REFLECTIONS ON THE CHALLENGES OF POVERTY REDUCTION IN AFRICA

LOVEDAY N. GBARA

Assistant Professor, American University of Nigeria, Yola, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

Africa's persistent poverty and underdevelopment problems have together emerged not only as challenge to the international community but also as an important aspect in African Studies in the twenty-first century. Nearly all of the models and approaches prescribed by development experts, development institutions, and social scientists over the years have failed to bring about any practical economic growth or poverty reduction in Africa. Instead, the scale of poverty and underdevelopment has been exacerbated.

KEYWORDS: Poverty, Africa, African Leadership

INTRODUCTION

Africa's persistent poverty and underdevelopment problems have together emerged not only as challenge to the international community but also as an important aspect in African Studies in the twenty-first century. Nearly all of the models and approaches prescribed by development experts, development institutions, and social scientists over the years have failed to bring about any practical economic growth or poverty reduction in Africa. Instead, the scale of poverty and underdevelopment has been exacerbated. This paper examines some of the key factors that have contributed to the growth of poverty in Africa in the twenty-first century and goes further to explore the historical contexts of poverty in the continent as well as its impact and possible strategies to move Africa forward from this deplorable condition.

Poverty can be defined in many different ways depending on the contexts. For the purpose of this chapter, poverty is defined as the lack of ability to meet and maintain an acceptable standard of living. A citizen of a given African state could be regarded as poor should his or her standard of living falls below an acceptable norm according to the prevailing sociocultural values. Poverty is generally characterized by the inability of people and communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy their basic needs such as food, housing, and health.[1] Africans also perceive poverty to include alienation from the communities, insecurity, crowded homes, low wages, and unsafe and inefficient forms of energy, lack of jobs and fragmentation of family.[2]

In contrast, wealth is characterized by affordable housing, the use of gas or electricity, ownership of major durable goods, and large sums of money: "Using minimum costs of food and other criteria, the World Bank estimated in 1988 that 29.7% of the total population in developing countries, were poor."[3] According to the same estimate, 49% of people in South Asia and 49.8% in sub-Sahara Africa were poor.[4]

While other regions of the world experienced economic prosperity and reduced levels of poverty, per capita income in Africa in the 1990s has remained roughly the same as it was for most countries when they became independent in the 1960s: "During the 1990s nearly half of all Africans lived on $1 a day or less, and 30 percent of the world's poor lived in Africa—a higher share than at independence."[5] Furthermore, Africa ranks at the bottom in global comparisons of

social development indicators in areas such as literacy, life expectancy, and healthcare, as one in five children dies before the age of five.[6] A *Guardian News* article dated February 14, 2012, reported "from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) has come worrisome announcement that poverty is on the rise in Nigeria with more than 100 million citizens earning less than $1 per day as the gap between the rich and poor continues to widen."[7] The above indicators and data portrays Africa as a region suffering from economic downturns and high levels of poverty.

Causes of Poverty in Africa in Historical Perspective

Indeed, no region of the world, no matter how developed or underdeveloped, is totally free from poverty and the problems associated with it. Even advanced countries, including the United States, Canada, or France, have some level of poverty among their populations. The fact that much of the population in Africa still lies in poverty, hopelessness, and underdevelopment in the twenty-first century despite all of the models and approaches prescribed by the international community has posed a significant challenge to all those who are concerned with the plights of Africans and the African continent. Perhaps a brief examination of its past could shed light on why a continent endowed with abundant natural resources still finds herself in a perpetual cycle of poverty and underdevelopment.

