



Research Article

Foreign Aids and Poverty in Nigeria: An Examination of the Nexus

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Abstract. Poverty is a major challenge in Nigeria as a developing country, hence this study investigated the impact of foreign aid on poverty reduction in Nigeria for the period 1981-2023. The study used Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF), Granger causality technique and Auto Regressive Distributed Lag (ARDL). The ADF showed that poverty index, Official Development Assistance (ODA) and population were greater than their respective critical values; hence, suggest that poverty index and Official Development Assistance (ODA) were not integrated of order zero but of order one; while, foreign direct investment and inflation were integrated of order zero. Also, the bound test confirmed co-integration between the variables, which means that there is a long-run relationship between the variables. The granger causality confirmed a unidirectional causality between foreign aid poverty in Nigeria, implying that the change in the country's poverty levels are a result of foreign aid. Furthermore, the ARDL estimate showed that foreign aid reduces poverty in Nigeria in the short-run and long-run, with a higher

level of reduction in the long-run, while population increases poverty in Nigeria in the short-run and long-run, with a higher level of increase in the long-run. This suggests that foreign aid helps to reduce poverty in the country, and sustained overtime. The study concluded that while foreign aid reduced poverty, population tend to aggravate the challenge of poverty. Therefore, recommended that since ODA led to a decrease in poverty level, the government should utilise ODA more effectively to reduce poverty in Nigeria. This requires securing more ODA and identifying the sectors of the economy that should be prioritized when ODA is to be used.

Keywords: Foreign aid, International assistance, Poverty

INTRODUCTION

Foreign aid, alternatively called Official Development Assistance (ODA), is an important determinant of poverty reduction and economic development in developing countries, such as Nigeria. Falade (2023)

Argued that ODA reduces poverty and promotes economic growth, particularly when it is used in a country that has sound fiscal, monetary and trade policies. This indicates that foreign aid is an important determinant of economic advancement in developing countries (Okeke et al., 2021; Ogunleye et al., 2020).

Foreign aid refers to financial flows from donor countries and organizations to recipient countries with the aim of increasing the socio-economic performance of the latter (Shitile & Sule, 2018). Such financial flows supplement the internal financial resources of the recipient country (Malachy et al. 2019). Apart from direct financial flows, there are other forms of foreign aid such as debt relief, infrastructure aid and emergency humanitarian assistance following a natural disaster (Batu and Larue, 2019).

Poverty is usually defined in absolute and relative terms. In absolute terms poverty refers to a condition in which a person lacks the necessities of life, such as food, shelter and clothing; while in relative terms a person is in poverty when his income is below a specified threshold of the national average income (Decerf, 2022; Ogbeide and Agu, 2015; Awe 2013). This means that a person may not be in absolute poverty and still be poor relatively because his income makes his standard of living to be lower than the standards of living of others in his country.

Moreover, demographic information shows that Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa and the 7th most populated country in the world with a population of over 200 million people (Population Reference Bureau, 2017; Worldometer 2020). However, a large part of the population is poor. Based on the threshold of 1.90 dollar per day, about 12% of the world population that lived in extreme poverty in 2023 lived in Nigeria (World Poverty Clock, 2023). UNDP (2018) revealed that in 2018 Nigeria ranked 158th out of 189 countries of the world in poverty ranking, as about 39.1% of Nigerians lived below the poverty line of \$2. 00 per day. The Worldwide Poverty Clock (2018) also revealed that in Africa the proportion of Nigerians living in extreme poverty was 86.9 million people compared to Zambia (9.5 million), South Africa (13.8 million), Kenya (14.7 million) and Tanzania (19.9 million). Nigeria's poverty figure exceeded those of the four countries put together by

29 million. Nigeria was among the 50 richest countries in the early 1970s, but it has become one of the poorest countries in the twenty first century. Despite the fact that Nigeria is a large oil exporter, extreme poverty is a major socio-economic problem of the country (Adebayo, 2018). Foreign aid from donor countries and organizations is usually helpful to a developing country that faces this kind of challenge.

