![Global Scientific Journals logo]

WOMEN EMPOWERMENT: RETHINKING SANKARA'S FEMINIST IDEOLOGY AS A PANACEA TO DEVELOPMENT IN 21ST CENTURY AFRICA

K.A. Kudu
CGW, UniJos, Nigeria
Kapkudu.ak@gmail.com

April, 2019

Abstract

The African socio-cultural configuration has remained fundamentally patriarchal. This has not only encouraged the domination and oppression of women, it has also promoted backwardness in Africa. It means therefore that if Africa must deliver on her quest for development, women empowerment is a fundamental issue to address. Sankara, being passionate about this, became one of the first African Heads of State to condemn the oppression of women in all its ramifications and was committed to the struggle to end it. He implemented policies that respected the rights of Burkinabe women, whose population was over half of the overall population and treated them with dignity and value as human beings. This was to break away from practices that were oppressive to women and retrogressive to the nation. This paper therefore, analysed the feminist revolutionary idea of Sankara, to advocate for gender equality as the fulcrum of African development. The paper argued that the empowerment of African women should not be seen as an act of human compassion rather, it should be considered as a well-deserved timely action. Also, as the saying; when a woman is empowered the whole nation is empowered, the paper argued that continues oppression of women through the traditional patriarchal system has not only brought African women backward, it has dwarfed African development. The paper concluded that, for Africa to deliver on her development goal, women empowerment should be treated as a timely issue demanding concentrated attention. The paper also, has offered some modest recommendations.

Keywords: *Feminism, Feminist Ideology; Women Empowerment; Development*

Introduction

History will always remember those great martyrs whose ideas and actions have inspired future generations. Thomas Isidore Noël Sankara is among those martyrs that Africans and the world will continue to remember as one of the very few great leaders that Africa ever had. *Pathfinder* observes that Sankara radically championed the course of women emancipation in "one of the poorest imperialist-stricken West African country, with infant mortality rate as highest in the world, and illiteracy among women at 99 percent" (Pathfinder 2007:11). Although, Sankara's reign was very brief (four years and two months) before his brutal assassination, his death has continued to guide those who are struggling to end the domination of their continent and the enslavement of its people (Dembele 2009:1). The great popularity of Sankara in part reflects the disillusionment of Africans with corrupt leaders who fail to provide the basic needs of their people, and who's continued dependence on Western capital and institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have only promoted retrogression in the continent. Sankara's relentless commitment and devotion to the cause of emancipating all African people, especially women increased his popularity.

Karl Marx has been widely acknowledged as the founder of the modern working class movement and one of the ardent advocates of women's rights and equality the world has known. He was also among the first to assert that the social status of women is the measure of the degree of progress of any society (Pathfinder 2007:11-12). Nevertheless, Sankara, has made a powerful demonstration of the uneven and combined development of history that in the mid-1980s, Burkina Faso, being among the most oppressed nations of the world, suddenly ranked itself within the revolutionary vanguard on a world scale (Pathfinder 2007:11-12) and demonstrated unwavering commitment to the struggle against the discrimination of women in all its

ramifications. For instance, Dembele and Murrey have observed the famous October 2, 1983 speech of Sankara in which he said, "We cannot transform society while maintaining domination and discrimination against women who constitute over half of the population." According to him, women's emancipation should be considered as their fundamental human right and not an act of charity or human compassion (Dembele 2009:1; Murrey 2012:2).

This corroborates Naomi Wolf's "Power feminism" which opines that women can marshal their power and win. It assumes that women need not be better or worse than men, and certainly need not be the same, but deserve rights simply as human beings. In this assertion, where the system works unfairly, women should force it to change by using their resources rather than pleading for kinder treatment on the basis of victim status (Wolf 1993:179). Thus Sankara situated women's resistance agency at the center of the revolution because he saw women's agitation for equal rights as the focal point of a more egalitarian politics in Africa (Murrey 2012:2).

Pathfinder (2007:11) points out that, Sankara provided a scientific and materialist explanation to the socio-economic roots of women oppression within class society. He mobilized and encouraged women's struggle to change their conditions of life, and those of all Burkinabe using the National Council of the Revolution. This set an example during the four years of his reign, not only for Africa but also far beyond. Hence, since most of the courses that Sankara defended are still the struggle and focus of the oppressed of the world, his ideas and values have aroused as much fervor today as did over two decades ago.

