

# The rhetoric and reality gaps in Nigeria's agricultural policy (1999-2016): Its implications on economic development

Keziah Y. Ayuba, PhD

Department of Management Studies, Plateau State University, Bokkos, Nigeria

Email: ayuba\_keziah@yahoo.com, Tel.: +2348037379816



Corresponding Author

Keziah Y. Ayuba, PhD

Department of Management  
Studies, Plateau State University,  
Bokkos, Nigeria

\*Corresponding Author's Email:  
ayuba\_keziah@yahoo.com, Tel.:  
+2348037379816

## Abstract

The subject of the performance of government policy has raised various debates in recent decades. Many factors have been identified by extant literature to be responsible for the poor performance of government policies in mostly the developing countries, Nigeria inclusive. Investigating the commitment in spoken and written words in government agricultural policy becomes crucial considering the fact that since independence in 1960, successive Nigerian governments have formulated various agricultural policies. These policies aimed at ensuring self-sustaining food production, poverty reduction, narrowing the existing gaps in inequality etc. Regrettably, that has not been achieved. The objective of this study is to investigate the real intend of government spoken words through their various policy documents and its real application to real issues facing the Agricultural sector. To gain insight into the investigation, the qualitative research method was adopted. The study combined the use of both primary and secondary methods to collect the data. The critical discourse and content analysis were used to analyse the data. Findings from the study show that there is a huge rhetoric gap in the policy document thereby, leading to the creation of a rentier economy and a continuous recycled fluctuating economy.

**Keywords:** Agricultural Policy, Rhetoric and Reality, Rentier Economy, Economic Development.

## Introduction

*Nigeria's Agricultural Policy is the synthesis of the framework and action plans of the government designed to achieve overall agricultural growth and development (Ladan, 2013)*

Agricultural policy is a roadmap towards solving identified national or local problems that affect the performance of agricultural activities and their role in the bigger economy. Good policies, if well implemented, should lead

to better living standards for all farmers and their wider target groups. (Mill, 1997).

But Nigeria does not have a good history here. The policies on agriculture in Nigeria since its inception have promised much but delivered little for instance, the policy on soft loans and fertiliser subsidy for rural farmers which never become a reality after so many years. As laudable as policies on agriculture have been, their impact has often not been felt by the rural farmers many of whom we know are still practicing the traditional methods of farming. In this system, the traditional means of increasing productivity has been by increasing hectares

of land cultivated (Iwuchukwu and Igbokwe, 2012). Governments have been sluggish in policy implementation which has hampered economic growth and development (Alami, 2002). They have still not taken their policies down to the grassroots (Kolade, 2014). The result has been a rapid turnover of policies, at least until more recently.

**Literature**

**Economic Development**

For a government, the importance attached to the economic development of a nation reflects on the ability to have the economic strength to be in control of its national and international affairs. Economic development is about the sovereignty of a nation and how independent it is from outsiders’ intrusions in economic and other policy decisions that directly or indirectly affect the day to day lives of its people. For the citizens of a country, development is about well-being.

The advantages accruing to economic development potentially range from a good standard of living, better

quality of life, longer life expectancy, to the ability of the people to make choices regarding their lives, welfare, and future. It allows people to decide on issues that directly or indirectly affect their day to day living. They are able to choose for themselves what to eat, the location to reside, the types and kind of school to attend, what to wear, etc. There are varieties of things available to make their choices from.

In the underdeveloped economies, the rights of the people are limited or abused due to the high level of poverty and illiteracy, especially in SSA. Governments in LDCs tend to manipulate and take decisions on behalf of the people. The people are left with few options or with no options at all. Governments have often led and ruled by imposition, intimidation, dictatorship, limitation of human rights, and choices denied. (Kukah, 1999).

The gap between the rich and the poor nations is still growing significantly. World Bank (2014) and Maddison project data (2015) indicates that the inequality gap has grown from 1960 when most African countries gained their independence from colonial regimes. The tables below show how the gap has grown for average output per head in Africa compared to the world average.

