

LIVELIHOOD ORGANISATION AT DANKANDE REST STOP AREA, KADUNA METROPOLIS, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the development of and livelihood organisation at Dankande Rest Stop Area on the Kaduna-Zaria-Kano highways. The examination relies on a combination of qualitative and quantitative data on the development, livelihood creation and the inherent challenges and potentials of the rest area. The analysis was carried out using the notions of rest area, livelihood organisation, informality and poverty reduction. Given the lessons from the development process, the paper concludes that development of rest areas on the highways can offer livelihood opportunities for citizens and reduce poverty among the ever growing unemployed population in Nigeria.

Key Words: Rest stop area, livelihood, small businesses, income generation, highway development.

INTRODUCTION

As a piece of land is put to a use, the implications of the decision manifests in several ways. The manifestation is in the areas of social, economic and physical developments that are either attracted or generated by the new land use. The manifestations are new potentials for various forms of social, economic and physical development. The Dankande Rest Stop Area at the edge of Kaduna metropolis offers opportunity to examine economic manifestations of a land use development.

The Dankande Rest Stop Area, a model of its kind in Nigeria, is examined to bring out its socioeconomic and investment potentials or attractiveness and its role in community poverty reduction at the micro level. In this sense, the area is discussed with reference to employment creation, income generation and welfare improvements as consequences of flow of stoppers.

These issues are very crucial to communities as the economy kept declining. Global economic crisis of the 1980s and later, the economic meltdown of 2008 further aggravated issues of unemployment, poverty and increasing income inequalities (Porter, Binns, Elliot and Smith, 2000: 406 and UN Habitat, 2009:31). In fact, global unemployment in towns and cities rose from 5.7% in 2007 to 6% in 2008 and 7.1% in 2009 (UN Habitat, 2009:31). Nigeria experiences high rates of under- and un-employment as economic growth rate cannot absorb all entrants to the labour market (Aiyedogbon and Ohwosasa, 2012:269).

To overcome the challenges, individuals, families and state agencies took steps to create opportunities for people to organise own livelihoods and earn incomes. The crux of this paper is the livelihood organisation by individuals as result of opportunities offered by a facility development. The paper dwells on the development of the facility, the exploration of livelihood opportunities at the facility site and the contributions of such to poverty reduction. The main question is how much has the Dankande rest stop area, along the Kaduna-Zaria-Kano Express way provided an opportunity for livelihood organisation and income generation?

DANKADE REST STOP AREA

The Dankande rest stop area is on the outskirts of Kaduna metropolis. The rest area at Dankande is a novelty as none of its type exists in Nigeria with respect to its physical layout and development. The Dankande rest area is a useful model in Nigeria and to other developing countries where rest-stop facilities development is excluded from public policies and physical development process.

Dankande rest-stop area is on the Kaduna – Zaria – Kano dual carriage way and twenty kilometres outside Kaduna city centre. It is at the edge of the 12 mile (19.3 km) planning radius for Kaduna urban area as delineated in the 1967 – 2017 Development Plan (Government of Northern Nigeria, 1967). The rest area is an unfarmed land in the outer zone of Kaduna urban area as in the 1967 Kaduna Capital Development Plan. It offers possibilities for livelihood organisation and income generation in the rest area. The development of the rest area is a creative use of space to meet community demands. The development of the area has attracted other activities that seek to share costs, facilities, resources and jointly exploit an opportunity similar to urban renewal situations (Integrated Design Commission, 2012).

THE MATTER OF DISCUSSION

From 1960 to date, Nigeria has had a tremendous increase in road network. On these road networks are several unorganised and hazardous rest stop areas. These rest areas however deliver services to travellers. At such places, food and drinks are obtainable (Muhammad, 2010) because in the rest areas various small scale livelihood modes are organised. At these places micro income generating activities co-locate, attract stoppers who crave for the range of available services. This paper seeks to understand the dynamics of livelihood organisation and operation at the Dankande rest area. In so doing, the paper discusses the livelihood types and income generation opportunities at the rest area; the level of investment together with income generation.

