing

countries include persistent economic crisis and lack of foreign exchange resources to pay for imported raw materials and machinery. There is also low demand for the locally produced goods often perceived as inferior. This has led to low capacity utilization. However when we view these features along with WTO's rules, they are to be expected because of the

- Protection of local firms from foreign products which is no longer acceptable;
- Trips (intellectual property Rights) that strips local firms of non-formal technology, transfer mechanism, that is reversed engineering. This means that local firms must develop their designs or pay royalties for technologies that should be free;
- Ant-dumping rules that make it difficult for developing countries to cut the price of exports and this forces them to compete with developed countries on level terms;
- Comparative advantage that is no longer based on the low cost of labour, low energy cost and abundant natural resources. It is now based on enterprise level competences that are readily deployed to Merter complex technologies and to respond to markets that are always changing;
- Technology transfer circle that has shrunk considerably and time given to catch up has reduced hence firms that cannot move along have been marginalized; and
- Globalization rule that does not care about the level of development. They assumed that Nigeria and Japan for instance are at the same level when it is well known that Nigeria could be 30 or more years behind Japan. (Zombie Assumption);

## **5.7 GENDER-MAINSTREAMING IN DEVELOPMENT**

The growing level of poverty and inequality in countries like Nigeria makes it necessary to consider the role of gender in achieving development. Unfortunately in most parts of the world, gender is taken to refer to women which is partially inaccurate, Gender refers to the rules, norms custom and practices by which biological differences between males and females are translated

into socially constructed differences between men and women, and boys and girls. This results in the two genders being valued differently and in their having unequal opportunities and life chances. Addressing gender inequality that exists at all levels of society makes the effects of poverty worse for women and biases the form taken by economic growth and development. It has been proved that all over the world, women own 1% of the world's property, perform 66% of world's work, produce 50% of its food and earn 10% of its income! (Naila Kabeer 2003)

In most developing societies, Nigeria inclusive, the patrilineal practice in which males are considered more important than females prevail. In Nigeria, women do not inherit family properties, have no access to land and credit, and the division of labour within the household is skewed against them since they are responsible for doing home chores, taking care of children and the aged, and preparing foods for the household. No doubt, these are economic functions which in most cases are never rewarded in terms of money and which underestimates the value of the GDP. They are responsible for taking care of the other room as claimed by the Nigerian President, Muhammad Buhari even in Germany where a woman is the Head of state! The need for developing countries to address gender disparities in terms of access to economic opportunities is of paramount importance and highly expedient for promoting development. South of the Sahara, women have been identified since Boserup's claim in 1960 as the backbone of the development of rural and national economies. They comprise 43% of the world's agriculture labour force and this rises to 70% in some countries. In Africa generally 80% of agricultural production comes from small-holder farmers who are mainly women Olusi (1995). Unfortunately, the female farmers have no access to land and other production resources. According to Olusi (1997) enhancing female participation in agricultural transformation remains the best way to achieve economic development and guaranteeing food security.

Apart from rural and city women, women in higher institutions are also handicapped in some areas. Afonja and Olusi (1995)

investigated female enrolment for agricultural studies at Obafemi Awolowo University and found enrolments in arts, social sciences, physical and medical sciences etc. were low. It was also found that a major constraint to women in the field of agriculture was the use of tractors and other farming implements that were not gender friendly. We therefore recommend that fabricators of farming inputs should make gender friendly implements.

A study by Kebeer (2003), using data for 99 countries between 1960 and 1990, found that gender inequalities had a significant negative impact on economic growth. This was particularly so in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, the two poorest regions of the world. The study concluded that the regions would have added several percentage points to its annual per capita growth rate if it had increased female education by 0.5% relative to male and increased women's employment in the formal sector by 0.3% to the level prevailing in East Asia. Claims like this encouraged my interest in gender and feminist studies for which I have travelled to many parts of the world to present papers and research proposals. Under the aegis of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), many developing countries became interested in promoting gender studies in order to alleviate poverty which was so rampant among the female gender. Nigeria keyed into this and wives of Heads of state started to institute pet projects that were supposed to change the cause of women. Mariam Babangida, the wife of Nigeria's former head of state, initiated the Better Life for Rural Women programme, which was aimed at improving the lives of rural women. I was awarded a grant by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1994 to study the impact of the programme on women's income, household's health and nutrition in Nigeria. Unfortunately, the objectives of the programme were not really realized. Like all government programmes, it was hijacked by the elite and hence no improvement apart from the awareness that rural women needed to be considered in the process of development. And so, derogatorily, the programme was later coined as "*Better life for ruler women*". Other factors that actually aggravated women's poverty in Nigeria and other developing African

countries also include: limited access to state apparatus, lack of economic power, and limited time among others.

