

**THE URBAN POVERTY DILEMMA IN NIGERIA AND ATTEMPTS TOWARDS POVERTY ALLEVIATION**

By: Ignatius Okosun, Chamhuri Siwar, Abdul Samad Hadi and Abd Rahim Md Nor

**ABSTRACT**

Urban Poverty has become an issue of global concern as other continents continue to register sustainable economic growth and development. Africa is not only lagging behind, but is trapped in a vicious circle of borrowing and donor dependency syndrome. Nigeria has the largest population of about 146 million in sub-Sahara Africa. Its urban poverty has its roots in the profound inequalities that characterize her society. In spite of series of poverty alleviation programs by successive governments, the increasing trend in urban poverty is a major concern to the government, scholars and other stakeholders. To maximize livelihood benefits for the poor, there is a need for effective delivery mechanism and proper policy formulations.

**Keywords:** Urban poverty, poverty alleviation programs, Nigeria

**INTRODUCTION**

There is no concise way of defining the concept of poverty, for it is a multi-dimensional issue that affects many aspects of human condition, ranging from physical to moral to psychological (Ogwumike, 2002). As a result, different forms of conceiving poverty have emerged over the years. Some analysts have used the convention of regarding poverty as a function of insufficient income levels for securing basic goods and services. Poverty has also been viewed as inability of individuals to subsist and to produce for themselves, as well as inability to command resources to achieve these. (Sen, 1984). The definitions of poverty vary widely among international agencies and countries. The most commonly used working definition for international poverty comparisons is that the poverty line is per capita

expenditures of US \$1 per person per day (adjusted for differences in purchasing power). While, for some, it is defined as US \$2 per person per day, others calculate minimum caloric requirement as the poverty line. The United Nations has favored composite indices which take into account access to education and basic health into the computation of poverty and human development measures. In the end, the choice of the poverty line is subjective. If comparisons of poverty among countries and trends over time are to be substantiated, a common definition is needed.

Up to the 1980's, poverty was largely associated with the rural areas in developing countries, but the situation has changed with the dramatic increase in the numbers, proportion of the population living in urban areas, and a corresponding increase in the level of urban poverty. The International Labor Organization estimates that the proportion of the urban workforce engaged in the informal sector is highest in sub-Saharan Africa and accounts for more than 50 percent of urban employment in two-thirds of the countries surveyed in 1999 (Population Reports, 2002).

Nigeria is the 6<sup>th</sup> largest oil producing country in the world and the largest and, potentially, the richest country in Africa. It has the largest concentration of black people in the world - with a land area of close to one million square kilometers, and a population of well over 125 million. With these obvious credentials, leaving the poverty bracket would not have been a hurricane task.

Estimates at the turn of the century suggest that 43.5 percent of the population live in urban areas and it is projected to reach 50 percent by the year 2010, and 65 percent by 2020. The rate of urban growth is thought to be 5.5 percent; roughly twice the national population growth rate of 2.9 percent. More than seven cities have populations that exceed one million and over 5,000 towns and cities of various sizes have populations of between 20,000 and 500,000.

Information on the size and employment structure in the informal sector is hard to obtain, but estimates suggest that the sector accounts for 45 to 60 percent of the urban labor force. This is up from about 25 percent in the mid '60s. Life expectancy at birth is about 52 years; infant mortality rate is as high as 19.1 per 1000 live births; and the per capita income in Nigeria is thought to be US \$274 (Okunlola, 2001).

The development of the informal sector follows, closely, the general pattern of urban development in the country. Each phase in the development of the cities and the economy has its own dynamics in informal sector development. A large number of the cities pre-date British colonial rule as centers of traditional political and religious authority in towns like Zaria, Benin, Sokoto, Arochukwu, Ile Ife, etc. or as centers of internal and international trade across the Sahara and the Atlantic in towns like Kano, Lagos, Calabar, or as military fortifications that attracted large numbers of farmers and craftsmen for defense and related purposes in towns like Ibadan, Abeokuta, etc.

These native towns, with large indigenous populations, subsequently had European Reservations and migrant quarters grafted onto them during colonial rule, but they have often retained their traditional characteristics with traditional compound houses, customary attitudes, and practices regarding food handling, waste disposal, personal hygiene, urban agriculture, and livestock keeping. The areas of informality in such cities are very extensive.