Therefore, against this backdrop, this paper addresses gender inequality and especially the discrimination against women as antithetical to development in Africa. In doing this, the paper attempts an analytics of Sankara's feminist ideology as self-evident truth at the heart of his

struggle to end the domination and discrimination against women, which is a panacea to African development.

Conceptual Framework

Women Empowerment: Page and Czuba, (1999) cited Bayeh (2016:37-38) content that empowerment is a "multi-dimensional process that helps people exercise control over their lives. Simply put, empowerment gives people ability to act on issues considered to be very important in their lives, their communities, and in the wider society. Therefore, women's empowerment according to Malhotra et al., (2009) cited Bayeh (2016:37-38), is women's ability to make strategic life choices where that ability had been previously denied them. Buttressing this point, Malhotra et al., (2009) in Bayeh (2016:37-38) assert that empowerment is key to promoting the interests of women at individual, household, community and broader levels respectively. Alvarez and Lopez, (2013) cited Bayeh (2016:37-38) corroborate that it involves boosting the capacity of women through literacy, education, training and raising awareness. Therefore, women's empowerment is all about allowing and equipping women to make life-determining choices across a variety of issues (Bayeh 2016:37-38).

Development: It is a comprehensive and complex concept that could be defined in different perspectives. For instance, to Idode (1989) development is a problematic concept or a construct of many applications used in different contexts to include economic, political, and social. Corroborating Idode's definition, Okobiah (1984) contents that development involves the socio-economic and political process of change in a progress directed towards a better social wellbeing for all members of the society. Nwanna (1998) refers to development as that process which involves the harnessing of resources to actualize major objectives and solve major problems. It

involves improving the attitude and potential of people. Similarly, to Boateng (1990) development aims at improving the living conditions and circumstances of human beings both directly and indirectly. In brief, it means anything that adds quality or value to human beings. Development according to Todaro (2012) is a multi-dimensional process that involves some major changes in; social structures, national institutions, acceleration of economic growth, reduction of inequality and poverty eradication.

In summary, development simply means transformation, advancing from one stage to the other for better and not for worse. It implies a country's aggregated economic growth in terms of its GDP which must improve the general wellbeing of the people (i.e basic needs – health, education, food, shelter e.t.c.).

Feminist Ideology: Feminism has become ideologically overloaded. However, some historical backgrounds identify it with several struggles or activism that began in different countries to advocate for equality and justice for women. For instance, the late 19th and early 20th centuries' woman suffrage movements in Europe and the US are clear examples. The 1960s Women's movement explicitly fought for equal rights and political participation. Therefore, feminist movement aims to establish justice and equality in human societies. Many feminist groups were visibly anti-men in their early period. Similarly, "Feminist discourse is studded with warnings about the dangers of behaving impurely. Money, fame and nasty opinions are the usual culprits" Wolf (1993:151). However, over time, they developed clear gender ideological perspectives to be of much concern not just for women but to humanity in general. Therefore, feminism is not anti-male or a mere political campaign that seek gender equality. But gender equality is central to feminists struggle and ensures the rights of women on the basis of the equality of the sexes (Nellickappilly, and Madras nd. 6-7).

Although, women oppression in human societies has a long historical background, feminism as an active ideology emerged only in recent times. This is attributed to some historical and political factors such as the enlightenment, liberalism in Europe, (with emphasis on concepts like equality, personal autonomy, individuals' rights etc.), spread of 20th century democratic institutions and governments all over the world. These factors inspired the different feminist groups that started to focus their campaign on race and gender equality (Nellickappilly, and Madras nd. 4-5).

Feminism could refer to resistance against patriarchal domination in all its ramifications. The socio-political implication is that it provokes very important questions concerning equality and justice in human societies, most of which traditionally follow the patriarchal social order that encourages women subordination (Nellickappilly, and Madras nd. 4).

Similarly, many religious traditions have provided theological justifications to this subordination and discrimination. Philosophical traditions also encouraged male domination and oppression of women. For instance, Aristotle and many other thinkers saw women as inferior to men. Therefore, feminist ideological crusaders understood this historical background and provoked counterarguments that support gender justice and equality (Nellickappilly, and Madras nd. 4-5).

There are different branches of feminisms; liberal, radical, diversity, socialist, Marxist, postmodern, lesbian, eco-feminists and existentialists amongst others. Nevertheless, what is common to almost all groups of feminists is that they oppose gender oppression, exploitation and discrimination. They are concerned about the injustice fostered by a patriarchal society and attempt to overcome it by advocating equality and justice not only for women but also the society in general (Nellickappilly, and Madras nd. 6-7).