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen, permit me to be historical here to show the changing role of women in governance. In my study, Olusi (1995), I observed a strong colonial influence as one of the major factors setting back women from participating in politics and governance in Nigeria. In the pre-colonial Nigeria, women held high political positions and even led wars. Notable among them were Queen Amina of Hausa land, who actually got to the throne of Zaria sometime in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The *Iyalode* of Yorubaland represented women's interests, ruled and led wars. The *Omu* of Igboland was the counterpart of the *Obi* (King) who led women by using charms and rituals to ensure the safety and success of women in their market places. The Colonial era ensured the loss of women's power to a large extent. This was because the "Colonial masters accepted Western gender stereotypes which assigned women to domestic domain while economic and political matters were given to men"(Jane Pappart, 1992) a good example of Zombie practices. Although they were seriously handicapped during the colonial periods, nationalist struggles gave women the opportunity to prove their mettle once more.

In Nigeria the acceptance of political candidates was determined by market women, leaders of market women formed political parties. An example was the Nigerian women's party (NWP) formed by Lady Oyinkan Abayomi in 1944 with the intention of protecting women against cheating by men. Dr (Mrs) Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti led the agitation against taxing women in *Egbaland* and forced the Alake (King) to vacate his throne in 1948. He was in exile for two years. Aba women's riot of 1929 is well documented as well as the few women's revolution of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Grass root women were rejecting oppressive rulership at that period hence they rejected tax payment. It is noteworthy that despite the prominence of their women during nationalist struggles, they were never compensated by the eventual political leaders after independence even though promises were made

during the struggles. As soon as men won, they occupied high positions and retained women at the lower levels and as future voters.

The military regimes that once entrenched themselves in Nigeria did not give much consideration to women and hence a vast majority of women who lived in the rural areas remained poor. Other factors preventing women from participating in politics include low levels of education, Ijere (1991). Although there is an improvement now, there is still a remarkable difference in male and female enrolment in higher institutions of learning in Nigeria.

Another major problem of women is lack of economic power (poverty), while the potential labour force for women is 50%, the real labour force in Nigeria is about 18%. Religious factors such as *purdah* (seclusion practices) put them in a subordinate position. Lack of access to credit, land and labour limit women's participation in economic production and keep them poor. In agriculture they are confined to processing farm produce like cassava, yam etc. and they rarely have cash crop farms. The worst is that when women's efforts become lucrative as in the production of *garri*, fish, cassava flour, for exports, men take over these trades because they (men) have better access to funds to sustain such trade processes.

Perhaps the most important constraint on women in politics is time factor. Their household roles combined with their office, trading or farming makes it difficult for them to play active roles in politics. In a study of cultural and socio-economic factors affecting women's struggles for Democracy in independent Nigeria by (Olusi, 2001), the identified reasons for women's low participation politics are as tabulated as follows:

REASON	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
1.Husband's refusal	18.1
2.Family chores	23.0
3.Child and Elderly care	17.2
4.Others like health problems, education etc	41.7
Total	100.0

*Source: Olusi 2001. Project Data*

At the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) women emphasized their husband's refusal for them to participate so that they would not be come uncontrollable. The oppression of women that was introduced to Africa by colonial mentors many centuries ago has become enhanced in all areas of interaction in the continent e.g. there is gender discrimination in education, employment, political participation. This should be corrected if development is to be achieved.

## **6. SOME GLITTERING ALTERNATIVES**

Beyond the foregoing approaches to development, with all their limitations, there are some glittering alternatives from the private sector that call for attention in terms of their prospects of engineering the country's development processes. Mr. Chancellor Sir, permit me to highlight some of these promising alternatives which I have come to observe in recent times. These are recent developments in the food and beverage industry, the entertainment industry and mobile telephony subsector of the communications sector.

