

## Terrorism as the Highest State of Insecurity: Implications for Nigeria's 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda

---

**Okwara, Emmanuel Chukwuma**

*Department of Political Science and diplomacy*

*Veritas University, Abuja*

---

**Article DOI:** 10.48028/iiprds/ijsrssms.v5.i1.02

### **Abstract**

September 11, is one date the international community cannot forget in a hurry as even the greatest military power on the globe (the U.S) could neither pre-empt nor forestall the double-barrel or twin attack on its magnificent edifices in New York and Washington. Many other nations have also experienced their fair share of such attacks, Nigeria inclusive. This study examined the implications of this magnitude, and level of insecurity for Nigeria's quest for sustainable development as encapsulated in the 2030 UN development Agenda. Data was obtained from secondary materials which include – books, journals, periodicals, newspapers, the internet, etc. The Social Theory of Terrorism and Tourism (Tarlow, 2006) was adopted as the theoretical framework while the methodology followed the technique of content analysis. Results showed that terrorist menace from the Boko Haram sect has rendered various parts of the North East Nigeria most insecure as farming and other activities cannot be practiced. Thus, the activities of the sect have worsened the poverty, health, education, etc. situations in many of such states. This constitutes a devastating blow on the nation's 2030 Agenda for sustainable development. The study therefore, suggested that government musters all forces and solicit foreign assistance in the fight against insurgency in the Northern and other parts of the country (Niger Delta)

**Keywords:** *September 11; UN Agenda 2030, Terrorism, Insecurity, Poverty*

**Corresponding Author:** Okwara, Emmanuel Chukwuma

## **Background to the Study**

Peaceful coexistence constitutes a major treasure of the human race. It guarantees stability, progress, growth and development of the entire global space. It is common knowledge however, that global peace and security necessitate the installation of an enabling environment which guarantees international socioeconomic prosperity. On the realization of the potential benefits of peace, the global community embarked on the crafting of the United Nations Organizations in 1945 with the sole aim of fostering global peace and security. Thus, this global arrangement also commits itself to the promotion of the welfare of all nations as well as guaranteeing a healthy planet. This desire became manifest in the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on September 25<sup>th</sup> by the United Nations Organizations; hence, it is referred to as the UN Agenda 2030. The World body (UNO) (2015), posits that;

*Sovereign states are expected to work in the spirit of partnership and pragmatism to make the right choices now so as to transform our world and improve life in a sustainable way, for both the present and the future generations.*

On the goals of sustainable development (SDG Agenda 2030), seventeen (17) issues feature prominently. They include- end poverty in all its forms everywhere, zero hunger, good health and well-being for people; quality education; affordable and clean energy; decent work and economic growth; industry, innovation, and infrastructure; reducing inequalities; sustainable cities and communities; responsible consumption and production; climate action; life below water; life on land; peace, justice and strong institutions; and partnerships for the goals.

It is a statement of fact that the lofty ideals of sustainable development listed above can only be attained in an atmosphere of peace, tranquility and stability. The reality however, is that the global community has come face-to-face with the phenomenon of insecurity which manifests in various forms and dimensions. The community is saddled with conflicts, wars, armed banditry and terrorist attacks which dot the length and breadth of its frontiers. It needs be mentioned at this point that the international community can never be in a hurry to forget September 11- a date that heralded the inability of even the greatest military power on the globe (the US) to neither pre-empt nor forestall the double-barrel attacks on its magnificent edifices in New York and Washington. It is an experience which many other countries (Nigeria inclusive) have had their fair shares.

