

# Development Policies For Self-reliance: A Critique Into Nigerian Post-independence

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## Abstract

*The study seeks to take an interrogative exploration to the post-colonial developmental strides in the Nigerian polity. The political developmental voyage of the country has been a tumultuous experience beginning from slavery to colonialism till the current date. The challenges which confront the Nigerian polity in terms of development, seems insurmountable evidently in the high rate of illiteracy, poverty, insecurity, over dependence on foreign aid and virtually everything which further deepens the pernicious neo-colonial syndrome, over dependence on oil, corruption, food insecurity, heavy debt burden and balance of payment problem, etc. All these unpalatable developmental quagmire are evident in the post-colonial era, where the destinies of the Nigerian people have been taken from the colonial masters and handed over to them. One can imagine that a nation 6th in the world for oil producing, a reservoir of human labour, though underutilize and the many developmental policies embarked on by successive government developmental policies embarked on by successive government for the purpose of self-reliance are to put the nation In the path of growth and prosperity, yet the country is still grappling with the problem of attaining an appreciable level of development and self-reliance. The study adopted the content analysis method of approach as data was gotten from secondary source- text books, journal publications, magazines, etc. The dependency and self-reliance theory was explored. The study recommend among other things: investment in education that prioritizes vocational, technical and entrepreneurial skill, tackling corruption, strict monitoring of programme, encouragement of local industries with fund, man power training etc.*

**KEY WORDS:** *development, policy, dependency, iron and steel, self-sufficiency ,import substitution ,local content*

## BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The pursuit of any government, as postulated by the utilitarian school of thought and informed by Appadorai, is the need for the state to provide the greatest happiness of the greatest number of persons as a valuable assets of politics. That all actions of the state be judged by their results, by their fruitfulness in pleasure, and this pleasure must find actual expression in the lives and in the experience of definite individuals, (Appadorai 1975). This ideological strands and reasoning resonates the need for government in all its developmental strides to take into consideration several issues such as: the enhancement of the welfare of the masses, the attainment of self-reliance and development which touches on certain areas of poverty, security of lives and property inequality, unemployment etc. But these indices and thinking of development is far from the independence Nigerian experience. Thus after the attainment of independence by Nigeria, the nation is still grappling with the challenge of self-reliance and development is not to be disputed. Thus the idea that as soon as the colonial masters take their ending vacation and retirement from the continents and country's political scene the new leaders would act like genius to turn the people's fortune has remain a façade. Furthermore, the experiences in the post-colonial Africa and Nigeria in particular have seen the prophecy of kwame Nkumah, "seek ye first the political freedom and every other thing will be added unto you" as not coming to pass In the Nigerian situation. As succinctly put by Jack, Beiter and Ebotari (2016):

*The Nigerian economy has over the decades been characterized by galloping Inflation, unequal foreign exchange rate exasperated by devalued and persistent dependence on importation, widespread unemployment, and dilapidated infrastructures among others. A comprehensive analysis of Nigeria's economic crisis reveals a relationship between the period of slavery, colonialism, and neo-colonialism and the backwardness or distortion of the Nigerian economy, (Eme 2013 In Jack, Beiter and Ebitari( 2004).*

The idea and strive by the Nigerian state towards the achievement of development and self-reliance in all ramifications in her post-Independence era has been a thorough exercise in futility. This is indubitable, as the industrial base is in shambles, the mono-cultural nature of the economy which is anchored solely on the oil revenue, highly independent on foreign technology for refinement, vulnerable to the Dutch disease and resource curse pandemic, mismanagement of the oil wealth, with a political leadership that lacks the political will to engender development. Even policies formulated to frontally tackle this developmental menace, has never seen the light of the day. As affirmed by Abba, Backer and Bello (2015), Nigeria cannot be exempted among the many countries caught in the web of dependency and integration into the global economy. Nigeria no doubt is a potential investment market arena and power in Africa with abundant natural, human and market potentials. With such admirable and attractive credentials, Nigeria since independence in 1960, has been a destination for investment and trade in large scale. Unfortunately over the years these investments and government policies have failed to capitalize on these rich endowments towards achieving self-reliance and political sovereignty. From Independence till date, the country has been vacillating from one policy posture to another without tangible result to show for it.

Imhonopi and Urim argued in conformity to the above, thus, several administrations in Nigeria, whether military or civilian, have embarked on self-reliance and national development policies. However these policies have failed to yield any good and appreciable result due to systematic contradictions and the Nigerian factor. Despite efforts to pursue economic diversification and self-reliance, the Nigerian economy still remains a mono-product. Crude oil exports account for 95% of foreign exchange earnings and 80% of budgetary revenue. Also more than 50% of the industrial raw materials. In addition to such worrisome situation, with the establishment of oil industry and its role in the Nigerian economy with huge wealth of revenue derived, though with a rent-seeking nature, the development of the Nigerian state is still an illusion. Okorie, Emem, Bassey and Eme (2023), decried that, despite the above laudable and admirable features of the oil industry, that seems so attractive and capable of engendering development and positively transform the fortune of Nigerian citizens. Regrettably the country is still wallowing in underdevelopment evidence in infrastructural decay, violent conflicts of deadly proportion, poverty, unemployment, undemocratic tenets in the form of political violence.