These are sectors in which Nigeria may wish to harness her potentials in facilitating development from within. Empirical studies in Nigeria suggest that these are encouraging examples of entrepreneurship that could help facilitate development.

### **6.1 Food and Beverages Industry—the Case of Fruit Juice and other Food Items**

Spending on the rites of passage in Nigeria has been beneficial to development in a number of ways (a) the manufacturing of fruit

juices from Nigerian agricultural produce is a recent development. Demand for the products is sustained mainly by the Nigeria partying culture. Household income is low in Nigeria and indeed with the implementation of SAP in Nigeria, poverty has increased to over 70 percent in the country. While this development could have denied consumption in families on regular basis, the frequent celebration of weddings, namings, rites of passage many other ceremonies have necessitated most Nigerians to continually spend their meagre incomes on this product.



*Celebration of Passage of Right*

Apart from the long established large multinational companies like UAC and Nestle foods, a number of Nigerian companies like Dangote foods, Chi limited, Goal Global Investment Ltd and Lafia, canning factory among others have entered the market. All of them are sustained by the Nigerian partying culture. Without this, the Nigerian foods and beverage industry would have suffered a similar fate that befell the entire manufacturing sector. Worthy of note, is the fact that Nigerian foods and beverage industry have started to export its products which are greatly demanded by Nigerians in the diaspora. Just as the Asian diaspora developed their cuisine abroad, the Nigerian diaspora have begun to open Nigerian entertainment in Europe and America with exports from the Nigerian foods and beverage industry. The demand for the industry's products will continue to increase as long as Nigeria's patronage continues to exist.



*Mr Biggs*

It has been reported that the export of yam tubers by Nigeria was, ₦37billion in 2007, ₦56 billion in 2008, and ₦70million in 2009. In June 2017, according to the Minister of Agriculture, Audu Ogbe, Nigeria resumed her export of yams to Europe and America and the country plans to export 480 tonnes of yams monthly. This calls for a massive expansion in the cultivation of yams to accommodate even the growing domestic consumption. Apart from

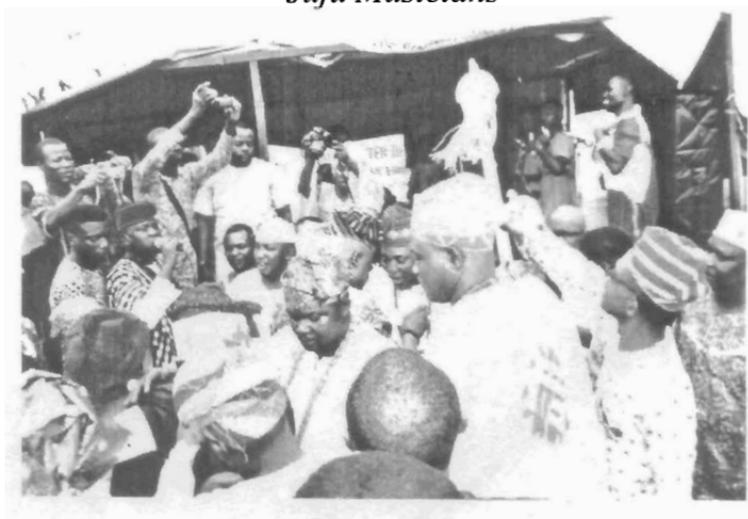
foreign exchange that will be earned from this growing industry, it also offers greater employment opportunities to the teeming Nigerian youths.

## **6.2 Entertainment and Film Industry**

This is a fast growing industry with increasing products for exports owing to the Nigerian partying culture with live bands performing at parties.



*Juju Musicians*



*At a Party*

Regular opportunities of performance have enhanced creativity and growth in the industry. Canopy is one of the major inputs of the industry. There are varieties of canopy with varying complexities. The more complex ones require some engineering skills. The skills acquired here can be used in designing and producing low cost houses or model homes for Nigerians.