Boko Haram whose terror campaign assumed an alarming dimension from 2010, reared its ugly head in 2009. Since then, the sect had constituted a serious security threat to lives and property in the North-east of Nigeria geopolitical zone to which its onslaught was restricted until June 16, 2011. It stretched its long arm outside the zone, first with the bombing of the Nigeria Police Headquarters in Abuja, an attack that was triggered by the utterances of the Inspector General of Police- Hafiz Ringim who threatened to smoke out the sect in a press statement on his duty tour to Maiduguri where Boko Haram launched an attack. Aloejewa (2012) reports that “the attack on the Police Headquarters was followed up with the bombing of the United Nations House also in Abuja on August 26, 2011”. Apart from the activities of

the Boko Haram insurgents, Nigeria has also experienced several conflicts which have made insecurity a matter of concern. Eme (2011) itemizes the effect of such security threats to include; social dislocation and population displacement, dislocation and disruption of families and communal life, general atmosphere of mistrust, fear, anxiety and frenzy, deepening hunger and poverty in the polity, dehumanization of women, children and men especially with regards to issues of rape, child abuse and neglect which are used as instruments of war, social tensions and new patterns of settlements which encourage Muslim/Christian dominated enclaves, etc. Given the above list of the impacts of insecurity in Nigeria, how can the lofty objectives/goals of sustainable development be attained. In other words, what challenges does insecurity portend for the nation's quest for the UN Agenda 2030? It is a worrisome development that calls for an urgent interrogation. Hence, this study seeks to investigate the implications of insecurity on the nation's quest for sustainable development. Specifically, this study will assess:

1. The effect of insecurity on the quest for food security in Nigeria.
2. The impact of insecurity on the Nigeria's effort at poverty reduction.

The study will address two research questions which include-

1. What is the effect of insecurity on food security in Nigeria?
2. How does insecurity impact on the poverty reduction initiative of Nigerian nation?

## Literature Review

### Conceptual Literature

**Development:** The term “development” has various meanings to different people and can be explained in different contexts. An example is the fact that the development needs of a starving population must be different from those where there is sufficient nutrition (Matowanyka, 1991). Seers (1972) asserted that “development means the conditions for realization of the human personality. Its evaluation must therefore take into account three linked criteria: where there has been a reduction in (1) poverty (2) unemployment, (3) inequality”. Pearson (2000) opines that development involves “an improvement in qualitative, quantitative or both-in the use of available resources”. Todaro and Smith (2006) believe that development is “both a physical reality and state of mind in which society has secured the means for obtaining a better life”. Gran (1983) defines development as “a social and practical process which aims at the liberation of human potential so that people acquire the maximum socially feasible and practical control over all the available resources needed for the realization of basic human needs and security”. Development is therefore, a people-centered concept which means that, it is “a process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations” (Korten, 1990). Burkey (1993) provides an interesting perspective of the concept which he defines as:

*A process by which an individual develops self-respect, and becomes more self-confident, self-reliant, cooperative and tolerant to others through becoming aware of his/her shortcomings as well as his/her potential for positive change. This takes place through working with others, acquiring new knowledge, and active participation in the economic, social and political development of their communities.*

This means that development is a process through which people become aware of their capabilities, acquire knowledge and work in a collective to meet their abstract needs (Swanepoel and De Beer, 2006).

**Food Security:** This term refers to a situation in which food is sufficiently available for all people all the time. Thus, the World Bank (1986) holds that “food security is the condition in which all have access to sufficient food to live healthy and productive lives”. Giving its own perspective, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Bureau for Africa (1986) has defined food security as a situation “when all people at all times have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient food to meet their dietary needs for a productive and healthy life”. Maxwell and Frankenberger (1992), are of the opinion that, “food security is dependent on agricultural production, food imports and donations, employment opportunities and income earnings, intra-household decision-making and resource allocation, healthcare utilization and caring practices”. Food security is of three folds-food availability, food accessibility and food affordability” (World Bank, 2007). The World Bank definition points to the fact that food security has its components and while the Bretton Woods institution enumerated only three, it maybe necessary to emphasis that there are four (components). These may be listed as- availability, accessibility, affordability, and stability.

**Insecurity:** This is a state of being subject to danger or injury which is defined by Ezemonye (2011) as “a state of being not secure and lack of confidence”. Security is the state of being safe and secure from danger; it could also be protection from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression. According to the Commission on Human Security (2003) “human security is the protection of important aspects of human lives in a way that would enhance human freedoms and fulfillment”. It includes freedoms from want, harm, fear and the freedom to take appropriate actions without any form of hindrance and include the assurance of future well-being and freedom from threat.

