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**LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA:
A STUDY OF RESOURCE ALLOCATION IN IMO STATE**

BY

BRYAN ELLIOTT

Thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the M.A.
degree in Geography

Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa



Bryan Elliott, Ottawa, Canada, 1992



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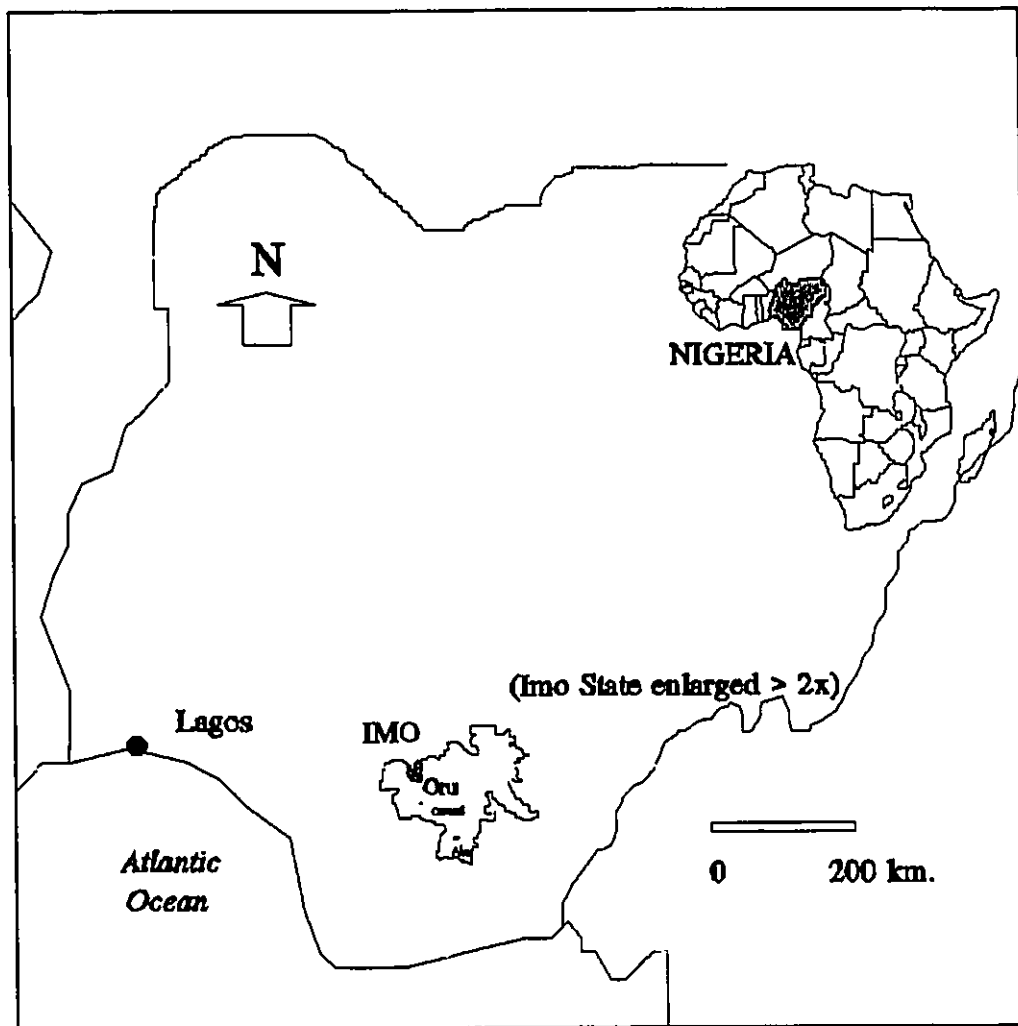
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UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

Local Government in Nigeria:
A Study of Resource Allocation in Imo State



Department of Geography

University of Ottawa

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. J.B. Riddell

M.A. research submitted to complete degree requirements, August 1992

by Bryan Elliott

ABSTRACT
LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA:
A Study of Resource Allocation in Imo State

Undertaken to examine the means by which resources are allocated by local government in Nigeria, a southern, developing-world nation, this study concentrates on primary education and community projects as analytical tools. It hypothesizes that there is an hierarchy of allocation that mirrors core-periphery relations of regions, and that there is a rural-urban dichotomy in the endowment of specific Local Government Areas (LGAs). This dichotomy is entrenched by constitutional rules for the responsibilities of LGAs and for the distribution of Federal block-grants from the national Federation Account. It continues despite policies mandating a process of Integrated Rural Development (IRD). The emplacement of the LGA system offers opportunities to mediate differential endowment, but depends on political stability in a multi-ethnic society.

The combined evidence of the distribution of teachers and of pupils by sex, and of budgeted amounts for community projects, suggests a three-level division of LGAs. There are low-endowment rural LGAs, having high male-to-female teacher ratios and, to some degree, more male than female pupils. These have low project budgets (in total), with less than 50% of the budgeted value in basic infrastructure. There are high-endowment rural LGAs, with rough parity of teacher and pupil ratios, and varied - but high - levels of project budget. Finally, there are urban LGAs, with high female-to-male teacher ratios, a tendency for female pupils to outnumber male, and very low community project budgets. However, these divisions are based on crude statistics, rank-ordered, and take no account of effects of the larger region (i.e. Eastern Nigeria). The preliminary interpretation, which does support a rural-urban endowment dichotomy, is of limited value because statistics essential to a definitive conclusion are unavailable.

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I alone am responsible for any errors or omissions.

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GLOSSARY

RESEARCH DEFINITIONS

Key terms are defined as follows:

Allocation: Any process or mechanism by which assets are distributed to achieve policy goals. In Nigeria it is also the mechanism by which funds are distributed from the Federation Account, the consolidated central revenue depository. Percentages are set out in the Constitution, for Federal, State, and Local government.

Development Project: All capital projects undertaken to improve living standards, with an emphasis on supplying physical infrastructure. For the most part these are Local Government responsibilities established by the two post-1976 Constitutions (see Table A, and Appendix A). The projects may be grouped into eight classes:

- A) Electricity supply - both rural electrification and urban installations;
- B) Water schemes - rural and urban piped water, wells and boreholes;
- C) Road development - rural feeder roads, including culverts and bridges;
- D) Schools - usually secondary and technical schools, occasionally primary;
- E) Markets - cement pads for open stalls, and concrete lock-up stalls;
- F) Health facilities - Primary Health Centres, maternity clinics, latrines;
- G) Civic buildings - typically 'Civic Halls' and administrative offices;
- H) other infrastructure - trade centres, community farms, small industry.

Federal agencies such as the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), the Directorate of Foods, Roads, and Rural Infrastructures (DFRRI), and the Directorate of Social Mobilisation (MAMSER), are involved in these projects, as well as State-level Ministries. The former provide funds, the latter technical support.

Education: Established as a national objective in the First Republic, Universal Primary Education (U.P.E.) is designed to provide universal literacy through national standards of education. It is part of an overall programme designated '6-3-3-4'. The guiding policy is the National Education Policy (1977, Revised 1981) which, in turn, is the product of several early-1970's commissions of enquiry. The programme divides formal education into 16 years of instruction. Primary (6 years), Junior Secondary (3), Senior Secondary (3), and Post-Secondary (4) are the levels, with three parallel streams - vocational, general, and agricultural (see Figure 4). Participation

in Imo State is by age-group - Primary 1 to Primary 6 (P1-P6). Adult students attend adult education centres (MAMSER, Local Government, and private or community facilities).

Interaction: Spatial interaction where "...events at one location influence and are influenced by events at other locations." (Haining 1990: 24). This involves movement over a geographical area of people, goods, ideas (both technologies and systems), and communications.

Government: The Federal Government is paramount, a fact reflected in common usage of the term "Government" as a shorthand designation. The current Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) rules by decree. The nearly-complete "Transition to Civilian Rule" programme is codified in the 1989 transitional Constitution, amended by numerous subsequent decrees. The Federal Government controls the Federation Account: the Presidency is the administrative locus of executive decisions (decrees).

State: Within the Nigerian Federation a State is the intermediate level political administrative unit. Evolving from the three regions of colonial Nigeria, the States have increased in number from 12 (1976) to 30 (1991), plus the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja (F.C.T.). This evolution is summarized in the introduction.

Local Government Area: Instituted in 1976, LGAs are the base level of administration recognized by the Constitution. Several such units comprise a State. From 1986 to 1991 they were 449 in number, incorporating the entire land surface of the country. Only those functioning in 1988 are examined: those established in 1991 are excluded. The study area, Oru LGA, is in Imo State (see Figures 3 and 6).

Resources: These are human and financial assets deployed to realize policy objectives. States and LGAs receive formula-determined disbursements from the Federation Account, and must generate *internal revenue* to funds projects and responsibilities for which statutory allocations are inadequate.

Internal Revenue: All revenue raised from local sources by both States and LGAs. In this research LGA efforts are emphasized. Licensing charges, service fees, and limited application of property and poll taxes constitute the primary sources of such revenue.

Community: A community is an *ad hoc* structure comprising several villages and/or hamlets, which adopt a group name. Being unofficial, a community name may or may not appear in official records - including maps. In Imo State (and others) the status of these groupings is recognized by the specific designation *Autonomous Community* (A.C.); together they embrace all land in a given LGA. Within each *place* which is a community there may be several *social* communities.

Institutions: Formal social, economic, and political consolidated entities.

Integrated Rural Development: Originally applied as a specific sub-category of rural development projects ¹ and used to describe initiatives by external agencies, it may be described as applying more broadly to multi-stage and multi-programme capital projects that typify recent Nigerian Federal policy approaches. Supporting evidence for this interpretation is implicit in reliance on both government and private funding for specific development projects ². Community efforts constitute the largest part of private funding, and many of the projects in this research are entirely community realized, relying on local improvement associations, age-groups, and individuals.

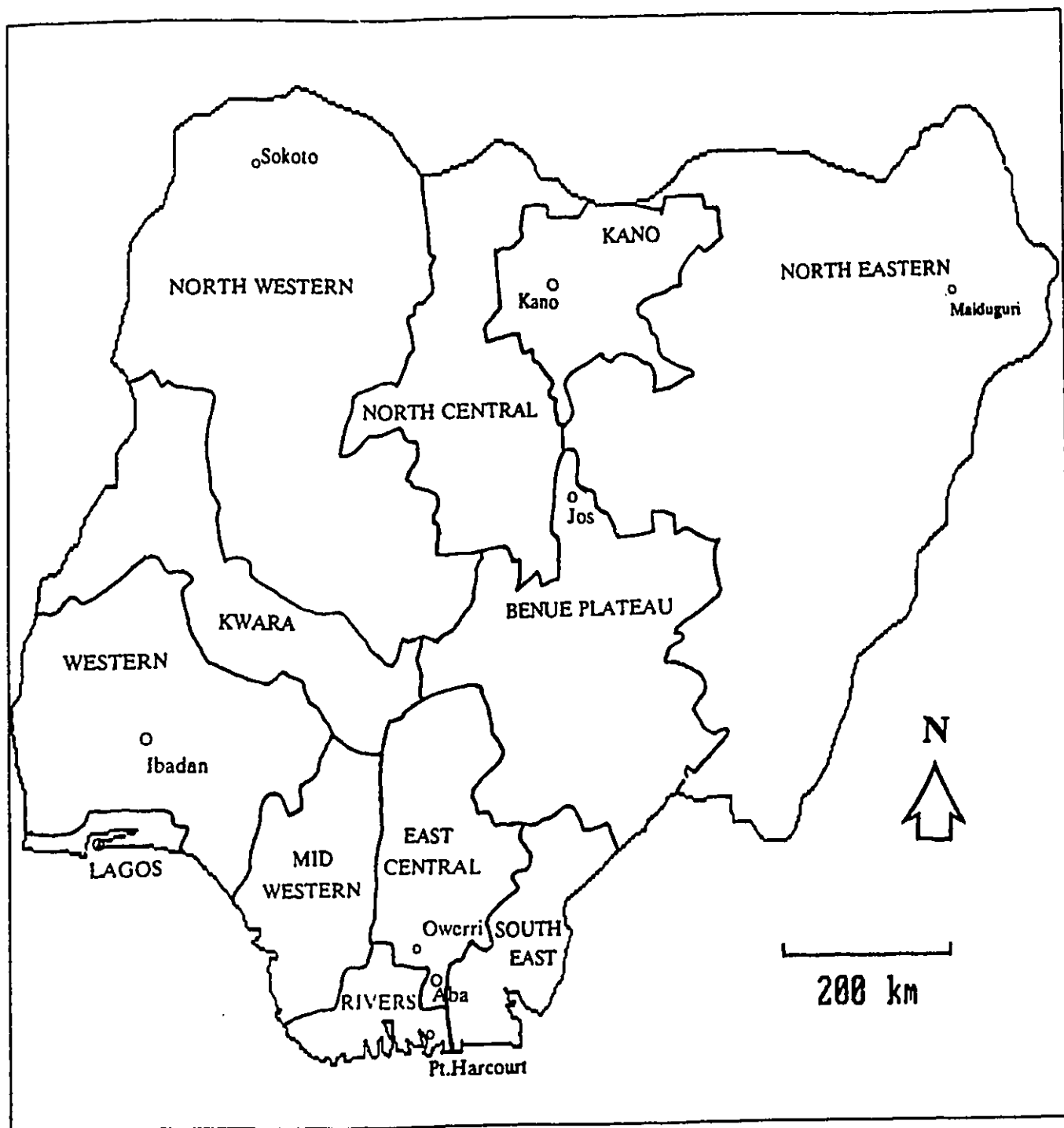
Core-periphery: Spatial economic relationship where "The concentration of economic power...serves to maintain the core's advantage in exchange and allow...core institutions to determine the development path of the...[periphery]." ³. In this research core areas are identified as the largest cities in Imo State - Aba and Owerri. Following Hopkins et al. (1982) the term also is used here to refer to hierarchical inter-state core-periphery relations in the global economic system. Seminal writers on the subject include Friedmann, Myrdal, and Hirschman.

Naira: Represented by abbreviation 'N', in 1989 averaged 5.2/U.S.\$ (now 18.5/\$).

¹ See, for example, Mabogunje (1982: 96).

² See Wallace (1981), Kumuyi (1987), Fadayomi (1988), and similar evaluation of Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) for examples of the Nigerian approach. River Basin Development Authorities provide examples of failure that should be cautionary, but details are not often published.

³ After Goodall (1987: 97).

FIGURE 1: NIGERIAN STATES 1967

Sources: *Administrative Map of Nigeria*, Nigeria 1988,
and Prescott, 1977.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This research investigates the way in which local government functions in a developing or Third World country. It focuses on local government in Nigeria, emphasizing empirical evidence of the factors constraining resource allocation decisions in a rural area. The research compares the formal (constitutional) powers that have devolved on all Nigerian local governments with the resources available to carry out their responsibilities, emphasizing the case of rural as opposed to urban areas.

The study is at the scale of a single Local Government Area (LGA) and the Nigerian state of which it is a part - Oru LGA in Imo State. Analysis focuses on the allocation of resources to primary education under the national Universal Primary Education (UPE) system. The historical context is implementation of UPE since 1976, with emphasis on the case of the situation in the period 1989-1991. Figure 1 shows the States of Nigeria in 1976.

Primary education is generally acknowledged to be a basic need, and is specifically identified by post-Independence Constitutions as a key factor in building a unified nation in which every person is to have equal rights.