It is upon these reasons, that this paper sets out to investigate the extent which development policies embarked upon by successive administration in Nigeria geared towards development for self-reliance have been successful. The paper, though acknowledges the myriads of developmental policies, would delve into three: iron and steel industrial policy, import substitution and industrialization policy and local content policy.

## Statement Of The Problem

The development challenges, which plague third world countries in Africa, Caribbean, Latin America, etc has been a major thrust for policy makers and development experts at both domestic, regional and international level. This is so as domestic issues in today's globalized world speedily cross their borders or territory of origin to neighboring societies and thereafter spill over to become regional and global pandemonium. Development issues like: poverty, diseases, hunger, refugee, terrorism, civil war, gender inequality, illiteracy, environmental degradation etc. remains prevalent than ever taking a global proportion. This is why Schafer, Haslam and Beaudet posited that, for the world to have peace and development in a manner that shows justice, the statesmen of the world, must embrace the philosophy of "cosmopolitanism" which presupposes that justice is owed to all people regardless of where they happen to live or where they happen to have been born and regardless of their race, gender, (O'neil 2000:45 in Schafer et al 2009).

Dovetailing from the above, the protracted and insurmountable level of development challenges that bedeviled Nigeria is at an alarming proportion. Beginning from independence till date, the country and its people was supposed to have their destiny in their hands as their economic, political and social fortune should have been transformed to a level where the society would become an egalitarian state of development and self-reliance so that the country is emancipated from the wilderness of over dependent on foreign power for financial aid and other dependency syndrome. Thus being a country that is been applauded as having the requisite credentials as a giant state in Africa, yet the problem of underdevelopment with its concomitant dependency still persist. This has been eloquently captured by Ogurinubi and Uzodike, thus "while Nigeria is referred to as the military giant of Africa, the problem of bad governance and chronic dependency on oil that has stultified growth in the country is not a good experience. This is why Osaghae after a thorough intellectual exercise in unravelling the many issues surrounding the Nigerian state, the heightened and frightening dimensions of poverty, insecurity, inflation,

dependency despite huge reserves of oil and money gained from oil rents, gives it the moniker of a crippled giant with rickety feet. (Osaghae 2008 and Ogunnubi 2014 in Ogunnubi and Jzodlke 2016).

In the same wavelength, Amali opined that the philosophy of development defined the type of policies, the direction of growth and the political alignment in the world economy dominated by international capitalism. The most telling evidence of the state of the Nigerian economy is that more than fifty years after independence, Nigeria is still structurally dependent on external dynamics and thus too deficient in basic needs. The socio-economic growth rate is slow compared to other countries with similar colonial and post-colonial socio-economic profiles. Poverty rate is still pervasive. Lately Nigeria is ravaged by spate of kidnapping, bombings and random killings, resulting in an unfriendly investment environment, (Amali 2011). The problem is further captured by Ewetan and Urhie (2014), after fifty years of nationhood Nigeria still ranks among the poverty countries in the world, also ranks low in all socio-economic indicators such as life expectancy, death rate, access to water, poverty rate, mortality rate, and crime rate and still carries the tag of a developing economy. Nigeria is a classic illustration of an oxymoron, a poor country in the midst of abundant human and natural resources. Alaye also affirmed that, Nigeria, a country like other third world countries went through almost a century of colonial experience from 1861-1960, when she got her political independence. Since independence, Nigeria has been struggling in the course of political instability, economic and socio-cultural imbalances. And like many other third world countries, the nation has been hugely confronted with underdevelopment which emanated from dominant exploitative character of the western economies on which those third world countries depend. Financially, the overdependence on oil as the only source of income and revenue, mostly the oil windfall and boom of the 1970s which was mismanaged, leading to borrowing from IMF and World Bank and indebtedness from 130 billion which caused severe economic crisis (Anuobi 1992 in). The worst is even the region and states noted for their oil abundance holding the center of Nigeria's economy as its life wire is suffering from many developmental woes of neglect, environmental degradation without compensation, destruction of means of livelihoods like farming, fishing, hunting etc. This has been captured eloquently by Nsagha, Emem and Basse (2022), the challenges facing the Niger Delta range from infrastructural cum developmental neglects, poverty, loss of means of livelihood, health deterioration and environmental degradation emanating from black soot. The deadly black soot surge observed to be caused by illegal oil bunkery remains a threatening experience faced by the Niger Deltans, specifically Port Harcourt in Rivers State.

The above experience, shows the height of Nigeria's underdevelopment and the inability of the country to attain self-sufficiency in all ramifications. It is based on this backdrop that this study sets out to investigate the extent to which the numerous policies geared towards the attainment of development and self-sufficiency has changed the fortune of the country towards attainment of development and self-sufficiency. This could be done by evaluating the policies of iron and steel industry, import substitution and industrialization strategy and the local content policy.

### **Objective Of study**

The study sets out to investigate the utility and success of post-colonial development policies geared towards development for self-reliance. The paper also considers some salient specific policies such as:

- the Iron and steel industry
- the Import substitution and industrialization policy
- the local content policy.
- to also examine the utility and successes of the policies in engendering development and self-reliance in a manner that leads to Independence.
- also to proffer some Policy advice and recommended prognosis for action.

### **Operational definition of terms**

#### **Policy**

According to Miller (1965), policy is a matter of either the desire for change or the desire to protect something from change. Also Johnson (1965) opines that policy making occurs in the determination of major objectives in the selection of methods of achieving these, and in the continuous adaptation of existing policies to the problems that face a government.