However, foreign aid may not be effective in reducing poverty in a country, if the aid is not used appropriately. Poverty reduction or alleviation refers to the process through which economic and humanitarian measures are applied to move people out of poverty permanently (Ogbodo & Nicholas, 2019). It is also possible that a U-shape relationship between foreign aid and poverty exists, implying that at the initial period foreign aid would be negatively related to poverty and later on a positive relationship would exist between the two variables (Wamboye 2012; Gyimal-Brempong & Ravine, 2014).

Based on the foregoing facts, it is necessary that the relationship between foreign aid and poverty in Nigeria is examined, in order to find out whether the relationship is positive, negative, or U- shaped. An insight into the nature of the relationship is necessary to make appropriate policies on foreign aid to reduce poverty in the country.

Statement of the Problem

There is a lot of controversy on the effect of foreign aid on poverty in Nigeria. Yet, poverty is a serious challenge in the country. Over 60% of the population live in poverty in Nigeria, hence poverty is a major socio-economic challenge in the country (National Bureau of Statistics, 2022; Adebayo, 2018; Ross, 2001). Due to the high level of poverty in Nigeria, various governments in the past (both military and civilian) have made concerted efforts to alleviate poverty in the country but all to no avail. Notable among the various poverty reduction programmes that have been put in place are the following: The Green Revolution (GR), Operation feed the nation (OFN), National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), Better Life Programme (BLP), Peoples Bank of Nigeria (PBN), Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP), National Poverty Eradication Programme (NPEP), N-Power Programme, and Agricultural Development Programme (ADP).

Poverty rate is on the increase despite all these programmes because of poor implementations of the programmes. No wonder about 12% of the world population that lived in extreme poverty in 2023 lived in Nigeria (World Poverty Clock, 2023). However, there are limited studies (e.g. Abiola & Olofin, 2008; Olofin, 2013; Shitile & Sule, 2019; Ugwuanyi 2017) on the effect of foreign aid on poverty in Nigeria. Besides, studies on the effect of foreign aid on poverty in Nigeria did not use poverty headcount ratio to measure poverty. However, poverty headcount ratio is an important measure of poverty in that it shows the percentage of the population of a country whose standard of living is below the poverty lines of the country (World Bank, 2024). According to the author, the poverty lines of a country refer to the poverty thresholds for different categories of the people of the country (e.g. rural and urban dwellers). Also, studies on the effect of foreign aid on poverty in Nigeria did not account for the

role that population growth plays in the way foreign aid affects poverty in the country.

Furthermore, as shown in some studies (Ugwuanyi et al., 2017; Adebayo and Afolayan, 2019) on the causal relationship between foreign aid and poverty in developing countries such as Nigeria, poverty is the reason such countries seek foreign aid, which implies that traditionally causality should run from poverty to foreign aid. However, causality may also run from foreign aid to poverty, in that the international organizations that give foreign aid usually target developing countries as recipient countries, which is the reason foreign aid is also called official development assistance. Hence, further studies are required to study causality between foreign aid and poverty in developing countries such as Nigeria, in order to further investigate whether the causality is unidirectional or bidirectional.

Poverty is like a disease that affects people in absolute and relative terms, while foreign aid is like a medicine that cures the disease. However, just like the case of a sick person who is not diagnosed correctly, inconclusive findings and incomplete identification of directions of causality between foreign aid and poverty would not make policymaking on foreign aid and poverty to be effective. Foreign loan is another source from which a developing country can get funds to finance poverty-reduction programmes. However, foreign loans usually worsen the poverty challenge of developing countries, due to the unfavourable conditions of the loans . Foreign aid does not have such unfavourable conditions, hence it is a better alternative for Nigeria. The foregoing facts necessitate further studies on the relationship between foreign aid and poverty in Nigeria, as this research work has done.