However, Nigeria is a country in which most citizens live in poverty. This condition has intensified over time, particularly in the last fifteen years. Furthermore it is a society of complex ethnic mix with entrenched regional and religious tensions. And it is a place where the population is growing at over two percent each year ⁴. So while everywhere in the non-OECD states the delivery of basic needs is under pressure, the resources available in Nigeria are especially squeezed by both societal and personal poverty.

This broad outline of the "terms of life" for a nation numbering at least 88.5 million people hints at how limited must be the research results from a specific analytical topic.

⁴ The exact rate is unknown. The November 1991 census counted nearly 88.5 million citizens (Table 4.1) which, accepting the 1963 census as accurate, implies a growth rate of 2.2% per year. Census-data pitfalls are noted in chapter 4, and explored in detail by Udo (1981) and Ahonsi (1988). The World Bank estimates a rate over 3% (*World Development Report 1991*: p. 256).

Shehu Ahmadu Musa, chairman of the National Population Commission which conducted the 1991 census, summarized the tradition of the 1963 and 1973 exercise as "...a sad and shamerul story of dishonesty, fraud and disharmony of the highest order." (*The African Guardian*, Vol. 6, no. 45, December 2 1991: p. 23).

The general research question addressed here is:

Using the example of primary education, is devolution of power to Nigerian Local Government Areas (LGAs) under post-1976 reforms succeeding, and what rural-urban differences, if any, are emerging ?

In other words, in a context of mass poverty, social tensions, internal and external financial constraints, and complex transitional arrangements from military to civilian government, what has been the on-the-ground result of devolution of authority to local government ?

This research postulates that the elements for a successful planting of effective local government have been established, albeit fitfully and unevenly. The question is whether that beginning - over 15 years in the making - now has a future.

This analytical goal is too massive to be addressed in other than encyclopaedic format, for the entire country: however, it is possible to conduct detailed and insightful investigation at the level of a single Local Government Area and draw both location-specific and more general conclusions.

To evaluate the general research question requires addressing certain more specific hypotheses. These are formulated as follows:

- 1) The devolution of administrative authority to Local Government Areas is successful in that the system is established and functioning;
- 2) There exists an entrenched rural-urban dichotomy in LGA endowment, which cannot be altered significantly under existing Constitutional rules;
- 3) Resource allocation, both to primary education and to other development projects, is carried out under a doctrine of "Integrated Rural Development" (IRD) . IRD cannot be effective, and threatens the initial success in establishing Local Government Areas.

Field interviews suggest that the first two hypotheses are popularly accepted in at least some rural LGAs, but that the third might be rejected by many administrators.

1.1 PURPOSE of RESEARCH

This research is intended to examine resource allocation in a State and Local Government Area (LGA) in Nigeria. The operating hypothesis is that "equal" spatial allocation of economic resources through the administrative devolution of authority to LGAs

is a preliminary success; it is threatened by both the reality of a society characterised by mass poverty and by differential access to resources that is entrenched in post-Independence Constitutions, specifically those of 1978 and 1989.

Analysis focuses on primary education. This aspect of LGA responsibility was selected because it has the following key characteristics:

- Universal Primary Education is a long-established goal of Nigerian public policy, so that it has a high profile and is widely discussed - everyone has an opinion;
- Primary education is a "common good" delivered through a dense network of essentially standard institutions, with common design, national qualification standards, and basic statutory provision for funding;
- It is a key responsibility of Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Nigeria;
- It has a recoverable institutional history, which is available and documented. This is a significant contrast to other types of development projects, notably those addressing other national schemes such as Agricultural Development Projects and MAMSER (for example);
- As an acknowledged "basic need" there is an extensive literature of theory and of empirical observation, with both paths offering Nigerian and other-country examples;
- It is viewed as a form of 'human capital investment', leading to better employment qualifications through better training and more flexible skills - an outcome envisaged by '6-3-3-4' system streaming into vocational and agricultural schools;
- Support for basic services such as primary education is known to be subject to spatially different endowment and investment, often on a rural-urban split. Given that problems of spatial inequities in resource allocation are recognised but not resolved, there is research value in investigating the topic in order to learn both local-scale and other-scale lessons about empirically observed development problems.

Primary education is therefore a research tool for understanding local resource allocation while also learning about regional- and national-scale issues. In fact, it is impossible to conduct the research without considering rural-urban, national-local, and even class determined comparisons. While these comparisons are important, it is also fundamental that the effect of individual health, tropical forest and savannah climates, and differential access to other basic needs also come into play in evaluating the likelihood of

success of both primary education and of other locally-administered aspects of rural development.

Conclusions in support or refutation of the research hypotheses are based on evidence of resource allocation to primary education, of its comparative spatial equity relative to other types of rural development, and of the responses of LGA and education authorities to changes in the responsibilities and resources assigned to LGAs.

1.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

The approach to testing the three preliminary research hypotheses generated by the research question involves a wide-ranging synthesis. Not all the components of this synthesis carry equal weight, since there are differences in the nature and scale of available data. Furthermore it is not feasible to discuss each factor in detail in assembling the synthesis.

Above all the research is devoted to answering a basic question posed of and by geography about why things occur where they do. The importance of this question may be deduced from an exemplary observation by R.D. Sack, in *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought: A Geographical Perspective* (1980: 70):

"...to explain why something occurs is to explain why it occurs where it does." ⁵

Although in this synthesis components are not uniform in characteristics, they are all necessary ⁶. The caveat governing such non-uniformity is that since not all aspects are quantifiable, it is impossible to 'weight' each component, and no 'law' or even model can be generated in order to measure the conclusions. This governing assumption derives from the conviction that research into human affairs must be holistic. There is no such thing as an equilibrium state in human life. Change is constant and feeds on itself. Data are historical artifacts; and policy, both as a plan and as implemented, is always generating both

⁵ as quoted in Gore (1984: 233). Spatial pattern analysis is an entire subject which demands both qualitative and quantitative data. It also requires that historical (point-in-time) and "real-time" (constantly changing) data and information be employed as part of a continuum of information rather than as separable, isolated facts.

⁶ Since this research takes an administrative unit as the area of study, it is in fact a synthesis limited to a region - Imo State in Nigeria. The validity of such an approach is addressed in chapter 2.

products of its existence and responses from the individuals and institutions affected.

Acknowledging that this is the case is not to surrender to a fatalist philosophy where it is impossible to analyze any topic except as a game or an abstraction. Rather, it is to accept that while quantifying all aspects of a human situation is impossible, a particular case can be evaluated productively, provided that critical defining components are identified and included in the analysis.

The approach to testing the three research hypotheses listed above is to collate:

- government goals promulgated by the Nigerian Constitutions of 1978 and 1989;
- normative standards set out in the National Education Policy initiated in 1977, as well as in the programme for Universal Primary Education begun in 1976;
- growth and change in the Local Government Area system established in 1976; (these supported by documents and published evaluations and commentaries);
- interviews with officials and teachers charged with implementing these programmes;
- data acquired from field surveys and questionnaires;
- data culled from available (published and field-gathered) statistical summaries;
- field observations of the standard facilities provided for primary education;
- comparison of education resources with other development project resources;
- mapping selected data concerning primary school populations and project spending.

This listing of the general categories or components of this research evidently avoids some characteristics previously mentioned, such as measures of health, of climatic impacts; and of the general economic and social context of Nigerian society. This reflects the need to adhere to a research focus, without ignoring the overall environment, both social and physical.

While it is clear that Nigeria is a society defined by mass poverty ⁷, it is beyond the scope of this limited paper to evaluate the specific ways in which people in the research

⁷ The 1991 census figures are lower than World Bank estimates by over 26 million, so it is difficult to estimate *per capita* income. The figure is certainly less than U.S. \$ 400. The real value of the naira has depreciated rapidly, and inflation risen at rates of 15% to 45% per year, so that the only accurate portrayal is to state that *per capita* income - even if Informal sector activity could be quantified - is very low.

location are, and continue to be, impoverished ⁸.

Concerning Nigeria much social analysis has been published, on government (local and otherwise); about education at all levels; and concerning the economy, with very little overt recognition of the challenges posed by environment. It is almost as if the enervating heat and humidity of the tropical zone, the violent weather both there and in the northern savannah, and the drought-punctuated persistent shortages of water (of any quality), are irrelevant. Endemic, particularly water-borne, diseases of tropical areas and widespread lifelong shortage of food, aggravated by recurrent drought, are fundamental to understanding patterns of resource availability, and service demand ⁹.

Field interviews suggest that Nigerians are reluctant to consider, at least in formal documentation and opinions, the impact of health, environment, and external constraints on local resources. This is due to pragmatic acceptance that these are factors that cannot be readily amended by human action - the solution is neither local nor even national.

Furthermore there are severe external constraints that are inseparable from the dependence on petroleum exports for the governmental ¹⁰ revenue-base - revenue which must be shared by all three levels of government in federal Nigeria. This sharing is commonly mentioned in publications, in sharp contrast to the absence of the environmental

⁸ There is a school of social analysis and commentary concerning Nigeria which is devoted to class- and, increasingly, gender-based research. Published research does make useful points relating in particular to the impact of class on education. Nigerian cultural diversity inhibits generalization and is the reason little published material addresses the mechanisms by which local elites maintain power. This, combined with my own sketchy local knowledge, prevent addressing some key factors in resource allocation decisions. Available studies are either culturally inappropriate for the study area, or at the multi-state or national scale.

⁹ Food quality and availability is complex. While there are certainly coping mechanisms, the observable fact is that increasing dependence on the cash economy coupled with a declining ability to obtain cash, and compounded by the universal lack of safe water, threatens those mechanisms. This underlying threat seems to be addressed only by complaints about basic needs costs as they occur.

¹⁰ Local, State, and Federal are the Nigerian levels of government which depend on this revenue base, which is accumulated in the **Federation Account**. In the study region the *Autonomous Community (A.C.)* is also important (see Glossary).

limitations noted above. However, it is seldom specified that this essential revenue uncertainty governs the inaccuracy of statistics and of development planning and the vicissitudes of resource allocation ¹¹.

Accordingly, this research includes mention of the importance and weight of these aspects of the context, or broad setting. As well there is an apparent official attitude that such environmental constraints can in fact be addressed, a perception irresponsibly promoted by expatriate funding through a variety of projects of doubtful long-term viability.

This research is based on a concern for presenting a complete story, granting that the tools for accomplishing this are patchy and the information is often not directly comparable. Only a small part of human experience is captured in written records. This fraction is further compromised because economic data predominate and other forms of cultural and ecological information are neglected ¹².

The context for this investigation is the framework set by existing national goals and by the social and political constraints that hedge and conflict with them. Published literature has addressed the general problem of defining the processes by which complex policy matters are addressed. Several examples are discussed in chapter 1. The bias of such viewpoints is to suggest various solutions which may allow former colonies to develop into full (and equal?) participants in the global world economy.

Data for Imo State regarding resource allocation decisions concern the period 1981-1990. The present analysis focuses on post-1986 activity, since this is the period to which principal data sets apply and during which a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has been in effect.

¹¹ Mosley (1992) is eloquent on the failures of policy and planning in Nigeria. Adebayo (1990) is equally blunt about the deficiencies of data.

¹² It seems often to be ignored that the bias inherent in concentrating on economic data "facts" and indicators should be challenged, the bias toward such data having come to play so large a role in social science. Emphasis on human interaction is the fundamental concern of social science. Such an interpretation places this research closer to cultural than to economic geography. This personal philosophy is also a practical acceptance that the chosen subject, analysis of the likely success in Nigeria of local government through study of its responsibility for primary education, is not suited to a data-driven methodology.

The research purpose suggests further questions:

- 1) Does the location of development projects in Imo state , according to the typology of those projects, reflect a spatial pattern ?
- 2) Is there a rural-urban dichotomy discernible, for any of the eight classes of development capital project, or for primary education ?
- 3) What does investigation of 1) and 2) suggest about local level resource allocation?

Investigation of field interviews requires weighing responses in terms of the information level of the respondents. Lacking universal mass electronic media, Nigeria is an society in which rumour and speculation are the information environment. This is a functional response to government by decree, without consultation such as might be expected (if not realized) under civilian government, and generates responses to policy by both the public and administrators. This implies accepting the fact that people generally evaluate the limited information that they receive with scepticism, and tend to give more credence to rumour and press speculation than to stated Federal policy (as suggested in Kastfelt 1989).

In addressing the question of the role of mass poverty three types are apparent: rural settings; urban poverty; and the dichotomy between rural and urban conditions. Since the latter has been and remains a staple of academic analysis, it seems likely that it is more productive to focus limited time and research resources on either rural or urban settings. From a practical viewpoint, and from personal interest, a rural LGA was selected as the focus of field research. Other rural LGAs were visited in order to gain a broader perspective.

Because of data limitations and due to the existence of a fairly large body of published information concerning pre-1984 administration, this research focuses on the post-1984 time-frame. LGAs are the basic unit of civil administration, although in parts of Nigeria - including Imo State - there is a smaller, variously defined, and *ad hoc* unit, the community. LGAs are also the lowest level unit of the federal state of Nigeria, with specific duties assigned under recent constitutional decrees. Responsibilities assigned in the 1978 Constitution appear as Table A: 1989 constitutional changes are detailed in Appendix "A".

TABLE A: Functions of the Local Government Council

1. The main functions of a local government council are as follows -

- (a) the consideration and the making of recommendations to a State commission on economic planning or any similar body on -
 - (i) the economic development of the State, particularly in so far as the areas of authority of the council and of the state are affected, and
 - (ii) proposals made by the said commission or body;
- (b) collection of rates, radio and television licences;
- (c) establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds and homes for the destitute or infirm;
- (d) licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks) canoes, wheel barrows and carts;
- (e) establishment, maintenance and regulation of markets, motor parks and public conveniences;
- (f) construction and maintenance of roads, streets, drains and other public high-ways, parks, open spaces, or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the House of Assembly of the State;
- (g) naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses;
- (h) provision and maintenance of public conveniences and refuse disposal;
- (i) registration of all births, deaths and marriages;
- (j) assessment of privately owned houses or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of a State; and
- (k) control and regulation of -
 - (i) out-door advertising and hoardings,
 - (ii) movement and keeping of pets of all descriptions,
 - (iii) shops and kiosks,
 - (iv) restaurants and other places for sale of food to the public, and
 - (v) laundries.

2. The functions of a local government council shall include participation of such council in the Government of a State as respects the following matters, namely -

- (a) the provision and maintenance of primary education;
- (b) the development of agriculture and natural resources, other than the exploitation of minerals;
- (c) the provision and maintenance of health services; and
- (d) such other functions as may be conferred on a local government council by the House of Assembly of the State.

Source: Fourth Schedule, Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,
Decree No. 25, September 21, 1978.

Some LGA responsibilities vary widely in implementation from LGA to LGA. The licensing of hawkers, businesses, public transport, and market stalls are common. However, field research has shown that defining the means used to realize these responsibilities is subject to such local variability of revenue resources and administrative effort as to make general conclusions from research at this scale difficult.

The provision of agricultural inputs; the delivery of essential services (such as piped water, health care, electric power); and general administration were alternative topics. These are dependent to varying degrees on factors outside of the financial control of a typical LGA council. The responsibility for providing primary education is fairly uniform under current decrees, but in the past has varied widely, according to local preferences and resources.

The ultimate purpose served by choosing development projects as the research focus is that of conducting current investigation. It is the object of national level debate over funding and it allows for practical study of project and policy implementation.