**Table 1:** GDP Per Capita 1960 – 2015 (Current US \$)

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2015
<b>World</b>	445.8	796.9	2,495.7	4,262.1	5,460.1	9,482.2	10,057.9
<b>SSA</b>	116.9	206.7	683.2	589.4	551.1	1,556.99	1,588.5
<b>SSA as %</b>	26	26	27	14	10	16	16

**Source:** World Bank database

At the turn of the new century, it was said that “Africa has 13% of the world population but only 3% of world GDP” (OECD Observer, 2002). Today this remains largely the case. With the highest gap between the population share and income share in the world, Africa is not only the poorest continent but in a volatile situation due to its overdependence on the export of unprocessed natural resources whose prices are determined by the international market. African states have established trade relations with each other based on colonial integration (Ake, 1981). Regional blocs were also introduced for inter and intra-regional trading activities.

ECOWAS is one of the most important of these regional trading blocs with Nigeria at its center. But despite integration within the regions, the volume of trade is still very low as Africans trade more with countries

outside the trading bloc than those within it (Ayuba and Haynes 2017).

**Economic Development in Nigeria**

*There is no reason why Nigeria should look too largely towards export for its future economy: The vastness of its population and the variation in its climate and productive capacity give a wide field for the development of sound and progressive internal economy” ( Nigeria Preliminary Statement on Development Planning in Nigeria,1945).*

**Table 2:** The basic development of Nigeria 1950 – 2008 using Maddison’s data measured in constant \$

Year	Population (000)	Output (\$)	Output per head	World average output per head	Nigerian output per head as % of world average output per head.
1950	31,397	23,933	753	2,111	36
1960	41,547	34,081	820	2,773	30
1970	55,586	60,814	1,094	3,729	29
1980	74,821	97,646	1,305	4,512	29
1990	96,604	107,459	1,112	5,150	22
2000	123,179	143,018	1,161	6,038	19
2008	146,255	222,958	1,524	7,614	20

**Source:** Maddison data: statistics on World population, GPD, and GDP per Capita

From the table, it is obvious that the population of Nigeria has grown quickly but output per head has not. In some periods it has declined as the population has grown faster. The output per head data, when compared to the world average output per head, shows that Nigeria performed poorly and has been in relative decline since the 1950s, though it started picking up in the late 2000s.

### **The Economy of Nigeria Since 1999**

Since 1999, when the civilian regime came on board, the Nigerian economy has experienced apparently strong growth. This growth has been argued to be as a result of the rise in the price of oil but not necessarily as a result of more productive activities or the performance of the other sectors in the country. Even when there was a global recession in 2008, Nigeria experienced a growth rate of 6.2%. In 1999, when the civilian regime took over the leadership of the country, the growth rate was less than 1% (0.5%) but in the year 2004, Nigeria experienced its highest growth of 33.7%. On an average,

from 1999 to 2014, Nigeria experienced growth of 6% - 7% per year (CBN, 2014).

In 2014, following a new methodology (rebased) for calculating its GDP, Nigeria was announced as having the largest economy in Africa (World Bank, 2014; Jerven, 2015). The re-based GDP placed Nigeria as the 26<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world (World Bank, 2014), with a GDP of \$510 billion. But the growth that Nigeria enjoyed was threatened by another fall in the price of oil. As at December 2015, economic growth declined to 2.7% from 6.2% in 2014. Poverty has only reduced by 1 % in 6 years from 64% in 2004 to 63% in 2010 (Ayuba, 2017) while unemployment is on the rise. In 2016, the economy of Nigeria went into recession due to the continuous fall in oil price. The recession was said to have been over in the last quota of 2017. However, the impact of being out of recession is yet to be felt by most Nigerians. In mid-2018, the country was declared to be the poverty capital of the world.

**Table 3:** Fluctuations in Nigerian Economic Growth 1999-2015 (%)

1999 (%)	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)	2004 (%)	2005 (%)	2006 (%)	2007 (%)	2008 (%)	2009 (%)	2010 (%)	2011 (%)	2012 (%)	2013 (%)	2014 (%)	2015 (%)
0.5	5.3	4.4	3.8	10.4	33.7	3.4	8.2	6.8	6.2	6.9	7.8	4.9	4.3	5.4	6.2	2.7

**Source:** Compiled from CBN (2014), NBS (2012), and the World Bank database

### **Agriculture and Economic Development**

Schultz in 1980 argued that;

*Most of the people in the world are poor, so if we knew the economics of being poor, we would know much of the economics that really matters. Most of the world's poor people earn their living from agriculture, so if we knew the economics of agriculture, we would know much of the economics of being poor. (Schultz, 1980)*

In 2017 this quotation tends to still hold ground as the SSA region is still largely populated by many farmers and is the poorest continent in the world.