**Poverty:** This does not have a single meaning. Rather, it has a series of meanings linked through series of resemblances. This partly explains why poverty is commonly understood from a number of perspectives. The first dimension concerns a material concept of poverty. In this sense, people are seen as poor when they lack the resources to get what they need. In this vein, “George (1988) writes that, “Poverty consists of a core of basic necessities as well as a list of other necessities that change over time and place”. However, Baratz and Grigsby (1971) refer to poverty as, “a severe lack of physical and mental well-being, closely associated with inadequate economic resources and consumption. The factors which make up well-being include 'welfare' values, including self-esteem, aspirations, stigma and 'deference' values, including aspects of status and power.

The above conceptions of poverty notwithstanding Deleek, et al. (1992), believe that, “poverty is restricted to one dimension, e.g. income, but it manifests itself in all domains of life, such as housing, education, health”.

**Terrorism:** Terror as a word comes from the Latin *terrere*, which means to “frighten” or “tremble”. Thus, the word terrorism was coined during the French Revolution's Reign of terror (1793-1794). This Reign of Terror was a campaign of large-scale violence by the French state in which between 16, 000-40, 000 people were killed in a little over a year.

In modern times, terrorism denotes the killing of humans by non government political actors for various reasons- usually as a political statement. According to the US Federal Law:

*The term 'terrorism' means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.*

*The term 'international terrorism' means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country. The term 'terror group' means any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice international terrorism (US Code, 2005).*

The international Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences describes 'Terrorism' as referring to the 'systematic use or threat of violence to communicate a political message rather than defeat an opponent's military forces' (Crenshaw, 2001). According to Scott (1985), the above definition describes as further characteristics of terrorism the fact that symbolic targets are often chosen, that a wider audience is victim of terrorism and that it is “a weapon of the weak”.

### **Empirical Literature**

In this section, past and current works on the implications of 'Terrorism' and 'insecurity' for Nigeria's 2030 Development Agenda are reviewed in tabular format.

**Table 1: Past and Current Works on the Implications of Insecurity (Terrorism) for Nigeria's Sustainable Development Agenda**

<b>Name of researcher(s)/year/ Title of Study</b>	<b>Geographical and Content Scope Covered</b>	<b>Data Source(s) and Analytical Tools</b>	<b>Findings/Conclusion/Recommendations</b>
Obi (2015) challenges of insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria: implications for National development	Nigeria: - challenges of insecurity and terrorism, national development. (1990-2012).	Secondary data from (CBN) Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin, Newspapers and related journal articles on security issues. Ordinary least squares method of analysis was employed	Results show that terrorism and insecurity impact negatively on economic development. This has forced government to divert resources meant for development purposes to security votes.
Okpa (2017) Global and National Terrorism: Implications for sustainable Development in Nigeria.	Nigeria: Global, national, terrorism, sustainable Development	Secondary data were employed for the study.	The paper found that the effects of these attacks vary significantly from loss of life and injuries to property damage and disruptions in social services such as electricity, water supply, public transportation and communications.
Aminu, Hamza & Ali (2015). The impact of insecurity and poverty on sustainable development in Nigeria	Nigeria: Insecurity, poverty and sustainable economic development	Data was sourced from the secondary sources. OLS estimation technique was also employed	The paper found negative relationship between economic growth rate, insecurity and poverty.
Ozoh & Dinwobi (2018). Insecurity and sustainable development in Nigeria (in context of terrorism)	Nigeria: Insecurity and sustainable Development; Terrorism	Secondary data were employed for the study. Content analysis was adopted in its methodology.	The paper found that the presence of insecurity has stifled the growth of the economy.
Popoola, Omomsebi & Arjie (2019). Analyzing the link between sustainable counter insurgency and sustainable development goals: A study of North Eastern Nigeria Milieu	North East Nigeria: sustainable development, counter-insurgency and sustainable development goals	Secondary data from books, journals, periodicals and newspapers were used for the study: Analytical and descriptive research design was used	The major findings of the study military strategy alone were not effective in combating the insurgency. A comprehensive strategy which will include addressing the root causes of the insurgency should also be employed.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Ludwig Von Bertalanffy's Systems Theory**