Although numerous factors can be linked to the current state of African affairs, this chapter argues that, from a historical perspective, various factors are basically responsible for the nature of poverty in independent African states. These factors include the international system of slavery and slave trade, colonialism (prolonged periods of colonial occupation), and European-backed commercial activities designed "to exploit Africa's considerable natural wealth provided little institutional, infrastructural, and human capital."[8] Misguided policies accepted by African political and business leaders of African Union member states in collaboration with development experts are another cause of poverty.[9]

Cold War and Post- Cold War Politics

The outbreak and intensity of the Cold War (1947-89) transformed newly independent African states into proxy battlefields between the United States and the former Soviet Union and contributed to African poverty.[10] Political instability and poverty resulted from persistent African conflicts, and decades of military governments, and military coups. For example, 71 military coups occurred in Africa between 1952 and 1990. Military coups resulted in the toppling of 60% of the entire African continent. While countries such as Guinea experienced one or two incidences of military coups, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Ghana underwent numerous coups and counter-coups. Africa had a total of 88 military coups from independence to the twenty-first century. In 2000, Africa had only three coups.[11]

Ethnic Conflicts in Africa

Since the end of World War II, which devastated Europe, no other continent on earth has been consumed or so devastated by ethnic conflicts than Africa. In Nigeria, for example, persistent ethnic problems, many years of military rule and rampant corruption has created a large population of the poor. Ethnic problems and economic issues in Nigeria triggered the 1966 civil war that claimed over a million people. Between 2000 and 2007**,** over 54,000 people have been killed in ethnic and religious conflicts in Africa. In Liberia, in late 1990, more than 150,000 out of a population of 3 million have been killed. Ethnic conflicts in Liberia also resulted in over 800, 000 refugees. In Rwanda, in 1994, 800,000 of Tutsi and moderate Hutus were killed in 100 days of fighting between the main ethnic group Hutu and the minority Tutsi ethnic group. About a million people also ended up as refugees.[12]

The Disaster of African Leadership

Leadership here refers to individuals who perform the act of leading others. It constitutes the ability to affect human behavior to accomplish a mission designated by the leader. For leadership to be effective, it is necessary to influence others to support and implement decisions that the leaders and group may deem necessary. Without influence, leadership does not occur. In other words, leadership implies the act of influencing others, but the type of influence leaders should exert must be positive rather than negative. Myles Munroe observes, "Whenever a nation has a lack of quality, legitimate, and just leaders, national deterioration occurs. Quality leadership is a key to prosperous and peaceful life and nation."[13] According to Munroe, "quality" includes being competent, knowledgeable, and skilled in the job of national leadership. "Legitimacy" is not just winning elections but the acceptance by the governed who command their mandate and trust; people to whom they can entrust the authority of governance. "Just" leadership refers to fairness and equity and inclusiveness in all its ramifications. A combination of these key characteristics, or legacy-building leadership, is what the sub-continent Africa lacks.

Unfortunately, the type of influence the African leadership has had on sub-Saharan Africa has been a disastrous one. The leadership engages in corrupt practices, lack of transparency and accountability, continuing militarism, and a host of other negative measures. Leadership in Africa is typified more by disfiguring examples—such as, Idi Amin of Uganda, Sani Abacha of Nigeria, or Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe—than by positive role models such as Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Secretse Khama of Botswana. Other groups of developing nations, such as Southeast Asia or Latin America, exhibit wide variations in leadership quality, but none is so extreme in its range as Africa.[14] During the past three decades, about 90% of Sub-Saharan Africa's leaders have behaved despotically and governed poorly. They have infringed on their peoples' human and civil rights, initiated or exacerbated existing civil conflicts, decelerated per capita economic growth, and proved corrupt.[15]

Rotberg goes on to contend that good leaders around the world guide government of nation-states to perform effectively for their citizens. They deliver high security for the state and its people, a functioning rule of law, education, health, and a framework conducive to economic growth. They empower civil society and protect the environmental commons. Crucially, good leaders also provide their citizens a sense of belonging to a national enterprise of which everyone can be proud. They knit rather than unravel their nations. They seek to be remembered for how they have improved the real lives of the governed than the fortunes of the few. Despicable rulers oppress their own fellow nationals, depriving them of liberty, prosperity, and happiness.