Agriculture has contributed to the social welfare of farmers and the society (FAO 2010). For example, during a crisis, agriculture can serve as a safety net and an economic stabilizer. During a period of uncertainty, agriculture stands out as an insurance which provides employment for the unemployment, retirees, those who lose their jobs due to structural adjustments etc. The 2008 World Bank report showed that agricultural improvement reduced poverty in the rural areas by about 80% while rural-urban migration was only able to reduce poverty by 20%.

For agriculture to serve such developmental purposes in an economy, Collier and Dercon (2013), Oritse (2015), have suggested that governments should improve infrastructure, spend money on research and development and engage the grassroots farmers in

policy formulation and implementation, to make agriculture more attractive and to motivate educated youths who can handle modern tools and techniques to participate in the venture.

### **The Contribution of Agriculture to the Nigerian Economy**

The agriculture sector had played a vital role in the Nigerian Economy long before Nigeria gained her independence. The sector has contributed to the GDP, provided raw materials to cottage industries, a source of employment to many rural dwellers, and a source of food to households. (CBN, 2014)

On an average, the percentage of people employed in the agricultural sector is some 56.4%. On either account, this makes the agricultural sector the largest employer of labour in the country. It shows how important the agricultural sector is in creating employment for the majority of Nigerians.

### **Agricultural Neglect and the Pattern of Federal and State Spending in Nigeria**

It is a big problem to know how much the Nigerian government spends. In 2014, the International Food Policy Research Institute had a major project on the Analysis of Agricultural Public Expenditures in Nigeria.

Table 4 shows the average share of the federal government budget allocation and the actual spending. We see immediately that agriculture is not a high priority sector and that the government is more focused on other sectors than on the agricultural sector. More, in the case of agriculture, the amount spent was less than the

amount allocated to the sector. While the table shows that there were other sectors where the government underspent, the percentage of under-spend was higher in agricultural spending. In some other sectors, the government overspends.

**Table 4:** Average Share of Federal Spending by Sector 2008-2012

	Budget	Actual	+/-	(%) Average
Economic Affairs	21.82	24.20	+2.85	+11.8
Public order and safety	15.52	15.26	-0.26	-1.7
General Public Service	14.52	13.26	-1.26	-8.7
Defence	9.13	8.90	-0.23	-2.5
Education	6.2	7.40	+1.2	+19.4
Agriculture	5.45	4.61	-0.84	-15.5
Environmental protection	1.76	2.24	+0.48	+27.2
Health	4.4	5.38	+0.98	+22.2
Housing and community	0.44	0.42	-0.02	-4.5
Recreation culture and religion	0.83	0.98	+0.15	+18.1
Social Protection	1.23	2.06	+0.83	+67.5
Other	18.66	16.97	-1.69	-9.1
Total	99.96	101.88	+1.92	+124.3

**Sources:** Aderibigbe O.; Tewodja, M.; Tolulope, O.; Lhinedum, N.; Edet, U.; Reuben, A.; Justice, O.; and Sileshi, W. (2014:99); Ayuba (2017)