Low income also exposes the urban poor to a degree of social exclusion, not only from basic needs, but also from civil and political rights. In all of these, women and female-headed households are generally the more vulnerable. More than in the rural areas, the limited asset bases of the urban poor leave them particularly vulnerable to sudden economic shocks, as well as to longer term crises, such as serious illness and injury (Moser, 1998).

The causes of increasing urban poverty have been analyzed, extensively, by the World Bank, International Food and Agricultural Development (IFAD), and by other organizations. Within Africa itself, a growing number of African researchers have come forward with an increasing body of research diagnosing the nature, magnitude, and causes of poverty in the region.

There has been a secular decline in Africa's GDP per capita, and today, it is lower than it was in 1960. The causes of this economic underperformance are many and varied. The levels of investments have been low and declining. Efficiency of capital, as measured by incremental capital output ratios (ICORs), has been low. The low efficiency rates of capital, in turn, have been caused by poor infrastructure, inappropriate policies, weak institutions, and poor governance. Inappropriate policies, in particular, have had a major impact on poor economic performance.

For many years after independence, the majority of African countries pursued import, substituting industrial policies, which impacted negatively on domestic terms of trade for agriculture. Furthermore, agriculture was subjected to direct taxation, in the form of export taxes, commodity, which is contrast to practices in the industrial countries where the reverse is the case, and agriculture, which enjoys an annual subsidy of \$300 billion equivalent to total Africa's GDP.

Globally, the international environment was not conducive. As primary commodity exporters, African countries experienced secular and substantial decline in their terms of trade. Foreign direct investment is negligible. Official development assistance (ODA), which reached its peak in the late eighties and early nineties, has been declining. At the start of the 1960s, the basis of the Nigerian economy was a well-diversified agricultural sector that supported 75 percent of the population, provided 68 percent of GDP, 78 percent of exports, and supplied the people with 94 percent of their food. Again, per capita income was estimated at US \$90 per capita and GDP growth was rapid at an annual rate nearly 5 percent (World Bank, 1996). Nigeria usually referred to it as the giant of Africa with the advent of the 80's has been be-devilled by serious financial stagnation which had adverse effect on the urban poor.

Bourguignon and Fields (1990) categorized the following as poor within the Nigerian urban context:

- Households or individuals below the poverty line and whose incomes are insufficient to provide for their basic needs.
- Households or individuals lacking access to basic services, political contracts, and other forms of support.
- People in isolated urban areas who lack essential infrastructures, especially the urban squatters.
- Households whose nutritional needs are not being met adequately,
- Persons who have lost their jobs and those who are unable to find employment.
- Ethnic minorities who are marginalized, deprived, and persecuted economically, socially, culturally, and politically.

## METHODOLOGY

Poverty line implies the norms for the minimum quantum of resources. The poverty line synthesizes a judgment as to what minima would be below which unacceptable situation of deprivation or hardship would exist. Basically to have adequate food, clothing, fuel, rent and transportation according the size of the family as this is minimum basket of goods considered as necessary to ensure a decent standard of life. The distribution of income among the poor indicates their relative level of deprivation (Sen, 1976).

For global aggregation and comparison, the World Bank use the reference lines set at \$1 and US \$2 per day (The World Bank, 1993). The empirical analysis derives from the various arguments in the empirical and theoretical arguments raised in this study. Given the poverty line (PL) at time (T) at a constant reference line of (PUS\$) for a given number of average constituent of household (H (n)) as suggested is given as:

$$P(\text{US\$}) \times H(n) \times T = \text{US\$ (PL)} \quad (1)$$

By adjusting the time frame to a day for an average constituent of household H(n)

$$P(\text{US\$}) \times H(n) \times (T+1) = \text{US\$ (PL)} \quad (2)$$

Computing analysis for 30 days for an average constituent of household H(n)

$$P(\text{US\$}) \times 12H \times 30 = \text{US\$ (PL)} \quad (3)$$

Computing US\$1 for average member of 12 for each household

$$1\text{US\$} \times 12 \times 30 = \text{US\$360} \quad (4)$$

US \$1 per capital x (12) x 30 = US\$ 360 per month (30 days) i.e.