Mugabe of Zimbabwe exemplifies despicable leadership; Zimbabwe, a rich nation, is now reduced to the edge of starvation and fear. Poverty within the context of resource abundance, as in oil-rich Nigeria from 1975 to 1999, also reflects inadequate leadership. The 1967-1970 Civil War in Nigeria claimed thousands of lives. The continuing ethnic, tribal, and religious conflicts and other catastrophic events that have taken place in Nigeria have all been fueled and precipitated by both bad civilian and military leadership. Decades of stagnant economic development and persistent widespread poverty in Africa are glaring evidence of poor leadership. Bad leadership is the culprit here because it has created a negative environment for bad macro- and micro-politico-socio-economic factors to thrive. Regardless of various fundamental causes of slow progress, the role of poor leadership in Africa has been singled out by various development experts and scholars as the chief cause of underdevelopment.[16] Thus, African leadership has failed to achieve stable and acceptable political order, in terms of improving the lives of its citizens; and achieving peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Commenting on African leadership crisis, Kofi Annan, former Secretary of the United Nations, observed, "It is time for Africans to hold their political leaders and not colonialism responsible for the civil wars and economic failures that ravage their lives." [17] Similarly, the former Secretary General OAU, Dr. Salem Ahmed Salim noted:

Admittedly, the continent (SSA) is littered with failed institutions, mostly due to bad leadership. Devastating conflicts have been provoked and sustained by leadership factors. Indeed, the narrow interests of a given leadership have determined the whole security of nations and societies. As we move in the new century and Africa faces up to its challenges, it is important that the leadership factor is given due attention. [18]

Dr. Salim's observation undoubtedly paints a picture of a continent that has been crippled as a result of poor leadership and failed political institutions. Africa does indeed lack leaders with vision to serve Africans, and it is possible to see why the absence of effective leadership could lead to a vicious cycle of poverty.

Weak Institutional Capacity

The development of productive capacities within a country is strongly influenced by the institutions that enable or constrain processes of capital accumulation, technological progress and structural change. These institutions include both the institutional environment, or the set of fundamental political, social and legal rules that establish the basis for production, exchange and distribution, and institutional arrangements, or the regular relationships amongst economic agents and related informal rules which govern the ways in which they cooperate and compete. [19]

In East Asian countries, weak institutions contributed to the 1997-1998 financial crisis. In many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, the weakness of institutions contributed to aggravate the impact of the global crisis on their economies. In nearly all of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa, weak institutions were not only an important obstacle to the implementation of reforms but also the main reason for the continuous political and social unrest. In all developing countries, reforms were often too narrowly focused on macroeconomic policy. The new agenda must stress effective public and corporate governance, anticorruption efforts, banking transparency, independence, strong capital markets, and adequate social safety nets. [20]

Great political institutions should be autonomous and effective, and they should have a mechanism in place or a capacity to adapt to citizens' demands. However, many public institutions in African states seemed impressive on paper and in some ways reflected those of the colonial masters, but generally deliver poor results in the end. However, it is also important to point out that many of these institutions were designed by the colonial the administrations to extract wealth to the metropole and not to promote indigenous development. Their inability to generate policy reforms or contribute to growth has led to the examination of possible causes. The results of such findings pointed to the notion that African states' poor performance and counterproductive policies were no accidents but the results of underlying bad governance or institutions. [21] In 2000, the executive directors of the World Bank discussed its strategy for governance and public sector reforms. Its report, *Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance,* built on numerous studies that emphasized the critical importance of well-functioning and accountable public institutions to economic growth and poverty reduction.

The strategy called for the bank to move governance, institutional development, and capacity building to center stage and to help clients build institutions to make and implement good policy and deliver public services themselves. [22] Weak, fragile, and corrupt African institutions lack the capacity to serve, promote rule of law, produce meaningful public

policies, and, in some respects, affect the outcomes of development projects in a negative manner. The World Bank demanded reformation and improvement. Persistent African poverty is often the end result of failed and dysfunctional African institutions.

Culture

Africa must look to its past to determine why, after decades of independence and development assistance, persistent, widespread poverty and economic decline still prevail. Perhaps development agencies and development experts have neglected the role of culture among other factors in the development equation discourse in Africa. The African Commission contends, "We believe that the inattention to culture in the policy-making of many poor countries goes some way to explain the failure of so many development initiatives in Africa over the years."[23]

Anthropologists usually define culture in a manner that covers all facets of human in society: knowledge, beliefs, behavior, arts, morals, law, customs, and the like. Joseph G. Jabbra and O. P. Dwivedi define culture as "a way of life of a group of people or a society through which it views the world around it, attributes meanings, attaches significance to it, and organizes itself to accomplish, preserve, and eventually pass on this legacy to future generation."[24] They argue that culture should also be seen not only as a material possession but also as consisting of institutions, people, behaviors or emotions, a style of accomplishing things, and, specifically, how people perceive, relate, and interpret events both from within and without [25] . Thus, culture in this sense, and also in our context, refers to the shared values and representations of the members of organizations, such as governmental bureaucracy or a nation-state.