In addition, the entertainment industry makes a demand on the provision of mobile toilets. This business was pioneered by Dignified Mobile Toilet (DMT) Ltd in 1996 to meet the demand generated by the Nigerian partying enthusiasts. The business idea came about when its founder Isaac Durojaiye a.k.a Otunba Gadafi who as the Chief Security Officer to late Chief M.K.O Abiola was confronted with the problem of providing conveniences for over 10,000 guests during Chief Abiola's son's wedding. With only two toilets, the usefulness of mobile toilets came to his mind. After a four-week market survey of the country, Dignified Mobile Toilet (DMT) was established. The first Mobile Toilets used canopies. Now they are built with plastics. The company has two slogans, ***"To you it may be shit, to us it is MONEY"*** and ***"SHIT business is serious business"***.



*Mobile Toilets*

It is interesting to note that the mobile toilet business has found expression in the biogas production business. It was reported that the company entered into an agreement with the government in 2009 to produce biogas from human waste to meet 35 percent of domestic demand by the Federal government and some state governments.

All the products of this industry are manufactured in Nigeria and are now been exported to other West African Countries. As reported by the CNN and BBC, the success of this endeavour has attracted the attention of the global community. Apart from planning to use human waste to produce biogas, the company is planning also to use the waste for the generation of electricity and production of fertilizer. Lack of public support, shortage of funds and lack of effective and clear policies as well as technical problems are delaying the realisation of this endeavour. The banks seems not to have confidence in the industry.

Finally, a new form of business identifiable with the entertainment industry is the Events Management Ventures which has also evolved from the partying culture in Nigeria. It consists of the building of event centres in major cities and urban centres around the country to replace make-shift arrangement for the celebration of rites of passage in open spaces, using professional Masters of Ceremony and public relations practitioners to direct events.



*Event Centre*

This popular development has a lot of advantages in terms of comprehensive social development in the country. The use of event centres has reduced the inconveniences arising from road blocks during parties and replaced this with civilized and convenient event management centres. Above all, it can be said that, the Nigerian partying culture has had a positive impact on job creation.

The partying culture has also generated some backward linkages such as catering. Today foods served at parties are prepared by specialist caterers and not within household of individuals as before.



*Cooking for a Party*



*Cooks*

This is true for the rural areas as well. Such caterers employ thousands of others in their business. Besides many inputs of the industry like cutleries, coolers are manufactured by Nigerians pioneered by Eleganza industries. The success attracted other entrepreneurs.

Other activities associated with the industry are the production of *aso ebi* which can either be *Aso Oke* or *Ankara* that is popularly worn at ceremonies. The production of Aso Oke has increased tremendously due to high demand for it. So also are the technology of its production. The partying culture of Nigerians has helped in a way in the resuscitation of the Nigerian moribund textile industry.



*Aso Ebi*

Nigerians also love to give gifts at the parties to appreciate guests and for giving celebrants moral, material and financial support. A thriving gifts industry has developed around this practice. Varieties of gifts which include plastic products of various kinds are given depending on the financial capability of friends and relations. This practice will continue to be a source of demand for the plastic industry and employment generation for a long time to come.



*Party*

One emerging subsector of the entertainment industry are the activities of the so called Nollywood. The Nollywood is regarded as the third largest film industry in the world after the US Hollywood and India's Bollywood. It is said to generate about ₦54 billion annually (NBS 2016) and it is still growing rapidly. It is partly responsible for Nigeria's over taking South Africa as the largest economy in Africa when the economy was rebased in 2016. Both the film and music Subsectors are source of growth and export for Nigeria.

### **6.3 Communication Industry—The Case of Mobile Telephony**

The mobile telecommunication industry has strongly emerged in the recent times as a very viable sector for development. Iyoha's (2015) puts the mobile telephone penetration rate in Nigeria at 25 per cent per year and it is still growing very rapidly. According to this source, out of Nigeria's population of 140 million then, 12.1 million owned Mobile phones and as many as 64 million others are potential Mobile phone users. As at now the number of mobile phones in Nigeria is estimated to be around 167million making her the 7<sup>th</sup> biggest user in the world (Wikipedia 2014). Mobile phones has also modified the way of life of Nigerians, for instance,

through making payments, transferring of funds and several other transactions online.