Conceptual Review Studies on Nigeria

AUTHORS AND YEAR	RESEARCH TOPIC	COUNTRY OF STUDY	METHODS USED	RESEARCH FINDINGS
Shitile and Sule (2019)	Effect of ODA on Poverty Reduction	Nigeria (1999 - 2017)	ARDL bound test	ODA impacted poverty positively in the short-term and negatively in the long-term
Dennis and Gods power (2018)	Effect of ODA and international remittances on poverty reduction	Nigeria	ARDL	Outward remittances and foreign aid have negative coefficients and so reduced poverty in Nigeria
Adebayo and Afolayan (2019)	Impact of foreign aid on poverty alleviation in Nigeria	Nigeria (1990-2017)	Co-integration, DOLS and Granger causality	Foreign aid did not reduce poverty in Nigeria over the period of analysis
Ugwuanyi, Ezeaku and Imo (2017)	Impact of official aid on poverty reduction in Nigeria	Nigeria (1981-2014)	ARDL and Error correction model	Non- significant positive impact of ODA on poverty reduction in Nigeria

Ojo, Okoronkwo and Adewumi (2016),	Relationship between foreign aid and poverty alleviation in Lagos State	Nigeria	Exploratory method of data analysis	Insignificant impact of foreign aid on poverty in Lagos State of Nigeria.
Aderemi, Yusuf, Sodeinde and Aleshinloye (2020)	Relationship between official development assistance and poverty alleviation	Nigeria	Error correction model	There is negative relationship between official development assistance and poverty reduction
Olukayode, Afeez and Akinola(2020)	Comparatively investigates the impacts of poverty alleviation in Nigeria: Keynesian vs monetary theory of poverty	Nigeria (1986-2018)	Ordinary Least Square and Standardized or Beta Coefficient approach	Study found that the Nigerian political system plays a vital role on a large number of its citizens living in extreme poverty. Other factors identified as the likely causes of poverty are insurgencies, terrorism, and low productivity among others
Dennis and Godspower (2018)	Investigate the impact of international remittances on poverty reduction	Nigeria	ARDL method	Inward and outward remittances have diverse effects on poverty in the short run and in the long-run inward remittances intensified poverty while outward remittances reduced poverty
Ali, Suryati, Yasmin and Hanny (2019)	Investigated the impact of public expenditures and corruption on poverty	Nigeria (1996-2016)	ARDL bounds test	Study found a long-run negative relationship between expenditures and poverty
Aderemi, Yusuf, Sodeinde and Aleshinloye (2020)	Examined the relationship between official development assistance and poverty alleviation	Nigeria	Error Correction Model (ECM)	Study found a significant negative relationship between official development assistance and household consumption per capita
Aigbokhan (2001)	Investigated inequality and poverty profile	Nigeria (1985-1997)	Food energy intake (FEI) method and variant of the absolute	Study found evidence of worsening inequality and poverty in spite of economic growth

Emma (2009)	Investigated poverty and the millennium development goals	Nigeria	poverty approach The nexus, descriptive research method	Study found that the poverty level is still very high in Nigeria, the reason being that the government pursues two incompatible goals at the same time. For instance Government is pursuing the programme of policy eradication and youth employment at the same time
Chukwuone, Amaechina, Enebeli-Uzor, Iyoko and Okpukpara (2012)	Analyzes the impact of remittances on poverty	Nigeria	Multinomial logit model with instrumental variables and the propensity score matching (PSM) method	The study found that both internal and international remittances reduce the incidence, depth and severity of poverty
Bakare (2011)	Examined the extent of the impact of foreign aid and poverty reduction on economic growth	Nigeria	Vector Autoregressive Model (VAR)	The study found a negative relationship between foreign aid, poverty reduction and output growth
Ogudipe, Oduntan, Oguniyi and Olagunju (2016)	Studied the relationship between agricultural productivity and poverty reduction	Nigeria (1991-2015)	OLS and GMM	Found that agricultural productivity index negatively affected poverty indicators in the study
Alimi (2018)	Impact of ODA on Poverty reduction (1990 -2015)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Pooled Mean Group (PMG) and ARDL	ODA has positive effects on poverty in upper income countries and negative effects in middle and lower income countries.
Azam, Haseeb and Samsudin (2016)	Impact of ODA and foreign remittances on	39 upper, middle and lower	Panel Fully Modified OLS	Foreign aid impacted positively on poverty

	Poverty reduction	income countries (1990-2014)		reduction and so contributed to poverty expansion
Yiew and Lau (2018)	Study the effect of foreign aid on economic growth.	95 developing countries	panel data model	U-shape relationship existed between ODA and GDP

Summary of Gap to Fill

In the studies covered in the literature review, there were divided views on the impact of foreign aid on poverty in Nigeria, based on various techniques of analysis. Besides, based on the studies covered in the literature review, there are few studies that used poverty headcount as the measure of poverty. The studies covered in the literature review also used various sample periods, some of which were not recent periods. Therefore, this study contributed to studies on foreign aid and poverty in Nigeria by investigating the relationship between the two variables, using poverty headcount as the proxy for poverty and covering a recent period.