Various levels of culture exist: national, regional, and corporate and researchers choose a level depending on the focus of analysis. Researchers studying a country at the national level often use Hofstede's four-dimensional model of national culture as a framework to organize and analyze data, information, and reflections and to compare national cultures. Hofstede, who is widely regarded as the most influential scholar in the development of national culture theory, posits the following four dimensions of culture: power distance, individualism-collectivism, masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance. These dimensions create the framework to research national cultures.[26]

Some social scientists and development scholars contend that dependent development or development programs in Africa have failed to make a meaningful impact on the local African populations. Perhaps development programs ought to be tailored towards cultural values to minimize the failure of future projects. For example, Claude Ake, a prominent Nigerian political scientist, argues that building on the indigenous culture is a necessary condition for self-reliant development to which there is no alternative.[27] Ali A. Mazrui in his book, *Cultural Forces in World Politics*, "seeks to demonstrate that differences in skills and techniques are, on the whole, more basic than differences in income. And these skills differences are profoundly affected by culture"[28] Mazrui goes on to characterize African cultures as cultures that move slowly, value prestige over achievement, impressive when judged by standards of clarity and solidarity, but where productivity and effectiveness are less optimal**.**

Building on the above theme, Lawrence Harrison and Jerome Kagan in their book, *Developing Cultures* argue that attitudes and beliefs explain much of the difference in the relative success of peoples and nations. In the long run, the habits, values, and behavior of ordinary people determine national strength. Why have former colonies in East Asia succeeded while colonies in Africa remain stuck in poverty? Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington argue in their book *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* that Ghana and South Korea were essentially at the same level

of development in the early 1960s. Yet, in the twenty-first century, Ghana's gross national income per capita calculated on the basis of purchasing power is about $2,000, while South Korea is about $15,000.[29]

One could argue that although colonialism may be blamed for some of Africa's poverty and development failures, as some Africans are quick to claim, it is naïve to believe that the legacy of colonialism explains all of Africa's disappointing performance since independence. Rather, some observers of African development contend that African culture, including fatalism, sorcery, authoritarianism, and excessive communitarianism contribute significantly to African reality today. During the course of its 2005 study, the African Commission for Africa found diverse views on the question of development in Africa. For example, there were those whose views on African cultures confirm their worst fears. They accepted the notion that people's cultural background influences their attitudes and the choices they make. However, they see African cultures as regressive and tribal. Furthermore, they argue that African cultures are inimical to development, an irrational force that generates inertia and culminates in economic backwardness.[30] In *Race and Culture*, Thomas Sowell's great contribution to this discourse, argues:

Racial, ethnic, and cultural differences among peoples play a major role in the events of our times, in countries around the world, and have played a major role in the long history of human race. The history of cultural differences among peoples enables us to understand not only how particular peoples differ but also how cultural patterns in general affect the economic and social advancement of the human race.[31]

Sowell argues culture is central to understanding the different success rates among different nations. Why did uneducated and unskilled Chinese rubber plantation laborers in colonial Malaya produce more than double the outputs of the Malay workers? Why do the fewer than 5% of Indonesians of Chinese descent account for 80% of the country's capital? A culture that stresses hard work, saving, and advancement clearly plays a role. Culture, including the customs and the institutions of their society, molds the behavior of human beings.[32]

Colonialism was an unfortunate era in many countries in Africa and other regions of the world. European colonialism in Africa disrupted traditional African societies and divided tribes, and its consequences should not be minimized. While the former colonies in East Asia have exploited the advantages of colonialism and minimized the disadvantages, Africa today is more dependent on rich nations than ever. The African cultures reflect strong family values, respect for the elders, powerful bonding, close ties, and diversity on one hand, but on the other hand, corruption and ineffectiveness discourage creativity and innovative activities. The latter traits negatively affect development projects and economic development and creates a culture of poverty and despair.