One million indirect jobs had been created by mobile telephony sector between 2003 and 2008. Besides, about 10,000 direct jobs were created by the industry. This shows that mobile telephony is a veritable way of boosting job creation and poverty alleviation. There are conscious efforts in a consistent manner to introduce and nurture the conditions that would stimulate its spinoffs in the country. In addition, a Nigerian company, Globacom is one of the foremost indigenous mobile telephone companies in Africa.

By way of conclusion, it is necessary for Nigeria and indeed all Africa to look inward first and identify areas that can be developed for generating increasing returns in manufacturing and services. The above review suggests that the foods and beverages industry, the entertainment industry and the mobile telephone industry are good candidates.

## **6.5 MY CONTRIBUTION**

Apart from the various papers and research workshops I have attended here in Nigeria and abroad, I have taught Economics at all levels for twenty eight years in the department of Economics where I rose through the ranks to become a professor. I headed the Department for three years during which glowing achievements were recorded. We got a laboratory for econometrics and computers donated by chief Dele Fajemirokun. The First Bank lecture theatre was donated to the department even though it bears the name Faculty of Social Sciences. Our students came 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> positions in the world SIFE competition held in Singapore and New York respectively.

I have worked in four other universities namely Ekiti State University, Babcock University, Lead City University and Crawford University and I came back with good reports. I have supervised several M.Sc. students some of whom are working in this University and others. I supervised three PhD students, Dr

Monica Orisadare who is a Senior Lecturer in Economics Department, Dr. Mathew Dada who is also a lecturer at Wellspring University in Edo State and Dr. Sola Oyeleke also a lecturer in a University in Oyo State. I have represented my Faculty and Department in several university committees and I have been a senate representative on the Board of Distance Learning for Several years.

I have travelled far and wide attending workshops and conferences outside the country, some of these were funded by the University and I say a big thank you. I am a member of several academic associations and in particular, International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE) which has taken me to several countries of the world. I have also served as a member of IAFFE management Board for two years in Washington D.C .

My participation in gender activities got to a peak in November 2006 when I was invited as a consultant to African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa to teach delegates from all African countries on how to mainstream gender in macroeconomic policies.



*Gender Workshop at African Union Addis Ababa*

Together with my team, Drs. Oluwasola, Monica Orisadare and Mojirayo Afolabi, we held the headquarter of African Union Spell bound for three weeks and were only allowed to return to Nigeria on Christmas eve. I have also undertaken research for some international organizations such as Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) Italy, Carnegie Corporation of New York, African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), African Technology Research Consortium (ATPS), Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) among others.

A very unique one here at home in Nigeria is the Osun State Structure Plan Conducted by UNIHABITAT and at which I represented Foundation for Development and Environmental Initiatives (FDI) as a consultant. The plan and its outcome show that there is hope that our cities about which I expressed concerns earlier on will soon look like European and American ones.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In the course of this lecture, I have attempted to explore the available development pathways and relate the Nigerian experience with some of them. The development pathways have largely been informed by orthodox economic thoughts, theories and of course circumscribed by economic policies as received from the advanced countries that have at one time or the other colonised the African countries, including Nigeria. Based upon my research efforts thus far, I have come to the following conclusions.

1. The received thoughts, theories and economic policies, including programmes have proved grossly inadequate to address the problems of the developing world, especially in Nigeria. The problems lie basically in wholesale adoption of these theories and policies with little or no adaption to the peculiarities that define socio-economic environment in our country. The apparent voluntary and involuntary adoption of western ideas: thoughts, theories and policies render us a “zombie”, as it were an intellectual prostitute.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a challenge to the intellectuals in the developing world who by reason of their training (mostly from western countries) have become unnecessarily sub-servient to western intellectual thoughts. It is equally a challenge to the policy makers and practical policy making in the country. In most cases policy issues are largely exogenous determined, which could turn out to be constraining in the choice of the development pathway.