The systems theory explains the nexus between security and development. Systems theory defines the regular interaction or interrelation between groups of activities in the society, as any occurrence in a sector of the society positively or negatively affects other sectors of the society. The sense of insecurity occurs when there is Wanton destruction of lives and property, increase in kidnapping resulting in ransome or death, or both, armed insurgency such as the Boko Haram menace, etc. This leads to a saturation of the society with anguish, fear and trepidation. In a society where insecurity abounds, the pace of development suffers a great setback. This is because development is a product of several activities in the society. Activities such as industrialization and technological advancement which accelerate development and the deployment of funds to development ventures are hampered in a state of insecurity. Sustainable development can only occur in a reasonably secure and peaceful environment. By its nature, investment is risky. Insecurity in the system not only increases the risk, but also discourages prospective investors, increases the cost of doing business and leads to imminent closure of existing industries.

## **Methodology**

This study is a qualitative study of the effect of terrorism and insecurity on the quest for sustainable development in Nigeria. Its data was obtained from secondary sources such as books, journals, periodicals, newspapers, and the internet. Its methodology follows content analysis. The analysis is carried out in the following order:

**Research Question One (1):** What is the effect of insecurity on the quest for food security in Nigeria?

In the theoretical framework which adopted the systems theory (Von-Bertalamffy), it was stated that no meaningful activity can take place in the absence of peace and stability (insecurity). This fact is corroborated by several empirical studies whose results align with the assertion. For instance, Awodola and Agyeno (2015), in their study titled, "Terrorism in Northern Nigeria: A threat to food security", found that Boko Haram activities have affected the agricultural sector. Mohammed (2012), a lecturer at UNIMAID, described the threats to agricultural sector as 'disturbing'. He argued that the industry is experiencing low productivity as many farmers have abandoned their farms for fear of attack on their farms for fear of attack on their farm lands" which may translate to low yield. In February 2012, the United Nations "expressed fears that the activities of Boko Haram would make it difficult for the World Food Programme to source its supply from Nigeria to affected areas in the Sahel region" since Maiduguri is a vital link with regard to food availability and supplies to the Sahel region" (Olaolu, 2012).

In a related development, another study by George, Adelaja and Weather spoon, (2019) found that, an increase in conflict intensity, measured by number of fatalities, increases the number of days where the households had to; (1) rely on less preferred, (2) limit the variety of foods eaten (3) and limit the size of meals consumed. Thus, there are adequate proofs of the negative effect of terrorism (insecurity) on food security in Nigeria.

**Research Question Two (2):** How does insecurity affect the poverty reduction initiative in the Nigerian nation?

In a paper titled, "the impact of insecurity and poverty on sustainable economic development in Nigeria", Aminu, Hamza and Ali (2015) were able to establish that, "with the upsurge of Boko Haram insurgency, and the inability of the security agencies to guarantee security, economic life is ground to a halt with dire consequences for the society. This atmosphere of insecurity impedes the attainment of sustainable development". This paper found a negative relationship between economic growth, insecurity and poverty. According to Oluwaseun (2012), "apart from the loss of lives, there is also the wanton destruction of property worth several billions of naira through bombing". The above acts have dire consequences for sustainable development in the regions of attack in particular and Nigeria in general. Besides the property destroyed, economic life in these regions is automatically groundto a halt. People are no longer free to go about their economic activities for fear of being killed. This view is corroborated in the findings of the study on "Social Crisis, Terrorism and Food Poverty Dynamics in Northern Nigeria by Ogunniyi, Olagunju, Salman and Ogundipe (2016). It was