On his part Adenolukun (1986), posits that it is a course setting involving decision of the widest ramifications and largest time perspective to the life of an organization. These positions presuppose that in the first instance, policy prescribe change that is a dynamic movement or the preservation of the status quo, that is its static posture. Adebayo (2006) posits that policy making in organizations, is procedural in nature. As a process, it is moulded by a variety of forces both within and outside the particular system. A policy may sometimes be consciously made as a result of pressure to solve certain problems. It may be the ceasing of an opportunity. That

Is the policy maker takes advantage of a particular situation to undertake a policy. The military for instance might take such an opportunity to take over power in some respect, policy becomes accidental, it just happens. Ademolokun further affirmed that each of these policies are usually made through complexes of situation by which a person who holds power in a political system exerts that power or influence over others. Therefore, because policy-making is a complex and continuous activity, It can be said to be procedural rather than an art with a beginning and an end, (Adeboya 2006).

Ogbeide (2017), affirmed that the word 'public' is used to describe something relating to or concerning all the people in a country or community. If we talk of public spending, for example, we mean the money spent by government to provide service for its people. By contrast, private is used to describe all non-governmental individuals, groups and institutions in a country or community. Thus, when we talk of public sector of a country's economy which is controlled or supported financially by the government. It is complemented by the private sector which is that part of a country's economy that is not controlled by the government. For Anderson, policy refers to 'a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern', (Anderson 1975). Harris conceptualizes public policy as consisting of 'the goals and assumptions that underline what government does. It is a kind of guide for government actions. Like individuals, governments are limited by scarce resources and by the inability to do everything at once. Consequently, public policy making means that governments must make choices to do one thing rather than another or to do a little of this and a lot of that. Friedrich (1963) sees policy as a proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment, providing obstacles and opportunity which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realized an objective or a purpose.

### **Development**

According to Schafer et al (2009), development has most frequently been equated to growth of the economy over a prolonged period of time. This approach was prevalent during the 1950s and 1960. Under the influence of theorists such as Walt Rostow's stage of economic growth, but remains prevalent today. Suhrke and Chaudhary (2009) posit that development is a multidimensional concept, and the links and relative priority of its various dimensions are debated. In economic terms, development is comprehended as sustained high growth rates or the transformation of agrarian economics into industrialized systems of production. Socially, development connotes poverty reduction and improvement in education and health. Politically, which was used frequently by western political scientists to mean a combined process of national integration, state-building and social modernization thought to engender formidable and sound institutions and political stability. According to Streeton as quoted by Agabi (2015), development must be redefined as an attack on the chief evils of the world today; malnutrition, disease, and inequality measured in terms of aggregate growth rates, to make development a great success. But measured in terms of jobs, justice and elimination of poverty, it has been a failure or only a partial success (Todaro, 1984: 50 quoting Streeton in Agabi 2015:308).

### **Theoretical Framework**

The study adopts and explores the utility of both dependency theory and self-reliance theory. The Dependency theory as affirmed by Offiong stipulates that, it is a situation in which a certain group of countries have their own economy conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former (the developing or underdeveloped or exploited) is subject. The relations of interdependence between two or more economic and between these and world trade, assumes that form of dependence when some countries (the dominant) can expand and give impulse to their own development, while other countries (the dependent) can only develop as a reflection of this expansion. This can have positive and/or negative effects on their immediate development. In all cases the basic situation of dependence leads to a global situation in, dependent countries that situates them in backwardness and under the exploitation of the dominant countries. The dominant countries have a technological, commercial, capital resources, and social-political predominance over the dependent countries. Historical situation of dependency have conditioned contemporary underdevelopment in Africa and other underdeveloped societies. Thus underdevelopment is not an original state as modernization theorists want us to believe. The beginning of African underdevelopment can be traced to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the abandoning of that trade in favour of "legitimate trade" and the eventual partition of Africa (Offiong 1980).

However, the idea that colonial expansionism, slavery, imperialism, etc should be held responsible for economic misfortune and development of former colonial territories even after years of political independence have been denounced and freed from the catalogue of excuses and reasons why some former colonies have not made any leap frog strides toward attaining a reasonable level of development. Issues like the evidence post-colonial political cum governance pathologies: poor, corrupt and inept leadership, squandermania, corruption, indigenous bourgeoisie alliance with foreign clients in a new colonial formation which Kwame Nkrumah tagged "Pseudo Independence" etc (after independence the new nations found out that they were still dominated and controlled economically and even politically by their former colonial metropolis, (Offiong, 1980).

The dependent nature of the Nigerian economy, has also manifested in the many entanglement. Such entanglement breeds inevitable economic, political, military and technological underdevelopment as the nation still depends on foreign aids in form of finance, technology, for refining oil, security and military assistance etc. this has evidently been documented by scholars in the field whom are interested in the radical disentanglement of dependent nations. For instance Alaye posit that:

*The current situation and condition of the country shows that Nigeria was only granted political independence in 1960, which means that the direct control of the national apparatus ended but economic control by the western capitalist still persist. This further intensified her dependence with consequent persistence of underdevelopment, (Alaye 2019).*