METHODOLOGY

To attain the goal of this paper, real data were collected in 2011 and 2015. The data set for these dates are not necessarily time series but to confirm and update data that were earlier collected.

Table 1: Data Collected in 2010, 2011 and 2015

Year	Data Collected
2010	Observation of the activities, flow of people, establishment of rapport with stakeholders and some life history of business operators.
2011	Number of businesses, socio-economic profile of business owners, profile of businesses – year established, sources of initial capital, number of workers, value of investments, daily turnover, rent payable, use of earnings.
2015	Number of businesses, socio-economic profile of business owners, year established, sources of initial capital, number of workers, daily turnover, rent payable, Workers salaries, value of investments, traffic count.

Source: Field for the various years.

As in Table 1, there were no substantial variations in the types of data that were collected in 2011 and 2015.

The data collection relied on a combination of methods. It was majorly collected in 2011 and updated in 2015. The first stage was the physical observation and taking count of various economic activities and recording of a few life histories of business activity operators in the rest area. The second is the questionnaire survey of the businesses and their operators.

From the physical counting of economic activities units in 2010, a sampling frame was established. There are twelve types of livelihood modes in the rest-area. The twelve were operated by sixty-two independent operators. Out of this sixty-two, twenty-two operators, representing the various livelihood modes, were surveyed using a questionnaire. From a combination of observation, physical counting and questionnaire survey both qualitative and quantitative data were generated to form the basis of the analysis discourse that follow.

EMPLOYMENT GENERATION

After the mobilisation and development of the rest area as documented by Yunusa (20), the rest area became a place for livelihoods composition. To deliver goods and services to stoppers, first the rest area was assumed to be an investment opportunity for livelihood organisation and income generation. Livelihood is marked by the capacity of individuals or groups to organise assets into economic activity for the purpose of generating income or making a living. On the other hand, poverty is denoted by lack of access to circumstance that open or increase access to opportunities for livelihood organisation and income generation. Any circumstance that reduces poverty is critical to the Nigerian people given the high levels of poverty and unemployment.

Unemployment in Nigeria is at a critical level. In 2010, it was noted that 30 to 50 percent of secondary school leavers were unemployed while 40% of those aged 20 to 24 years are unemployed (Economywatch, 2010). With this hindsight, various tiers of government in Nigeria showed some support for programmes and projects that have capacity to reduce levels of poverty and unemployment among youth and poor people (Dike, 2009).

A rest-stop area, even the unorganised ones with the barest minimum infrastructure, attracts clients with a series of services particularly food. For instance, in Tafa, “tenants are the food sellers for whom the drivers stop. They attract --- clients with food”, (Muhammad, 2010: <http://weekly.dailytrust.com>) and other services. The North Jersey Truck Rest Stop report noted that “private truck stops provide fuel, parking, food and other services” (North Jersey Transportation Planning Authority: 2005:5) to stoppers. The Dankande rest-stop area, along this line, provides a range of services that are attractive to clients.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AT DANKANDE

After the development of the rest area and its facilities travellers began to stop to ask for food and water. This demand opened up small scale investment opportunities. The first opportunity is that of cleaners and attendants for the rest area. The second opportunity is that of organising to deliver food, water and other goods and services to stoppers. This led to the development of shops. The shops were developed and allocated to business operators by the proprietor of the area.



Fig. 1: Open Space for Fresh Milk Sellers



Fig. 2: Note the shops on both sides of the Paved Way

In 2010 there were 41 businesses and this became 62 in 2011 and 84 in 2015. The shops were first makeshift structures and later permanent structures with the uses of more enduring construction materials. This was an invitation to potential investors and operators.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF BUSINESS PERATORS

The concern here is the profiling of the attracted investors at the rest area. The characteristics simply are gender, age, marital status and family size.

AGE AND GENDER

The operators are made up of males (77.3%) and females (22.7%). This male domination is expected given that the rest area is located within a predominantly traditional community in which outward participation of females in economic activities is highly restricted. The age of these operators is shown in Table 2.