In the case of research in Nigeria there is evidently a critical need to balance the quality and quantity of information. It is for this reason - and because of the absence of census information - that the research results cannot be interpreted as quantitatively definitive. Within the context of spatial organization, using the example of a common, universally available good, some hypothesis testing is a realistic research objective. The research collates previously unemployed data with entirely new field-generated information to evaluate:

- a) the distribution of resources within a rural LGA in a developing country;
 - b) the constraints (historical and current) on that distribution;
 - c) the role of institutional decisions and of individuals in that pattern of activity;
 - d) the extent to which that distribution achieves national policy objectives of equality,
- which in Nigeria is referred to as 'getting a share of the pie'.

Within this framework there is scope for interpretation and for appraising the process of decision making in a rural, *developing* society. The results are presented in light of the theory which pertains to spatial organization.

Nigeria is a country with an administrative heritage derived directly from colonial

relations with Britain. Within this reference framework the Federal government (hereafter Government) has appropriated strong central powers for ordering the national political structure. This process initially was based on a military coup arising from chronic communal strife under the First (civilian) Republic and strongly enhanced by the definition and development of petroleum reserves (post-1966). Since 1975, the revenue from petroleum taxes and levies annually has provided over 80% of national revenues accruing to Government.

Nigeria is now in the run-up to a transition to civilian rule, having been governed since 1983 by a succession of military councils. The 'Transition Program' is based on the 1989 Constitution, and is a multi-phase political program for the return to civilian rule:

1. Transition to Civil Rule (Political Programme) Decree 1987;
2. Constituent Assembly Decree 1988;
3. Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Promulgation) Decree (1989);
4. New political parties established: Social Democratic Party (SDP); and National Republican Convention (NRC), under monitoring by the National Election Commission (NEC);
5. Local Government Area Elections (December 8, 1990) based on parties;
6. Gubernatorial Primaries in States (July, 1991) based on parties;
7. State Governorship elections (October 12, 1991) with one candidate per party;
8. National Census (November 27-30, 1991 ¹³) - per Decree 23 of 1989;
9. National elections for Federal Senate and House of Representatives which, together, constitute the House of Assembly (July 4, 1992);
10. National election for President (December 5, 1992).

LGA councils incorporate politicians grouped under one or the other of two constitutionally mandated umbrella organizations - either the National Republican Convention or the Social Democratic Party (Nigeria 1989a). To complicate matters, the entire process is taking place under the rigours of a continuing series of Structural Adjustment Programmes (adopted in 1986), and it also coincides with the creation of new states (1988 and 1991) and LGAs.

There is general agreement that successive national governments, both military and

¹³ The census date was amended several times, after the modifications to State and LGA boundaries and due to difficulties in the training exercises. It was planned to last three days but due to shortages of personnel and equipment was extended by one day (*West Africa* No. 3887, 16-22 March 1992: p. 471-2).

civilian, have pursued national goals of regional and individual equity and equality, albeit with varying techniques and levels of success. The purpose of this research to examine how the Local Government structure, established in 1976 and reformed in 1986, has coped with the devolution of responsibilities and authority that has, at least in theory, accompanied Government initiatives to meet the above-noted national goals.

1.3 ANALYTICAL CONTEXT

The scales of this research are at the LGA and state levels, with occasional reference to national scale data. The main constraint on LGA actions is senior government, predominantly the Federal level - so some domestic national-scale comparisons are essential, both to illustrate the overall financial and institutional setting and to address weaknesses in data. The constant change in the boundaries and responsibilities of both the second- (State-level) and third-tier (LGA) governments is illustrated by Tables 1.1 and 1.2.

TABLE 1.1 : STATES of NIGERIA 1960 - 1975

Constituent States	Date	New States	Area km. ²
Northern Region	1960 (Independence Oct. 1)	approx.	723,580
Western Region		approx.	110,926
Eastern Region		approx.	76,363
Lagos		approx.	3,345
Western Region	1962	Western Region	
		Mid-Western Region	
Western Region	1967	Western state	75,426
MidWestern Region	1967	Mid Western state	35,500
Lagos	1967	Lagos state	3,345
Eastern Region	1967	Rivers state	68,091
	1967	East Central state	29,909
	1967	South Eastern state	28,363
Northern Region	1967	Kwara state	66,869
	1967	North Western state	167,572
	1967	Kano state	43,285
	1967	North Central state	70,245
	1967	Benue Plateau state	103,214
	1967	North Eastern state	272,395
NIGERIA		Total area	923,769*

*Total area does not add because Federal Capital Territory (7,315 sq. km.) is not included.
Source: *Administrative Map of Nigeria*, and Okpu: 1977.

TABLE 1.2 : STATES of NIGERIA 1976 - 1991

State changed	Year of change	New State Name(s)	State Capital
Western state	1976	Ogun state	capital = Abeokuta
	1976	Ondo state	capital = Akure
	1976	Oyo state	capital = Ibadan
Mid Western state	1976	Bendel state	capital = Benin City
Lagos state	1976	Lagos state	capital = Ikeja
Rivers state	1976	Rivers state	capital = Port Harcourt
East Central state	1976	Anambra state	capital = Enugu
	1976	Imo state	capital = Owerri
South Eastern state	1976	Cross River	capital = Calabar
Kwara state	1976	Kwara state	capital = Ilorin
North West state	1976	Niger state	capital = Minna
	1976	Sokoto state	capital = Sokoto
North Central state	1976	Kaduna state	capital = Kaduna
Kano state	1976	Kano state	capital = Kano
Benue Plateau state	1976	Benue state	capital = Makurdi
	1976	Plateau state	capital = Jos
North Eastern state	1976	Bauchi state	capital = Bauchi
	1976	Borno state	capital = Maiduguri
	1976	Gongola state	capital = Yola
Rivers state	1988	Rivers state	capital = Port Harcourt
	1988	Akwa Ibom state	capital = Uyo
Kaduna state	1988	Kaduna state	capital = Kaduna
	1988	Katsina state	capital = Katsina
Imo state	1991 (Aug. 27)	Imo state	capital = Owerri
	1991	Abia state	capital = Umuahia
Anambra state	1991	Anambra state	capital = Akwa
	1991	Enugu state	capital = Enugu
Bendel state	1991	Delta state	capital = Asaba
	1991	Edo state	capital = Benin City
Gongola state	1991	Adamawa state	capital = Yola
	1991	Taraba state	capital = Jalingo
Kwara state	1991	Kwara state	capital = Ilorin
	1991	Kogi state	capital = Lokoja
Oyo state	1991	Oyo state	capital = Ibadan
	1991	Oshun state	capital = Oshogbo
Sokoto state	1991	Sokoto state	capital = Sokoto
	1991	Kebbi state	capital = Birnin Kebbi
Kano state	1991	Kano state	capital = Kano
	1991	Jigawa state	capital = Dutse
parts Borno/Bauchi	1991	Yobe state	capital = Damaturu

Source: *African Guardian*, Vol. 6, no. 33, September 9, 1991, p. 22-23.

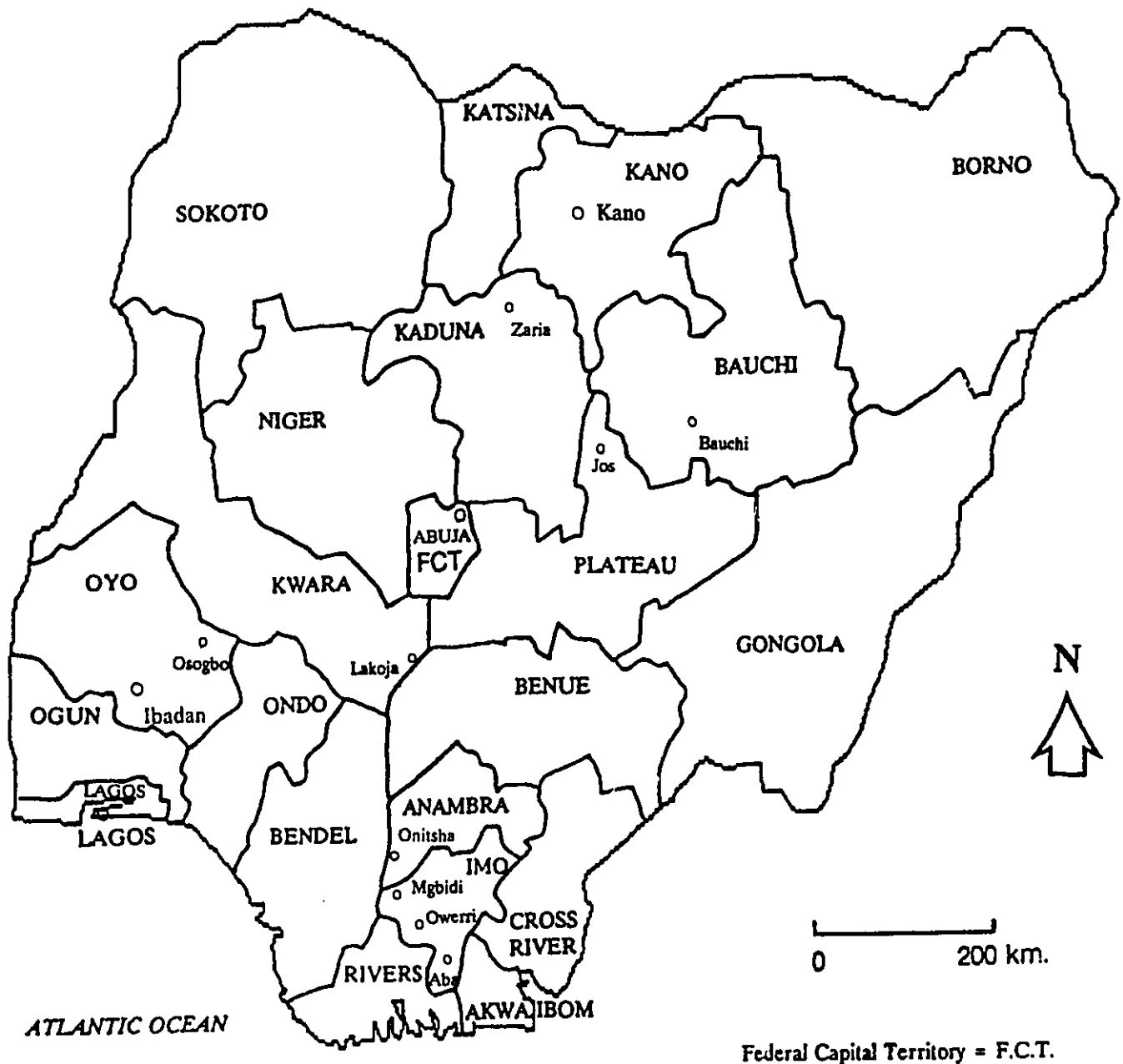
TABLE 1.3 : NUMERICAL PROLIFERATION of LGA's 1976-1988

State	No. of LGA's October 1979	New LGA	Total 1981	Percent increase	No. LGAs Oct. 1988	No LGA Oct. 1989
Akwa Ibom	-	-	-	n.a.	-	20
Anambra	13 *	41	54	134.8	20	29
Bauchi	16	27	43	168.8	16	20
Bendel	19	41	60	215.8	32	20
Benue	13 *	10	23	101.5	24	19
Borno	18	34	52	188.9	22	24
Cross River	17	30	47	176.5	14	8
Gongola	17	40	57	235.3	21	21
Imo	31	29	50	93.5	38	30
Kaduna	14	40	54	285.7	24	13
Kano	20	9	29	45.0	22	46
Katsina	-	-	-	n.a.	-	20
Kwara	12	12	24	100.0	18	14
Lagos	8	15	23	187.5	10	12
Niger	9	9	18	100.0	16	10
Ogun	10	20	30	200.0	22	12
Ondo	17	2	19	11.0	14	22
Oyo	24	30	54	125.0	26	42
Plateau	14	7	21	50.0	18	16
Rivers	10	-	10	0.0	12	14
Sokoto	19	13	32	68.4	20	37
F.C.T. Abuja	-	-	-	0.0	4	4
Total	301	409	710		393	453

Sources: after Graf (1988: Table 9.1) ; and Nigeria (1989b) Decree No. 25.

NOTE: * modified to correct arithmetic inconsistencies in Graf. It is likely that the number of LGAs exceeded 710, but details are scarce.

This preliminary re-distribution (May 1967) was followed within two weeks by the secession of the East Central, South Eastern, and Rivers States, leading to the Civil War. Imo State was the heartland of the Ibo-dominated secession States. The proliferation of LGAs noted in Table 1.3 is discussed in chapter 3. State boundary changes are illustrated in Figure 1 (page 4) and Figure 2 (page 19). Changes summarised by Tables 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 are not limited to subdivision of existing regions/States. Individual LGAs have been switched into adjoining States, notably after the August 27, 1991 decree establishing nine new states. Evolution of the administrative structure of Nigeria is a critical element in

FIGURE 2: NIGERIAN STATES 1989

Source: *Administrative Map of Nigeria*, Nigeria 1988.

attempts by Government both to secure its own primacy and to establish units which match resources and responsibilities under successive Constitutions.

The original explanations of centrality of location were based on economic theory concerning market, transportation, and administration functions. This paper bears on spatial location in a limited manner. Location theory here serves as a reference system, not as a model. This must be the case because key variables in location analysis - population and economic activity - are not available in Nigeria. Nevertheless, there are measures of distribution which are analytically useful.

One is the pattern of development projects within both a single LGA and throughout a State. The relative monetary allocation to specific town and communities, when mapped, suggest analytically important patterns of allocations between LGAs within Imo State. However, as discussed in chapter 5 (methodology), the sources of funds and the means by which they are allocated to development projects are difficult to establish.

The relation of core-to-periphery is useful for this research. The idea of hierarchical spatial organization that reflects differential allocation of resources is not readily verifiable in Nigeria, given the lack of essential statistics, such as population, economic flows, and business activity.

Urban bias in resource allocation in Nigeria has been shown to exist (Omuta 1981; Rimmer 1981; Okowa 1987), similar to the situation in other Third World nations ¹⁴. Another useful theoretical construct is organizational decision making - the importance of institutions in spatial patterns (Manion and Flowerdew 1982: 1). Location decisions are directed by the social structure, as well as by the economic structure of society, as is evident in the case of the provision of a good such as primary education.

Commentators and researchers attribute the growth of Nigerian regionalism to a variety of processes, ranging from the colonial administrative experience (Prescott 1971; Olayiwola 1987) to class struggle ¹⁵. The latter, marxist, interpretation is most strongly espoused by Graf (1981 and 1988). This argument suggests inclusion of international-level

¹⁴ See Olayide and Essang (1975), Riddell (1985), Fadayomi (1988) for example.

¹⁵ See Helleiner (1966), Watts (1989), and Graf (1988).

factors in the range of analytical scales; in fact some external constraints are important to the spatial pattern, although their influence is another area of research (Riddell 1985).

This research does not contend that the allocation of resources in Nigeria is governed by a programme of regional development, although this has been put forward as a plausible definition of late-colonial and early post-independence government policy (Mabogunje 1978 and 1982). Indeed, until 1967 regional policy was in effect, and the specific model for Nigeria could be characterized in terms of "import-substitution industrialization" and "growth poles". After 1976 ¹⁶, Government planning and allocation has had a haphazard commitment to the devolution of responsibility for administration and project implementation to local governments.

The research is in a milieu of spatial, temporal, and institutional change, the full impact of which cannot be measured at the scale of a single administrative unit. This limitation - imposed by data constraint - is addressed by approaching the study through the case of primary education, a 'universal' institutionalized system which is a common good by virtue of being an accepted basic need. Tracking change over time and comparing the actual field-observed conditions with policy objectives offers means to evaluate the urban/rural nature of a dichotomy which may exist in resource allocation and endowment.