Feminism therefore, describes a theory of self-worth that applies to every woman without exception. It is an ideology squared with real-life experience…of women owning their own power and using it to live on their own terms… (Wolf 1993:68&71). Feminism should therefore, mean on an overarching level, women's willingness to act politically to get what they determine to be rightfully theirs (Wolf 1993:65).

Literature Review

Many African scholars and leaders have attributed the difficulties of development in the continent to the legacies of the long history of colonialism and the contemporary international power relations. Popular among such scholars is Walter Rodney. In his book titled, "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" (1972), Rodney analysed the clinical features of African development and attributes its backwardness to the capitalist accumulation of the resources of Africa European imperialists. Although, with focus on Nigeria, Ojukwu and Shopeju (2010) observe that corruption by the elite and primitive accumulation of the commonwealth is among the main factors militating against the development of Nigerian state since independence. They opine that these elite took over power from the departing colonial authorities and also their development ethos, which is characterized by self-interested exploitation of the people and the country. Igwe Stanley in his book titled, "How Africa Underdeveloped Africa" (2010) tries to expose the main issues responsible for the continued poverty of African states by shifting from attributing to colonial misrule and its neo-colonial dimension to focusing inward, to the misrule by African Leaders, which has frustrated African development more than what colonial rule has done to Africa.

Joseph Stieglitz in his book titled, "Globalization and Its Discontents" focused on the devastating effect that globalisation can have on developing countries especially the poor within those countries. Stieglitz asserts that imbalances in ccontemporary international trades and power relations are responsible for the backwardness of poor countries especially Africa and Asia. He however, observes that a balanced international trade and power relations have the potential to enrich everyone in the world, particularly the poor. He concludes by contending that the application of the principles of globalisation has to be reconsidered in order to benefit the rest of the world.

From the literature reviewed, it is clear that researchers and experts often attribute the difficulties of African development to long history of western capitalist accumulation and self-interested exploitation of Africans and their resources, imbalance of contemporary power relations, primitive accumulation of the commonwealth by African elite and misrule by their leaders, and of course the misapplication of the principles of globalization among others. Unfortunately, these scholars have obviously ignored the significant impact of African women in the entire development process thus their overbearing oppression and discrimination is so often neglected or overlooked. Para-Mallam (2010:24) Corroborates this points that, "Masculinity – notably hegemonic masculinity remained largely unproblematized in the leadership literature. This is quite remarkable given the volume of empirical evidence in sociological research linking masculinity to certain patterns of anti-social behavior."

Furthermore, studies such as the survey by Agbaje et al. cited Para-Mallam demonstrate different leadership style of male and female with implications for organizational culture and policy with reference to Nigeria. The study, from the opinions of the sample population, attributed male leadership as courageous, foresighted, fearless, energetic, and powerful, and female leadership as

exemplifying humility, honesty, passion, sympathy, and zealousness. In spite of the latter qualities, 61% of the survey respondents (consisting of 64% male and 34% female, indicated a preference for male leadership, which the report concluded was because, Nigeria is a male dominated society, people are socialized to believe that leadership belongs to male (Agbaje et al. 2003:18) in (Para-Mallam 2010:24).

This is of course one of the key factors responsible for the backwardness of African development. Therefore, the thesis of this paper advances that overcoming the oppression and discrimination against women and consequently, their involvement in the entire development process is a panacea to development in the 21st Century Africa.

Thomas Isidore Noël Sankara and Early Beginning

Born in December 1949 in Yako, a town north of Burkina Faso, Sankara was an ordinary child like every other in his younger days. His sense of right and wrong and hatred for injustice right from when he was young was what made him distinct. These virtues were inculcated in him by an attentive mother, who worked so diligently to promote strong moral and ethical code in her children, with modesty and humility high on her list (Pondi 2016) in (Murrey 2018:8). She urged her children to be proud of themselves and strife to become the best at what trade they chose to do (Pondi 2016) cited (Murrey 2018:8). His family home was characterized by the "'normalised rural poverty' of people in the villages and towns of the Sahel" (Benamrane 2016:17) cited (Amber 2018:8). Thus his lifestyle was depicting of a simple personality. He attended primary school in Gaoua (Benamrane 2016:17) in (Murrey 2018:8). His parents wanted him to be a priest but he opted instead and joined the military. Hence, in 1966 Sankara entered military school. He proceeded for Officers training in the Madagascar in early 1970s (at the age of 20), where he

witnessed a popular uprising of students and workers that ended by toppling the government. He also witnessed a form of revolution in the Cameroon. Thus whenever there was something that reconciled with his personality and conviction, he took that on board (Murrey 2012:3).