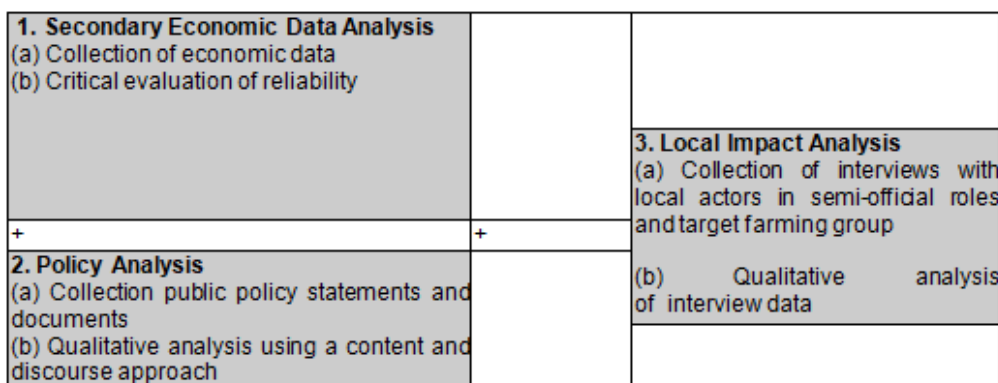
While the sector was allocated an average of 5.45% in the total budget for 2008-2012, only 4.61% of the budget went to the sector. The actual amount spend was significantly less than the budgeted. The gap in agriculture under-spending is proportionately the biggest. This case of *under-spending* in the agricultural sector can be compared against an *overspending* in social protection with a 67.5% increase in spending. This supports the argument of Jerven (2011) that,

*“The importance given to peasants in political speeches was matched by ambitions in national account blueprints. But in both cases, there were serious shortcomings when it came to practical application”*

**Methodology**

This study used a multiple method research approach with a focus on qualitative analysis for the interpretation of data (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2007). Data for the study has been collected from both secondary and primary sources. The secondary data is extracted from published documents and Economic data collected from public and private published economic statistical data, journals, articles etc. The primary data was collected mainly through interviews, and observation (Yin, 1984). The critical discourse and content analysis technique were used to analysis the data.

The figure below (Figure 1) sets out the three main components of the research methodology used for this study and identifies the data that is being collected and the form of analysis that it is subjected to.



**Figure 1:** Three Components of the Research Methodology for The study

**Source:** Ayuba (2017)



## Discussion

This section will discuss the findings from the policy documents reviewed on the first segment and information gathered from the field during the interviews on the second segment. Hence, the discussion section is broken down into two segments thus;

### 1. *The Agricultural Transformation Agenda's (ATA) Language of Vision and the Disconnect of Language*

Vision statements became popular from the 1990s. They are seen as a way of setting goals, disseminating them and motivating people. For Fairclough (2010), such documents represent typical examples of 'policy speaks' designed to hide as much as reveal what it's real intend is. They carry both explicit and implicit policy messages - legitimising certain types of policy; promoting these policies; and diverting attention from other possibilities.

When those who wrote the ATA documentation talked of the 3Cs - *continuity, consistency, and commitment*, they used a commonplace linguistic trick both to create a mnemonic and to tell a story about the past and the future. In the past, there had been discontinuity, inconsistency and uncertain commitment. Now and in the future, there would be *continuity*.

*Consistency and commitment*: In this way, the ATA tended to view and blame the lack of performance of the agricultural sector on the way past governments had handled the management of the sector. The ATA documents accepted that the government had the power to make positive changes but had failed to use its position of authority to create positive changes in the sector.

In these terms, quite extraordinary claims were made. The transformation agenda of the federal government on agriculture and food security was intended to:

*“Enhance the generation of national and social wealth through greater export and import substitution; enhance capacity for value-added leading to industrialization and employment opportunities; efficient exploitation and utilization of available agricultural resources; and enhance the development and dissemination of appropriate and efficient technology for rapid adoption”* (Agricultural Transformation Agenda, 2012).

Although less than 50 words long, this sentence is a good example of what Fairclough (2012) would see as policy speak. Table 5 Breakdown its terms linguistically

**Table 5:** The Vocabulary of a policy document

Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Pronouns
Generation	Enhance (3)	National	
Wealth	Leading	Social	
Substitution		Greater	
Utilisation		Export/import	
Technology		Employment	
Substitution		Available	
Capacity		Efficient	
Value-added		Appropriate	
Industrialisation		Rapid	
Opportunities		agricultural	
Resources			
Development			
Dissemination			
Adoption			

We can immediately see that several things are happening here. The choice of words used in the government document tends to be abstract. Its goals are to give an expression of greatness and achievement. It aims to portray how effective the program has performed. The tune of the statement is quite optimistic with full of certainty without an iota of doubt or caution. It shows that the government plays a positive role as an enabler. However, there is an absence of agency from the statement. No one is taking responsibility for the action plan. From the cited statement, there was no single pronoun to associate the statement with.