¹⁶ The period 1968-1975 cannot be said to have had a coherent development policy; due to the Civil War much Government effort was subordinated to the demands of post-war reconstruction. Together with vacillating policy goals, this nullified overall planning strategy as set out in the second, to some degree, the third National Development Plans.

CHAPTER 2 : THEORY

INTRODUCTION

This research contends that in Nigeria there has been and is a genuine Government agenda for bettering the lives of its people. Caveats concerning the means and impact of policies that are promulgated in order to implement the overt agenda must be addressed. Such an agenda is outlined by the Constitution.

The theory relevant to the research topic may be divided into the following categories:

- A) that which assesses whether or not public policy for development is "real";
- B) theory concerning the existence of a "rural-urban dichotomy" in applied national allocation of resources, with particular reference to education;
- C) arguments about which portion of society (regardless of location) actually benefits from the results of policy as applied.

The principal question addressed under heading A) is whether stated policy intends truly to transfer decision making authority and resources to the levels at which effective use may be made of them. Heading B) embraces attempts to explain empirical evidence of differing spatial distribution of social assets, particularly infrastructure and services for delivering basic needs. C) concerns the beneficiaries of investment in development project spending, especially in primary education. This latter discussion links approaches included under the first two headings.

A particular challenge for sovereign states that exist in the periphery of the global economic system (Wallerstein 1982) is government legitimacy. The quest for Federal government authenticity has been a key factor in the history of Nigeria.

While the Federal government has assumed primacy in some fields of legislation, it has prescribed both specific and residual responsibilities for state and local governments. Responsibilities retained by the national government include matters which it deems crucial in establishing national unity. Unity is linked directly, by both the 1978 and 1989 Constitutions, to equality of rights and opportunities for individual citizens. A key service

in realizing this latter condition is education ¹⁷ .

While Nigeria is not a European state, and is certainly not an industrialized nation, it shares with most African countries a recent colonial past. For Nigeria the tradition of formal British colonial administration extended from 1914 to 1960. Independence was formulated according to British norms ¹⁸ .

Both the 1978 and 1989 Constitutions proclaim goals of justice and equality for all Nigerians, adding the further objective of national unity. In a nation where regionalism and ethnic rivalry are serious challenges, these normative goals are unexceptional. Whether such intentions are realized or are attainable is open to question. It is certain that equality among local governments has been policy for over twenty years. For example, it was explicitly identified at the Third [Nigerian] National Conference on Local Government in 1970 (Adedeji and Rowland, 1972: 46). One reason for choosing the local scale of analysis is that existing published analyses of spatial differentiation of resource allocation in Nigeria has tended to focus on the national and regional levels of analysis (Bello-Imam 1990a and 1990b; Egunjobi 1990; Ndekwi 1988; Mabogunje 1978; Helleiner 1966, among others). There have been local case studies of administrative activity, largely under the auspices of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER) in Ibadan (Okpala 1981; Onokerhoraye 1982); these have illustrated national policy problems.

The idea of a hierarchical spatial organization that reflects differential allocation of

¹⁷ The 1969 National Curriculum Conference, held in Lagos in September, addressed nine discussion topics of which the first two were "a national philosophy of education" and "the goals of primary education". Under the first, the concept of equality of opportunity was explicitly recognized. Thus both national goals in general and those of education have been couched in terms of equality. See chapter 4 (education).

¹⁸ This legacy is embodied in the forms of administration, especially at the local government level. Although the shorthand description for the legislature could be described as the Westminster form of government, characterized by parliamentary democracy, the 1989 Constitution is explicitly modeled on the example of the United States Congress insofar as the actual selection of representatives is concerned. In order to ensure a complete range of style, there are three parallel legal systems - Qu'oranic Law; Traditional Courts; and the British Common Law Courts, including a Supreme Court.

resources is reflected in public policy theory ¹⁹. There is some specific recognition of a rural-urban dichotomy in level of resources allocated, but in Nigerian indigenous policy literature, typified by Fadayomi and Bello-Imam's work ²⁰, this is subordinated to research objectives which overlook the rural-urban endowment differences. Similar publications are directed to amelioration of specific policy problems, so there is a tendency to pitch data selected for publication at the level of inter-State comparison. When local-scale studies have been published, there has been less attention to rural-urban differences. So the possibility that there is evidence of hierarchical locational decisions, whatever the dominant factor in those decisions, has not been addressed.

2.1 THE REALITY OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Location decisions are directed by social and economic factors which structure society. Federal Nigerian government administrative policy and practice have changed over time. The underlying doctrine has been perpetuated by administrative experience embodied in the institutions of government. In Nigeria, western academic theories of national planning and development models appear to be the basis for Federal policy initiatives. Although Nigeria incorporates many ethnic and linguistic groups, it was a British colony for 46 years (1914-1960), and was under colonial influence from the late nineteenth century. So it is a country with an administrative heritage derived directly from colonial relations with Britain, especially at the local level.

Government has appropriated strong central powers for ordering the national political structure, and, through the Federation Account and petroleum industry levies, has

¹⁹ Settlement location theory is more complex, and reference must be made authors such as Hudson (1969), Fadayomi (1988), Funnell (1988), and Egunjobi (1990).

²⁰ Bello-Imam 1990a and 1990b, as well as the other chapters in Local Government Finance in Nigeria cite LGAs and States selected because they alone responded to a national-scale questionnaire. The analysis that results has few references to rural-urban differences. Fadayomi (1988), analyzing an ADP in Bauchi State, does not mention specific rural-urban differences despite the fact that the very detailed research questionnaire elicited responses and research conclusions concerning migration which unmistakably represent a perception that Integrated Rural Development (a term used by Fadayomi) does have significant migration-reducing impacts, varying by household size.

also established a practical monopoly on forming that structure. Location decisions are directed by the social and economic structure of society, but "public choice" models of decision-making appear to underestimate this.

As Bello-Imam (1990a) and others (Helleiner 1966, Olowu 1990, and Mbanefoh 1990) have noted, the role of local government has changed over time, so that the present system derives from residual historical effects as much as from government doctrine about the functions of competing levels of government. Historical appropriation of powers by the States and Federal governments is manifest in the many changes of funding distribution suggested and adopted since Independence.

Public choice theory is one expression of the means for assessing whether or not devolution policy is real. Comparison of a recent model of public choice theory with the context of this research case illustrates the attributes and weaknesses of this theory:

TABLE 2.1	MODEL OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT DECENTRALIZATION Administrative Policy and Tools	
Approach	Assumptions	characteristics
PUBLIC CHOICE	a. That benefit cost analysis is applicable; b. That criteria for assigning benefits and costs are available and useful; c. That such analysis is suited to the milieu to which it is applied.	- generated by "series of technical interventions" (1); - services and users have characteristics which can be "assessed" (2); - there are <i>modifiable</i> institutional rules and patterns of service use (3) [<i>emphasis added</i>]; - the menu of decentralization forms available to analysts is therefore suitable for "suggesting" policy - and for implementing policy.
Source: Rondinelli et al. (1989). Page sources:(1) 61; (2) 64-7; (3) 68.		

This example of institutional decentralization opportunities claims to be derived from Third World experience. A significant drawback of this approach is that it ignores the widespread social effects of rapid change. Change from traditional social structures to a society

administered as an industrial-style bureaucracy has been rapid in colonial and post-colonial nations, and the velocity of these disruptions is clear both on the ground and in the search for theory adequate to explain processes that are empirically self-evident ²¹ .

Slater (1989 and 1990) questions whether the analytical construct in Table 2.1 is adequate (are the 'characteristics' sufficient and necessary for describing and measuring non-First World government decentralization?), and if not, what other conditions must be addressed? In the case of the approach tabulated above the three assumptions are individually and collectively questionable. The most pernicious of the characteristics listed is the third, that patterns of local government service use, and of institutional rules, are modifiable. Coupled with an assumption that "technical interventions" are realistic, this version of potential policy options is naive.

The degree of naivety is redoubled by the extreme complexity of the cultural landscape of Nigeria, where the entire thrust of state creation and the successive multiplication of LGAs has been to answer ethnic group demands for effective participation in their own governance.

While Slater demonstrates the weaknesses of the model outlined in Table 3.1, the larger question of whether the mode of analysis embodied in model building and hypothesis testing is appropriate at all is not considered. Perhaps the debate between Rondinelli and Slater, and indeed the concept of Regional Development as set out for rebuttal in Gore's seminal work (1984), is of limited use.

Galbraith has noted with regard to the use of products and technology (1979: 41-2), that the justification for policy modelling is that they can be proven in the forum of Northern institutional decision making, regardless of the value of such models to the countries to which their hypotheses are directed. Furthermore, following Gore's analysis of the limits of spatial redistribution through spatial policy (1984: 211 ff), it is necessary to

²¹ Harber (1984). In the economic sphere colonial administration was clearly devoted to encouraging export crop production - cocoa, palm-oil, cotton, groundnuts - in order to make Nigeria a paying proposition. This objective permeated policy, so that standardization of education and teacher salary subsidies were justified in terms of overall (African) colonial objectives of improving worker skills and local productivity (Fafunwa 1974).

consider what further limitation policy suggestions may have when couched in terms only of spatial criteria. Public choice theory assumes that the historical context, existing legislative and executive power distribution, and resources of finance, people, and materials are both sufficient and of the type necessary for selecting from the "logical" menu set out in the model. A more flexible theoretical approach is offered by Samoff (1990) who chastises Rondinelli and Slater, and adds an additional useful perspective:

"Meanings differ. Decentralization has been variously defined as deconcentration (spatial relocation of decision making), delegation (assignment of a specific decision making authority), and devolution (transfer of responsibility for governing understood more broadly). Each specification, of course, reflects a sense of what is to be achieved. Equally important, since words have symbolic as well as denotative importance in the political arena, each specification reflects a vision of what is possible and of how the rulers and the ruled should be related."

Source: Samoff (1990: 515)

Notwithstanding the merit of Samoffs' less ideological approach, he rather confuses the issue by introducing the idea that "Appropriate courses of action are necessarily global in scope and partial in scale." (1990: 521), implying that pre-occupation with global systems and inequalities is a productive interpretive effort. This is buttressed by his affirmation that "...there is no absolute value in either central direction or local autonomy. Both are important and more or less important at different moments. Both must co-exist." (1990: 521). That this is true is useful as an *aide memoire* rather than as a definition.

The place of primary education in this socio-political environment is that it is a means for achieving several national policy goals, and is therefore universal in scope and so managed as to generate equitable allocation of human and financial resources devoted to it - in theory.

This is pointedly true where the cultural setting of the area of field research is not First World and where few of the conditions of social and economic relations have any connection to those which obtain in OECD states. Assumptions incorporated into this model for analysis of public choice as an instrument of Third World government decentralization have been criticised. Slater objects (1989) and re-iterates this objection (1990) that the Rondinelli et al. approach disregards politics.

Rondinelli takes this as an advantage, stating that he has "...chosen to focus ... primarily on [decentralizations]... technical, spatial and administrative aspects...." . These are summarised in Table 2.2 and at least serve the purpose of discussion points concerning technical and administrative aspects which may be useful in analysis of decentralization.

TABLE 2.2	PUBLIC CHOICE MODEL of DECENTRALIZATION * Service Characteristics and Financing Possibilities	
TYPOLOGY of CRITERIA for: - characterizing and assessing public services; AND ARRANGEMENTS: - among which to select those suited to achieving "Public Choice":	SERVICES	FINANCING by:
	1. Excludability	1. adoption of user charges
	2. Jointness of consumption	2. betterment levies
	3. Willingness to pay	3. co-financing
	4. Relation of payment to demand and consumption	4. expansion of general revenue sources
	5. Availability of financial resources to pay	5. establishing dedicated accounts for revenue
	6. Public service capacity to provide services	6. loan guarantees and credit from government
	7. Possibility of quality and quantity measurement	7. bootstrap services funded by local social events
	8. Degree of "consumer" choice in use of service [emphasis added]	8. gov't. services from exchange of labour/services
	9. Technology for service production <u>and</u> use	9. small scale community ventures
	10. Political or "Market" process for allocation decisions [emphasis added]	
* Source: after Rondinelli et al. (1989): pages 63 and 69.		

Whatever value the analytical framework suggested by Table 2.2 offers, it is not reasonable to disaggregate the "...technical, spatial and administrative aspects....", since this approach assumes away the individual human actors who constitute the [normative] focus

participant and beneficiary in social structures²².

It has been pointed out that resistance to urban/bureaucratic institutions may be an important clue to accurate evaluation of rural-urban interaction (Scott 1985). It is unproductive to hypothesize the existence of a uniform rural social structure standing block-like in opposition to a dynamic urban society - a conception comparing a static rural political model with urban dynamism. Political developments in Nigeria spring from rural concerns as much as from urban demands.

An example of a prescriptive typology is set out in Table 2.2. This is a menu of potential choices and serves as a template for evaluating the means by which resources could be allocated. On close examination, many of the criteria are of limited relevance in Nigeria. For example, under a doctrine of equity citizens cannot be excluded from access to services. Similarly, the options for paying for service suggest that a public choice can define the methods chosen, as if a wide range of administrative tools can be rallied to the cause. The stark fact is that people are the most common and often sole tool of bureaucracy. Neither ranks of typewriters nor ubiquitous computers or calculators appear in any typical office in Nigeria, regardless of the level (Local, State, or Federal). Lacking complex record keeping, how can service-delivery be evaluated? What degree of consumer choice is possible when the suite of resources that can be deployed is neither fixed nor increasing, but gyrating according to unpredictable (oil-price dependent), uncontrollable Government income? Similarly, the first five of the financing options are simply not realistic in any non-industrial or Third World country. The limitations of such a model stem from its origin in concepts of First World regional development. In Southern²³ countries provision of infrastructure - capital projects and basic needs services - is the concern, not the *redevelopment* of *existing* economic, physical, and institutional structures.

In the search for a model for determining whether devolution of administrative

²² Aslo, it ignores colonial and present reality of global economics, exemplified by both Structural Adjustment Programme effects (Riddell 1992) and the still-growing debt burden of African (and other Southern) nations.

²³ Non-industrial Third World countries.

functions and resources is adequate to the actual implementation of such a policy, public choice theory is a dead end. It is sufficient to acknowledge that mixed motives inform human actions, and then to search for the indications of what purposes are served, and whose interests, by the case under discussion. Academic research must be conducted and presented in a format allowing for discussion within a framework that encourages evaluation and consideration. However, menu-like models such as illustrated by Tables 2.1 and 2.2 strain the interpretation of empirical data. They also imply and perpetuate the false notion that any society can manage change simply by choosing wisely a "correct" mix of "solutions" from an array of potential institutional arrangements ²⁴ .

2.2 RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY

In addressing the question of the role of mass poverty, three possible geographical approaches may be suggested: rural settings; urban poverty; and the dichotomy between rural and urban conditions. Since the latter has been and remains a staple of academic analysis, it seems likely that it is more productive to focus limited time and research resources on either rural or urban settings. From a practical viewpoint, and from personal interest, a rural LGA was selected as the focus of field research. There is the belief that an urban bias in resource allocation exists, common to Nigeria (Helleiner 1966; Green 1977; Omuta 1981; Mabogunje 1978; Rimmer 1981; Okowa 1987, among others) and to southern nations (Riddell 1985).