US \$1 per day multiplied by (10-12 per household) as reflected in 30 days.

$$\text{US \$1} \times 12 \times 30 = \text{US \$360 monthly} \quad (5)$$

However, families require minimum necessities to survive. The capital income figures have been used by many governments to measure development performances. The minimum poverty income approach is the easiest to understand and mostly widely used. The poverty line, which can be defined from the

Nigeria concept as the income level, is considered to be the demarcation line between the poor and the non poor. Though the income poverty line measurement does give an approximation of the extent of poverty, it does not take into consideration the inequalities between the households at different poverty levels or the problems of the degree to which the incomes of the poor fall below the poverty line.

Table 1 is the monthly income distribution of population to determine the level of urban poverty in Lagos, Nigeria.

Table 1: Income Distribution of Population to Determine the Level of Urban Poverty In Lagos Nigeria.

NO	INCOME BRACKET (US\$)	POPULATION (%)
1	0-50	51
2	51-190	20
3	200-360	4
4	361-500	11
5	More > 500	14

Data analysis of the population shows that 75% of the total population is below the poverty line. This is translated to those within the income bracket of 0-50 US\$ contains 51% of those that are below the poverty line, 51-190 US\$ is 20%, and 200-350 US\$ is 4%. Out of the 25% of the population that live above the poverty line, those that earn 351-500 US\$ is 11%, while above 500 US\$ has a percentage population of 14%, as reflected in the pie chat in Figure 1.

PERCENTAGE OF POP (%)

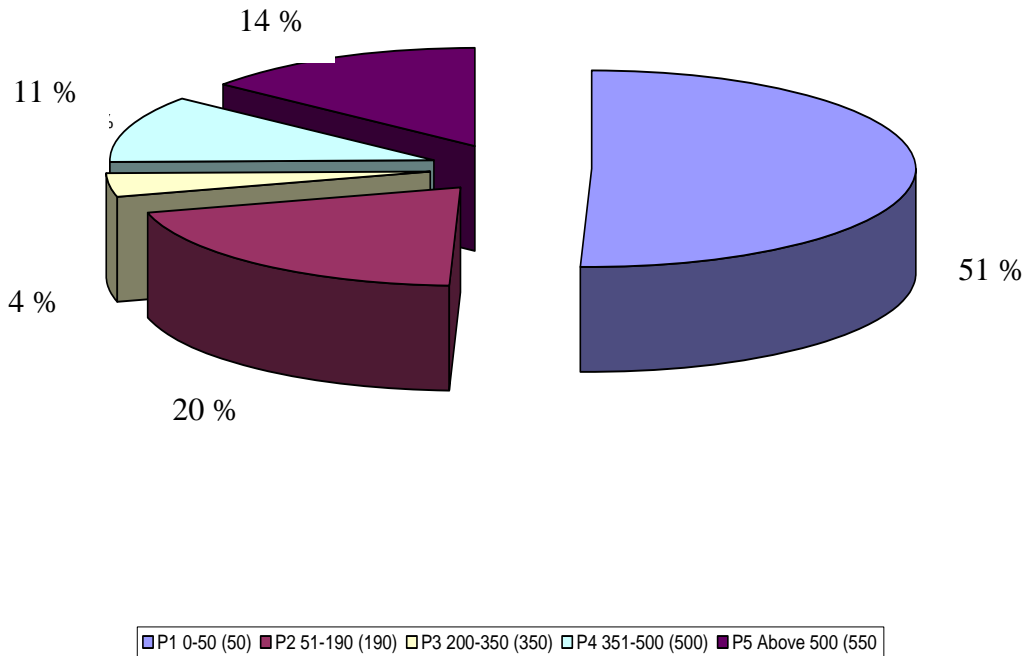


Figure 1: Urban Poverty Profile In Lagos Nigeria.

**PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN NIGERIA**

The failure of programs and strategies to slow down the incidence of poverty in Nigeria is a fact that the country lacks capacity to mitigate the social risks faced by the households or the community and, more importantly, to understanding the dynamics leading to the perpetuation of poverty. Despite all the attention the Federal Government of Nigeria seems to be giving to the alleviation of poverty in the country through its numerous agencies, poverty continues to be on the increase. Some of the factors militating against the smooth operations of government poverty alleviation measures include:

- Frequent policy changes and inconsistent implementation have prevented continuous progress and have created a climate of uncertainty, resulting in most operators having very short run perspective of the objectives of the program.