Thus ,the above scholarly disposition, clearly brings to the fore the tendency of the colonial siege on the Nigerian political economy which has caused severe stagnation in all facets of the Nigerian state. The problem becomes worrisome as one could simply think that, in the post-colonial cum independence era where the vestige of colonial exploitation and dependency would have been thrown into the “dustbin of history”, yet the country is still wallowing and wobbling in the web of underdevelopment and inability to retain its place of pride as an independent self-reliant nation. This dependency posture has surfaced in the form of foreign aid, importation of foreign product as a result of poor and inadequate industrial base and lack of technological breakthrough, leading to heavy debt burden, the monolithic nature of the economy depending on oil and its concomitant resource curse cum Dutch diseases infection, corruption, leadership without the political will for transformation etc. this have been eloquently captured by Onyeami below:

*Years after Africans, particular Nigeria got her Independence from their colonial matters nothing has changed. The economy is owned stock and barrel by others. Yet we have the idea that we are highly educated if we want to construct roads, we call on Julius Berger; if we need electricity, we have to buy the turbines from European. We do not produce the guns we use in killing ourselves; the money we use, we do not produce the machinery used in engraving them. If not for the European we would still be using hoes In farming; all the modern agricultural equipment's are made by other people for Africans (Onyeami 1999).*

The view of Alayi corroborates the above, thus ,Nigeria runs a mono-product petrol dollar economy and like most other African countries remains largely primary exporter, aid dependent and deeply indebted. Nigeria thinking, strategy and activities related to development over the past decades have not been the type that promotes sustainable economic growth and industrialization nor have they been those that create learning and employment opportunities, (Ajayi 2011:105-108).

## Self Reliance Theory

The concept of self-reliance is defined by independence. It is the ability to think and act without the help or influence of others, the ability to decide what you should be or do, (Ismail 2013). According to Ite (2016), the term self-reliance was coined by an American transcendentalist and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) in a similarly titled essay published in 1841. The essay emphasized trust on one's present thoughts, skills, originality, belief in own capabilities and genius and living within. Some popular and proverbial quotes from this essay includes:

- to be yourself in a world that is constantly trying to make you something else is the greatest achievement
  - the only person you are destined to be is the person you decide to be.
  - There is a time that envy is ignorance, and a time that imitation is suicide
  - a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds adored by little statesmen and philosophers and diviners.
- The philosophical concept of self-reliance takes a slightly different path towards development by emphasizing the will and push for independence, creativity, originality and belief in strength and resilience. It rejects the need for external support and seems to glorify the importance of self-application.

The concept was given more impetus and momentum, and further expanded to encompass a simple life style by Mahatma Gandhi (1859-1948), a preeminent leader of the Indian independence movement. He asserted that nature produced enough for our wants and if only everybody took enough for himself or herself and nothing more, there would be no people dying of starvation in this world”, (Ite 2016). He further affirmed that, self-reliance is defined by independence, the ability to think and act without the help of others as well as ability to decide what to be or what to do (Ite 2016).

The input, veracity and utility of this theory to the work in explaining the Nigerian situation has been documented by scholars in the field (Imhonopi and Urim 2010; and Ebele 2009). Also Ite affirmed thus:

*Self-reliance and sustainable development have been key drivers of several Initiative and development efforts in Nigeria for example, since Nigeria independence budget, the concept of economic self-reliance has*

become a feature of national budget speeches and presentations of successive government (Kim and Ismail, 2013 in Ite 2017). The idea have surfaced in the formulation of development policies such as national economic empowerment development strategy: (NEEDS); operation feed the nation and Green revolution (OFN); structural adjustment programme (SAP); seven point Agenda; United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG); the African growth and opportunity Acts (AGOA); and the transformation agenda, etc. it is clear that Nigeria has made, several attempt toward achieving self-reliance and promoting sustainable development. However, the efforts and strategies adopted seem to have yielded limited results. This is clearly evidence in the high incidence of poverty, and lack of sustainable development in the country. This failure is due in part to corruption, poor governance and lack of accountability within Nigeria political environment system and administration, the rentier nature of these oil economy, resource curse problem, etc, (Ite 2016; Ite 2004; Ite 2005; Lates 1996, Obi 1997; Khan 1994; Ikein and Briggs, Anigboh, 1993; Antu 1998; Sarraf and Jiwani 2001; Idemudia and Ite 2006a; Idemudia and Ite 2006b, Collier, 1987 in Ite 2005b).

## **Public Policies And Programs For Development And Self-sufficiency In Nigeria's Post Independence**

Nigeria, like many other developing countries, mostly those in the “former colonial extraction” have embarked on many policies and programmes to better the lots of their populace. This programme and policies covers a wide spectrum of sectors ranging from the many agriculture policies geared towards food security, self-sufficiency in agriculture and the diversification of the economy; import substitution and Industrialization policy, structural adjustment programme, (SAP), national economic empowerment and development strategy (NEEDS), local content iron and steel industry, etc. all these policies were geared towards the overall transformation of the Nigeria’s pear-sharped economy which will eventually lead to self-sufficiency whereby the web of entanglement and dependency on the west could be curbed and also lead to the enhancement of the lives of the masses.