revealed that the activities of the Boko Haram sect have negatively impacted the wellbeing of the Northern Nigerians and increased food poverty extremely. It is worrisome that, despite being the second largest economy in Africa, Nigeria, unfortunately, has one of the highest numbers of severely malnourished children and core food poor households in the world. Statistics from ACF-USA (2015) shows that, “approximately 24% of children under five years old or more than a million children suffer from malnutrition and over 40% households live in absolute food poverty” (NBS, 2010). In his investigation, Akinyele (2009) found that about 42%, 25%, and 9% of children in Nigeria are either stunted, underweight and wasted respectively in 2003. Again, recent statistics by Anyanwu (2012), revealed that “the national poverty incidence as at 2010 is about 69%, which is about 15%, 2%, 26%, 23%, and 41% higher than what was obtained in 2004, 1996, 1993, 1985, and 1980 respectively. To further illustrate the state of poverty in the North east, the ACF-USA (2015) asserts that, “it is estimated that over one million people have fled violence in the zone, with the highest number of internally displaced people in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States, being the states mostly affected by conflict and terrorism”. Thus, “the Nigerian food poverty situation is still described as appalling despite a number of efforts geared towards addressing the problem (Oni and Fasogbon, 2013). Furthermore, Attah (2012) noted that Nigeria's situation on food insecurity is highly precarious and pernicious as a significant percentage of the Nigerian population is left with only the billions taste of poverty.

### **Findings**

This investigation led to a number of findings which include:

1. Many farmers in the North east are abandoning their farmlands for fear of attack. This has translated to low yield of farm products.
2. Fears have been expressed by the United Nations that the activities of Boko Haram would make it difficult for the World Food Programme to source its supply from Nigeria to affected areas in the Sahel region.
3. Terrorism has negative effect on food security in Nigeria.
4. The atmosphere of insecurity impedes the attainment of sustainable development.
5. There is a negative relationship between economic growth, insecurity and poverty.
6. The activities of the Boko Haram sect have negatively impacted the wellbeing of the Northern Nigerians and increased food poverty extremely.
7. Despite being the second largest economy in Africa, Nigeria unfortunately has one of the highest numbers of severely malnourished children and core food poor households in the world.
8. Over one million people have fled violence in the North East Zone, with the highest number of internally displaced people in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states mostly affected by conflict and terrorism.
9. The Nigerian food poverty situation is still described as appalling despite a number of efforts geared towards addressing the problem.

### **Conclusion**

This study examined the effect of terrorism and insecurity on Nigeria's sustainable development initiative. The paper succeeded in showing the obvious negative impact of insecurity which is made manifest from the activities of Boko Haram in parts of Northern



Nigeria. These activities are seen to have unleashed terror as people are maimed, killed, property looted and economic activities either slowed or completely shut down. All these negative consequences of insecurity are experienced in a country which is endowed with abundant material and mineral resources and great potentials for growth and development.

The above narrative clearly shows the frustration on both the citizens and government of Nigeria following the prevailing vicious onslaught of the Boko Haram and the inability of the security agencies to curtail these negative exploits. The consequences of the economic life grinding to a halt in the zone, the unfavorable investment climate for both foreign and indigenous investors, destruction of lives and property, etc, have proved to pose great challenges to the Nigerian polity with its obvious negative consequences for the nation's quest for development.

### **Suggestions**

This study makes a number of suggestions on the basis of its findings and conclusion-

1. Government in Nigeria should endeavor to beef up the strength and capacity of its military in the provision of security of lives and property of its citizens.
2. Since terrorism generally is not society specific, Nigerian government should seek the cooperation of its neighbors in combating the menace.
3. As soon as security of lives and property are guaranteed, effort should be made to reinstate the farming communities of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states.
4. Policies should be articulated as a matter of urgency, to address the appalling food poverty situation in the country.
5. As the second largest economy in Africa, resources must be mustered towards the eradication of child malnutrition in the country.

