

PERCEPTION OF INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE AMONG RESIDENTS OF KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA

Hannatu, Ibrahim Zom, PhD

Department of Sociology, Kaduna State University
Hannatu.zom@kasu.edu.ng

Dennis, Luka Gwarmari, PhD

Department of Sociology, Kaduna State University

Abstract

Inequality and social justice remain core concerns of sociological inquiry, as they directly affect human well-being, development, and social stability. Across the world, disparities in income, wealth, political power, access to education, healthcare, and legal protection have led to complex challenges that continue to shape human societies. The justice system, often seen as the ultimate safeguard for fairness and equity, is deeply interwoven with issues of inequality. Relative Deprivation and Procedural Justice theories were used to explain the research. The survey used a quantitative research method, with data collected via a questionnaire. A multistage sampling technique was employed, with a sample size of 396 respondents, based on Cochran's formula. Findings reveal a strong perceived link between inequality and social justice among residents of Kaduna state. The chi-square test examining the relationship between educational level and perception of fairness in the justice system reveals a statistically significant association ($\chi^2 = 22.45$, d.f = 8, $p = 0.004$). The government should strengthen accountability by ensuring that institutions saddled with justice discharge their duties without bias, thereby improving transparency in justice administration in the state.

Keywords: Perception, Inequality, Social Justice, Kaduna residents

Introduction

Social inequality and social justice remain central issues in the study of social studies because they affect human health, development, and social stability. Worldwide, inequalities of income, wealth, political power, education, health, and legal protection have created complex issues which continue to affect human societies. The justice system, sometimes considered the last bulwark of fairness and equity, is riddled with problems of inequality. Therefore, public perceptions of inequality and of justice institutions are key indicators of social cohesion and trust in governance systems.

Inequality is more extreme than it has ever been in the world. The world's richest 10% of people hold 76% of the world's total wealth, the poorest half 2% (World Inequality Report 2022). That has led to high unemployment and to a lack of trust in institutions, such as justice systems (Piketty, 2014). Concurrently, justice delivery has been challenged as being biased towards the powerful, and many societies are facing challenges of racial discrimination, corruption and unequal access to fair trials (United Nations, 2020).

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) specifically mention Goal 10 (Reduced Inequalities) and Goal 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions). If development is not characterised by fairness and justice, it cannot be sustainable (UNDP, 2020). Unequal and unjust societies have also increased concern about inequality and justice across advanced democracies. For example, throughout the United States, debates about systemic racism and police brutality, and the widening divide between elites and the rest of the population in many European countries, demonstrate that inequality and justice crises are not exclusive to developing countries, but are truly global.

Colonial history, institutions that are weak, corrupt, and poor, combine to create a unique aspect of inequality and justice issues in Africa. African Development Bank (AfDB, 2019) cited that more than 40% of Africans reside in poverty with huge disparities in income, education, gender and political participation. There is also inefficiency, corruption, and political interference in many African justice systems, which undermine people's trust in the system (Alemika, 2019).

Ethnic and religious differences, urban-rural disparities, and insecurity are also exacerbating inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa. Public perceptions of justice institutions are predominantly negative, with courts and law enforcement perceived as serving elites rather than average citizens (Gyimah-Boadi, 2017). In several parts of the world, such as South Africa and Kenya, where people protest against inequality and against police brutality, they distrust formal justice institutions.

Nigeria, Africa's largest democracy and economy, is grappling with deep inequalities and problems with access to justice. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2020), more than 40 per cent of Nigerians are living in poverty, and there is a significant difference between the North and South, rural and urban, and various social groups. Inequality in Nigeria has various facets, with income inequality, gender inequality, ethnic and religious inequalities, and political access inequalities being the main ones (Osaghae, 2021).

Corruption, slow trials and bias against the poor and unprivileged have long been a concern in the Nigerian judicial system. Transparency International (2021) has reported Nigeria's high ranking on its Corruption Perception Index, with corruption in the judiciary and law enforcement among the main causes of inequality and injustice in the country. The citizens also complain of a two-tier justice system, one for the poor and another for the rich (Okoye, 2020). Moreover, insecurity, banditry, and insurgency in the North have heightened inequalities, displacing thousands of people and limiting access to justice for marginalised populations. Public perception of the police, courts, and correctional services is negative, and trust levels are also low, as captured in surveys by various organisations, including Afrobarometer (2021).