The study looks more closely at the way that the farmers interviewed relate to the different government projects. To understand the degree of policy disconnect that can arise in such programmes as the ATA, we will consider the passage above in the light of two different

comments made by farmers who were interviewed. The first comes from a farmer who thought himself the beneficiary of government policy. The second from a farmer who thought that government policy was not helping him. Among all the farmers interviewed during the study, only one farmer took his farming activities as a business and without any form of support from the government in the aspect of food processing. When asked about the role of government he said;

*They came to my aid in the area of the fishery and the oil palm. In the area of the fishery, we were given about 500 fingerlings and some feed to take care of them and feeding materials that we use to produce feeds. Also in the area of oil palm, I*

was given some 50 stands of oil palm and fertilizer.

labourers at a cheaper rate to enable us to minimise production cost and have some left over for fertilizers.”

A second farmer offered a more negative view

“When the government used to assist us, farmers, we make use of tractors, cows, etc, but now that our financial strength is limited, we try to use our hands with hoes and also hire

Both the content and style of the language used by these two farmers suggests a very different view of what matters and how it matters compared to the rhetoric of the ATA documents. Table 6 sets out a simple analysis of these two comments to bring out these differences

**Table 6:** The Speech Vocabulary of Two Farmers

Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Pronouns
Farmers	Assist	Financial	I
Cows	Cheaper	Used	We (2)
Tractors (2)	Limited	Strength	Us (2)
Hoes	Given	Enable	Our (2)
Labourers	Cost		They (2)
Fertilizer (2)	Feeding		My
Materials			Them
Fishery			
Oil palm			
Fingerlings			
Feeds			

Here we see how their view of the world, molded by their actual circumstances, leads them to create a very different sense of what matters compared to the language of the ATA documents.

The terminology used by the farmer is more concrete and simple. The goal of the farmers is modest. The respondents are not demanding for more than what they think the government cannot provide. The statement shows that the farmers are pessimistic and not too certain of the direction of change to expect. The agency in the statement is clear from the use of pronouns. There is a clear distinction of who is responsible for what.

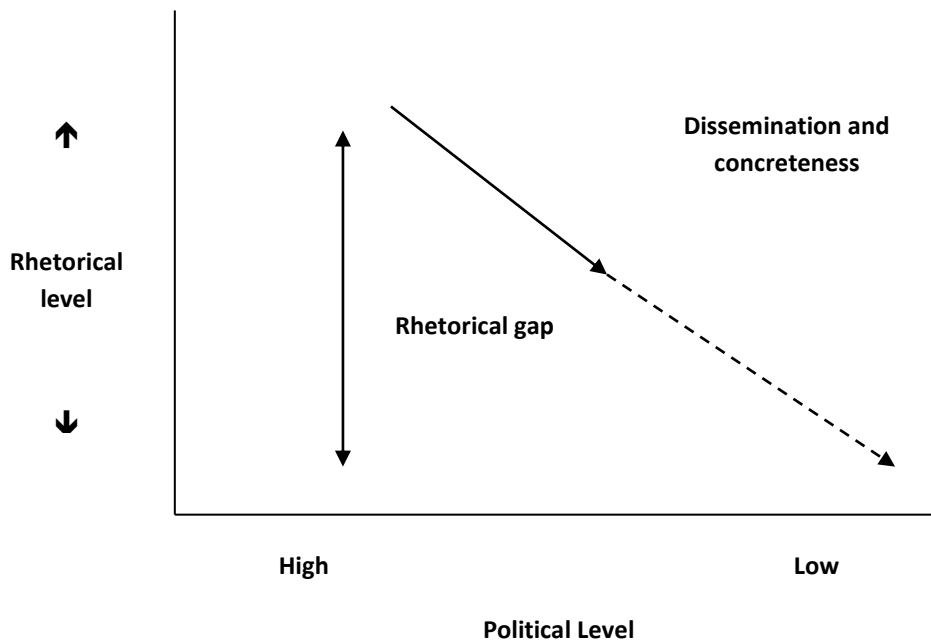
This points to what we can call a rhetorical gap when it comes to analysing the meaningfulness of documents like these produced to support the ATA nationally and how it might be seen from the bottom up. Figure 2 hypothesise one view of this. We see that a huge rhetorical gap exists and that policy might need to be disseminated in more simple and concrete terms the further one moves down from the top to the bottom.