The Impact of Poverty in Africa

It is no exaggeration to acknowledge that poverty does have negative effects on populations, nations, and regions around the world. Poverty engulfs large portions of the African population decades after independence, leading to instability, ethnic conflicts and wars, population displacements, disempowerment, social exclusion, and other social problems. For example, 44 million African children are out of school and millions will die as a result of hunger. Africa is way behind in achieving the UN Development Goals by 2015. By some estimate, Africa is expected to achieve the UN goals by 2165, instead of 2015.[33]

Ethnic wars are often associated with poverty and cost millions of lives throughout Africa. The economic costs of ethnic conflicts are also enormous and wars often destroy Africa's best trained, best educated, and most valuable human

resources. Scarce and valuable resources needed to promote economic growth are often used to fight wars and rebuild destroyed infrastructure. Poverty in Africa has regional and international dimensions and implications as well. Neighboring states often suffer from ethnic conflicts; the overflow of refugees result in economic and social problems.[34]

Brainerd and Chollet argue that poor, fragile states can explode into violence or implode into collapse, imperiling their citizens, regional neighbors, and the wider world as their livelihoods are crushed. Poor and ungoverned states and territories can become spawning grounds for global threats like terrorists, drug trafficking, environmental devastation, and disease.[35]

In an era where national boundaries are blurred and where global instability and terrorism prevail, poverty in Africa has added a new challenge to the international community. Increasingly large numbers of highly skilled and unskilled Africans immigrate to neighboring regions and the industrialized states to seek for jobs and better standards of living, an unfortunate development that further creates brain drain and exacerbates poverty and instability in Africa.[36]

New Strategies for Reducing Poverty in Africa

To break from the culture of poverty, despair, and hopelessness, African states must rely less on international aid because international aid is often tied to economic and political reforms and conditions, many of which are detrimental to the African states. Furthermore, aid has not led to any meaningful economic growth or poverty reduction in Africa. For example, Percy S. Mistry argues, "despite a substantial amount of aid (much larger in per capita terms than provided to any other region), sub-Saharan African countries, with very exceptions, have regressed since independence. The general history of Africa since achieving independence has been one of development failure. "[37] Other measures needed to reduce Africa's poverty include investing Africa's revenues generated from its natural resources and minerals in productive economic purposes to boost economic growth and attracting foreign direct investment (FDI). FDI contributes to economic growth and jobs for Africans. The entire African continent receives less than 1% of FDI.[38] Furthermore, diversification is necessary for economic growth and poverty reduction in Africa. In addition to utilizing Africa's natural resources effectively, manufacturing, large-scale (mechanized) production, agricultural development, and exports will substantially boost economic growth and free Africa from a culture of poverty and dependency. In the area of leadership, a leadership vacuum certainly exists. The right leadership committed to development, economic growth, and poverty reduction is needed.

CONCLUSIONS

The intention of this paper was to examine the extent of poverty in Africa and to consider new strategies to reduce it. The essay looked at the concept of poverty as well as its current dimensions in the continent. It observed that poverty is exacerbated in the continent because African resources are still being extracted and squandered consistently from both within and from outside, leading to a range of problems. These problems include poverty, underdevelopment, and social problems, such as conflicts, economic deprivation, and political instability. Admittedly, poverty is not a natural condition of the continent. Rather, poverty is a condition triggered by actors within and outside the continent. African leaders and elites who should have prevented the exploitation of Africa's resources have instead collaborated with external actors.[39]

Advanced nations of the world and other external actors could not have been able to exploit Africa without teaming up with African leaders. Their collaboration exacerbated the greatest theft and economic exploitation in the history of mankind since the end of European colonization of Africa.[40] The outcome of these efforts is that Africa remains a

continent that is still plagued by conflicts, poverty, and underdevelopment problems in the twenty-first century, and Africa's endemic conditions may continue to pose a challenge to the international community if drastic steps are not taken to effectively address Africa's growing poverty problems. However, poverty and underdevelopment problems in Africa are fundamental issues that only the African leaders and people must address if Africa is expected to move forward and become an effective partner in the fast-moving global system. To achieve this, we strongly urge African governments and leaders to actively seek and recruit qualified Africans in the Diaspora to join forces with Africans at home to fight poverty and build a prosperous Africa. Furthermore, various African governments need to work collectively so that the continent can move forward in development strides like the rest of the world.