The problems of inequality and injustice are a microcosm of Nigeria, with Kaduna State in the country's Northwest region as a representative example. It is a state with more than 60 ethnic groups and great religious diversity. It is, however, also among the most unequal in terms of access to education, health care, employment, and political participation (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Recurrent ethno-religious violence, farmer–herder conflicts and communal clashes have been reported in the state, resulting in marginalised groups feeling excluded from access to justice and fairness. Although the state government has been trying to improve governance and justice delivery, the people of the state are sceptical because they

believe that courts are inaccessible, the police are corrupt, and political elites are privileged in the administration of justice (Alemika& Chukwuma, 2000).

There is a strong concern at the local level about inequality and justice delivery in Kaduna State. Citizens say these inequalities manifest themselves in the police station, with better treatment for those who are connected or wealthier. They feel that the political elite is immune to the law and that common people are being severely punished for minor offences. Traditional institutions, such as community and religious leaders, are often preferred for dispute resolution because they are considered more accessible and relevant to the community. The use of informal justice systems, however, also indicates low trust in formal justice systems. Access to education, work and health care is not only a measure of social exclusion, but it is also a cause of crime and insecurity for many residents, and contributes to a lack of trust in justice institutions.

Social inequality and social justice are two intertwined issues that are critical to the stability and fairness of societies, from the global to the local scale. Inequality and a lack of trust in justice systems exist in every country and are more pronounced in developing countries such as Nigeria, especially in Kaduna State, where historical, cultural, and socio-economic factors converge. It is important to grasp public perceptions of issues because they influence behaviours, trust in institutions, and the legitimacy of the governance structure. The study of the residents of Kaduna state, therefore, provides valuable insights into the experiences of inequality and justice in Nigeria and has implications for other discussions of fairness, equity, and social cohesion around the globe.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Inequality and injustice exist in Nigeria even under the constitution, which guarantees equality before the law (FRN, 1999). In its annual report on corruption in Nigeria, Transparency International (2021) consistently ranks Nigeria among the more corrupt countries, particularly in the judiciary. Likewise, UNDP (2020) points to increasing disparities between the rich and the poor and to threats to the justice system's ability to ensure fairness.

These are more pronounced in Kaduna State. The marginalised groups often voice grievances against discrimination in accessing justice, slow judicial processes, and the politicisation of the justice system. Police brutality, unequal law enforcement and no legal representation for the impoverished also reinforce inequality (Nwankwo, 2018). Ethno-religious divisions aggravate the situation and result in marginalisation or disempowerment of groups in conflict resolution and governance processes.

The issue is not just that there is inequality and injustice, but that the public perceives them this way. The lack of trust in the justice system makes it less legitimate, which contributes to greater lawlessness and other avenues for settling disputes. Many available studies are local, focusing on a single local government area or a particular justice institution rather than on a statewide analysis of the sociological nature of the situation. A few studies have, however, focused on residents of Kaduna State's perceptions of justice and inequality. This knowledge gap prompted this study.

Literature Review

Perceptions of inequality and social justice are subjective assessments of the fairness of social arrangements and the distribution of social resources. Objective measures of inequality (such as income distribution or wealth gaps) provide only a quantitative description of inequality. However, it is the subjective perception and interpretation of these inequalities that determine whether they are fair or unfair to the individual (Hu & Krueger, 2019). Beliefs about justice affect social cohesion and trust in institutions, political participation and approval of redistributive policies (Sánchez-Rodríguez, Moreno-Bella, & Gómez-Andrés, 2025).

Subjective experiences are important because equality of the objective does not necessarily lead to equality of the perceived. Individuals' social comparisons, beliefs in meritocracy and access to opportunity can elicit very different responses from the public in two societies with similar income distributions. It is essential to grasp these perceptions to develop policies and interventions that bolster institutional legitimacy, foster social cohesion, and boost trust in governance.