It is difficult to talk of regional development in Nigeria ²⁵ . The present situation is one of administrative devolution, whereas just after independence the emphasis was on consolidating Federal power. The legitimacy of government was challenged by the Civil

²⁴ Riddell (1992) makes the point that equating the setting of the First World with the Third World is naïve and ignores much analysis.

²⁵ Political manoeuvring is usually defined in terms of regional interest, which implies, by extension of the fact that ethnic groups also have regional homelands, that Nigerian states are 'cultural' regions. This interpretation suggests that 'regional' development policy (through state creation) is also designed for promoting national unity. In fact it appears that equity is assumed to be best served by national - not regional - scale 'universal' policy under the aegis of the Federal government. See Suberu (1991) for discussion of reasons for recent state creation. Press reports often discuss the role of States - see Fagbemi in *African Concord*.

War, itself the expression of ethnic fears and a result of widespread communal violence. This raises the question of what purpose is served by these administrative changes, and how allocation of resources has changed under their effects. Revisions in revenue allocation define the concept of "development" in Nigeria, and are discussed in chapter two.

Primary education resource allocation offers some of the analytical characteristics that location theory employs, although not always at both LGA and State levels. These characteristics include dense distribution of facilities, nationally established standards, and common funding (allocation) arrangements. Although the distribution of funds has changed over time, the doctrinal commitment to equality has not. The colonial heritage of bureaucracy shapes government in Nigeria, and there education and local government are both bureaucratic institutions ²⁶. This is a source of conflict in the implementation of policies at the national level which cut into traditional and community values. Universal Primary Education (UPE), as established in 1976, impinges on both these sets of values ²⁷.

The result is a mix of public policy that seeks to allay communal fears, allocate scarce financial resources 'equitably', and achieve national policy goals in a time-span that would prove challenging for a society much more richly provided with the means for development. It may be that those goals are neither realistic nor suited to Nigeria's capability within the global economy.

A concept which is particularly apt for describing whether there exists a rural-urban dichotomy is "*endowment*" ²⁸. In terms of development, aspects of endowment which may be observable include the physical condition of schools in different communities; the presence or absence of specialized teachers (for such subjects as maths and agric.); and the duration of teacher under-staffing in spatially discrete communities. In the more general

²⁶ see Harber (1984: 145) for part of discussion of the nature of schools as the source of training for bureaucratic socialization. This argument applies equally to primary as well as to post-primary levels of *any* northern-pattern educational system. See also Gale (1982); Hallak (1990) assumes that this is so.

²⁷ The strongest conflict is with (predominantly northern) Islamic traditions and institutions - for a detailed case study see Bray 1981.

²⁸ I am indebted to Rolf Wesche for the term, which is much used in education research.

case of development projects ²⁹, relative levels of LGA endowment may be suggested by the type of projects. This inferential analysis assumes that projects undertaken with predominantly community-generated funds are a response to a hierarchy of desired infrastructure. Consequently this research is based on both direct and alternative (surrogate) measurements that permit analysis of resource allocation according to concepts modified from, but based on, traditional location theory.

2.3 DISTRIBUTION OF DEVELOPMENT BENEFITS

If Integrated Rural Development (IRD) ³⁰, emblemized by simultaneous implementation of diverse projects serving all the basic needs of rural communities, is a key to development spending in Nigeria, does the concept work? How does Universal Primary Education fit into the devolution of power to LGAs?

The key distinction upon which devolution of power is founded is that of 'development from below'; whereas IRD (even if not so-titled) suggests a 'top-down' ³¹ approach to national policy planning and implementation. In chapter 3 the subject of the general process by which Nigerian local government came into being under colonial influence is discussed. The significant aspect of that history is that the need to match the size of local administration with its resources and responsibilities has been understood comprehensively since well before the Second World War. Policy discussions of many types reached this same conclusion, and regionally- and provincially-specific experiments were conducted to implement responsible local government, with varying results (Gboyega 1987 and Olowu 1990).

Hinderink and Titus (1988: 401-2)) define and discuss three paradigms of regional development:

²⁹ Development projects are defined by the typology in the glossary, p. 1. They are discussed in detail in chapter 5.

³⁰ See Binns and Funnell (1983). Fadayomi (1988) characterizes ADPs (Agricultural Development Projects) in Nigeria as IRD.

³¹ As suggested in Stoehr: 1981, and in Stoehr and Taylor (*op. cit.*). The problem of the transition from "top-down" to "bottom-up" development processes (1981: 61) is really one of transferring power to local communities - effectively.

- A) **Functional** - as a function of national (economic) development goals;
- B) **Dependent** - accomplished by changing conditions of dependency; and
- C) **Territorial** - where regions are unique entities seeking individual goals.

The functional conceptualization assumes growth centres - and rural service centres - act as traditional central places, and that [capital] investment to establish production in such places will spread to lower-order centres. Such a process will establish an optimal urban hierarchy. The numerical growth of both States and Local Government Areas in Nigeria, each having a capital city or headquarters town, implies that such a "top-down" strategy underlies project planning in Nigeria. This impression is re-enforced by the multiplication of Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) and River Basin Development Authorities (RBDAs)³². Anecdotal, empirical and published information leads to the conclusion that the ADPs and RBDAs are virtually dead letters, except where external funding is still being applied - usually in the guise of irrigation projects in the North.

On the other hand it is undeniable that the mushrooming of capital cities (States) and headquarters towns (LGAs) has focused capital spending in those places. Whether any trickle-down effects have resulted is difficult to assess, particularly since the size and number of both levels of subordinate government have been altered so drastically since 1976.

Dependency-reducing investment recognizes that spending on growth centres tends to strengthen ties external to both a region and the nation. Under this doctrine, investment should be directed into small, especially rural, service centres. The theory is that the provision of services and amenities will both encourage rural residence (discourage rural-urban migration) and integrate rural areas into the national economy (Hinderink and Titus 1988: 406-7).

The territorial model suggests that regional goals be funded, even if opposed to national objectives. Generating integrated service/industry centres in "agropolitan districts" is the task of such policy, and it may be that this is the key concept under-pinning the changes in distribution of States and LGAs in Nigeria. This theory assumes that resources will be somehow available for realizing planning goals, and that specific projects will be the

³² See Wallace (1981), Adams (1985), Fadayomi (1988) and David (1991).

implementation vehicle.

Over time a rural-urban dichotomy is appearing that, while not a duplicate of that suggested by South American and Asian examples, is quite real. Hinderink and Titus state that:

"...in sub-Saharan Africa...the most important impulses for the development and transformation of the rural periphery come directly from the higher order centres or are determined by central governments and world market mechanisms....The result is that local or regional service centres are often completely by-passed."

(Hinderink and Titus 1988: 412)

The authors specify that the effect is particularly clear where "centrally guided government programmes" implement (among others) infrastructural development:

"Simultaneously, the local government, educational and health services may also improve and expand - although within the limits set by the dominant higher order centres and the metropolitan region....in both the rural areas and rural service centres there remains sufficient surplus increase to set in motion and perpetuate a process of rural transformation."

(*op. cit.* 413-4).

These conclusions assume that the centrally guided plans are consistently funded, meet clear goals and are, in short, both efficient and effective. Observations from Nigeria suggest that the wide variety of initiatives, the multiplicity and overlapping responsibilities of lead agencies, and the constraints of fluctuating transfer funding regularly militate against the type of small service centre development - in effect, integrated rural development - that Hinderink and Titus aver can succeed. The value of their analysis is hampered by the lack of specific references and by nebulous suggestions of the need to take into account "...the dominance of capitalist production relations at the regional level." (*op. cit.* 415). The significant conclusion of their paper is that "...generalizations about the role of small centres, based on whatever theoretical point of view, are hard to make." (*op. cit.* 419).

Regardless of the theory or doctrine informing federal government development-resource allocation in Nigeria reality, in terms of both constraints on revenue and the complex interaction of community values and project plans, limits the value of model-building theories. Nigerian experience has been that neither locally tailored nor broadly

outlined central planning worked - precisely because the match of resources to responsibilities was not successful. In this light analysis of the failings of modernization theory in geography by Riddell (1981) are particularly germane. Of special note are the problems of 'inverted methodology' and research focus on institutions inappropriate for explanation of observations.

Part of the answer is that the economic policies of Government have been neither adequate nor co-ordinated with other, social, policies ³³. This is a natural consequence of the turbulence of events attending independence - particularly the competition which led to the Civil War, but including the frequent changes of regime (both by coup and by election).

Another part of the explanation is Nigeria's position in the world economy, as a peripheral state with few resources that enhance national self-determination.

The synergy of these two main trains of causation constitutes the residual explanation for the manner in which decisions have been and are made concerning resource allocation in Nigeria.

2.4 LIMITATIONS OF THEORY

The accurate criticism of research where the means of analysis becomes the objective of the exercise remains, unfortunately. This can be seen in the public choice models introduced as comparison templates (or hypothesis testing). The underlying assumption of both Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 is that policy planning and implementation can be conducted by a process of problem solving. This viewpoint is unrealistic to a degree which suggests ethnocentric fixation. It is unlikely that societies with multiple-ethnic composition can impose uniform standards of project implementation, any more than that such societies can use Northern statistic-gathering techniques. My own personal experience of Canadian election enumeration, as well as doubts about national census coverage effectiveness where ethnic and class minorities are concerned, leads to scepticism about statistical analysis.

The problem of focusing on too limited, or altogether inappropriate, institutions is

³³ where "adequate" means that an action is consistent over time, and meets the tests of being both necessary and sufficient for its realization. For an interesting global viewpoint which is remarkably frank, see Donaldson (1991).

a function of both perception of the researcher and the fact previously noted - that each action sets off a chain of re-actions. As noted, all data are historical artifacts, with the caveat that a full appreciation of interrelationships should allow a productive interpretation.

One body of academic argument centres on the discourse of development, examples in this instance being provided by Hinderink and Titus (1988); Rondinelli et al. (1989); Slater (1989 and 1990); Rondinelli (1990) and Samoff (1990). Gore (1984) is the source of basic concepts defining planning concepts, but in terms of Nigeria it is necessary to read him in conjunction with authors such as Galbraith (1979) who consider the reality of societies in which mass poverty is the rule. On the other hand there are papers and publications addressing specific aspects of Nigerian public administration, both in terms of national self-realization and from the viewpoint of the effects of specific policies. Case studies comprise the bulk of the latter type of information sources ³⁴.

By its nature, published information is several years old - typical recent government statistics available as part of case studies are at the State level from 1982 and 1983. Because of this, survey questionnaires must supplement periodical literature to provide current data, and to indicate trends subsequent to dated published studies (that are usually more than eight years old). Relevant literature concludes that Nigerian finance and administrative policies have been derived from colonial models, modified by custom and current needs (Bello-Imam 1990a and 1990b; Gboyega 1987 and 1990; and Dlakwa 1990, among others). Thus, local scale research must consider social and political explanations, with economic and historical contexts, in examining resource allocation.

Another important factor in this research is the existence, or otherwise, of a rural-urban dichotomy. If one is devoted to statistical analysis a differential "endowment" could be analyzed in terms of quantity of facilities and services, or in health and longevity of the population. However this approach provides indicators only - it says nothing of the level of satisfaction with cultural values - of the quality of life. Evaluating the latter is most often a feature of social anthropology which, regrettably, is beyond the reach of this research.

³⁴ The most pertinent are those of Fadayomi (1988), Olowu (1990) and Bello-Imam (1990a and 1990b), with Ndekwa (1988) using national data and Obinna (1988) citing the case of Anambra State.

Nevertheless the methodology chosen here is an attempt to integrate aspects of quality of life with available statistical data - recognizing that the latter are surrogate measures of specific interpretive value.

2.5 EDUCATION

Human Resource Development (HRD) has been defined as relating "...to the education, training and utilisation of human potentials for social and economic progress." (Hallak 1990: p. 1). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) includes education as one of the five 'energisers' of HRD, the others being health and nutrition, the environment, employment, and political and economic freedom (*idem*).

Of the five energisers education is the keystone, since positive changes in the quality and quantity of services directed at the amelioration of the other four depend on widespread literacy and numeracy. Within the process of education-based HRD entrenching literacy among women is viewed as a crucial objective. There is now abundant evidence that womens' effectiveness in family health and hygiene, nutrition, support for education of children, and population control is crucial and is strengthened within diverse cultural settings by access to education (Hallak 1990: p. 49).

Given that education is a pre-requisite of opportunity to achieve social, economic and political potentials - in short, is a basic need - is it also a public good ? In Nigeria, as in other countries where Universal Primary Education is augmented by widespread access to secondary and post-secondary schooling, education is so-defined. While government support for UPE is essential, the ideologues who have enforced SAPs in non-industrial states are also exerting pressure to establish both the right and need for privately funded education. There is a long tradition of private funding and operation of secondary and post-secondary learning; however, the suggestion is being heard more often in Nigeria that primary education also should be open to private investment ³⁵.

³⁵ Education in non-indigenous style was at one time the exclusive preserve of private agencies, usually run by religious organizations. Recently, private primary schools, and especially pre-primary schools, have been opened. In Lagos there are two *Corona* private primary schools. One was visited during field research. Teachers, pupils, and the headmistress were interviewed.

A striking example of the location effects of private funding is provided by the provision of pre-primary schools.

The *Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State* lists 59 government approved pre-primary schools. Of the total, the Federal Government controls 3; sole proprietors established 32; religious organizations control 19; and several are run by organizations identified by only by generic names: one each by FUTO and AICE; and three by "group ownership". The funding of the latter five is uncertain. It is noteworthy that the commercial and financial capital of Imo State, Aba, has 11 of its 13 pre-primary schools under sole proprietorship. All but one of the 16 schools in Owerri LGA are in the provincial capital city itself, with seven of those fifteen run by religious organizations.

In 1989 these largely private Imo State pre-primary schools had 576 teachers, only 72 of whom were male. There were about 8,600 pupils, with enrolment ranging from 9 to 761, giving a pupil-teacher ratio of about 15:1. Apparently female pupils outnumbered male, but over 2,500 children were not categorized, so it is impossible to be certain. Of those categorized girls outnumbered boys in a ratio of about 5:4. Furthermore 5,400 of the pupils were in the cities of Aba and Owerri and of the balance of 3,200, over 42% were in other large towns. Okigwe counted 351; 551 were in Umuahia; and 445 in the urbanized communities of Aba LGA. This is a clear example of urban concentration of a sector of the education system, and it is tied to private ownership.

Such a distribution may be instructive as an example of the likely effect of turning over to private ownership any specific sector of education for which there is wide demand. It is also clear evidence of location-decisions effects resulting from the combination of an educated population with access to predominantly cash income - in other words , an urban and specifically large-city effect.

In addition to the stratifying effects evident in the operation of private primary and pre-primary schools, there may be problems of cultural alienation. Bray *et al.* (1986: p. 29), and Hallak (1990) note that Africans educated in non-indigenous systems have experienced feelings of "not-belonging". Whether this is still as intense a challenge as in the past is open to question, at least in Nigeria where UPE has been established widely, even in the Islamic areas of the country. In this case there should be further amelioration of such effects

because of direct efforts to ease language transitions (from Vernacular to English) and by the implementation of a curriculum which attempts to integrate local traditions into the standardized UPE system.

Another decision, which has funding implications, is the extent to which other sectors of the education system should be supported, as well as by whom. In Nigeria the secondary and post-secondary sectors are well-established in terms of numbers of buildings. The quality of structures and the equipment provided is poor, and the through-put of students is so large that instruction is very uneven. Worse, the value of "paper-qualifications" is widely derided because of extensive fraud in course-work and examinations.