REFERENCES

1. *Africa Commission Report*. 2005. London:Penguin.

2. African News Service. "Africa faces peace, leadership and governance challenges," July 2002.

3. Ake, Claude. 1985. *Political economy of Nigeria*. Ikeja: Longman.

4. Barrett, Christopher B.., Carter, Michael R., and Little, Peter. 2006. Understanding and reducing persistent poverty in Africa. London: Routledge

5. Bigman, David. 2002, *Globalization and the developing countries: emerging strategies for rural development and poverty alleviation*. New York: Cabi.

6. Brainard, Lael., & Chollet, Derek. 2007. *Too poor for peace: global poverty, conflict, and security in the twenty-first Century*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution P. Crossette, Barbara. 1998, April 17. Stop blaming colonialism, UN. Chief tells Africa. New York Times. Dada, O.J. 2007. Strengthening African political leadership: capacity for development— key challenges, a paper delivered at the African Association for Public Administration and Management, Mbabane, Swaziland, September 3-7, 2007

7. Fox, Louise M.., & Liebenthal, Robert B. 2006. *Attacking Africa's poverty: experience from the ground*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Guardian News, February 14, 2012

8. Harrison, Lawrence E., & Huntington, Samuel. P. 2000. *Culture matters: how values shape human progress*. New York: Basic Books.

9. Harrison, Lawrence. E., & Kagan, Jerome. 2006. *Developing cultures: essays on cultural change*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group

10. Hofstede, Geert. H. 2001. Cultural consequences: comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations (2nd edition). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

11. Jabbra, Joseph G.., & Dwivedi, O. P. 2005. *Administrative culture in a global context*. Witby, Ontario: De Sitter Publications.

12. May, Julian. 1999. Poverty and inequality in South Africa: meeting the challenge. London: Zeb Books Limited.

13. Mazrui, Ali. A. 2000. *Cultural forces in world politics*. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.

14. Mistry, Percy.S. 2005. Reasons for sub-Saharan Africa deficit that the commission for Africa did not consider. African Affairs, 104/417, pp. 665-678

15. Moss, Todd J. 2007. *African development: making sense of the issues and actors*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.

16. Munroe, Myles. 1993. *Becoming a leader*. New Kensington: Whitaker House.

17. Murithi, Timothy. 2005. The African union: pan-Africanism, peacebuilding and development. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

18. Rotberg, Robert. T. 2004, July. Strengthening African leadership. *Foreign Affairs*, 83 (4).

19. Schraeder, Peter. 2004. African politics and society: a mosaic in transformation. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth

20. Sowell, Thomas. 1994. *Race and culture: a world view*. New York: Basic Books.

21. Thompson, Alex. 2004. An introduction to African politics. London: Routledge

22. The World Bank. 1992. *The world annual report*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Retrieved from http://www.worldbank.org.

23. The World Bank. 2003. Reforming public institutions and strengthening governance: a World Bank strategy implementation update. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

24. Tsokar, Karls. 2012, February 14. "Poverty level rises as economy grows," say agency. The Guardian News of Nigeria.

25. Vinken, Henk, Soeters, Joseph, & Ester, Peter. 2004. *Comparing cultures: dimensions of culture in a comparative perspective.* Boston: Bril.

26. Yapa, Lakshman. 1996. 'What causes poverty?: a postmodern view'. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 86, No. 4, 707 of 707-728.