Table 1: Age of Business Operators in the Rest Area

Age Group (Years)	Distribution			
	At Start Up of the Business	%	As at 2011	%
Under 20	4	18.2	-	-
21 – 30	13	59.1	10	45.5
31 – 40	4	18.2	8	36.3
41 +	1	4.5	4	18.2
Total	22	100	22	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2011

From Table 2, it is obvious that the operators are substantially in the age group of 21 – 30 years; the few that were younger at the start up of the business had grown to this age group with the passing time.

PLACES OF ORIGIN OF OPERATORS

These young men and women came from Kaduna urban area particularly from Tudun Wada, Barakallahu village, Maraban Jos or Katabu, Rigachuku, Dankande, Sabon-Gida and Rafin Goza all of which are residential neighbourhoods for the poor or villages at the periphery and thus part of the Kaduna metropolis.

MARITAL STATUS

Among the surveyed operators, 63.6% were single and 36.4% were married before they started business operation at the rest stop area. As at the time of the survey, only 13.6% of the respondents remained single while 86.4% had become married. This tremendous change in marital status of the operators cannot be unconnected to the empowerment gained from operating the business. Among the married operators, 63.2% had only a wife while 36.8% had two wives.

FAMILY SIZE

Among the operators, the family sizes vary. Substantially, the families are composed of 1 – 6 children (70.6%) and a few with over 7 children (29.4%). Furthermore, 73.7% of the families have 1 – 6 dependents with 26.9% of them playing guardian to 7 and above dependants. All these present the operators as individuals with high family responsibilities such that operation of the businesses has potentials of enhancing the capacity of the operators to cope with the responsibilities.

PROFILE OF BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

This study assumes that the development of shop facilities provide livelihood opportunities to investors who exploit such for welfare improvement and self empowerment. From this point of view, a profile of the various economic activities was carried out. In the rest stop area, several businesses were established over time. Thus, the types and number of businesses in the area were counted and surveyed to determine the internal dynamics. The profile of the operators and businesses is illustrated by the life history of one of the operators:

The operator is a young boy that came from Shanunu village in Kano state. He arrived in Dankande at the age of 15 years to start a (barbecue) *suya* business. As an unmarried person, he was brought to the place by the father who set him up with 10,000.00 naira. The current capital base of the business is in the region of 180,000.000 to 200,000.00 naira. The business employs three other young persons and four apprentices. On the average, he makes a gross income of about 8,000.000 to 11,000.00 naira a day. He pays 3,000.00 naira monthly rent to the land lord but pays nothing to the government, either state or local. Though the operator complained of lack of electricity supply at the time of survey, he stressed that the honesty and sincerity of the land lord together with the high levels of understanding and cooperation among the business operator tenants and the number of persons that stop at the place as the fundamental assets of the rest area.

These assets or values are the drivers of businesses at the area. The types and numbers of businesses are shown in Table 3. The types of businesses were counted in 2010 and re-counted in 2011 and in 2015.

Table 3: Types of Business Activities at Dankande

Types of Businesses	Number of Businesses		
	2010	2011	2015
Provisions	10	11	10
Restaurant	8	7	10
Barbecue (Suya)	12	12	14
Perfume store	6	6	7
Medicine Shop	-	1	5
Shoe Sellers	5	4	1
CD & Cassette	2	4	1
Phone Accessories	2	4	2
Shayi (Tea and Bread)	1	2	2
Hawkers*	2	12	14
Fruits	1	2	6
Food Items	-	-	5
Life Birds	-	-	2
Toys and Gift Items	-	-	3
Household Items	-	-	2
Total	49	65	84

Source: Fieldwork, 2010,2011 and 2015

*The hawkers sell assorted local snacks and drinks; *Suya* is barbecue; *Mai Fura* is seller of a local food drink, *Fura* and *nono* (Millet balls and yogurt or fresh milk; *Mai Shai* (coffee shops) is seller of Bread and tea.

From the data, it was observed that there were 49 businesses in 2010, 65 (sixty five) in 2011 and eighty-four in 2015 at the Dankande rest-stop. The different kinds of businesses range from restaurants, sale of telephone accessories, perfumes, honey, barbecue or “suya”, drinks, Islamic souvenirs, toys to several other. The mix of the businesses is on the increase as can be noticed with respect to food items and household items that came on scene in 2016 (Table 3). The businesses are operated either on the principle of co-tenants or single business operator tenants.