Theoretical and Methodology

According to the two-gap model attributed to Chenery and Strout (1966), foreign aid is necessary to reduce poverty in developing countries, due to the following two constraints that hinder economic growth and promote poverty: (i) Inadequate savings which translates to inadequate investment. The gap between savings and investment is called saving constraint (i.e. saving gap). The gap can be closed by securing foreign aid to supplement domestic resources. (2) Inadequate foreign exchange arising from inability to export vis-à-vis high importation. The gap between export and import is called foreign exchange constraint (i.e. trade gap) which can also be closed through foreign aid.

Furthermore, according to Guillaumont (2011) and Guillaumont and Wagner (2014), theoretically, foreign aid impacts on poverty through the channels of growth and investment. According to the authors, foreign aid impacts positively on growth as a result of rising investment, which consequently leads to a reduction in poverty. In particular, in a low-income country such as Nigeria, when foreign aid is employed for investment projects, jobs will be created and the incomes of people will increase, which consequently leads to a reduction in poverty. Investment is therefore a key channel through which foreign aid reduces poverty in a developing country such as Nigeria.

Model Specification

The present study follows the model of Ugwuanyi *et al.* (2017), who studied the impact of foreign aid on poverty reduction in Nigeria. The model for the study was expressed as

$$RHCE_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 ODA_t + \beta_2 LFPR_t + \beta_3 GOP_t + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

where RHCE is real household final consumption expenditure and the proxy for poverty; ODA is official development aid (i.e. foreign aid); LFPR is labour force participation rate; GOP growth of population; and ε is the error term.

The present study modified equation 1 by using poverty head count as the proxy for poverty; by including foreign direct investment as an independent variable, in that such investment is an important source of growth and development for a small open-economy such as Nigeria; and by including inflation as an independent variable in order to account for price effects in the analysis. Therefore, in functional form, the model of the present study is

$$LNPOVHC_t = f(LNODA_t, LNFDI_t, LNPOP_t, INF_t) \quad (2)$$

In econometric form, the model of this study is:

$$LNPOVHC_t = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 LNODA_t + \alpha_2 LNFDI_t + \alpha_3 LNPOP_t + \alpha_4 INF_t + U_t \quad (3)$$

Where LN= natural log and POVHC_t = poverty head count, ODA_t = Official Development Assistance (foreign aid) FDI_t = Foreign direct investment, POP_t = Population, INF_t = Inflation U_t = Error term

Since the objective focuses on the effect of foreign aid on poverty in Nigeria. The objective was achieved with the ARDL model.

$$LNPOVHC_t = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^p \beta_1 \Delta LNPOVHC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^p \beta_2 \Delta LNODA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^p \beta_3 \Delta LNFDI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^p \beta_4 \Delta LNPOP_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^p \beta_5 \Delta INF_{t-i} + \omega_1 LNPOP_{t-1} + \omega_2 LNPOVHC_{t-1} + \omega_3 LNODA_{t-1} + \omega_4 LNFDI_{t-1} + \omega_5 INF_{t-1} + v$$

Where: $\omega_1 - \omega_4$ are the long run multipliers and vt is the white noise error.

Table 1: Measurement of Variables

VARIABLE	MEASUREMENT	SOURCE	
Poverty head count (POVHC) Index		World indicators	Development
Official development assistance (ODA)	Billions of naira	World Indicators	Development
Foreign direct investment (FDI)	Percentage of GDP	World Indicators	Development
Population (POP)	Millions	World Indicators	Development
Inflation(INF)	Percentage (%)	World Indicators	Development

Source: Author's Compilation (2025)

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Unit Root Tests

Table 2: Results of Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) Unit Root Test

Level	Level				First Differences				
	Variable	Test Statistic	5% critical value	Decision	S/NS	Test Statistic	5% critical value	Decision	S/NS
	LNPOVHC	-1.734014	-2.936942	-	NS	-4.575233	-2.938987	I(1)	S
	LNODA	-2.255023	-2.936942	-	NS	-5.552593	-2.943427	I(1)	S
	LNFDI	-3.168930	-2.936942	I(0)	S	-	-	-	-

LNPOP	-1.423100	-2.941145	-	NS	-3.545857	-2.976263	I(1)	S
INF	-3.009118	-2.936942	I(0)	S	-	-	-	-

S indicates Stationary; while NS non Stationary

Source: Author's Compilation (2025).