The niche-segments of the full spectrum of education are adult literacy and services to isolated communities, such as nomads and coastal dwellers. The Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) is the national-level agency with the adult education mandate, and it operates through individual state sub-units. It is also widely criticised, and its returns on investment, in terms of graduated adult literates, are derisory. The programmes run by the Federal Ministry of Education for nomads and riverine/coastal people are small, poorly organized, and not surprisingly the target of demands for significant service improvements.

From this list of agencies it is clear that policy in Nigeria is directed toward providing some response to all levels of education demand. This accords with the objectives of the National Policy on Education and of the Constitution, which jointly aim to provide equality of opportunity for all citizens. The question unanswered by this range of programmes is whether or not it is achieving that over-arching goal.

CHAPTER 3: LOCAL GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a country with an administrative heritage derived directly from colonial relations with Britain. Within Nigeria the Government has appropriated strong central powers. What, then, is the tradition and form of local government? The nominal doctrine of successive Federal governments has been regional and individual equity and equality - the Local Government structure established by the 1976 reforms began the devolution of responsibilities and authority that has accompanied initiatives to entrench that doctrine.

This chapter sketches the complex history of local government concentrating on the former Eastern Region. Western Region local government was similar to that in the East, but differences in the role of traditional rulers, and consequently of lines of authority, set it slightly apart from its neighbour. In the Islamic North a whole different socio-political tradition, together with remote experience of British colonialism, requires a completely different account, well beyond the scope of this research.

Development, in the sense of modernization, has had to adapt to multi-ethnic and traditional structures - linguistic, religious, and tribal elements that are in constant competition for what is seen as a fair share of national resources.

The result is public policy that seeks to allay communal fears, allocate scarce financial resources equitably, and achieve national policy goals in an adequate time-span. However, it may be that those goals are neither realistic nor suited to Nigeria's capability within the world political economy. Nigerian investigations indicate that finance and administrative policies have been derived from colonial models, modified by custom and current needs (Campbell 1965; Haruna 1972; Rimmer 1981; Gboyega 1987; Omorogiuwa 1988a; Bello-Imam 1990a and 1990b; and Dlakwa 1990, among others).

For example, Mabogunje points out that:

"People do feel strongly about their location in space either in relation to other nations or to other groups within the same nation."

(Mabogunje 1978: 5)

For Nigeria this trait of strong feeling about location has meant persistent communal strife, a natural heritage of a nation which numbers scores of ethnic groups and hundreds

of vernacular dialects among its social parameters. Ethnic issues have territorial ramifications, as an extensive literature on the question of State-formation attests (Onwubu 1975; Smock and Smock 1972; Udo 1981; as well as Ikporukpo 1986 and Fagbemi 1987) ³⁶.

From the range of LGA responsibilities set out in Table A and Appendix A, it is evident that there is scope for many administrative activities. Some LGA responsibilities are so specific as to vary widely from LGA to LGA, depending on custom. Interviews in Oshogbo and Ifelodun LGAs in Oyo State, in Eti-Osa LGA in Lagos State, and in Mbaitoli and Oru LGAs in Imo State revealed a range of emphases. The licensing of hawkers, businesses, public transport, and market stalls share some general, urban, characteristics. As well, my field research has shown local variations to be so common as to make general conclusions at this level both difficult and limited.

The provision of agricultural inputs, the delivery of essential services (such as piped water, health care, electric power), and general administration are issues dependent on factors beyond the financial control of LGA councils. Internally generated revenues are important in accomplishing local objectives; however, Federal and State-level funding and policy decisions have an impact on this latter group of LGA duties.

3.1 LOCAL GOVERNMENT to 1976

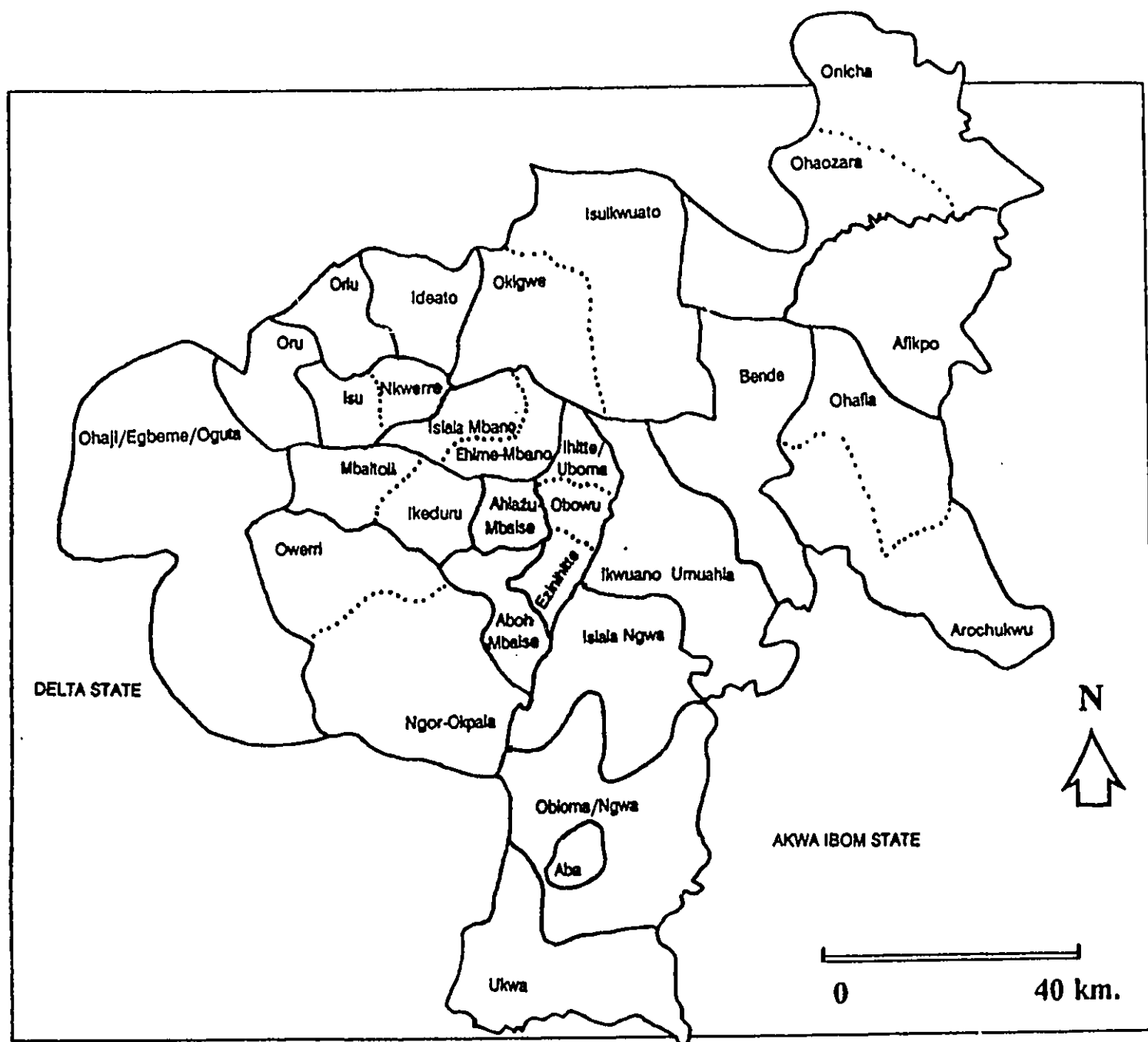
Local government was first established in eastern Nigeria in 1950, and in western Nigeria in 1952. These were the fruits of reforms to the imperially established Native Authorities ³⁷. The LGAs of Imo State in 1989 are shown in Figure 3.

Although much has been written about the conflicts and fear-inducing tactics of the Native Authorities, these failings must be passed over because they are directly relevant only

³⁶ There is overlap in the literature of minorities, state-formation, and regional imbalance. Diejomaoh (1975) and with Anunsionwu (1981); Olayide and Essang (1975); Mabogunje (1980); Nwosu (1980); and Graf (1988) are suggestive of the range of Nigerian discourse. Corbridge (1987) provides an example of 'ethnoregionalism' from India, part of the literature identifying ethnic competition in other countries.

³⁷ The reforms were suggested in a 1947 policy White Paper: "Statement of Policy on the Apportionment of Duties between the Government of Nigeria and the Native Authorities" (Gboyega 1987: p. 24 and p. 28).

FIGURE 3: IMO STATE LGAs 1989



Solid lines indicate 21 LGAs established January 6, 1977:
Dotted lines indicate districts within LGAs (see text).

SOURCE: after Figure 2, *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State* p. x., and *Imo State Provisional Map - 1990*.

in that they contributed to local government reform.

Ghoyega (1987: 28) itemizes duties of LGAs under the headings of:

- A) Agriculture;
- B) Education;
- C) Forestry;
- D) Medical and Health;
- E) Public Works;
- F) Veterinary;
- G) Miscellaneous.

Education was defined as "The establishment of primary schools where facilities do not exist, the maintenance and repair of Government primary schools." (*idem*). By 1950 many communities in eastern Nigeria had primary schools. These had been established by mission societies for the most part. Nigerian education policy between 1925 and 1945 was influenced heavily by the 1925 *Memorandum on Education in the British Colonial Territories*, amplified by a code issued by the colonial Department of Education. These initiative replaced a *laissez-faire* policy which had allowed the mission societies to operate without supervision³⁸. The term "voluntary agency" came into use to describe the relation of the mission societies with government and, like other aspects of colonial practice, continues in current use.

These voluntary agency schools were a source of problems, including funding and alienation due to cultural conflict. Attendance at the mission-founded schools was not widely accepted, since it was evident that a drive for converts was the motivation for their establishment. On occasion local opposition was expressed vigorously, exemplified by a "revivalist" movement in Yoruba areas in 1931³⁹.

The provision for "Public Works" is notable, as it was limited to retaining "...staff

³⁸ The *Memorandum...* was the regulation that emerged from the Phelps-Stokes Report on Education in Africa. The code was a standard set by the Education department for Southern Nigeria, and was not used in the Islamic North. It did not set specific standards, but an inspection and efficiency classification system was established under its terms (Fafunwa 1974: 119-27).

³⁹ Fafunwa (1974: 131). From the viewpoint of colonial administrators it was the government commitment to assist schools with teacher salary funding that caused the most trouble, due to inadequate revenue.

below the professional and higher technical grades;..." (Gboyega 1987: 28). This limitation fitted with the intent of primary education, which was to provide a terminal level of literacy adequate for sustaining a supply of local clerical help. Provisions under the head of "Miscellaneous" included adult education and social welfare services. These would evolve into responsibilities entrenched in the 1989 Constitution, but not that of 1978.

Important to the growth of local government was the effect of community effort. It has been suggested that the impetus for this characteristic was the literacy campaign started in Udi district of the Eastern region in 1949. Hagan reports that this first experimental mass education programme was instituted as a result of the report, "Mass Education in African Society":

"An enthusiasm [for adults] to be literate in the Igbo language became one for road-making, building of schools and community centres and other projects. The Igbo called the mass education movement in their area *civilization*"

(Hagan 1979: 197-8)

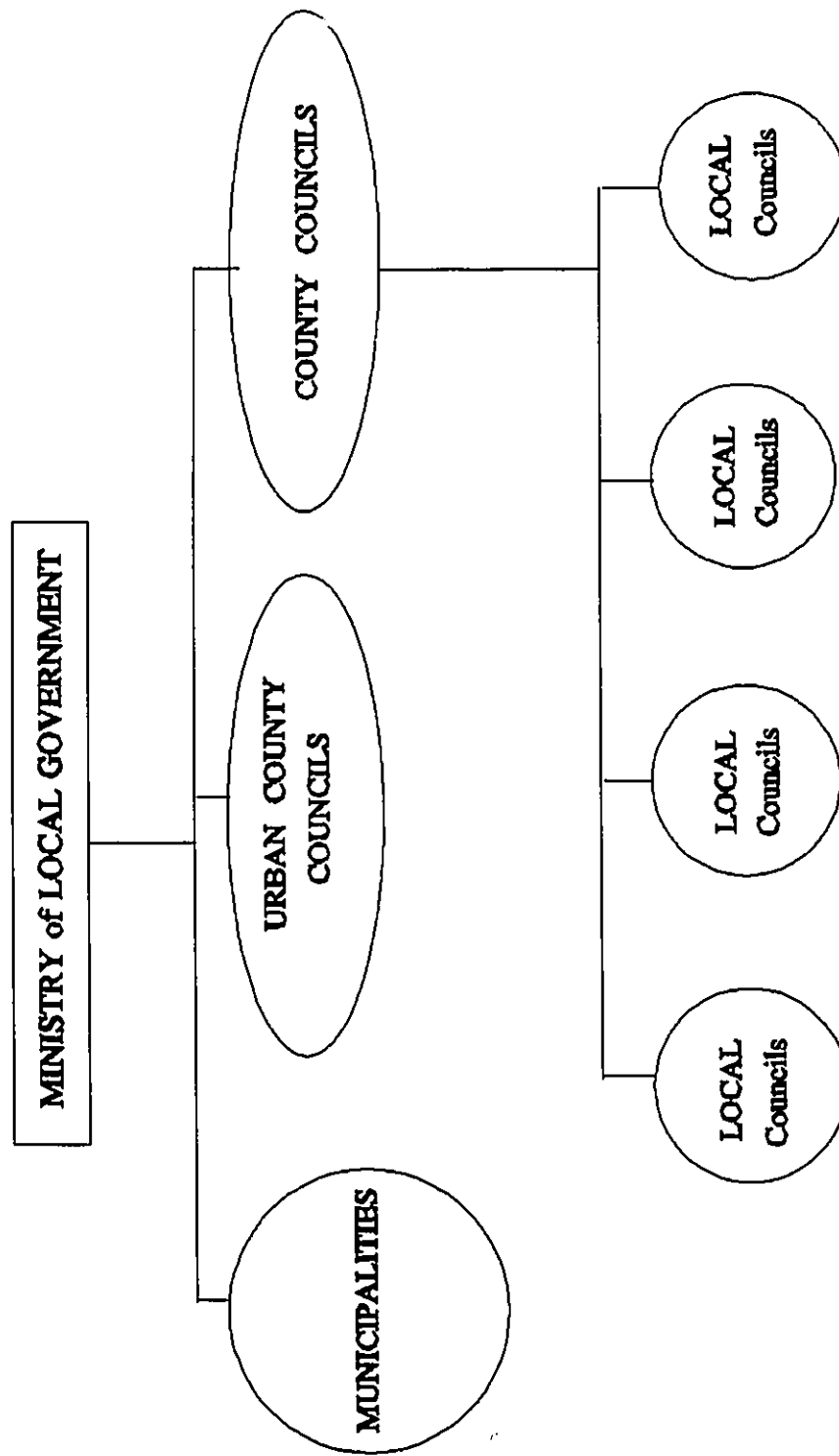
Because of the experimental design of the Eastern Region Local Government Law (1950), it was not in use throughout the east until 1956 (Gboyega 1987: 37). In order to establish viable administrative entities population and tax threshold minima were established. Under these criteria there were three levels of governance (in descending scale, illustrated in Figure 4):

- 1) County Councils - preferably with at least 50,000 population and a tax base of at least one pound (sterling) per head;
- 2) District Councils - jurisdictions where a one-hour bike ride would allow a person to attend meetings;
- 3) Local Councils - where keeping in touch with village affairs and having a sense of belonging together were key criteria.