Social and Economic Conditions Influencing Perceptions

Subjective Social Status (SSS)

Subjective social status (SSS): A person's own assessment of his or her place or status in society. The importance of SSS for perceived fairness: The more a person feels they have a high SSS, the more likely they are to believe social arrangements are legitimate and the more a person feels they have a low SSS, the more sensitive they are to inequalities (Hu & Krueger, 2019). This is consistent with the self-interest and structural position view of human nature, which suggests that individuals in privileged positions will rationalise the inequalities they face to maintain them and ensure social stability and psychological health. Those in lower positions, on the other hand, are aware of structural differences and suffer from relative deprivation, which leads to a heightened sense of injustice (Kraus et al., 2022). Community consultations, surveys, and institutional mapping were employed to conduct a series of empirical assessments at the Hill Justice Transformation Lab in Kaduna. The results reflect key justice gaps in policing, access to justice and gender-based violence (GBV) (Hill, 2022). One of the main concerns raised by respondents was the lack of responsiveness from the police and insufficient legal aid services, as well as the belief that justice is influenced by social and economic status or political affiliation. The people's justice agenda in Kaduna was developed based on the evidence they collected, with an emphasis on police reform, alternative dispute resolution, and access mechanisms.

Objective Socioeconomic Status (SES) – based on household income, size, and household expenses. There are also objective social determinants of fairness, such as income, education, and occupational status. Evidence suggests that individuals from lower-income or lower socioeconomic status backgrounds might perceive systems as more unfair and unjust. In contrast, those from higher-income or higher-socioeconomic-status backgrounds may perceive unequal outcomes as justified or acceptable (Kraus et al., 2022). Some conditions, such as perceived injustice, socio-economic status, and prison experiences, are well documented in the studies of Kaduna State inmates (Auta & Musa, 2020). Poorly treated prisoners complain about harsher treatment, longer detention and fewer bail opportunities. These patterns are empirical in that they illustrate how structural inequalities manifest in everyday experiences within the justice system and give rise to heightened feelings of unfairness.

However, the relationship between objective SES and justice perceptions is moderated by subjective social status, highlighting the importance of both self-perceived SES and material circumstances. For instance, two people with equal incomes can see inequality differently based on their local communities, social networks, and their views on opportunities for advancement.

Beliefs in Meritocracy and Fairness Ideologies

Perceptions of inequality are deeply influenced by beliefs about the legitimacy of social outcomes, including faith in a just world and in meritocracy. Those who hold meritocratic values see unequal distributions as legitimate; they justify inequalities as a result of ability, work or responsibility (Martin & Hertel, 2025). On the other hand, low trust in meritocracy leads to more support for redistributive policies (Sánchez-Rodríguez et al., 2025). Such ideologies shape notions of fairness and may also shape behaviour in areas such as people's willingness to interact with social institutions, their compliance with laws, and their political participation.

Demographic Factors

Justice perceptions are also shaped by demographic factors such as age, gender, and education. Being more educated has been linked to a heightened sense of structural inequalities and greater sensitivity to perceived injustice (Xiao et al., 2024). Fairness expectations are also shaped by age and generational differences, as younger generations often have higher expectations of equality in a changing society.

Contextualising Perceptions in Nigeria and Kaduna State

Methodology

The Nigerian context offers a critical lens through which the interaction between socio-economic and demographic factors with institutional trust can be understood, as much of the literature discussed so far is global or comparative. Research has shown that the Nigerian populace often feels there is a significant disparity in service delivery, education, and access to justice.

According to the 2025 survey conducted by the Africa Polling Institute, Nigerians reported low levels of trust in the judiciary, particularly due to alleged corruption, inefficiency, and selective enforcement (Premium Times, 2026). There are significant disparities in access to the court, legal representation, and timely resolution of cases among rural, low-income, and marginalised populations (CDD West Africa, 2024). These structural inequities affect perceptions: people who face barriers or feel that they are treated inequitably are less likely to have faith in the justice system and may turn to informal means or social networks to resolve conflicts.