ENDNOTES

[1] May, Julian. 1999. Poverty and inequality in South Africa: meeting the challenge. London: Zeb Books Limited.
[2] May, Julian. 1999. Poverty and inequality in South Africa: meeting the challenge. London: Zeb Books Limited.
[3] *The world annual report*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Retrieved from http://www.worldbank.orgWorld Bank 1992, 30.
[4] Yapa, Lakshman. 1996. 'What causes poverty?: a postmodern view'. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 86, No. 4, 707 of 707- 728.
[5] Fox, Louise M., & Liebenthal, Robert B. 2006. 3. *Attacking Africa's poverty:* experience from the ground. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
[6] Fox, Louise., & Liebenthal, Robert. 2006. *Attacking Africa's poverty:* experience from the ground. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
[7] Guardian News, February 14, 2012
[8] Barrett, Christopher B., Carter, Michael., and Little, Peter. 2006, 1. Understanding and reducing persistent poverty in Africa. London: Routledge
[9] Murithi, Timothy., 2005. The African union: pan-Africanism, peacebuilding and development. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
[10] Thompson, Alex. 2004. An introduction to African politics. London: Routledge

[11] Schraeder, Peter. 2004. African politics and society: a mosaic in transformation. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth

[12] Thompson, Alex. 2004. An introduction to African politics. London: Routledge

[13] Munroe, Myles. 1993. 14. *Becoming a leader*. New Kensington: Whitaker House.

[14] Rotberg, Robert. T. 2004, July. Strengthening African leadership. *Foreign Affairs*, 83 (4).

[15] Rotberg, Robert. T. 2004, July. Strengthening African leadership. *Foreign Affairs*, 83 (4).

[16] Dada, O.J. 2007. Strengthening African political leadership: capacity for development — key challenges, a paper delivered at the African Association for Public Administration and Management, Mbabane, Swaziland, September 3-7, 2007

17 Crossette, Barbara. 1998, April 17. Stop blaming colonialism, UN. Chief Tells Africa. New York Times.

18 African News Service. "Africa faces peace, leadership and governance challenges," July 2002. 1.

19 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2006.

[20] Bigman, David. 2002, *Globalization and the developing countries: emerging strategies for rural development and poverty alleviation*. 34-35. New York: Cabi.

21. Moss, Todd J. 2007. *African development: making sense of the issues and actors.* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.

[2]2 The World Bank. 2003. Reforming public institutions and strengthening governance: a World Bank strategy implementation update. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

[23] African Commission Report. 2005. 122. London: Penguin

[24] Jabbra, Joseph G.., & Dwivedi, O. P. 2005. 23-24 *Administrative culture in a global context*. Witby, Ontario:De Sitter Publications.

[25] Jabbra, Joseph G.., & Dwivedi, O. P. 2005. *Administrative culture in a global context*. Witby, Ontario:De Sitter Publications.

[26] Vinken, Henk, Soeters, Joseph, & Ester, Peter. 2004. *Comparing cultures: dimensions of culture in a comparative perspective.* Boston: Bril.

[27] Ake, Claude. 1985. *Political economy of Nigeria*. Ikeja: Longman.

[28] Mazrui, Ali. A. 2000. *Cultural forces in world politics*. 4. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.

[29] Harrison, Lawrence E., & Huntington, Samuel. P. 2000. *Culture matters: how values shape human progress*. New York: Basic Books.

[30] African Commission Report, 2005.

[31] Sowell, Thomas. 1994. 1. *Race and culture: a world view*. New York: Basic Books.

[32] Sowell, Thomas. 1994. *Race and culture: a world view*. New York: Basic Books.

[33] Murithi, Timothy. 2005. The African union: pan-Africanism, peacebuilding and development. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

[34] Thompson, Alex. 2004. An introduction to African politics. London: Routledge

[35] Brainard, Lael., & Chollet, Derek. 2007. 1. *Too poor for peace: global poverty, conflict, and security in the twenty-first Century*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution P.

[36] Brainard, Lael., & Chollet, Derek. 2007. *Too poor for peace: global poverty, conflict, and security in the twenty-first Century*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution P.

[37] Mistry, Percy. S. 2005. Reasons for sub-Saharan Africa deficit that the commission for Africa did not consider. African Affairs, 104/417, pp. 665-678

[38] Murithi, Timothy. 2005. The African union: pan-Africanism, peacebuilding and development. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

[39] Murithi, Timothy. 2005. The African union: pan-Africanism, peacebuilding and development. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

40 Murithi, Timothy. 2005. The African union: pan-Africanism, peacebuilding and development. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.