(Gboyega 1987: 37)

County councils were to provide extensive and expensive services, while local councils were limited to community projects - although each level also had a "law and order" duty (*op. cit.* p. 40). However the reality proved less popular than the conception: on April 1, 1958 all county councils in the then-Eastern Region were abolished. While municipal councils continued to operate with powers similar to the short-lived county councils, rural

FIGURE 4: Local Government Structure, Eastern Region 1963



Source: Campbell 1965: 138 (Appendix A.2)

areas continued to have both district and local councils. These were reformed in a new Local Government Law (1960), which confirmed "... 2 municipal, 13 urban county, 94 county, and 881 local, councils." ⁴⁰ .

This evolution was bound up with constitutional changes that led to independence. National-scale political concerns for achieving independence appear to have been mirrored at the council level: the resulting proliferation of local government so weakened the resource (income) base that the system was not able to serve its purpose ⁴¹ .

With limited possibilities for carrying out their notional administrative functions, local government in the First Republic (1960-1966) came to serve as an instrument for political action. Local Government Police, and inspectors for some regulatory duties, were employed to carry out political agendas (Gboyega 1987: 88-9). After the 1966 coup that ended the first civilian government local councils in the east were gradually replaced by Sole Administrators, as was the rule elsewhere in Nigeria: these quasi-military bureaucracies were supplemented by both continuing civil service functions and, from 1969, by consultation with 'Advisory Committees'. One of the more difficult problems caused by this flux in local government arrangements was a marked increase in resistance to paying local taxes (*op. cit.* 90-92). The discredit of local council operations also precipitated a move to larger-scale service administrations, although the form continued to exist precisely because it had become an integral part of the local political structure. It also had an inherent lobby group - the employees of local government - and abolition of this level would have set an even greater distance between the Federal government and the governed (*op. cit.* 97).

During and after the Civil War (1967-1970), local government in the east had to be re-established piecemeal. As areas were gradually brought under Federal power, Sole Administrators were appointed in advance of the re-creation of State government. In

⁴⁰ Gboyega 1987: 41. This is the pre-eminent source for details of the evolution of local government, being fully referenced with statute citations. These particular figures appear in Appendix B of Blitz (1965: 139), whose is a still-used reference in Nigerian planning courses - I was lent a copy as a good primer on the topic.

⁴¹ This weakening resulted from splitting the rural from the urban counties, and from illogical assignment of responsibilities, i.e. to councils with insufficient revenue.

addition, the system of war-collapsed local government was viewed as having five critical failings:

- i) a shortage of trained personnel to run both local and intermediate (State or Regional) government;
- ii) qualified staff preference for working for senior government;
- iii) war damage too extensive for local government to remedy;
- iv) inexperience and lack of technical competence of councillors;
- v) excessive corruption of the system from 1950 to 1970.

(Gboyega 1987: 115)

The successors to the Eastern Region, under the Gowon military government re-alignment of States in 1967, were the South-Eastern, East-Central, and Rivers States (Figure 1). During the Civil War the provisional (Federal) State administration devised a replacement for the councils. East-Central State included the present Imo State.

A 1969 "Draft Policy Paper on Divisional Administration" was circulated, and later local government reforms took it as a base. In this proposal the organizing unit was a community, defined as:

"...a group of people comprising a village, town or kindred group: people who belong to the same traditional, social and political unit...[The objective was] to create councils at a level where democratic processes are traditionally established, where rivalries and tensions are reduced to a minimum, where local resources and patriotism can be fully utilized and where the people may effectively control their own government at their own level."

(quoted in Gboyega 1987: 117)

However, control of projects to which such a community had contributed was to be exercised by the State. To carry out the policy the Divisional Administration Edict (1971) was enacted: its salient characteristics were the absorption of local government staff into corresponding State departments; and the appointment of sole administrator as the chief executive official ⁴².

The new 'Development Administration' system had no legislative or executive functions. Divisional Administration was established to promote the social goals of local residents (*op. cit.* 116). A separate design governed South-Eastern State, promulgated as

⁴² the title differed in rural and urban areas (Gboyega 1987: 117).

the South-Eastern State Development Administration Edict (1970), revised in 1971. This was to:

"...ensure that citizens of the South-Eastern State, in contradiction to citizens of other States, be the main beneficiaries of allocative decisions."

(Gboyega 1987: 118)

The geographical distribution of authority under this scheme was hierarchical, and although the community continued as the organizing unit, it was described as a Development Area. The levels of the hierarchy, top to bottom, were as follows:

- a) County Development Area (rural) and Urban Development Area = aggregated Development Areas;
- b) Development Area = several villages;
- c) Village Authority = control community development projects, provided these neither contradicted nor duplicated those of levels a) and b).

(Gboyega 1987: 120)

The importance of this brief summary is that these arrangements constituted a foundation for the continuing tradition of local government ⁴³. The later 1976 Local Government reforms were intended to rationalize practice throughout the nation and to address the chronic poverty of resources which hand-cuffed local administration, regardless of their specific local form.

3.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT SINCE 1976

Mabogunje identified the need for change-agents, at the community level, to effect rural change programmes. He specified the need to devolve [central] government authority to local leadership, coupled with senior government administrative and political resources to "...encourage local popular initiatives." (Mabogunje 1981: 78). The key aspect in the devolution of administrative authority, based on a 1972 sample of land reform projects in

⁴³ These particular details are specific to eastern Nigeria. The forms in the western region were similar, but differed only in details of reporting authority and executive posts. The role of traditional chiefs has also remained relatively important, as I personally witnessed in meetings with two individuals. In the North, the forms were completely different.

ten countries that chose this method, was the limiting of [central] bureaucratic power (*idem*, Table 1). Citing this particular case:

"Devolvement to local authority simply reduces the number of people who have to gain access to local knowledge and postpones the *need* for converting this information into Western standards of legal and administrative detail. In terms of social justice, speed is more important than elegance for successful land reform."

(Montgomery, *emphasis added*, as quoted in Mabogunje 1981: 79)

Implicit in this argument is the realization that any permanent change in socio-economic structure requires a formal entity, as noted by Mabogunje. What is not necessarily required is a First World (Northern) model, or rather the Western standards prescribed by early theory and perpetuated, albeit somewhat disguised, by current conservative commentators.

In a nation having a predominantly non-urban population, logically integrated rural development can be accomplished equitably by devolution of authority and funding. If, as Mabogunje suggests, the planning method of such a country is defined by sectoral assignments of blocks of funds, without specific programme goals, then it is imperative that subordinate authorities exist to carry out the detail work (*op. cit.* 80-1).

Local government can have diverse responsibilities, and this is certainly true for Nigerian LGAs (Table A, and Appendix A). The means by which to fund projects may be generated by local revenue, or by grants or loans from other government - in Nigeria all three sources have been tapped. The proportions and means of acquiring the funds have varied considerably.

If, in addition, the operational doctrine of a national government is establishing equality of opportunities and services, and it is understood that endowments of different regions are unequal, then the subordinate administrative units must be allocated resources using both block transfers for general programmes and project-specific spending.

As noted above, in the study area the precursor of local government was the Divisional or Development Administration. Devolution of powers was to a Resident or Divisional Officer who was the local authority, as in the case of a Sole Administrator

(Gboyega 1987: 134). In 1976 Government issued "Guidelines for Local Government Reform", based in part on recommendations of the 1974 Public Service Review Commission. The guidelines described structure and finance for a new, nation-wide standard system of LGAs.

The overt objectives of the reforms were to:

- confer *reasonable* autonomy over local affairs on locals;
- encourage citizen participation in local administration;
- make local institutions capable of implementing local needs and goals;
- mobilize local resources;
- share power between senior government and local communities.

(Gboyega 1987: 134-6 - *emphasis added*)

Evidently the driving purpose was to entrench power sharing and generate working local administrations. That these intentions were subverted in the throes of the struggle for political power during the brief Second Republic (1979-1983) is well known ⁴⁴.

The establishment of uniform LGAs required different measures in the then-extant states. In the eastern States the brief term of the Divisional Administration system, with state-run services, was terminated - a loss not widely mourned since it had left local communities largely powerless (Gboyega 1987: 139).

The LGAs established under the new uniform plan were single-tier and designated as 'primary authorities'. The significance of the term is that only such authorities were recognized for allocations from consolidated funds. The single-tier designation mandated combination of legislative and executive functions. Under terms of the guidelines the minimum population size for an LGA was set at 150,000, a provision which forced the merger of many community councils in Imo State. The population floor was intended to ensure that LGAs were of a viable size and to forestall fragmentation - applications for establishing new LGAs required Federal government approval (Gboyega 1987: 140-41).

As illustrated in Tables 1.3 and 3.1, the Second Republic Constitution was so manipulated that fragmentation did occur. The creation of new LGAs was possible because

⁴⁴ Notably Gboyega (1987: 137), although press discussion also mentions it.

of a deadlock in the Federal House of Assembly. Although in theory all applications should have been sent to the House, its inability to act on basic legislation due to inflexibly entrenched opposition of the major parties, complicated by constant court challenges of any constitutional clause which was affected by House legislation, left a power vacuum. This the States immediately filled, since the party in power in each State could thereby complicate the efforts of its federal-level opponents to act.

Responsibilities of the new administrations were set out in two lists. The first established basic functions for immediate assignment (Exclusive List) and the second comprised those which *State* governments would assign at some later date (Concurrent List) (*op. cit.* 142-3). Primary education fell under the Concurrent list, together with health care and most of the types of works listed as development projects in this research. The primary list included all the means of revenue generation and tax collection established by colonial tradition.

These assignments, together with their inclusion in the 1979 Constitution, created a destructive dilemma for the LGAs. States in practice assigned to LGAs most of the duties from the Concurrent List immediately, without the intended grace period for establishing competence in basic functions. The other changes proved impossible since the assignments were set out in the Constitution itself - a measure intended to protect the new councils from interference which, in essence, back-fired.

1.3 EFFECTS OF LGA REFORM

The 'Guidelines' for the administration of duties set out a system of overview committees, of which those for Finance and General Purpose, Education, Land, and Police were mandatory. Local discretion was allowed for establishing other committees, although it was suggested that these be few - in practice, two or three in addition to the core committees: Health, Works, and 'other matters' were usual. All States had to establish Local Government Service Boards to monitor hiring and assignment of administrative staff for the LGAs. Pending such arrangements all local authority staff positions were re-graded to match duties and compensation at the state level, and state staff were assigned directly to LGAs to provide interim expertise. In addition, States were to establish Ministries of Local Government to assume co-ordination duties for community development,

administration of revolving fund loans, and to support the Local Government Service Board. (*op. cit.* 145-8).

Gboyega points out that the responsibilities under the Exclusive and Concurrent Lists were unclear because of conflicting interpretations arising from other sections of the 1979 Constitution. For example, the key areas of primary education, agricultural and natural resource development, and health services were to be carried out jointly with State government. The provision for grants to be administered by the Ministry for Local Government was phrased to allow for variable accomplishment of the UPE scheme:

" Payment of all grants to Local Governments excepting, if preferred, grants in respect of primary education if these may be more conveniently paid by the [State] Ministries of Education until the Universal Primary Education has taken off on the scheduled date; "

(as listed in Gboyega 1987: 148, explanation added)

Furthermore there was provision for appointment at the State level of a Local Government Inspector, responsible for any group of LGAs, who had broadly drawn statutory powers. Since these included "advising a Local Government in respect of its functions" and given the limited autonomy traditional in local government in Nigeria, there was scope for considerable latitude in exercising state control over LGAs (*op. cit.* 150-1), a power strengthened by the routing of statutory fund allocations to LGAs by way of intervening state coffers. The latter detail has proven a serious limitation of LGA autonomy, as it was specifically emphasized during field interviews.

While the 1979 Constitutional provisions were check-mated, insofar as LGA authority was concerned, both by House of Assembly ineffectiveness and by States appropriating powers in a manner which was *ultra vires*, life did not grind to a halt. The Fourth National Development Plan was prepared and, in many communities and despite the effect of petro-naira inflation, self-help projects were begun.

Using information provided in the Imo State official publication *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State*, it is evident that some of the projects were designated as development projects. Of those documented, most appear to be community-funded and locally implemented projects, and the cumulative distribution according to the typology

defined on page 1 is summarized in Table 6.2. The distribution of types of projects suggests profiles consistent with rural and urban LGAs. Examples of LGA-specific cases are listed in Tables 6.4 through 6.8, in order to provide an indication of the types of work undertaken.

These range from large rural electrification installations, typically budgeted at over N 500,000, to secondary schools (N 800,000) and civic halls (N 50,000 to 2,000,000), to small local market improvements (less than N 25,000) and farms (less than N 10,000) ⁴⁵. The projects are discussed in detail in chapter 6.

The launch of community self-help projects is publicized in newspapers, of which a typical example is in the *Daily Champion* ⁴⁶: N. Ehibudu reports that 35 communities in Imo State have launched a cumulative total of 125 projects. With both these articles and the compilation in *Spotlight...*, the only way to judge their accuracy is by personal site-visits.

The characteristics of Imo State LGAs are described in Tables 6.11 and 6.12, which collate data about populations, distribution of autonomous communities, number of primary, secondary, and post-secondary schools. As noted, the population statistics are based on straight annual increments of 2.5% since the 1963 census, and take no account of any disruption of population during the Civil War. They conflict with the State total from the 1991 census, but at this scale are the only population figures available. Table 3.1 (below) summarizes the result of the decrees establishing new LGAs, new States, and also the official result of the 1991 census.

The new responsibilities of LGAs, especially those transferring social service costs such as those for primary health care clinics and primary education teacher salaries, place heavy financial burdens on local administration. Interviews with Local Inspectors of Education in Ifelodun and Oshogbo LGAs indicated that teachers in Oyo State were hired

⁴⁵ The origin of the estimates is unclear, but there is some consistency in the amount budgeted for apparently similar projects. The effect of the March 1992 naira devaluation on work that requires imported materials (such as copper electrical cable) will be severe.

⁴⁶ *Daily Champion* (newspaper) February 22 1991, p. 12. LGAs often publicize the anniversary of the area, or of its council, in full-page newspaper 'advertorials', which detail the accomplishments of the administration (real and imagined).

TABLE 3.1: POPULATION and LGAs of NIGERIAN STATES 1991

State Name	Capital	No. of LGAs *	1991 Census **	Rank
Abia	Umuahia	17	2,297,978	(21)
Adamawa	Yola	16	2,124,049	(24)
Akwa Ibom	Uyo	24	2,359,736	(19)
Anambra	Akwa	16	2,767,903	(14)
Bauchi	Bauchi	22	4,294,413	(4)
Benue	Makurdi	18	2,780,398	(13)
Borno (Bornu)	Maiduguri	21	2,596,589	(15)
Cross River	Calabar	14	1,865,604	(27)
Delta	Asaba	19	2,570,181	(16)
Edo	Benin City	14	2,159,848	(23)
Enugu	Enugu	19	3,161,295	(11)
Imo	Owerri	21	2,485,499	(17)
Jigawa	Dutse	21	2,829,929	(12)
Kaduna	Kaduna	24 +	3,969,252	(6)
Kano	Kano	34	5,632,040	(2)
Katsina	Katsina	26	3,878,344	(8)
Kebbi	Birnin Kebbi	16	2,062,226	(26)
Kogi	Lokoja	16	2,099,046	(25)
Kwara	Ilorin	12	1,566,469	(28)
Lagos	Ikeja	15	5,685,781	(1)
Niger	Minna	19	2,482,367	(18)
Ogun	Abeokuta	19 +	2,338,570	(20)
Ondo	Akure	26	3,884,485	(7)
Oshun	Oshogbo	23	2,203,016	(22)
Oyo	Ibadan	25	3,488,789	(9)
Plateau	Jos	23	3,282,704	(10)
Rivers	Port Harcourt	24	3,983,857	(5)
Sokoto	Sokoto	29	4,392,391	(3)
Taraba	Jalingo	11	1,480,590	(29)
Yobe	Damaturu	13	1,411,481	(30)
Abuja (Federal Capital Territory)	Suleja	4	378,671	(-)
TOTAL		(589)	88,514,501	

NOTE: * Number of LGAs is overstated due to incomplete information.