A comparison of the vocabulary of the words in the documents and in the extracts from the farmers

interviewed shows that the government documents disassociate themselves from the people and the programme. No single pronouns were found in the 50 or so words analysed for the above-cited document. Nouns used in the document also indicated how positive the policy has worked or is working in the sector. The Nouns words are those of uplifting the agricultural sector and the farmers.

However, from analysis from the angle of policy formulators, the rhetoric in the policy statement presented can be said to be correct because it clearly shows what Fairclough and Wodak (1997) views as the transmission of power and who benefit at the detriment of whom.

On the contrary, the vocabulary words from the interview extract of two farmers show the opposite. The Nouns words of the farmers’ place them in the position of people still in need of help from the government. The farmers equally used pronouns words that associate them with the issue they are facing.



**Figure 2:** The Rhetorical Gap in Policy and Daily Language

But how big might this gap be? One way of assessing it is to compare the type of language of the ATA statement with the language used by the different interviewees.

Table 7 shows a vocabulary analysis from a number of interviewees and reveals the gap in rhetoric.

**Table 7:** Vocabulary analysis from interviews conducted

Vision Document terms	Number of times used in interview data					
	Politician	Head of Agric. College	Technocrat	Fadama Desk officers	Ag. Extension workers	Farmers
Enhance	0	1	0	1	0	0
Opportunity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Efficient	0	0	0	0	0	0
Development	4	3	3	1	0	0
Linkages	0	0	0	0	0	0
Translated	0	1	0	0	0	0
Harnesses	0	0	0	0	0	0
Incorporating	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alleviating	0	0	0	0	0	0
Empowering	1	0	0	0	0	0

The table above is a clear illustration of how top-down, the policy on agriculture in Nigeria is. The words in the documents seem to be meant more for the consumption of those at the top and the international community than those lower down or peasant farmers. None of the extension workers and farmers interviewed used a vocabulary that aligned with the words in the documents. Those at the top seem to have a language that they use to communicate with amongst themselves and to the outside world while, those below have little or no sense of, or need for, the used terms.

The government of Nigeria has long acknowledged its overdependence on oil. In 2010 a Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) report states that

*the challenge ... [has] ... remained the overdependence on the oil sector and the competitiveness of the non-oil sector. (CBN, 2010).*

Since oil contributes so much to the general performance of the Nigerian economy, a change in the international price of the product usually has an effect on the economy, either positively or negatively, depending on the direction of the change. The 1970s oil boom pushed the GDP of Nigeria to grow by more than 100%. But the period between the 1980s and 1990s is regarded as the lost years in Nigeria. It was during this period that the GDP of Nigeria declined to -1.42% while the population

## 2. The Implication of Rhetoric Agricultural Policies in Nigeria

- 1) The emergence of a Fluctuating Economic Growth

grew by 2.6% (World Bank, 2016). Okonjo-Iweala (2014) argues that the poor management of the oil boom led Nigeria to become an indebted country. To cushion the effect of the fall in oil price on the economy, the government had to accept an austerity plan of the World Bank and the IMF to introduce SAP as a remedy for the economy. The GDP per head of Nigeria dropped in the years 1980 to 1989. The standard of living in Nigeria fell as the World Bank declared Nigeria a low-income country. During these lost years, Nigeria also experienced high levels of inflation.

When there was an oil boom again in the 2000s, the economy grew by an average of 6-7 % with the highest growth experienced in 2004 (33.7%). The fall in the price of oil of late 2014 has affected the growth of the economy. As at December 2015, the economy had only grown by 2.7% from 6.2% the previous year while the World Bank shows the GDP growth to have declined further to 0.8% in 2016 (World Bank Data, 2017). This confirms the continuing relevance of Lewis's argument that the "*the economy ... [is] ... highly sensitive to fluctuations in oil earnings*" (Lewis, 1996).