- Virtually all the programs lack targeting mechanisms for the poor and do not focus directly in the poor.
- Severe budgetary allocation, mismanagement, and bad governance have affected the programs, resulting in facilities/infrastructure not being completed or, even, established.
- Fraudulent activities and mismanagement. This results in wastage of resource and failure to achieve cost effective results. Funds earmarked for programs are not judiciously utilized. They are either misapplied within the program or diverted to other uses outside the program.
- Many intervention programs are developed on the rather erroneous assumption that the poor generally constitute a homogenous group and, therefore, relatively uniform prescription could be applied across board.

Poverty alleviation attempts must imbibe the fact that poverty is a dynamic phenomenon and all the intervention processes must be sustained. According to poverty alleviation experts, there is no single intervention scheme that has been generally accepted or adopted as the only scheme for poverty alleviation. Different, yet appropriate schemes must be designed, implemented, and maintained before any meaningful success can be achieved in poverty alleviation.

More so, alleviating poverty in the society requires a logical, systematic, sometimes confrontational, and sustained approach in order that persons, groups, or societies that were thought to have been alleviated do not relapse back into poverty. Furthermore, scholars agree that for poverty alleviation programs to be effective it could be on short or long term basis depending on the degree and level of poverty intended to be alleviated. An innovative and participatory approach where all stakeholders must be principal participants and the interest of the poor people should be placed firmly as the starting point of development activities.

## **POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES ATTEMPTS**

### **THE GREEN REVOLUTION**

The primary objective of the green revolution, when it was introduced by the federal government of Nigeria, was to modernize the agricultural sector of the economy, especially in regards to achieving self-sufficiency in food production. At the launching of the program, the Federal Government announced the initial release of about 18.3 million Nigeria naira. And under this arrangement, various projects, such as



land clearing schemes, farm mechanization centers, agro-service centers, river basin development schemes, national accelerated food production programs and tractor hiring services were all to receive increased development funds. Also included were the increased supply of fertilizers and other material inputs, as well as more micro-credit guarantee schemes for farmers in the agro-sector.

The major policy focus of the green revolution, as introduced by the Federal Government, includes:

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

The strategy of implementation of the Green Revolution involves the total mobilization of plant and animal resources within a food policy for Nigeria. In addition, it included expertise engineering of the factors of production and prudent monitoring of the supportive institutions, like marketing storage, processing, etc. The areas of involvements were: seed marketing, land clearing, control of soil erosion, rural integrated projects, development of grazing reserves, etc. These were all with the aim of self-sufficiency in food production within five years.

#### DIRECTORATE OF FOOD, ROADS, AND RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE (DFRRI)

The Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructures was a domesticated strategy, by General Babangida Administration, to complement the efforts of the Green Revolution. Due to declining food production, poor transportation system, poor healthcare delivery, rural-urban migration, squalor, high rate of illiteracy, and non-existing and decaying infrastructure facilities, it became obvious that the past policies of government, including the Green Revolution, had failed to deliver services to the people through the government alone.

This was the reason why the Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructures was established as a domestic interventionist initiative through which the government could deliver improved living conditions to the people. The setting up of DFRRI was announced during the 1986 budget speech of the, then, Head of State of Nigeria, Ibrahim Babangida, as part of his new socio-economic and political package of his administration. The Directorate, at its inception in 1986, was allocated the sum of 340 million Nigeria naira. This was later increased to 100 million Nigeria naira during the 1987 budget year. Similarly, in 1988, this level of budgetary funding was maintained for DFRRI.

The policy implementation of DFRRI include:

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

The Strategy of implementation of DFRRI include:

DFRRI was charged with using the local and state governments ministries of: Local Government, Co-operative and Community Development, Lands and Survey, River Basin and Rural Development authorities, Federal Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, National Electricity Power Authority (NEPA), Rural Electrification Boards, etc., through which the government accomplished the mandates of the program.