Pathfinder reports that Upper Volta, as formerly called, a former French colony had a population of more than seven million, and was one of West Africa's poorest countries at the time of the popular uprising on August 4, 1983 (Pathfinder 2007:15-16). Further statistics according to *Pathfinder* reveal that the country then had the world's highest infant mortality rate of 280 deaths for every 1,000 births. Attendance in School was around 12% and was even lower for girls. Challenged by this state of underdevelopment, Sankara, having been greatly influenced by the uprising he witnessed in Madagascar and the Cameroon as pointed earlier, he returned to Upper Volta. At this time, he had developed a radical anti-imperialist worldview, and had strong respect for the power of the grassroots. This put him at great controversy with the ruling party of Upper Volta, which resulted to his imprisonment in 1983 (Pathfinder 2007:15-16).

On August 4th, 1983, Blaise Compaoré and some 250 soldiers mobilized the people in mass to protest Sankara's arrest and eventually secured his freedom (Pathfinder 2007:8). Then, Sankara took over as President at the age of 33. He formed the National Council for the Revolution (NCR) in order to roll out his policy plan. A year later the people of Upper Volta embraced a new national name called Burkina Faso, meaning the land of upright men (Murrey 2012:3; Pathfinder 2007:15). He reigned from 1983-1987 and was among the most vocal anti-imperialists of the late twentieth century. His life and political ideology have remained significant in inspiring anti-imperial and Pan-African youth activism and resistance across Africa and beyond Murrey (2012:1). He was assassinated on October 15, 1987 in the belief that it could extinguish the exemplary life he set for African youth and progressive forces (Dembele 2009:1).

Feminist Ideology of Sankara and Oppression of African Women

This paper analyses the feminist ideas of Thomas Sankara - his resistant struggle to overcome discrimination against women, which he considered crucial to achieving African development. The thesis of this paper is that women's rights struggle is not synonymous with efforts to incorporate them within the patriarchal system(s) they totally reject. Hence, Naomi Wolf's "Power Feminism" encourages women to seek empowerment from the perspective of strength, will help to understand Sankara's feminist thinking which opines that women empowerment is not just a women's emancipation discourse but rather efforts of overcoming all manifestations of patriarchal subordination of African women.

Africans, regardless of gender difference are struggling to survive, and in some cases prosper within those constraints that global capitalism has imposed on their societies. But women typically face more disadvantages and exploitation because the global capitalist system is patriarchal in nature. Consequently, the patriarchal narrative, that gives men undue privilege, has continued to dominate African societies from the family level up to the state. In addition to this malaise are forms of patriarchy from Western nations that dominate, globally Nkenkana (2015:5). For instance, Nkenkana (2015:11) observes that Western ideas about the sexual division of labour and gender relations are being introduced in Africa. Corroborating this assertion, Sankara notes that the patriarchal system that challenges the future that limits the true liberation of women, is enshrined in the global power structure in which African future is generally entrapped (Nkenkana 2015:4). Having displayed profound understanding and active solidarity with women's struggles, Sankara understood it as struggle belonging to all humanity (Murrey 2012:4). He identified the following as the root cause of women oppression in Africa:

European colonialism and unequal social relations of capitalism and capital exploitation, and emphasized the significance of equal mobilization for women. He mobilized Burkinabé women into revolutionary action as respected, equal partners in the revolution for the wellbeing of the nation (Murrey 2012:4).

Jean-Pierre Pondi (2016) in Murrey Amber attests that the attention Sankara paid to gender justice could be linked to his strong and early relationship with and respect for his mother and older sister, Marie. His older sister, Marie had contracted meningitis in her younger days and never fully recovered. When his father beat and ridiculed Marie, attributing her disability to 'stubbornness', Sankara, by the age of eleven became greatly annoyed and would not engage with his father for periods of time (Murrey 2018:8). With this ugly picture in mind, Sankara understood that the struggle to uninstall the corrupt patriarchal operating system, installed in African men right from birth required radical approach. In other words, for African men to continue to operate within the patriarchal power structure, the continent stands the risk of reproducing the same future it tries to address as far as gender transformation is concerned (Nkenkana 2015:4).

Hence, the patriarchal system and its corresponding global power structure must to be eradicated so that Africa will experience transformative development. Corroborating this point, Sankara asserts that to understand patriarchy and its corresponding systems is to first comprehend the logic and philosophy surrounding them (Nkenkana 2015:4).