The concern of this work, is to delve into three policies embarked upon by successive government of Nigeria which were geared towards the attainment of economic growth, development, self-reliance and capable of breaking the cord of dependency. Based on this the policies of iron and steel industry, import substitution and industrialization policy and that of the local content would be interrogated to decipher the extent of their survivability and fruitfulness in the quest for attaining economic growth, development, and self-sufficiency towards breaking the yoke of dependence. This is why Okorie, Bassey, Emem and Eme (2023) affirmed that , oil-rich Nigerian state, despite the abundance of oil revenue which contributes about 95% export earning and 40% GDP , is still grappling with myriads of developmental challenges. There is the reasoning that enormous revenue from mineral and other natural resources in the form of financial gains should engender positive development. Such development implies: Security of citizens, employment, education, good roads, sustainable wage/salaries, poverty reduction, violent-free election, electricity, sustainable environment, etc. But unfortunately the case of Nigeria and most resource-rich countries has been a curse rather than a blessing with symptoms of Dutch disease.

Emerging into state hood, as an independent state by way of the stiff opposition, though in a non-violent manner through the agitation of the nationalist who vehemently showed their undiluted Intellectual prowess to fight for the political freedom. The country deemed it fit to create an egalitarian society. This was borne out of the desire to prove the dream of Kwame Nkruma’s philosophy of "seek ye first the political freedom and every other thing will added unto you". Thus the idea that the achievement of political independence would eventually engender the economic, social, technological, military transformation of Nigeria and other African state in a manner that ensures human security, economic growth and development for self sufficiency and reducing the level of dependence on colonial power, saw the government taking the centre stage of development planning, (Ekpe 2003; Okereke 2003; Akawa 2015; Obgonna and Uma 2017). This quest for development in the Nation’s post-independence was borne out of the zeal to better the lives of the common and disentangle the nation from the yoke of dependency as stipulated in the second national development plan:

*Making Nigeria a united, strong and self-reliance nation; a great and egalitarian society; a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens and a free democratic society, (Okereke 2003).*

With such a scenario, where a country solely depends on oil, even the oil wealth is squandered and plundered to the detriment of the citizen’s welfare and state development. Also that such a nation heavily relies on foreign items in all ramification, to what extent can such a nation achieve development that engenders self-reliance to answer this question, the paper explores some developmental policies that were geared towards self-reliance to see how such were effective.

## Iron And Steel Industry

Steel as a commodity, is the commutation that captures any varieties of alloys of iron and 1.0-15% carbon in the form of iron carbide (especially cementite), often with other metals (e.g. chromium, manganese, nickel, etc.) alloyed to impart special physical properties. It is formed by reducing the carbon content of cast iron, or by the diffusion of carbon into wrought iron. It can be casted, rolled, drawn etc. in the solid state, it is hard and possess great tensile strength to be used in construction work, In cutting tools and In wire cables (New Webster Dictionary, 2004 In Odiyi 2014). The industry that carries out this transformation of crude iron into usable metal is what is designated as the steel industry (Odiyi 2014).

Odiyi further affirmed that the history of steel making can be traced to the art of iron making in the ancient times. Wrought iron were explored to produce weapons by different categories of people including knights, the Hittite army and barbarian mercenaries of old. Also, cheap iron implements were used for mining, agricultural activities and in the manufacture of vehicles and vessels. This period witnessed the ability of common artisan to find mental tools kits within their reach which enhanced their independence from the kings, gods and the nobles, and also challenged the armies of civilized states whose monopoly of bronze armament had made them seem susceptible to attack in the military and technology art. The possession of reasonable iron and steel gives weak states the power for gaining recognition in interactional affairs. Technological, the utility of iron and steel have found expression in the making of wires, railways tracks, as girders in building modern skyscrapers, buildings and bridges. Flat trains and appliance; stainless steel; cutlery and flatware, rulers, surgical equipment and wristwatches, construction of rail roads and bridges structures, food and beverage cans construction elements such as reinforced concrete walls and pillars, bicycles, airphanes and in a vast array of other products, (Odiyi, 2014).

Also the U.S military explores the utility of iron and steel to manufacture significant tonnage of steel which creates the independent statue of U.S off other industrial powers for instance the gears bearing engines and body of the joint strike fighters F. the land 135 based vehicles such as bradely fighting vehicles, Abram's Tank and the family of light Armoured vehicles, used significant tonnage of steel plate per vehicle.

From the above insightful investigation into the utility of iron and steel in terms of its technological and military significance, brings to bear the utmost need for nation to embark on such promising venture of optimally utilizing the deposits and proceeds of its Iron and steel industry. This is so as the material if efficiently explored has multiplicity of usage and ability to transform any economy. Thus no one can see the veracity of this claim than in the manner at which the Brazil economy has be transformed through their breakthrough in automobile construction beginning from Its post-world war II establishment of the industry that led to the manufacturing of its automatic pistol in 1954 by virtue of the political will on the part of its leaders to training, graduation and recruitment of aeronautical and automobile engineers which spurred Brazil emergence as a producer and exporter of military weapons, airplanes and carriers, The same goes to China, India etc. (Hugh 2008; Floridabrazil 1979, Chakander and Earth Times 2009 in Odiyi 2014).

Dovetailing from the above, one could see resounding and indubitable truth that there is potential for economic transformation in expending efficiently on iron and steel. This same experience mostly as seen in other colleagues in the less developing countries spectrum and strata-the Indian and Brazil episode. The country Nigeria in her bid to steer her economy on the development and growth part delve into the establishment of the iron and steel industry.