EMPLOYMENT BY THE BUSINESSES

In the businesses, there are employees and trainees. In 2010, 2 – 5 persons were found per business depending on the type of business activity. The restaurants and *suya* businesses have more people than any other business. In the 2015 data, it was found that 43.5% of the operators have male employees, 19.6% have two and 10.9% have 5 employees. A total of 121

males are in employment at the rest area and this is aside of cleaners and janitors. Further to this, 28.6% have about 6 female employees and there were 49 female workers in the rest area. The implications of all these are that Dankande has provided livelihoods to a number of people as investors, employees or trainees.

BUSINESS CREATION

To detail out the profile of the businesses, a survey of the businesses was carried out in 2011 and 2015. Out of the counted 65 businesses, 22 businesses were selected across board for a representative profiling in 2011 and 60 in 2015 (Table 4).

Table 3: Types of Business Activities at Dankande

Types of Businesses	Number of Businesses Studied			
	2011	No. Selected	2015	No. Selected
Provisions	11	4	10	6
Restaurant	7	3	10	6
Barbecue (Suya)	12	3	14	9
Perfume store	6	2	7	5
Medicine Shop	1	1	5	4
Shoe Sellers	4	1	1	1
CD & Cassette	4	1	1	1
Phone Accessories	4	2	2	2
Shayi (Tea and Bread)	2	1	2	2
Hawkers*	12	4	14	9
Fruits	2	1	6	4
Food Items	-	-	5	4
Life Birds	-	-	2	2
Toys and Gift Items	-	-	3	3
Household Items	-	-	2	2
Total	65	22	84	60

Source: Fieldwork, 2011 and 2015

The selected businesses cover the variety of f businesses in the rest stop area. The surveyed businesses represent the varieties of the businesses in the rest area.

AGE OF BUSINESSES

As at 2011, it was found that 9.1% of the businesses were established before the year 2000 and 90.9% were established from about 2001 upwards. This indicates that the businesses were mainly established in the first ten years of 2000 though the rest area was started in 1987.

In 2015, about 35% of the businesses were 5 years old while 13% were over 20 years old (Table 5).

Table 5: Years of Establishment of Businesses

Years	No. Of Businesses	%
Up to 5 years	20	34.5
6 – 10	16	26.2
11 – 15	12	19.7
16 – 20	4	6.5
Over 20	8	13
Total	60	100

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Table 5 indicates that more varieties of businesses were established at the rest stop area in last fifteen years.

SOURCES OF CAPITAL

The businesses were set up with either personal savings or loans (81.8%) or gifts (18.2%) from friends or relatives. Within the period that the businesses were established, a total of 416,000 naira¹, gathered from these sources had been invested in the rest stop area in 2011. Investment values of the various businesses ranged from 5,000 naira to as much as 100,000.00 Naira and a mean of about 19,000.00 Naira. The capital base of the businesses has grown over time. On the average, the capital has grown to 33,000.00 naira per business, representing about 75% growth in capital base. The total investment volume in the rest area stands at an estimated value of 734,000 naira in 2011.

From the 2015 data, it is obvious that investment value has tremendously changed. About three quarter of the businesses have a capital value of 50,000.00 to 300,000.00 Naira with only 22% operating on a capital above this (Table 6).

Table 6: Start Up and Current Capital Base in 2015

Value of Capital (₦)	Start Up		Current	
	No. of Respondent	%	No. of Respondent	%
Up to 5000	9	18	4	7.8
5001-10000	4	8	1	2
10001-20000	6	12	2	3.9

¹ The US Dollar is equivalent to 160 naira.

200001-30000	2	4	1	2
30001-50000	8	16	7	13.7
50001-100000	7	14	11	21.5
100001-300000	12	24	14	27.5
300001 and over	2	4	11	21.6
Total	50	100	51	100

Source: Field Survey, 2015

In 2015, the total start up capital of the businesses that indicated was about 2,699,500.00 Naira and this had grown to about 10,136,000.00 Naira. This huge capital growth is not unconnected with the large number of stoppers, the huge daily turnover and reinvestment process.