As shown in Tables 2 only the test statistics coefficients of poverty index (POVHC), Official Development Assistance (ODA) and population (POP) were greater than their respective critical values; hence, suggest that poverty index (POVHC) and Official Development Assistance (ODA) were not integrated of order zero but of order one; while, foreign direct investment (FDI) and inflation (INF) were integrated of order zero. This implies that their t-statistics were greater than the critical values at 5% level of significance in absolute term at level.

Granger Causality Test

Table 3: Pairwise Granger Causality Test Results

Null Hypothesis:	F-Statistic	Prob.
LNODA does not Granger Cause LNPOVHV	16.9281	0.0002
LNPOVHV does not Granger Cause LNODA	0.24459	0.6238
LNFDI does not Granger Cause LNPOVHV	4.01980	0.0523
LNPOVHV does not Granger Cause LNFDI	3.64237	0.0641
LNPOP does not Granger Cause LNPOVHV	19.0573	0.0001
LNPOVHV does not Granger Cause LNPOP	0.97681	0.3294
INF does not Granger Cause LNPOVHV	0.56356	0.4576
LNPOVHV does not Granger Cause INF	0.03334	0.8561
LNFDI does not Granger Cause LNODA	0.10839	0.7438
LNODA does not Granger Cause LNFDI	0.67680	0.4160
LNPOP does not Granger Cause LNODA	9.10795	0.0046
LNODA does not Granger Cause LNPOP	0.31165	0.5800
INF does not Granger Cause LNODA	2.48547	0.1234
LNODA does not Granger Cause INF	0.55368	0.4615
LNPOP does not Granger Cause LNFDI	0.15053	0.7003
LNFDI does not Granger Cause LNPOP	6.19680	0.0174
INF does not Granger Cause LNFDI	0.15827	0.6930
LNFDI does not Granger Cause INF	1.20387	0.2796
INF does not Granger Cause LNPOP	1.05167	0.3118
LNPOP does not Granger Cause INF	1.01298	0.3207

Source: Author's Computation, 2025.

As shown in Table 3, foreign aid Granger causes poverty, while poverty does not Granger cause foreign aid. This means that there is unidirectional causality between foreign aid and poverty that runs from the former to the latter. The implication of this finding is that foreign aid induces changes in poverty in Nigeria, while poverty does not induce changes in foreign aid. That is, the level of financial flows that come into Nigeria through the channel of foreign aid affects the level of poverty in form of cause and effect.

The Granger causality test is based on a vector autoregressive (VAR) model in which the current value of each dependent variable is regressed on its own lags and the lags of the other dependent variables of the model. Hence, the existence of a unidirectional causality between foreign aid and poverty running from foreign aid to poverty means that the past values of foreign aid induce changes in the current value of poverty in Nigeria, while the past values of poverty do not induce changes in the current value of foreign aid in the country.

Since the Granger causality test is based on a VAR model in which the current value of each dependent variable is regressed on its own lags and the lags of the other dependent variables of the model, causality is different from correlation which measures linear association between variables. Therefore, the existence of causality between foreign aid and poverty in Nigeria is different from the existence of correlation between the variables.

ARDL BOUND TEST

Table 4: Bounds Test of Cointegration Based on the F-Test

Null Hypothesis: There no long-run relationship		
Test Statistic	Value	K
F-statistic	4.921952	4
Critical Value Bounds		
Significance	I ₀ Bound	I ₁ Bound
10%	1.9	3.01
5%	2.26	3.48
2.5%	2.62	3.9
1%	3.07	4.44

Source: Author’s Computation, 2025

As Table 4 shows, there is cointegration among the variables considered, in that the calculated F statistics is greater than the I(1) bound critical values at all levels of significance. This means that there is a long-run relationship among the variables under consideration. The existence of cointegration made it necessary to estimate the ARDL long-run and short-run models.