This was done by consulting various advanced countries (United State, United Kingdom (UK), France and Germany who are apt in the art of industrialization to assist in developing its steel industry. The above mentioned countries saw the establishment of such industry as an exercise in futility, based on reasons that: the country's iron ore deposit were of low quality and quantity, (Edosa, 2003:87 In Odiyi 2014), while the soviet union's messres T)ajprom export of the defunct soviet union carried out a parallel research and discovered contrarily that high quality ores (45-65) which are commercially viable abound beneath the Nigerian soil (Nigeria's Chile Embassy, 2001 in Odiyi 2014:396). They also confirmed the existence of over 200 million tonnes of iron ore at Itakpe hills, near Okene, over 120 million tonnes of cooking coals at Lafla, substantial quality of marbles at Jakura and Ubo in Kwara state, limestone at mfamosing In Cross River State, Dolomite at Barunand Osara and refractory clays at Onitbode and Oshiele. This optimism and hopeful thinking aroused the motivational spirit in the Nigeria government to fast track the implementation of the establishment of the iron and steel industry with the inauguration of the Nigerian Steel Development Authority (NSDA) in 1971 saddled with the responsibility of establishing and developing the country's steel industry. Ajaokuta steel company, Delta steel company, three rolling mills at Jos, Kristina and Osogbo and a host of other steel industry related infrastructure sprang up, (Odiyi 2014).

The next phase was the development of the mine fields, installation of mineral processing equipment and iron and steel production facilities out of the six (Agbaja, itakpe, Ajaban Antho, Chokochoko, Agbade Okudu and Nsude) of iron ore ne Nigeria, only the NJOMCO at itakpe was fully developed and commenced operations in 1977. The itakpe iron ore has an iron content of 35%, hence a 2.5 metric tonnes beneficiatori plan/1002, was

designed to produce and supply 2.15 million metric tonnes/yr of 63/64% Fe suitable for blast furnace and 0.55 million metric tonnes for super concentrated 66/68% Fe suitable for direct reduced Iron technology, (Ola et al, 2009; Mohammed, 2002; Adembimpe, 2011; Agby, 2007; Ohimain, 2013 in Ohlmain 2013).

The importance of iron and steel industry, to national development cannot be undermined nor downplayed as research in scholarly works in the discourse suffices, (Bamidele, et al, 2004; Lawal 2015; and Agbu 2007).

However the views of Afeikhera states thus:

*The iron steel industry has been perceived as the centre piece of Nigeria's industrial and technological development. This is predicated on the fact that enhanced level of domestic production and consumption of steel are necessary preconditions for the transformation of the industrial base of any economy. Steel represents by far, the most widely used metallic material due primarily to the fact that it can be manufactured relatively cheaply in large quantities and to very precise specification. The industry is a vital instrument for developing intersectoral linkages with all other sectors of the economy. It is linked to the minerals and mining industries, building, construction, energy sector, the chemical industry, engineering, agriculture, transportation and defence. In view of this extensive linkage chain, it has been estimated in the United States that for every worker employed in basic steel production, there are twenty other jobs created (Igwe 1989 in Afeikhera 1993).*

The Nigerian steel sector faced numerous of challenges primarily due to poor planning, contracting strategy design. For instance, the political location of most of the steel projects made their operations costly. Iron was being mined at Itakpe in north central Nigeria. It was being sent to Delta steel company (DSC) down south for the production of billets, a distance (Oshogbo), another in North central (Jos) and the third North West (Katsina), all these locations being far from Aladja from where the billets were produced. This amounted a huge logistic cost. Another issue was funding/operational cost and that of lack of trained manpower for steel production. But during the third national development plan (1975-1980), thousands of Nigerians were trained in Nigeria and abroad (India, Russia, Germany, UK, Japan etc.). Unfortunately when the public steel sectors collapsed, the staff were left in limbo for a long time, which resulted in the accumulation of huge pension liabilities. These huge pension liabilities made the steel companies to attract fewer premiums during privatization exercise. The country lost the ample opportunity to employ a lot of her citizens by not completing the Ajaokuta steel project, if the phase 1 of the project was completely installed and operational, the multiplier effect would have been enormous including direct employment of 10,000 workers at the plant, 20,000 in the raw materials industries and 30,000 workers in downstream industries utilizing iron, and steel product, (Mohammed 2002 in Ohimain 2013). As on 13 October, 2003, the government entered into contract with Solgas energy, USA to rehabilitate, complete, commission and operate ASC — Ajaokuta steel company. As part of the agreement. Afeikhera observed that, despite huge government investment of over U.S \$10 billion, the Nigeria iron and steel industry is yet to make any appreciable impact on the economy. The industry, which was started in 1958, and operational only in 1980s, is currently bedeviled by gross inefficiencies in its operation as reflected in very low levels of capacity utilization, high dependencies on imported inputs and other consumables uncompetitive production costs and weak linkages with other sectors of the economy, (Afeikhera 1993). In addition 9000 jobs were to be generated for the steel plant 10,000 job for the power plants. All these opportunities became a mere deluded fantasies due to non-completion of the non completion of the Ajaokuta steel projects, (Agbu 2007 in Ohlmain 2013).