## References

- ACF-USA (2015). Action against hunger
- Alojewwa, S. H. O. (2012) Contending theories on Nigeria's security challenge in the era of Boko Haram insurgency, *The peace and conflict Review* file:///c:/user/okokookiemute/Desk.
- Aminu, U., Hamza, A. I, & Ali, D. H. (2015). The impact of insecurity and poverty on sustainable economic development in Nigeria, *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education (IJTHSSE)*, 2 (2), 32-48
- Anyanwu, J. C. (2012). Accounting for poverty in Africa: Illustration with survey data from Nigeria. African Development Bank Group, *Working Paper*. No. 149 Tunisia.
- Attah, A. W. (2012). Food security in Nigeria: The role of peasant farmers in Nigeria, *An International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia*, 6(4).
- Awodola, B & Agyeno, O. (2015). Terrorism in Northern Nigeria: A threat to food security in Maiduguri, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 6(3), 11-17.
- Baratz, M. S. & Grigsby, W. G. (1971). Thoughts on poverty and its elimination, *Journal of Social Policy* 1(2), 119-134.
- Burkey, S. (1993). *People First: A guide to self reliant, participatory rural development*, London: Zed Books
- Commission on Human Security (2003). *Human security now*, New York: Commission on Human Security.
- Crenshaw, M. (2001). *Terrorism, international encyclopedia of the social and behavioural sciences* Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Elsevier, 15604-15606.
- Deleeck, H., Van Den Bosch, K., & De-Lathouwer, L. (1992). *Poverty and the adequacy of social security in the EC*, Aldershot: Auebury.
- Eme, O. I. & Anthony, O. (2011). The challenges of insecurity in Nigeria: A thematic exposition, *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 3(8).
- George, J., Adelaja, U. A., & Weatherspoon, D. D. (2019). Armed conflict and food insecurity: Evidence from Boko Haram's attacks, *American Journal of Agricultural economics*.
- George, V. (1988). *Wealth, poverty and starvation*, Hemel Hemstead: Wheatsheaf.
- Gioh, J. C. (1985). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haveb, CT and London: Yale University Press

- Gran, G. (1983). *Development by people: Citizen Construction of a just world*. New York: Praeger.
- Korten, D. C. (1990). *Getting to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Voluntary action and the global agenda*, United States of America: Kumarian Press
- Maxwell, S. & Frankenberger, T. R. (1992). Household food security: Concepts, Indicators and measurement: *A technical Review*. New York and Rome: United Nations Children's Fund and International for Agricultural Development.
- National Bureau of Statistics (2010). *National poverty profile*, National Handbook.
- Obi, C. (2015). Challenges of insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria: Implication for national development, *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development*, 8(2), 11-18.
- Ogunniyi, A., Olagunju, K., Salman, K. K. & Ogundipe, A. (2016). Social crisis, terrorism and food poverty dynamics: Evidence from Northern Nigeria, *International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues*, 6(4),
- Okpa, J. (2017). Global and national terrorism: Implication for sustainable development in Nigeria, *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. 22(11), 40-56.
- Olaolu, O. (2012). *The imminent food crisis*, This day, 8 July.
- Oluwaseun, B. (2012). Boko Haram Catastrophic terrorism: An albatross to national peace, security and sustainable development in Nigeria, *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 14(1) 32-44.
- Oni, O. A. & Fasogbon, A. (2013). *Food poverty and livelihoods. Issues in Rural Nigeria Journal of poverty, price volatility, efficiency and the impacts of population shifts*, Lagos: Nigeria
- Ozoh, J. N. & Dinwobi, K. S. (2018). Insecurity and sustainable development in Nigeria (in context of terrorism), *Asian Journal of Economics, Business and Accounting*, 7(2), 1-10.
- Pearson, R. (2000). *Rethinking gender matters in development' in Allen, T. & Thomas, A. (eds). Poverty and Development into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Popoola, M. A., Omosebi, F. A. & Arjie, O. E. (2019). Analyzing the link between sustainable counter insurgency and sustainable development goals: A study of Northeastern Nigeria milieu, *European Journal of Scientific Research*, 153(1), 118-126.
- Swanepoel, H. & De-Beer, F. (2006). *Community development: Breaking the cycle of poverty*, Kenwyn: Juta.
- Todaro, M. P. & Smith, S. C (2006). *Economic development 9<sup>th</sup> edition*, Harlow: Pearson Addison Wesley.

United Nations Organization (2015). Sustainable development knowledge platform: the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development, *UN official Document*.

Von Bertalanffy, L. (1968) *General systems theory foundations, development applications*, New York: George Braziller.

World Bank (1986). Poverty and hunger: issues and options in developing countries, *A World Bank Policy Study*, Washington, DC. World Bank

World Bank (2007). *Agriculture for development World development report 2008*, Washington DC: the World Bank