Socio-economic differences, urban-rural disparities and previous social strife in Kaduna State may also shape perceptions of fairness. Beliefs about the justice system may differ across regions, as disadvantaged communities may feel the justice system is not available to them or is unfair. In contrast, more advantaged communities may feel it is fair and accessible. The local variations are important to consider when designing interventions aimed at building trust and institutional legitimacy.

Socio-economic conditions, subjective social status, demographic characteristics, fairness ideologies, and perceptions of inequality and justice all interact to influence perceptions of inequality and justice. Those with higher SES who believe in meritocracy tend to accept inequality. In comparison, those with lower SES who feel there is less opportunity and who believe in less meritocratic fairness tend to feel injustice. The above dynamics reflect the interaction among personal situations, social systems, and psychological convictions in creating social perceptions of fairness. This study is based on the theoretical frameworks of Relative Deprivation Theory and Procedural Theory.

Relative Deprivation Theory: Individuals experience injustice when they compare themselves with others or their own group and find themselves worse off (Runciman, 1966). This is seen among residents of Kaduna State as they compare the treatments received between groups, in terms of (ethnic, religious, or economic) divides. When someone receives unequal treatment, it is generally felt as an injustice and a feeling of dissatisfaction. If there is a sense that other groups are being treated better in terms of protection, compensation, or access to justice, Kaduna's ethnic or religious groups may feel that they are being treated unfairly. This theory accounts for the fact that people may feel inequitable even if it is not the same for everyone.

According to Tyler (1990, 2019), people are concerned not just with results, but also with their treatment (procedural justice). Trust in institutions is raised through fair treatment, transparency, respect and impartiality. In cases of negative experiences, such as bribery, harassment, and delays, people might lose trust in justice institutions. This theory is used to explain how interactions with the justice system affect perceptions of fairness. The exposure of residents to the police, courts and other components of the justice system, such as bribery, police harassment, court delays, etc., in their day-to-day experiences tends to shape the perception of the residents of Kaduna on the justice system, resulting in a lack of trust and confidence in the justice system's police and courts. Even if laws are fair, poor treatment certainly will lead to negative perceptions. In conclusion, both theoretical frameworks show how structural inequality, group comparisons, and institutional interactions shape people's perceptions of the justice system in Kaduna State.

Methodology

Research Design: This study adopted a descriptive survey design, which is widely used in social science research when the aim is to collect data from a population sample and describe existing conditions or attitudes. The survey method was considered appropriate because it enables the researcher to gather quantitative data on residents' perceptions of social inequality and the justice system in Kaduna State.

Population of the Study

The study comprised all adult residents of Kaduna State, estimated at over one million people according to the National Population Commission (NPC Projection, 2022). The population is heterogeneous, comprising diverse ethnic groups, religious affiliations, and socio-economic categories. Kaduna State was chosen due to its historical record of ethno-religious conflicts, poverty disparities, and frequent debates over access to justice. Since it is impractical to study the entire population, a representative sample was drawn from selected Local Government Areas (LGAs) across the three senatorial zones of Kaduna State.

Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The sample size was determined using Cochran's (1977) formula for sample determination:

The sample size of this study was three hundred and ninety-six (396), which was arrived at through Cochran's formula for determining the sample size of a population. Therefore, the sample size is calculated using the formula:

$$n = Z^2 \frac{pq}{e^2}$$

Where:

N = sample size

Z-value under the Z-table is 1.96. p = is the (estimated) proportion of the population which has the attribute in q q = 1-p e = level of significance.

(0.05)/ desired level of precision, i.e. margin of error.

$$n = \frac{1.962 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}{0.05^2} = \frac{3.84 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}{0.05^2} = 384.$$

Therefore, n=384 respondents. However, for ease and equitable distribution of the questionnaire, as well as to account for possible missing data or nonresponse, 3.1% of the calculated sample size (12) is added. Thus, the study's total sample size is 396 (384 + 12).

A multi-stage sampling technique was employed. First, Kaduna State was stratified into three senatorial districts (North, Central, and South). Secondly, two Local Government Areas (LGAs) were randomly selected from each senatorial zone. Finally, respondents were selected through systematic random sampling within households, ensuring fair representation across gender, age groups, and socio-economic classes. This approach minimises bias and enhances representativeness.