### **Import Substitution And Industrialization Policy**

*In almost all developing countries, early stages of industrialization are marked by import substitution policies. In an attempt to improve standards of living and to enhance output growth, indigenous industrialization was promoted by barriers against foreign competition. Inward industrialization was further assumed to free developing countries from their dependence on industrialized countries and to pave the way to efficiency gains based on local technological development (Torsten 1988).*

According to Proshare News, due to the unfavorable exchange rate crisis facing Nigeria, due to the high import content, whereby almost everything used in the country beginning from tooth picks to refined petroleum is gotten from foreign source. The reliance on imported items has led to a huge demand for foreign exchange and depreciation of the naira through the years. Excessive importation has led to a near decimation of the country's manufacturing industry. The comatose state of manufacturing is reflected in the country's high unemployment and underemployment numbers. In order to curtail Nigeria's reliance on imports as well as reduce the deleterious effects of excessive importation, the country had developed an import substitution strategy that on



one hand, limits access to forex (which then makes it difficult to import) and on the other hand supports the country's manufacturing.

Eminue eloquently highlighted, the rationale for the adoption of import substitution and Industrialization policies, thus, the policy was geared towards the acceleration and propel the expansion of domestic industries by replacing major Imports such as textiles, pharmaceuticals, detergents, toiletries, food items, leather and footwear, rubber and plastic etc. with locally produced substitutes, (Ndebio, 1993 in Emlnue 2009). The idea was further born out of the perception that through Industrialization of the third world, the dependency trap which tied third world countries to the apron-string of the developed industrialized world would be put to an end, thereby help the developing nation to earn foreign exchange. Industrialization could disentangle third world countries from the burdensome web of balance of payment problem while enhancing self-sufficiency.

Contrary to the success of ISI strategy in Latin American countries and the high expectations in Nigeria when it was introduced, its performance in Nigeria was unsatisfactory. The policy did not facilitate industrial leap forward in Nigeria because it focused on the production of consumer goods instead of technological advanced capital goods which sustains industrialization. The original purpose of substituting local inputs for the imported inputs in local industries was not realized: Every Input (raw materials, the machines, spare parts and skilled manpower) used In the local industries were imported. Instead this further strengthened the dependence of Nigeria on external western interest, whereby imports was high and foreign exchange was stratified. The purported technology transfer and skills which would have engender technological development in Nigeria did not surfaced as strategic technical positions in the existing manufactured firms where manned by foreigners. The problem became worrisome due to the monolithic dependency nature of the Nigerian economy on only oil. This is so as the huge monies gained in the 'oil boom era' of 1970s was mismanaged and In the 1980, the collapse of the international oil market in 1982 and subsequent fail in frequent fall in foreign exchange earnings, Nigerian economy was in distress as there was paltry foreign exchange to pay for the exorbitant import bills of raw materials, spare parts and components of import substitution industries. The oil revenue reduced from USS 25.4 billion in 1980 to less than US 56 billion in 1980 (CBN, 2002 in Ekpo).

### Local Content Policy

*The Nigerian state has been faced with various economic, social, political, education and development problems in all sectors of the Nigerian economy these problems have eventually led to poverty, corruption, kidnapping, unemployment, stealing, terrorism, militancy, armed robbery amongst others. In order to tackle these challenges facing the nation, the Federal Government, under the leadership of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GCFR), in March 2010, signed into law the Nigerian local content Act which aimed at promoting industrialization of the Nations oil and gas Industries and thereby improving the economic and social wellbeing of citizens engaged In the industries, (Shirley and Chukwumalten 2015).*

The need to attain self-reliance in an economy, of any nation mostly third world developing country like Nigeria, which is monocultural in nature, solely dependency on the oil sector is not to be disputed. If one carefully and critically examine the centre-stage which oil pivots the economy beginning from when agriculture was displaced and taken to the bottom rung virtue of the discovery of oil in the 1950s to the oil boom", 1970s, spanning to the oil in glut and stock era of 1980s where the country started to experience severe economic from maladies. Thus even the many policy therapies mainly external interest- SAP, IS!, Etc which could not fix the pear-shaped economy while the problems of under development, with its concomitant poverty, high illiteracy rate, insecurity, instrumentable balance of payments problem, arising from excess importation of food items, automobiles, weaponry, telecommunication gadgets, furnitures etc, still persist hence the need for a robust policy as 'local content'. This was really focused on the manufacturing and oil sector to ensure that indigenous and entrepreneurs could take a full grip on oil sector.

According to Souza (2013), the local content is the percentage of materials, equipment, systems and services produced locally in relation to the total amount of purchases made by concession currently operating in Brazil... it is expected that the activities of supply of equipment and services for the mineral industry can create benefits and greater competitiveness; Technical-development of capital: and environment- development of more efficient mineral activities etc. (Souza 2013 in Owede and Alor 2018). Local content policies are enacted by regimes to provide incentives that encourages local industry so that it can develop and attain global competitiveness, (ANP, 2008 in Owede and Alor 2018).

According to Balouga (2012), the Nigerian oil and Gas development law 2010 defines local content as the quantum of composite value added for or created in Nigeria through utilization of Nigeria resources and

services in the petroleum industry resulting in the development of indigenous capability without compromising quality, health, safety and environmental standards. It is framed within the context of growth of Nigeria entrepreneurship and domestication of assets to fully realized the domestic share of the \$18 billion annual spending on oil and gas from 45% to 70% in addition to enhancing the multiplier effects on the economy, through refining and petrochemicals.