SALES TURN OVER

Given the rate of capital growth, the issue of daily turnover was raised with the operators. Daily estimated gross turnover of the sampled businesses in 2011 and 2015 on a good and a bad day is shown in Table 7. A good day is when the area receives a large number of stoppers and high sales. A good day normally coincides with weekend and festival or event days. On a bad day the stoppers are fewer and sales are low.

Table 7: Daily Turnover of the Businesses

Turnover (₦)	2011				2015			
	Good Day		Bad Day		Good Day		Bad Day	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 5,000	2	9.1	12	54.6	11	18.7	38	56.8
5001 – 10,000	5	22.7	8	36.3	11	18.7	8	13.7
10,0001– 15,000	3	13.6	2	9.1	7	11.9	6	10.3
15,001 – 20,000	7	31.8	-	-	10	17	2	3.4
20,001- 30000	5	22.7	-	-	11	18.6	1	1.7
30001 - 50000	-	-	-	-	4	6.8	3	5.1
50001 and above	-	-	-	-	5	8.5	-	-
Total	22	100	22	100	59	100	58	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2011 and 2015

On a good day in 2011, the mean individual turnover, calculated from an ungrouped data, is 18,000 naira and a total volume of turnover for all the sampled businesses was 397,000 naira. On the other hand, on a bad day the total volume of turnover of all the sampled businesses was 131,000 naira and a mean of 6,000 naira per business.

In 2015, the turnover had increased to over 50,000.00 Naira on a good day for the studied businesses. Also, the studied businesses make a total sale of 1,321,000.00 Naira on a good

day and 492,300 Naira on a bad day. This translates to 22,400.00 Naira for a good day and only 8,500.00 Naira on a bad day. The mean sales have marginally increased between 2011 and 2015 and for small businesses these are huge improvements.

INCOME OF EMPLOYEES

The investments in the rest stop area generate income for others. From the survey, the total number of employees and trainees has been discussed. While the workers are paid some regular stipends, the apprentices are often given “pocket money”. From the 2015 survey, it was gathered that 38.5% of the businesses paid out 180,000.00 Naira as monthly wages, 18.8% pay out 54,000.00 Naira. Based on what the various businesses pay the workers, it was estimated that at least 491,220.00 is paid as wages at the rest area. These have implications for poverty and economic pressures reduction in the families of the community.

RENT PAYMENT

As for the initiator of the Rest Area, the income that accrues to him is the rent paid by the business operators for the shops and open spaces. At the beginning no rents were charged. Following this development of permanent shops, the developer began to charge a rent of 3,000.00 Naira a month in 2001. After sometimes, graded rents depending on the types of shops began to be charged. The categories of rents payable by businesses in 2011 were 1,000 naira, 2,500 naira, 3,000 naira, 6,000 naira and 9,000 Naira. In 2011, the initiator earns an average of about 70,000 naira a month as rents.

In the data of 2015, it was found that 59.6% of the businesses pay 4,000.00 Naira as monthly rent, 14% pay 3,000.00, 12.3% pay 2,000.00, and others pay above these rates. The estimated rent collected is about 317,000.00 Naira per month. The rent income of the initiator has grown with the number and mix of businesses at the rest area.

USE OF INCOMES BY BUSINESS OWNERS

The business owners are making reasonable incomes while employing and training others. To this end, the business owners were asked what the incomes were being used for. The operators indicated the purchase of plots of land, building of houses, forming homes through contraction of marriages, under taking of pilgrimage to Makka, re-investment in own business or diversification of business types and sources of income; and acquisition of own means of transport as various ways the incomes are spent. All these are in addition to paying

school fees and training of own children at various levels of formal schooling in addition to the feeling of personal independence. The incomes are useful in the areas of human capital development, improvement of personal and family welfare, asset acquisition, enhanced dignity and general socio-economic empowerment that are critical to improved living standards.