Sources and Methods of Data Collection

The study utilised both primary and secondary sources of data; Primary data were obtained through the administration of structured questionnaires, while Secondary data were sourced from books, journal articles, reports of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Transparency International's corruption index, UNDP human development reports, and government policy documents.

Research Instrument: As structured questionnaire comprising both closed- and open-ended questions was used.

Method of Data Analysis: Quantitative data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, Version 25). Descriptive statistics, such as frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations, and Inferential statistics, such as chi-square tests, were used to examine relationships between socio-demographic factors and perceptions of inequality and justice.

Results and discussion of findings

Table 1: Inequality and Social Justice

Statement	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)
The justice system helps reduce inequality	20	25	35	20
Inequality makes it difficult for poor people to seek justice	50	30	15	5
Corruption in justice increases inequality	55	25	15	5
People with political connections get better outcomes	60	25	10	5
Lack of trust affects peace and security	45	30	15	10
Ethnic/religious background influences justice	40	30	20	10
Improving the justice system can reduce inequality	50	30	15	5

Source: Fieldwork 2025

The table above reveals a strong perceived link between inequality and justice outcomes. While 45% agreed that the justice system helps reduce inequality, 55% disagreed. A substantial 80% agreed that inequality makes it difficult for poor people to seek justice, and 80% believed that corruption within the justice system increases inequality.

Elite influence was strongly perceived, as 85% agreed that people with political connections receive better justice outcomes. Additionally, 75% agreed that the lack of trust in the justice system affects peace and security. Importantly, 80% believed that improving the justice system would reduce inequality and promote social stability.

Chi-square test 1: Relationship between education level and perception of fairness in the justice system.

Variable	χ^2 Value	df	p-value	Interpretation
Education vs Justice Perception	22.45	8	0.004	Significant; higher education → more critical of fairness

The chi-square test examining the relationship between educational level and perception of fairness in the justice system reveals a statistically significant association ($\chi^2 = 22.45$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.004$). This result indicates that respondents with higher levels of education are more likely to be critical of the justice system's fairness. Education, therefore, plays an important role in shaping awareness and perceptions of justice-related issues.

Perceptions of the justice system were largely negative, with respondents describing it as unfair, corrupt, slow, and biased in favour of the wealthy and politically connected. The justice process was widely viewed as inaccessible to ordinary citizens due to high costs,

prolonged court procedures, and informal payments. This finding aligns with Structural Functionalism (Durkheim, 1893), which posits that when institutions fail to perform their regulatory and integrative functions, social trust declines and disorder increases. The perceived dysfunction of the police and judiciary has weakened public confidence in formal justice institutions.

Socioeconomic status was found to influence access to justice and justice outcomes significantly. Poverty was widely perceived as a barrier to legal representation, access to the courts, and fair treatment, while wealth and political connections were seen as facilitating favourable outcomes. Respondents indicated that court fees, legal costs, and informal payments disproportionately disadvantage people experiencing poverty. This observation aligns with Neo-Marxist perspectives and empirical studies on inequality and justice (Transparency International, 2021; National Bureau of Statistics, 2022), which argue that legal systems often reproduce existing class inequalities. In this context, reliance on informal justice mechanisms represents a coping strategy for economically marginalised groups.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study revealed that social inequality in Kaduna State is pervasive, affecting key areas such as education, healthcare, employment, political participation, and access to justice. The justice system was largely perceived as biased, corrupt, and inaccessible, especially for economically disadvantaged and marginalised groups. Citizens reported greater trust in informal institutions due to their perceived fairness, efficiency, and accessibility. Many respondents believed that high costs, delays, and lack of transparency limit access to justice for ordinary citizens. Consequently, trust in formal justice institutions such as the police, courts, and government agencies was low.