#### THE BETTER LIFE PROGRAM (BLP)

The Better Life Program came into being in 1987, under the military rule of General Ibrahim Babangida, to stimulate women in rural areas towards achieving a better and higher standard of living. The program was initiated by Late Mrs. Mariam Babangida and was designed to promote the declaration of women in 1975 by the United States Government. The program was to pay attention to all forms of discriminatory practices against the women.

The objective of BLP include:

- The mobilization of women for effective national development.
- The need to bring women together for better understanding and resolution of the problems through collective actions.

- The need to raise women's consciousness concerning their activities, rights, social, political, and economic responsibilities.

The strategy of implementation BLP includes:

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

#### FAMILY SUPPORT PROGRAMME IN NIGERIA (FSP)

This program was inaugurated in 1994, with the demise of the Babangida's administration, by the wife of the, then, Head of State of Nigeria, Mrs. Maryam Sani Abacha. This program was a shift of policy, thrust on the role of family in national development, particularly, as it affects major social sectors such as health, education, and economic empowerment, amongst others.

The aims of objectives of FSP

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

The strategy of implementation of FSP are:

- Sponsoring media captions, news talk, television and radio discussions.
- Establishment of relevant clubs and societies so that the rural family life shall be touched through the assistance given to women by loan and other services.
- Mounting workshops, seminars, symposiums, and public lectures to mobilize the people through competitions and quizzes, publications, and training schemes. The programs were to be implemented at the three tiers of government.

#### THE NATIONAL DIRECTORATE OF EMPLOYMENT (NDE)

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

The strategy of implementation of NDE include:

- Make unemployed youths have marketable skills through the entrepreneurship development program.
- Start your own business program for other employable, but unemployed Nigerians.

#### NATIONAL ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (NEEDS)

The vision and mission statement of (NEEDS) are underlined below:

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

These are the fundamental values upon which NEEDS are established. These include:

- Caring, well governed society where justice and equity reign,

- Laying a solid foundation for a national self-rediscovery and stringing values based on enterprise, competition and efficiency, at all levels,
- Equity and care for the weak and vulnerable,
- Moral rectitude,
- Respect for traditional values,
- Extolling of our culture, and
- A value system for public service that makes efficient and effective service delivery to the citizens.

NEEDS, as a development strategy, recognizes that these values cannot take root and be sustained unless conscious efforts are made to mobilize the people around them. Without paradigm shifts, fundamental changes in mindset, and acceptance that it cannot be business as usual, especially by the elite, the change that NEEDS seeks to bring about will be difficult to attain and sustain.

The fundamental principles of (NEEDS) includes, the state shall direct its policy towards ensuring:

- The promotion of a planned and balanced economic development.
- That the material resources of the nation are harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common good.
- That the economic system is not operated in such a manner as to permit the concentration of wealth or the means of production and exchange in the hands of few individuals or of a group.
- That suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizens.

Government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels. The national ethics shall be discipline, integrity, dignity of labor, social justice, religious tolerance, self-reliance, and patriotism.

In other words, the constitution clearly stipulates that policy must be directed to balance the objectives of efficiency, effectiveness, and equity in order to ensure a broad-based poverty reducing growth and

development strategy. The dividends of which will be distributed fairly among all classes. The NEEDS is based upon these principles. It is the strategy aimed at achieving the directive principles of state policy. Its focus is wealth creation, employment generation, poverty reduction, corruption elimination, and general value reorientation. Three other principles that underpin the NEEDS are an incentive structure that rewards and celebrates private enterprise, entrepreneurial spirit and excellence, and new forms of partnership among all stakeholders in the economy to promote prosperity among all arms of government, Federal, State and Local, public, private, civil society, the International community, and, indeed, all stakeholders.

#### THE POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMME (PAP)

This was an interim measure, introduced in early 2000, to address the problems of rising unemployment and crime wave, particularly among youths. The orientation of PAP is holistic in nature and, if properly planned and managed, could reduce poverty in Nigeria. Emphasis was placed on the creation of jobs with the target being the employment of 200,000 idle hands with an allocation of 5,000 per state. To actualize the program, the Federal Government earmarked 10 billion Nigeria naira, which was later raised to 17 billion Nigeria naira by the Senate. This pointed to commitment by government. However, while this program was linked to public works employment, it appeared that it could be a one-off affair rather than a revolving one.