He questions the African society where men have dominated women and challenged that jobs be given to the women. This corroborates his belief that women must be given the means to earn honest and decent living. He became one of the first head of states in the world to promote

women's rights and fought to get rid of all feudal practices (Dembele 2009:1). He challenged the traditional education system that gave undue privilege status to male child over the female child, especially at school when girls are pregnant, the school expels them but nobody wants to find out if the partner responsible for the pregnancy is by any chance in the same class or not. And even if he is, no penalty is mated on him. Thus this encourages the boys to provoke as many pregnancies as they want. They can start having kids up until they get to grade six (6). But girls, once they are pregnant, they are expelled from school.

Therefore, Sankara implemented policies that raised the rights of women and their dignity as human beings in Burkina Faso's traditional society. In achieving this, he condemned practices such as; forced marriages, excision, and the all-powerful mentality of men over their families. This is a demonstration of the indispensable space of women in African society.

African Development and the Involvement of Women

Condoleezza Rice, former US Secretary of State contents that it often takes the effort of one woman to make a difference. If that woman is empowered with information, training, or microloan, she can lift up her entire family and contribute to the progress of her community. Furthermore, if the impact of that woman is multiplied by a hundred or a thousand, and perhaps a million lives can change (Ernst and Young 2011:7)

The population of women in Africa is over 50% but their systemic under-representation is unprecedented (Ernst and Young 2011:7). This must be addressed if Africa is to leverage fully on the potential that this population holds. Although, much of the economic contributions of African women are in the informal sector, it is nonetheless considerable. In *Lions on the Move: The Progress and Potential of African Economies* (McKinsey and Company, 2010) cited Ernst

and Young (2011:7), it is estimated that in Africa, 70% of the informal economy is controlled by women. Corroborating this assertion, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization confirms that African women are responsible for 70% of crop production, 50% of animal husbandry and 60% of marketing. Nearly 100% of food processing activities are undertaken by women, in addition to child care and other responsibilities in households (Ernst and Young 2011:7).

The Africa Gender Equality Index (2015:17) has observed that among the effective ways of promoting development is to invest in women and girls. Buttressing this assertion furthermore, a long recognized assertion maintains that investing in the human development of women, particularly the education of girls, yields a dual dividend: It improves the quality of life of women and enable them to be more productive members of society. It also enables them to promote human development in both their families and respective communities. James (1999:3-6) in Makokha (2014:111) corroborates that the measure of a nation's development is the treatment of women. The improvement of their children's welfare and life opportunities has a multiplier effect that extends to future generations. Conversely, social problems that disproportionately affect women, such as high maternal mortality and violence against women, destroy human capital. Hence, with illiteracy among women, poor health and little control over their fertility, and their children will have to pay the price. These of course are not just women's issues; they are the bottlenecks to African development (*Africa Gender Equality Index 2015:17).*

African women are significant contributors to African growth story (Ernst and Young 2011:7). Hence, creating opportunities for women to participate in the economy will improve their earning potential, reduce poverty at the family level and contribute to the nation's development. Therefore, Sankara's feminist revolutionary foundation was situated within the scope of "power feminist" thinking. He understood clearly that if Africa must deliver on its development agenda,

women must not be alienated but have equal participatory space in the entire development process. Also, it should be considered as a well-deserved opportunity for women to contribute to nation building in equal status with the men.

Conclusion

African women have rarely been given audience to voice out or to be listened to. This implies that the entire African development process that yarns for a better Africa rarely includes the opinions of women. It is therefore, pertinent to assert that the fundamental problem that provides the blurred future of African development is precisely its inheritance of the system that is repressive to women. Consequently, it is emphatically obvious that the future of African development remains bleak should there be no deliberate action to abolish the age long discriminatory system. Only deliberate and radical change of this social configuration that dominates and discriminates against women will promote development in Africa.

Recommendations

The problem of patriarchal domination can be solved by the men resorting to treat women as their counterparts, and not as second class citizens, both in domestic and formal settings. The already mentally colonized women should also decolonize their mindsets, and support the twenty first century African woman in the struggle to gain freedom because a liberated woman is commensurate with a more productive African society. For she will perfectly bridge the gap currently experienced in African leadership, dominated by African men that predisposes the continent to a retrogressive state.