The findings of the study indicate that social inequality is widely perceived and significantly affects access to justice in Kaduna State. Inequality was observed in education, healthcare, employment, political participation, and legal protection, with wealth and social connections playing a dominant role in shaping opportunities and justice outcomes. Policies aimed at reducing gender, ethnic, and religious discrimination in public institutions should be strengthened to promote equity and fairness. Legal aid services should be expanded and adequately funded to ensure that low-income and marginalised groups have access to justice. The government should strengthen accountability and oversight mechanisms within the police and judiciary to reduce corruption and improve transparency.

References

- Aborisade, R. (2021). Policing corruption and the corruption of policing in Nigeria: Understanding the patterns and processes. *Police Practice and Research*, 22(1), 1–18.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2020.1797848>
- Afro barometer. (2021). Afrobarometer Round 8 Survey in Nigeria: Summary of Results.
<https://afrobarometer.org>
- Africa Polling Institute (API) is an independent, non-profit and non-partisan opinion research think-tank.
- Aiyede, E. R. (2019). Governance and inequality in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 13(4), 43–54.
<https://doi.org/10.5897/AJPSIR2019.1190>

- Alemika, E. E. O., & Chukwuma, I. C. (2005). Police-community violence in Nigeria. Lagos: Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN Foundation).
- Almond, G., & Verba, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture*. Princeton University Press.
- Babbie, E. R. (2020). *The practice of social research* (15th ed.). Cengage Learning.
- Bradford, B. (2014). Policing and social identity: Procedural justice, inclusion and cooperation between police and public. *Policing and Society*, 24(1), 22–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2012.724068>
- Centre for Democracy & Development (CDD-West Africa) 2024, report.
- CLEEN Foundation. (2016). National crime victimization survey. CLEEN Foundation.
- Collins, R. (1975). *Conflict sociology: Toward an explanatory science*. Academic Press.
- Cochran, W.G. (1977) *Sampling Techniques*. 3rd Edition, John Wiley & Sons, New York.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 1989, Article 8.
- Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999
- Chancel, L., Thomas.P. and Emmanuel Saez .G, (2022). *World Inequality Report 2022*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England 2022.
- Durkheim, E. (1893). *The Division of Labour in Society*. Durkheim, Émile (1997). *The Division of Labour in Society*. Translated by W. D. Halls. New York: Free Press.
- Field, A. (2018). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS statistics* (5th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Human Rights Watch Annual Report 2019 is inclusive of the organization's work and reflective of its supporters from 1 July 2018 to 30 June 2019.
- Kaduna State Bureau of Statistics. (2021). *Statistical yearbook 2020*. Kaduna State Government.
- Kaduna State Government. (2020). *Kaduna State justice sector reform policy*. Kaduna State Ministry of Justice. *Manipulations of Perceived Economic Inequality: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis*
- Karstedt, S. (2006). Democracy, values, and violence: Paradoxes, tensions, and comparative advantages of liberal inclusion. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 605(1), 50–81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716206287168>
- Kelley, J., & Evans, M. D. R. (1993). The legitimation of inequality: Occupational earnings in nine nations. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(1), 75–125. <https://doi.org/10.1086/230262>
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1848). *The Communist Manifesto*. Marx, Karl & Engels, Friedrich. *The Communist Manifesto*. Translated by Samuel Moore. London: Penguin Classics, [1848] 2002.

- National Bureau of Statistics. (2020). 2019 poverty and inequality in Nigeria. Abuja: NBS.
- National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). (2022). Poverty and inequality in Nigeria.
- Nigeria Police Force. (2021). Annual crime statistics. Abuja: NPF Headquarters.
- Piketty, T. (2014). Capital in the twenty-first century. Harvard University Press.
- Sanchez Rodriguez (2025). November 2025Journal of Experimental Psychology: General 155(2):365-387. DOI: 10.1037/xge0001837.
- Transparency International. (2021). Global Corruption Barometer.
- Tyler, T. R. (2006). Why people obey the law (2nd ed.). Princeton University Press.
- Weber, M. (2019). *Economy and society* (K. Tribe, Trans.). Harvard University Press. (Original work published 1922)
- World Bank. (1992). World Development Report 1992: Development and the Environment. © World Bank. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/5975> License: [CC BY 3.0 IGO](#).”