ARDL Short-Run Model

The results of the ARDL short-run model are presented in Table 4.6 below.

Table 5: ARDL Short-Run Model

Dependent Variable: D(LNPOVHC)				
VARIABLE	COEFFICIENT	STD.ERROR	t-STATISTIC	PROB.
D(LNFDI)	0.001304	0.005025	0.2959455	0.7968
D(IFN)	0.000077	0.000205	0.378127	0.7077
D(LNPOP)	0.007624	0.002611	2.9200002	0.0062

D(LNODA)	-0.005168	0.002916	-1.772199	0.0853
ECM(-1)	-0.185500	0.063629	-2.915362	0.0062

Source: Author's Computation, 2025

As Table 5 shows, ODA (i.e. foreign aid) reduces poverty in the short-run by about 0.5%. However, population increases poverty by about 0.7% in the short-run, while the impacts of FDI and inflation on poverty are not statistically significant in the short-run. Besides, the coefficient of the error-correction term shows that when disequilibrium takes place in the short-run equilibrium is restored in the long-run at the speed of about 18%.

ARDL Long-Run Model

Table 5: ARDL Long-Run Model

Dependent Variable: LNPOVHC				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob*
LNFDI	0.007028	0.025738	0.273083	0.7864
IFN	0.000417	0.001140	0.366145	0.7165
LNPOP	0.041100	0.018104	2.270177	0.0297
LNODA	-0.049850	0.016414	-3.03992	0.0046

Source: Author's Computation (2025)

As Table 5 shows, ODA (foreign aid) reduces poverty by about 5% in the long-run. However, population increases poverty also by about 4% in the long-run, while the impacts of FDI and inflation on poverty are not statistically significant in the long-run.

Discussion of Findings

Foreign aid reduces poverty in Nigeria in the short-run and long-run, with a higher level of reduction in the long-run. This means that foreign aid helps to alleviate poverty in the country as shown in some studies (e.g. Ogunleye *et al.*, 2020 and Olofin, 2013). However, since the impacts of foreign aid on poverty in the country in the short-run and long-run are different, a sufficiently long period of time needs to be allowed to experience the maximal impact of foreign aid on poverty.

Lastly, population increases poverty in Nigeria in the short-run and long-run, with a higher level of increase in the long-run. This means that while foreign aid helps to alleviate poverty in the country as mentioned above, population tends to counter the alleviation. Nigeria has a huge population, with inter-censal growth rate of about 3.2% and fertility rate of about 5 children per woman (Abbani, 2021).

However, there are other hindrances against the impact of foreign aid in Nigeria apart from population. Chukwuemeka *et al.* (2014) investigate the factors militating against the effectiveness of foreign aid in Nigeria, drawing inferences from the educational sector of Anambra state of the country. The authors found that the factors hindering the effectiveness of foreign aid in the country include corruption, poor policies and weakness of overall institutional framework. Hassan (2021) also

investigated the role of institutional quality in the foreign aid-economic growth nexus in Nigeria and found that the weak quality of institutions in the country hinders the impact of foreign aid on economic growth in the country.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study examined the relationship between foreign aid and poverty reduction in Nigeria for the period 1981-2023. The findings of the study showed that foreign aid reduced poverty in Nigeria with a higher level of reduction in the long-run. However, population increased poverty both in the short-run and long-run, with a higher level of increase in the long-run. Therefore, the study concluded that while foreign aid reduced poverty, population tended to aggravate the challenge of poverty. Therefore, recommended the following

Since ODA led to a decrease in poverty level, the government should utilize ODA more effectively to reduce poverty in Nigeria. This requires securing more ODA and identifying the sectors of the economy that should be prioritized when ODA is to be used.

Since the impact of ODA on poverty was higher in the long- run than in the short-run, a sufficiently long time, such as five years, should be allowed to make foreign aid to reduce poverty maximally.

Since population led to an increase in poverty, efforts should be made to control population through family planning programmes. For example, the policy of 4 children per family may be effected.

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