Hence, in this 21st Century, as a matter of deliberate arrangement, African leaders must bridge the unequal gender gap and provide equal opportunity for participation in the entire development

process across. Giving this space, women will be able to speak out, to save themselves and prepare a viable future for their children. Makokha observes that this will arrest the vicious cycle of suffering, poverty and oppression that is the lot of majority of the African people (Makokha 2014:111).

The continent's economic space should encourage full participation of women. This will increase the GDP, promote good governance within political structures and improve performance as a result of organizational leadership within in the continent. At the community and family levels, the benefits are: improved nutrition and health, the intergenerational effect on education within a family, and supportive communities among women. Hence, creating opportunities that will foster the full participation of women is a potential contributor to the future growth and development of Africa. It marks the beginning of the move away from poverty (Ernst and Young 2011:25).

Basic infrastructure development will make the difference to those women who are the breadwinners of their family. Access to micro-finance, education, support, and resources, will encourage entrepreneurial women to grow their own businesses rather than developing a subsistence approach to life. Likewise, creating opportunities within organizations to retain vital and essential qualifications from the continent's educated female workforce like providing leadership opportunities and work/life balance flexibility will help to build tomorrow's role models (Ernst and Young 2011:25).

References

Africa Gender Equality Index *(2015).* "Empowering African Women: An Agenda for Action."

Being a Publication of African Development Bank. Abidjan.

Bayeh, Endalcachew (2016). "The Role of Empowering Women and Achieving Gender Equality

to the Sustainable Development of Ethiopia." *In Pacific Science Review B: Humanities*

and Social Sciences 2 (2016) 37- 42.

Boateng, E.A (1990). "Envirnmental Quality Aspects of Development." *In the Environmental*

and Sustainable Development in Nigeria. Adeoke, O.S. (ed.) Nigeria FEPA. Pp 74-79.

Demba, Moussa Dembele (2009). "Burkina Faso: Thomas Sankara's Revolutionary Legacy

Lives On."

Ernst and Young Global Limited (2011:7). "Women of Africa: A Powerful Untapped Economic

Force for the Continent." United Kingdom.

Idode, J. B. (1989). "Rural Development and Bureaucracy in Nigeria." Longman, Ibadan;

Nigeria.

Igwe, Stanley (2010). "How Africa Underdeveloped Africa." Prime Print Technologies Ltd. Port

Harcourt, Nigeria.

Makokha, Gloria Ajami (2014). "Portrayal of the African Woman in *Half of a Yellow Sun." In*

Journal Research in Peace, Gender and Development (JRPGD) Vol. 4(6) pp. 111-120,

September, 2014.

Murrey, Amber (2012). "The Revolution Cannot Triumph Without the Emancipation of

Women': A Reflection on Sankara's Speech, 25 Years Later." *In International Journal of*

Socialist Renewal.

Murrey, Amber ed. (2018). "A Certain Amount of Madness: The Life, Politics and Legacies of

Thomas Sankara." Pluto Press, London.

Nellickappilly,Sreekumar Madras, IIT (nd.). "Aspects of Western Philosophy."

Nkenkana, Akhonba (2015). "No African Futures Without the Liberation of Women: A Decolonial Feminist Intervention." Dakar, Senegal. *In Africa Development, Volume XL, No. 3. pp. 41-57.*

Nwana, O.C. (1998). "Relevance of the Aims and Objectives of Nigeria Education to National Development." *In Vision and Mission of Education in Nigeria: The Challenge of the 21st Century. K. Isiyaku, M.A.G Akale, Mariyanga .A.A and M. Olokun (eds). Kaduna. pp14-35.*

Ojukwu, C. Chris and Shopeju J. O. (2010). "Elite Corruption and the Culture of Primitive Accumulation in 21st century Nigeria." *In International Journal of Peace and Development Studies. Vol. 1(2). November 2010. pp. 15-24.*

Okobiah, .O.S (1984). "The Nature and Element of National Development and Integration." *In Okobiah, L.O.S and Udo E.N.H and Integration (5-17).*

Para-Mallam, O.J. (2010). "'No Woman Wrapper in a Husband House'": The Cultural Production of Hegemonic Masculinity in Nigerian Society.

Stieglitz, Joseph (2002). "Globalization and Its Discontents." Penguin Press. Great Britain.

Todaro, M.P. and Smith, S.C. (2012). "Economic Development." Eleventh Edition. Pearson, United States of America.

Wolf, Naomi (1993). "Fire with Fire: The New Female Power and How it will Change the 21st Century." Chatto and Windu Ltd., London.