## 2) The Creation of a Rentier Economy

*The theory of the rentier state says that countries that receive a substantial amount of oil revenue from the outside world on a regular basis tend to become autonomous from their societies, unaccountable to their citizens, and autocratic.* (Yates, 1996)

Nigeria is regarded by many as a rentier state because of its dependence on oil exploration and exploitation. The exploitation and the concentration of oil revenue have denied the people the benefit of being economically productive. This has caused the Nigerian economy to remain distorted when compared with other countries that have sources of revenue coming from wider productive activities.

Since oil generates more revenue for the government, the government has shifted its attention to the oil sector while neglecting other sectors thereby creating a rentier state where a large number of members of the society depends on the oil proceeds (Ovadia, 2013). There has also been a relative fall in other potentially vibrant and productive sectors with agriculture perhaps the worst affected.

With rent-seeking in Nigeria, the regime in power, military or civilian, tends to behave and perform in the same way. They all focus on the oil industry and oil revenue. This has been evident in the past four decades where, with both the military and the civilian regimes, we have seen the distortion of the other sectors and poor management of resources. The ruling elites developed what Hussein (1970) referred to as a rentier mentality. Many educated people are desperate to work for oil companies while the politicians and the elite class are desperate to occupy public offices where they can be in control of the resources (Ovadia, 2013). The implication of this mentality is the emergence of what has been

called a prebendal state, where corruption, poverty, and kleptocracy prevail (Joseph 2008, 2014).

In a rentier state, little attention is given to developing other sources of revenue and the growth of other sectors. With oil rents, the potential exists for a government to rule more independently of the rest of society. Since more revenue comes from outside sources, governments like those in Nigeria tend to work in isolation from the majority of the people.

## Conclusion and suggestion

*'Public policies and programs do not matter since rulers have few intentions of delivering on them anyway'* (Diamond, 2008).

The above statement by Diamond (2008) is subject to debate. Not all public policies have failed to perform in Nigeria. For example, the Treasury Single Account (TSA) policy by the federal government where all public funds must be in a particular account. But the issue under discourse in this study is whether the policies on agriculture are actually intended to be delivered.

For an effective and efficient agricultural policy that will drive economic development, the government must be modest, precise and target the real audience who are directly connected to the policy such as, the agricultural research institutions, agricultural colleges, agricultural extension workers, and the farmers because – bottom-up agricultural policy matters.

## References

- Aderibigbe, O., Tewodja, M., Tolulope, O., Lhinedum, N.; Edet, U., Reuben, A., Justice, O. and Sileshi, W. (2014) Analysis of agricultural public expenditure in Nigeria. Examination at the federal, state, and local government levels. IFPRI Discussion paper 01395.
- Agricultural Transformation Agency (ATA) (2012). Repositioning agriculture to drive Nigeria's economy. Federal ministry of agriculture and rural development, Abuja, Nigeria
- Ake, C. (1981). *A Political Economy of Africa*. London: Longman
- Alami, A. (2002). "Strategies for rapid economic development in Nigeria". OLAD Nig. Enterprise, No. 45/70, Niger Road, Ilorin, Kwara state.
- Ayuba, K.Y. (2017). Words or Deeds: The Rhetoric and Reality of Government Agricultural Policy and Rural Development of Nigeria. A PhD Thesis Submitted to the University of Wolverhampton Business School. United Kingdom
- Ayuba, K. & Haynes, M. (2017). Business and economic in Africa: One story or many? *International Journal of Management Concept and Philosophy*. Vol. 10, (1), pp. 54 – 72g
- CBN (2000-2011). Nigeria Economic report. www.cbn.gov.ng
- CBN Reports (2010). www.cbn.gov.ng>document Accessed (05/07/2016)
- CBN (2014). Annual Report. <https://www.cbn.gov.ng>documents>a> Accessed (05/07/2016)
- Collier, P. and Dercon, S. (2013). "African agriculture in 50 years: smallholders in a rapidly changing world". Centre on food security and Environment.