SUSTAINABILITY OF BUSINESSES

The issue of sustainability of the businesses is tied to the sustainability of the rest area. As long as the rest area remains attractive to stoppers, the businesses will remain sustainable. Though it was observed that the rest-stop is most busy during weekend days – Friday, Saturday and Sundays or other public holiday or specific event days, a traffic count was taken for an hour on Saturday, Monday and Wednesday. The count took place between 1.00pm to 2.00pm. These days and time were chosen for the survey with considerations for possibilities of population flow to the area. The hour is about the time people stop for refreshment after a long trip.

The traffic count is shown in Table 8. Within the one hour, 71 stopped on Saturday, 59 on Monday and 54 on Wednesday.

Table 8: Number and Types of Vehicles That Stopped

Types of vehicles	Days		
	Saturday	Monday	Wednesday
Car	66	48	43
Truck	2	2	2
Bus	-	4	4
Motorcycle	3	5	5
Total	71	59	54

Source: Field Survey, 2016

These vehicles came with 190 persons on Saturday, 139 on Monday, and 134 on Wednesday. Using this as a measure of sustainability, it is obvious that the area attracts a large number of stoppers daily even as the number goes down on weekdays. This number of stoppers constitutes a large market that renders the businesses viable and sustainable.

SUSTANABILITY OF THE REST STOP AREA

The sustainability of the businesses is linked to the sustainability of the rest stop area. The issue of sustainability has to do with the extent to which the rest area can exist and function perpetually. In this regards, the issue of land, funding and administration of the rest area were examined. Sustainability is viewed as the extent to which the rest area “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs” (World Conference on Environment and Development, 1987:43). For the rest area this is translated to elements of perpetuity, functionality of and ability to replicate the rest area development model in other parts of Nigeria and indeed the developing countries.

The land devoted to the rest-stop area and mosque is a private property. To secure the land for perpetual public use, Sule Bako, the initiator of the rest stop area, has taken some steps. First, he has made it clear to his potential inheritors that the entire area covered by the rest-stop area cannot be inherited, shared or sold. However, the inheritors can always collect rents from the shops and business operators and share the money for individual use. This declaration by the initiator apparently alienates the land and all economic trees therein from problems of inheritance in favour of the general public.

The second step is the constitution of a committee of trustees comprising of reputable individuals from various parts of Nigeria that will continue to manage the place. This is to ensure long term effective management of the rest stop area. Thirdly, rent collection is a major interest of the initiator and potential inheritors. This will also continue to be a major impetus for the effective management of the place. The rent collected will serve as an incentive to the inheritors because if for any reason travellers cease to stop at the area, the income from shops will also cease and this will mean economic disaster and poverty to both the inheritors that live on the rents and the entire population that earn income from the economic activities in the rest area. With these interlinked interests, the initiator or inheritors and other stakeholders will continue to work towards keeping the place functional for the common benefits.

With a secured land for the activity, strong management team, continuous funding and sustained external interest of major stake holders in the rest stop area, this project is most

likely to exist and function for a long time to come. With these, the businesses are most likely to continue to exist for a long while.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The livelihood opportunities created by the development of the rest area, employment and income generation that reduces the level of suffering among the people are major fall outs of the rest stop development. This is indicated by the levels of composition of businesses and the incomes and rents that are generated in the rest stop area. The rest-stop area contributes to improved welfare and therefore reduces poverty in families and communities of the initiator, investors, employees and apprentices.

The implication is that when rest areas are developed along with highways, there are potentials for offering livelihood formation and income generation opportunities to small scale investors. The generated incomes and employment can mellow down unemployment and poverty among that segment of the population. When this trend of development is pursued, the rest-stop areas can begin to contribute to the national tax base. As it is the initiator and business operators at the rest area do not pay any income tax. However, the capacity to tax the incomes is determined by the extent to which municipal services such as security, water, electricity and refuse collection services are provided to the rest area. The extension of these services to the area would form the basis for tax collection. By implication, it is important that relevant government agencies intervene in subsequent rest area developments as basis for the enforcement of controls and tax collection from the rest stop areas.

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