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

The basic objectives of (PAP) include:

- Reduce the problem of unemployment and, hence, raise effective demand in the economy.
- Increase the productiveness of the economy.
- Drastically reduce the embarrassing crime wave in the society.

#### THE NATIONAL POVERTY ERADICATION PROGRAMME (NAPEP)

Introduced in 2001, NAPEP was the poverty alleviation program introduced by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, which focuses on the provision of “strategies for the eradication of absolute poverty in

Nigeria (FGN, 2001). For NAPEP to make a meaningful impact on poverty there is a need for poverty reduction programs to be implemented within the framework of rapid economic growth with equity controlled population growth, sound economic management, and good governance among others.

NAPEP is complemented by National Poverty Eradication Council (NAPEC), which is to coordinate poverty related activities of all the relevant ministries, parastatals and agencies. Other relevant institutions under NAPEP include:

- Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES)
- Rural Infrastructure Development Scheme (RIDS)
- Social Welfare Services Scheme (SOWESS) and,
- National Resource Development Conservation Scheme (NRDCS)

### **REASONS FOR FAILURE OF PREVIOUS POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMS**

Different governments in Nigeria initiated several alleviating poverty programs with each successive government addressing the issue through enunciation of poverty related programs. Whether these programs succeeded in either elevating poverty or not is a moot point.

The target of Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) was excessive food production and self-sufficiency. The advent of Green Revolution, on the heels of OFN, was indicative of the inadequacy of this program to address the food production problems and allied activities meant to elevate the living standards at urban and rural areas. The Directorate of Food Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) which, unlike the Green Revolution with universal acclaim and acceptance, especially amongst capitalist countries, was a home initiative, targeted at food production, rural development, rural infrastructures, skill acquisition, and micro business development. The ambitious plans of DFRRI, in the self-assigned tasks, became unwieldy in conception, implementation, and even obtaining the enabling act without duplicating functions with already existing establishments tasked with similar functions.

DFRRI was not a people centered programme just like the other programs whose policy concepts were rather handed down from the imperial powers, now masquerading under various multinational establishments in the developing countries. When the Better Life Program (BLP) was incepted and

targeted at elevating the living standards of people, because such targets were not responsive, participatory, and sustainable, this merely reduced their activities to slogans and jamborees by those in corridors of power using electronic and print media to implement the programs, rather than concentrating on sound conceptualization and designs.

However, the Family Support Program (FSP) shifted emphasis to the role of family in rural development. This program mobilized women from the three tiers of the government of Nigeria. The program intervened in several areas aimed at enhancing the self-sustenance of the rural women and better health practice. Early success of this program and more budgetary allocation of about 4.5 billion Nigeria naira in the 1997/98 fiscal year resulted to its expansion and re-christening of the program to Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP). However, the budgetary allocation was abruptly displaced by the death of the, then, Head of Nigerian Government, Sani Abacha.

The NDE program was established to compliment the efforts of other poverty and rural development measures. Specifically it was mandated to train unskilled young Nigerians towards skill acquisition and entrepreneurship development. This, it is hoped, that by being backed by the micro-business funds put together by the Federal Government of Nigeria, could boost employment generation in the informal sector. How far this program will succeed is still open to debates as it is observed that the NDE program has been severally afflicted with political decisions, like suspension of the program, usurpation of the functions of the NDE through politically motivated outfits like (PAP), and NAPEP, which barely served political promotion of policies of the Government for political loyalists and party members.

Ironically, the (NEEDS) objectives, according to the authors and sponsors, put together as a holistic approach to turn round the economic, political, and social problems in Nigeria, which had combined to impede economic growth and national development. Although the authors and sponsors claim that the package has taken into account, at the program designs stage, the identified problems, which had made earlier programs unsuccessful.

All the programs suffered from bureaucratic bottle-necks, participation of the beneficiaries at the program design stages, apathy by the people against the program, lack of continuity, often due to incessant changes in governments, political instability, poor funding, unattainable ambitious plans,



absence of established permanent infrastructures for implementation, duplication of functions with existing establishments leading to antagonism and sabotage, mismanagement of funds, materials and equipment meant for the program implementations, resistance from the elites, suspicion of the influence of multinational interests, government doing the bids of foreign governments, and capitalist industrialized institutions. Above all the programs were not sustainable.

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