- Diamond L. (2008). The democratic rollback: The resurgence of the predatory state. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2008-03-02/democratic-rollback> Accessed (05/02/2017)
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. Van Dijk T. A. (ed), London. Pp.258 – 284.
- FAO (2010). The state of food insecurity in the world: Addressing food insecurity in protracted crises. [www.fao.org](http://www.fao.org) Accessed (16/07/2016)
- Hussein, M. (1970). *The patterns and problems of economic development in rentier states: The case of Iran*. In M.A. Cooked. Studies in economic history of the Middle East. London Oxford University press.
- Iwuchukwu, J.C. and Igbokwe, E.M. (2012). Lessons from agricultural policies and programmes in Nigeria” *Journal of law, policy and globalization*.
- Jerven, M. (2011). Users and Producers of African Income: Measuring African Progress. *African Affairs* Vol. 110 (439), pp. 169 - 190
- Jerven, M. (2015). *Why economists get Africa wrong*. London; New York: Zed Books.
- Joseph, A. R. (2008). Class, state, and prebendal politics in Nigeria. *The Journal of commonwealth and comparative politics* Vol. 21 (3) pp.21 -38
- Joseph, R. (2014). Prebendalism and Dysfunctionality in Nigeria. <https://africaplus.wordpress.com/2013/07/26/prebendalism-and-dysfunctionality-in-nigeria/> Accessed 02/09/2016
- Kolade, O. (2014). *Agricultural Production in Nigeria: Overview of Current Issues and Past Intervention*. (online). [www.researchgate.net/publication/264949597](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/264949597) accessed 11/02/2017
- Kukah, H. M. (1999). *The democracy and civil society in Nigeria*. Spectrum Books Limited; Ibadan, Nigeria
- Ladan, M. T. (2013) Agricultural Resources Policy and Law in Nigeria. [www.academia.edu/7183743/AGRICULTURE\\_RESOURCE\\_POLICY\\_AND\\_LWA\\_IN](http://www.academia.edu/7183743/AGRICULTURE_RESOURCE_POLICY_AND_LWA_IN) Accessed (12/02/2017)
- Lewis, P. (1996). From Prebendalism to Predation: The political economy of decline in Nigeria. *The journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol 34(91), pp. 79 – 103.
- Maddison Project Database, Statistics on World Population. Accessed 12/08/2015
- Mill, M. (1997). *“Economic development”* Longman group UK. Limited 5<sup>th</sup> edition
- National Bureau of Statistics (2012) Annual Abstract of Statistics. [www.nigerianstat.gov.ng](http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng) Accessed (03/02/2017)
- Nigeria Preliminary Statement on Development Planning in Nigeria. Sessional paper No. 6, Lagos Government printer.
- Oknojo-Iweala, N. (2014). Over Dependence on oil Revenue hurting Nigeria. [www.premiumtimesng.com](http://www.premiumtimesng.com) Accessed 12/7/2016
- Olayide, S.O; Idusogie, E.O; and Olatunbosun, D. (1971). New Dimension in the Administrations of Agriculture in Nigeria. *The Quarterly Journal of Administration*. Vol. VI (I), PP. 55 – 69
- Oritse, G. (2015). Nigeria: Agric import hit N738 billion in first quarter. [www.vanguardngr.com](http://www.vanguardngr.com)
- Ovadia, J. S. (2013). The Nigerian “one percent” and management of National oil wealth through Nigerian content. *Science and society*. Vol. 77 (3), pp. 315 - 341
- Saunders, M.; Lewis, P, and Thornhill, A. (2007). Research methods for business students 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Pearson education limited
- Schultz, T. (1980). The economics of being poor. Lecture to the memory to Alfred Nobel, December 8, 1979. The Sveriges Riksbank prize in economic science in memory of Alfred Nobel 1979.
- World Bank (2014), *Nigeria’s Economic Report* No. 2 July, 2014. [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org) (Accessed 15/8/2016)
- World Bank data bank (2014) [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org) Accessed (12/7/2016)
- World Bank (2016). Commodity markets outlook: Resource development in an era of cheap commodities. International Bank for reconstruction and development/ the World Bank. Washington, DC
- World Bank Database (2017). [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org) Accessed (23/11/2018)
- Yates, A. D. (1996). *The rentier state in Africa*. Africa world press, Trenton, NJ
- Yin, K., R. (1984). “A Case Study Research: Design and Methods”. SAGE Publication, Inc.