The policy, (local content) was initiated In 1971 through the establishment of the Nigerian National Oil Corporation (NOC). NOC came into existence as a vehicle for the promotion of Nigeria's indigenization policy in the petroleum sector. It later metamorphosed into Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation in 1977 through NOCS merger with the petroleum ministry. NNPC flagged off the actual local content initiative through the acquisition of interest in the operations of the IOCs. These interests grew to about 70% with the responsibility of controlling all acreages and other activities, (Balouga 2012). The current momentum of the viability of local content began in 2001 with a workshop organized by the National petroleum and management services (NAPMS) entitled a national workshop on improvement of local content and indigenes participation in the upstream sector of the petroleum industry which a report came out in 2002. A Nigerian content unit within the Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR) was also created in 2002, to provide a study on local content in Nigeria. The study was commissioned by a Norwegian Agency for Development Corporation. A Nigerian version of the Norwegian Agency was created within the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. (NNPC) and a Group General Manager was appointed to head the unit.

Despite the above seeming benefits of the local content policy some challenges still bedevil and plague the idea, rendering its an exercise in futility. As rightly opined by Balouga (2012):

*Despite the Nigeria growing profile and wealth, the country still remains one of the poorest, and technologically backward, nations In the world. This is basically because much taunted wealth has not translated into Improved we/fare. One reason for this Is that over 90 percent of the yearly indusUy expenditures escape the domestic economy as capital flight. Despite the ever growing number of local of services companies the latter's annual gross earnings st/il account for less than 5 percent of the sectors aggregate annual contracting budget. Even the local media has been denied the much needed opportunity to advertise the act Mt/es of upstream companies in Nigeria. Some of these companies induding Nigeria LNG prefer to spend huge med/a budgets running into millions of dollars on foreign media like CNN, upstream journals or magazines. They hardly spent 20 percent of such annual budget on Nigeria media (Balouga 2012).*

Balouga further affirmed that, a country like Nigeria with a reservoir of engineers, geologists, geophysics, due to the huge investment in human capital by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation's. Some of these professionals owns oil prospecting and services firms, which are classified as indigenous contracting firm. Regrettably their inability to get a share of the action at the upstream may not necessarily be due to Incompetence, but rather due to inadequate (Balouga 2012).

Also based on research, some industry stakeholders decried that over 70 percent of the contracts awarded to Nigerian companies are executed overseas, thereby defeating the primary objective of Nigerian content development which is to develop In country capacity by executive contracts in Nigeria using Nigerian local resources. Also, the problem of executive capacity and critical mass with technical and financial where without this is evident as most local companies are meager, disarticulated and incapacitated in packaging or attracting loans. A handful of them can delivery turkey projects without resorting to some form of partnership agreement for equipment, expertise are support, (Belouga 2012).

## Conclusion

The study ,was set out to engage interested public into the utility of development polices which are all geared towards the achievement of development in such a manner that enhances the welfare whereby there would be an appreciable level in poverty reduction, inurement in literacy, reduction in Infant mortality, crime, balance of payment problem, reduction on dependency, and the entertainment of self-sufficiency, etc.

The idea that development ,remains the priority of countries, mostly those that have survived the devastating voyage of humiliation under colonialism. These nations saw the need to engage themselves Into total transformation of their respective nations In the post-colonial cum independence era. This was done by the instrumentality of formulating public policies. In this case the study emphatically focused on three specific policies: iron and steel industrial policy, import substitution and industrialization policy and the local content policy. The study never failed to acknowledge the myrlads of policies In areas of agriculture/food security, priatilizatlon, economic diversification, NEEDS, MGDs security, etc but the reason for examining these three policies stems mainly from the fact that when one delve into the ear of development and self-sufficiency within the Nigerian contest the iron and steel Industry would have given the country a great and unmatched level of

independence in many things, beginning from zinc, metal, plates ammunitions airplane cum automobile spare parts, construction cum engineering materials (CMI and electrical). While the import substitution would have swiftly complemented and authenticate the above in the sense of allowing those industries which may have been producing without much external influence and dependence to make use of local resources (human in terms of ownership, managerial, funding, etc, materials and physical). The same goes to the local content mostly in the oil sector.

But the situation and realities, produced the reverse of the development thinking that was associated with the formulation of the above policies. This remains the backdrop of this study which therefore presents some recommended prognosis and policy advice.

### Recommendations

The paper recommends among other things;

the need for a political leadership that is equipped with the psychology and mindset of being able to take development which priorities the welfare of the masses as a priority. This leadership must seek a relationship with foreign powers not for primordial Interest but for an interest that appreciates, adopts and consolidate citizenship diplomacy in terms of aids and assistance without jeopardizing the economic wealth of the country. This is so as no matter the quest toward self-reliance, a little of aid could be directed to foreign power. This leader must be corrupt-free and be proven for competency.

-sincerity in program mplementation with all manner of sincerity and honesty,that takes sacrosanct, effective and uncompromising monitoring, evaluation and probing.

- ability to prioritize man power training in all manner of scientific and technological endeavor.The country has the magnitude of resources to raise adequate funds to sponsor citizens in vocational, technical, scientific education home and abroad. Beginning from the home, effective and sophisticated training in vocational and technical education begin from the primary level where requisite technological equipment are sought for and available for training the citizens. This also prioritize education.

•the need to tackle the manace of corruption in all ramification

-prioritizing education geared towards scientific technological and vocational breakthrough where entrepreneurial development begin from the cradle of the nation's education ladder-primary/nursery. This should be done by making it compulsory for students to be engaged practically more than theory. This would further enhanced the development and maintenance of formidable manpower which can take up the development strides of the nation

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