2. The intellectual prostitution which zombiedom confers upon us has meant being grossly receptive all kinds of ideas willy-nilly as long as they are originated from outside individuals and organisations. However, this is no counsel to do away with foreign ideas; such should be applied with discretion and adapted to suit our peculiar situations.
3. Several of our development efforts have been largely adhoc programmes and policies generally a disconnect with overall planning objectives in terms of design and implantation. Such programmes invariably turn out to be white-elephant projects, lacking in continuity and sustainability.
4. The issue of diversification still calls for concerted policy attention as we contemplate on the appropriate development pathway. Like many developing countries, development problems are multifaceted, much beyond the pursuit of univariate economic growth. An appropriate development pathway as far as Nigeria is concerned would require identifying some sectors of strategic importance and for which we have comparative advantage. Such should include Agricultural Development, Development of mineral resources, Energy and Infrastructural Development and Industrial Development.
5. It is apparent that the global economy in contemporary times is dictated and influenced by increasing

globalization, liberalisation and marketisation, implying a resurgence of neo-classical thoughts, theories and paradigms. Needless to say, the developing countries, including Nigeria are grossly at disadvantage, which therefore calls for discretion as we contemplate on the pathway to development. As opposed to the rein of unfettered rain of market forces as in the developed world, the stage and conditions of development in a developing economy like Nigeria call for a dynamic government intervention, using the instrument of development planning.

6. In the context of sustainable development, the pathway should, more than ever before, be propelled by more by endogenous forces of development. This would require harnessing expeditiously the country's natural and human resources and which must be developed appropriately.
7. Perhaps not well appreciated are some emerging stiking developments brought about our traditional and cultural practices, including passion for fun and entertainment. All of these have continually made demands of some economic activities, goods and services. In terms of generating development impetus from within, concerted efforts could be made to harness and promote them.

## AKNOWLEDGEMENT

By God's grace and divine arrangement, I started my study of Economics at the Higher School certificate level because it was not taught in many secondary schools up till mid-1960. After secondary school, I decided to study Mathematics plus another subject. It was not easy to get one because I could not draw good maps so Geography was out of it. By providence, I saw a book in the library titled "Principles of Economics" by Hansen and I read some few chapters and got excited by the analysis of demand and supply and I was later allowed to combine Mathematics with Economics. At my undergraduate level, I was lucky to have been under the tutelage of Professors Aboyade, Ajayi, Oyejide, Philips, Kayode, Soyode, Lambo, Edozien all of whom influenced my decision to study economics beyond the first degree level.

Here in Ife I was one of the last two students of Professor Samuel Aluko who taught me public finance just before he retired from the University in 1978. His supervision was completed by another thorough Economist Professor Olaloye with the inputs of Professor(s) Ladipo and Fabiyi of Agricultural Economics Department. My PhD programme was supervised by a seasoned Professor of Agricultural Economics, Prof Caleb Adeniyi Osuntogun and on his appointment as the Vice Chancellor of this university, the supervision was concluded by a very thorough Professor of Agricultural Economics, Late Banwo Olufokunbi. I am very grateful to all of them. In the course of working on my PhD then, I worked with the ADPs (Agricultural Development Projects) and got interested in watching publicly funded projects and their effects on Nigeria's economic development. This rekindled my interest in public finance an important aspect of development economics. I therefore applied for employment in the Department of Economics where I have lectured for twenty eight years.

I must confess that I have worked with friendly colleagues in my Department now headed by Professor Dayo Akinbobola. Dr (Mrs) Sayo Odejide was an encouragement when she was in the Department. Prof. Fabayo wrote my reference letters and advised me on my work. Professor Oladeji was a coursemate at my undergraduate days and he has been wonderful and accommodating. His contribution to the success of this lecture is inestimable. Professor Soetan, a sister and mate from my undergraduate days, gave me books to read for my PhD programme and she is a dependable adviser. Other colleagues Professor Adebayo,

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My prayerful church All Souls chapel under the leadership of Rev. (Dr.) and Rev. (Mrs) Adeniyi where I have served in different capacities including the Women's Christian Fellowship for many years, I thank you for your prayers. SPAC ministries headed by Rev. Adegboyega (here represented by Pastor Olulola) at Ibadan is a prayer arena. Thank you sir for sending Pastor Olusola to support me here. I acknowledge the very Rev. Ademola Ajetumobi, Bishop of Ibadan South and a close family friend. To all members of this community, my students and colleagues, thank you and God bless.

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