+ These States may have incorrect LGA number:

Kaduna may have 18 and Ogun may have only 15 LGAs.

** Number in brackets refers to rank out of 30 states.

Sources: *West Africa* No 3904, 6-12 July 1992, p. 1168-9;

Nigeria National Census, State Summary (Nigerian High Commission, Ottawa).

at the civil 03 or 04 service grade levels which, together with allowances for transport, food, and sometimes accommodation, gave a teacher a salary of over N 400 per month. The

mean of salaries in Ifelodun was over N 740 per month. The monthly charge for 1,200 teachers at this rate is almost N 900,000, over N 10.5 million per year.

The chorus of demands from local government administrators and councils, precipitated by these new wage costs, has been so sustained that a change in 1992 disbursements was announced. The local government share of Federation Account funding was increased from 15% to 20%, with the adjustment taken from the States portion ⁴⁷.

At the same time strikes by primary teachers in Ondo, Plateau, Kaduna, Akwa Ibom, Delta, Edo, Oyo and Abia States have taken place ⁴⁸. The local reasons reported non-payment of (allowance, and possibly leave) entitlements; pay not being based on the minimum wage of N 250/month; and lack of pay due to the late semester-start.

While standardizing local administration Government has also multiplied the number, adding 136 (30%) to the existing 453 ⁴⁹. The rural/urban distribution of the population may still reflect that recorded in 1963, summarized in Table 3.2 ⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ *West Africa* No. 3878, 13-19 January 1992, p. 60. From the 1992 allocation budget:
 Federal Government = N 54.037 billion
 State Governments = N 28.297 billion (30 States)
 Local Governments = N 14.149 billion (589 LGAs, + 4 in Abuja).
 These figures do *not* reflect the promised transfer, which may or may not actually come to pass. A new decree is required, or a constitutional amendment.

⁴⁸ *West Africa* No. 3871, 18-24 November 1991, p. 1937 reports Abia, Akwa Ibom, Delta, Edo, Ondo and Oyo strikes triggered by demands for September and October pay. These appear to be due to the delay in the start of the 1991-92 school year by about four weeks, to October 12, 1991. This resulted from the returning the school year to the Sept.-June format after five years synchronous with the calendar year. Schools remained closed until different start dates, the result (perhaps) of LGA attempts to save on payments to teachers. References also appear in *West Africa* No. 3873 (p. 2021) and No. 3886 (p. 425). All the actions are in line with the National Union of Teachers (NUT) threat to strike because of the transfer of salary responsibilities to local government, as reported in *West Africa* No. 3833, 18-24 February 1991, p.233.

⁴⁹ 47 were created August 27, 1991. Another 43 were decreed September 19, 1991, and the remaining 46 established September 24 - *West Africa* No. 3864, 30 September - 6 October 1991.

⁵⁰ The 1991 census data were provided by the Nigerian High Commission in Ottawa, and the single page summary did not indicate the source Ministry or Agency.

TABLE 3.2		RURAL/URBAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION 1963		
STATE	Total Pop. estimate *	Urban Pop.@	Rural Pop.	% rural @
Western	9.488 (11.915)	4,842,000	4,646,000	49.0 %
Mid-Western	2.536 (4.730)	284,000	2,252,000	88.8 %
East-Central (Imo)	7.228 (10.713)	879,000	6,349,000	87.8 %
South East	3.623 (1.866)	283,000	3,340,000	92.2 %
Rivers	1.545 (6.344)	249,000	1,296,000	83.9 %
North Eastern	7.793 (10.496)	883,000	6,910,000	88.7 %
Kano	5.775 (8.462)	344,000	5,431,000	94.0 %
North Central	4.098 (7.848)	485,000	3,613,000	88.2 %
Benue Plateau	4.009 (6.063)	380,000	3,629,000	90.5 %
Kwara	2.339 (3.666)	473,000	1,926,000	80.3 %
North Western	5.734 (8.397)	580,000	5,154,000	89.9 %
Lagos	1.444 (5.686)	1,047,000	397,000	27.5 %
NOTES: * FIRST number = 1963 population estimate BRACKETED number = 1991 Total Population column figures in millions. @ population in places over 20,000 in 1963 census. % rural in 1963 census. Sources: Nwosu (1980: 100, Table 6.1); 1991 Nigeria States census summary.				

The comparison in Table 3.2 of census total population by State (1963/1991) reflects the legacy of inaccurate census collection.

Evidently new state and LGA creation will reduce the share each receives from the Federation Account disbursement, making the problem of financing the social service costs even worse. One response, by the administration of newly-created Oshun State, has been to order downgrades of one or two steps for all teachers: a sign of things to come⁵¹ ? The pressures of which this is one example were not so intense in 1989, nor even in May and June 1991. Deficits evident in realizing projects have magnified and deepened.

⁵¹ Effective February 26, 1992 (*West Africa* No. 3885, 2-8 March 1992, p. 381). Personal correspondence from a teacher in Oshogbo LGA (Oshun State) in March 1992 was marked by a passionate and bitter denunciation of the fate of teachers, and of the ineffectual nature of the NUT.

3.4 LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Funds for local government have three sources.

Under the Constitution there is a disbursement from the Federation Account, officially set at 15% of the current-year amount, despite having been increased to 20% in a news release. There is also a re-distribution from the state in which an LGA is located, of 10% of the State revenue. These apart LGAs attempt to raise internally-generated revenue. The sources of this type of revenue are limited. In a few areas a 'poll' tax on adults is levied, but there is a great deal of resistance to this particular form of revenue; other forms of property and income taxes are difficult to assess and collect ⁵². Taxes levied can be enforced since a tax-paid certificate is required before enrolment ⁵³.

Other levies, using the example of the study LGA (Oru) include:

TABLE 3.3: APPROVED 1991 ESTIMATES, ORU LGA *

Detail	1991 Estimate	1990 Revised	1989 actual
Social Fees	N 283,690	N 215,050	N 191,250
of which:			
contractor fees	N 15,000	N 10,000	nil
sale of water	N 15,000	N 9,500	N 8,267
Bicycle licences	N 100,000	N 80,000	N 73,420
Liquor licences	N 50,000	N 40,000	N 30,637
Vehicle lics. (taxi,bus,etc)	N 15,000	N 12,000	N 9,892
Registration of business	N 150,000	N 75,000	N 71,566
Squatter hawkers	N 3,000	N 1,500	N 1,355
Commercial veh. register	N 10,000	N 3,500	N 1,975

Source: interview with Oru LGA Treasurer, May 29, 1991. * SELECTED DATA ONLY

⁵² See Adedeji and Rowland (1972), Akingbade (1972), Olowu (1987), Omorogiuwa (1988a and 1988b), Dlakwa (1990), Gboyega (1990), as well as Rowland (1972a and 1972b).

⁵³ Interviews in Ifelodun (Oshun State) and Oru (Imo State) confirmed that this is a requirement. Additional pressure has been applied by the announcement by the Federal Minister of Education that schooling in 1992 is compulsory for children aged nine and above (*West Africa* No. 3876, 23 December 1991 - 5 January 1992, p. 2163. The three-year 'grace' period implicit in this statement likely reflects the ministers' assertion that LGA responsibility for education "...is not a question of responsibility but of resources." (*West Africa* No. 3828, 14-20 January 1991, p. 12).

Difficulties arise from the fact that poll and property taxes are reminiscent of colonial examples, and are not traditional. With the examples listed in Table 3.3 collection can be an impediment. Vehicle licences and registration stickers (the latter a favourite local government revenue source) are collected by 'road collectors' who set up barricades. A team of three to six burly collectors attempt to stop vehicles by threatening to puncture tires with nail-embedded pieces of lumber. Field observations did not suggest that this is particularly effective, a conclusion supported by the low amount budgeted. The total Oru budget for internally-generated revenue in 1991 was approved at N 1,024,330, just under 10% of anticipated income ⁵⁴. The monthly statutory allocation for selected Imo LGAs in 1991 was as in Table 3.4.

TABLE 3.4		FEDERAL ALLOCATIONS IN IMO STATE, 1991 (Naira/Month)		
LGA NAME	40% for population (estimated)	number of primary pupils	30% based on pupils	30% for equality
6b. Mbaitoli	N 479,809 (253,518)	30,221	N 324,456	N 357,360
7b. Nkwere	N 373,613 (197,407)	17,453	N 187,377	N 357,360
8b. Owerri	N 502,017 (265,252)	62,335	N 669,235	N 357,360
10b. Okigwe	N 461,453 (243,819)	27,308	N 293,181	N 357,360
12. Orlu	N 567,959 (300,094)	42,729	N 459,458	N 357,360
13. Oru	N 477,264 (252,173)	35,371	N 379,746	N 357,360
14. Aba	N 510,821 (269,904)	84,069	N 902,573	N 357,360
NOTE: Population calculated based on straight-line projections from 1963 census. The amounts shown are per month disbursements from the Federal level. Source: Interview with Oru LGA Treasurer, May 29, 1991. Abstracted from Imo State financial information, untitled.				

The large amount of construction in the city of Owerri in 1991, in contrast to its complete absence in rural areas, suggests that the LGA data reflect the impact of a dynamic urban centre.

⁵⁴ The other sources included N 9,256,930 from the Federal Government (87.5%) and N 300,200 (just under 3%) from Imo State (interview with Treasurer Mr. Egbudiwe, May 29, 1991).

The principal anomaly evident in Table 3.4 data is that Imo States' major city, Aba, is listed as having 135% of the pupil enrolment of the State capital, Owerri. Although the formerly combined Ngor-Okpala/Owerri LGA was divided under the August 27, 1991 decree creating new States and LGAs, in 1989 Owerri LGA still had a large non-city area. It does not seem reasonable that the primary pupil enrolments should be 35% higher in Aba, given the (estimated) overall population difference of less than 2%. Perhaps Aba is simply that much more attractive for primary-age pupils. Field interviews made it clear that pupils often do live in the home of a guardian (usually as relative) in semester, although boarding schools are rare at this education level.

The allocation per pupil is just less than N 10.74, regardless of the LGA. In the case of Oru, the total monthly Federal block-grant is N 1,214,370, for a total just over N 14.572 million on the year. This is more than the budgeted amount which, at N 9,256,930, is only some 63.5% of the actual allocation over all of 1991. However, with 673 teachers at an average of roughly N 8,800 ⁵⁵ each per annum, the salary spending for primary teachers would be nearly six million naira. The internally generated revenue projections appear to be unrealistically high, so that total revenue is unlikely to have met the approved estimated amount of N 10.581 million. In contrast, the approved budget for Eti-Osa LGA in Lagos State was over N 64 million, illustrating the large variation of income among LGAs ⁵⁶.

The 1991 census will reduce the amounts transferred to LGAs, because of the smaller than estimated overall population. The Federation Account allocations must be disbursed among 30% more units, after the 1991 decrees, and State grants to LGAs must fall due to many being reduced in size. While the 1986 local government reforms established a solid base of administrative units, with standardized structure and access to block-grants (the Federation Account), other administrative changes are putting pressure on local government.

⁵⁵ based on approximately N 733/month salary, although the starting rate in Oru in 1991 was N 265/month base plus transport and rent subsidies (interview with Mr. P.O. Emejuru, Oru LGA School Board Secretary, 28 May, 1991). The average is based on rates paid in Oshun State which include all ranks of teachers.

⁵⁶ Budget information obtained in interview with Council Chairman in Eti-Osa LGA, May, 1992.

CHAPTER 4: PRIMARY EDUCATION in NIGERIA

"The Third National Development Plan 1975-1980 stated that "...from [September 1976] all primary education will be free and universal throughout the country, while from 1979 it will become compulsory." (Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Third National Development Plan*, Lagos, 1975)"

(cited in Hinchliffe 1989: 235)

INTRODUCTION

The commitment to equality of access and opportunity in education in Nigeria is symbolized by Universal Primary Education (UPE). The programme is funded by and delivered through services provided by all three levels of government. Such shared responsibility is inherently open to inappropriate distribution of responsibility and resources between levels, and this is the heart of the problem with UPE. The other principal factor in generating problems for UPE is the national need to address other levels of education: adult; vocational; secondary; post-secondary; and service to isolated (nomadic and coastal/riverine) communities.

4.1 ROLE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

Primary education is a basic service provided by federal funding throughout Nigeria, although it is not as widely accepted in the Islamic north as in the Christian and animist south. It is an established goal that there be free UPE - although the "Free" aspect has varied over time and is not firmly established. Education is a common good that is widely distributed. The location of primary schools relates strongly to the demand for such a service.

The Nigerian Federal government has employed (1963-1986) a series of five-year National Development Plans to formulate and implement public policy. The First Plan was derailed by the Civil War (1967-1970), and the Second (1970-1974) included much work directed at reconstruction. So the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980) was the first to benefit from both relative social stability and large government revenue, generated by petroleum licensing and export taxes (in the popularly-named "petro-naira" era). The Fourth National Plan (1980-85) was followed by the Fifth, itself supplanted by planning founded on the June 1986 acceptance of a Structural Adjustment Programme. This

is being implemented through a National Rolling Plan. The National Rolling Plan replaces financial projections of the National Development Plan era in budget planning.

Each five-year plan assumed that Nigeria is a nation composed of disparate regions wherein the Federal role is to ensure national unity through the reduction of regional socio-economic inequalities. For example, the President of the Nigerian Economic Society, citing the Third Plan, identified education as a key policy sector, "...a very powerful instrument for social change in a process of dynamic nation-building." (Presidential Address, Nigerian Economic Society Annual Meeting 1975: 6). He continued:

...the Educational Programme for this Plan period will seek in a very radical way to transform the educational scene of this country by improving and expanding substantially the existing facilities. The cornerstone of the programme will be a strong Federal Government leadership and a responsive State Government cooperation in matters related to planning, administration and financing of educational programme.

(Presidential Address, Nigerian Economic Society Annual Meeting 1975: 6)

The principal objectives of the 1977 National Policy on Education are:

- I. All teachers in our educational institutions, from pre-primary to university, will be professionally trained. Teacher education programmes will be structured to equip teachers for the effective performance of their duties....
- II. Since a large number of our primary teachers are below Grade II certificate or are untrained, all teachers will be assisted to advance *within the shortest time possible* through in-service courses to be organised by State Ministries of Education and financed by the Federal Government. Those who do not take full and proper advantage of the scheme will be systematically eliminated from the profession....[*emphasis added*]
- III. Since primary education is the basis of educational development, efforts will be made to achieve and maintain both the quantity and quality of teaching staff in the existing institutions at a high level....

from National Policy on Education, Federal Ministry of Information, p. 5: (cited in Onwuka 1983: 3-4).

Reviewing pertinent literature established that there was a clear pattern of constitutional and administrative changes worth exploring, and which suggested lines of inquiry ⁵⁷.

The Education Programme applies throughout Nigeria, and Universal Primary Education (UPE) - now modified to be the Universal Free Primary Education Programme - is part of the system. It was officially inaugurated on September 6, 1976 (Wilson 1979: 1; Denga 1986: v).

UPE originated in the then-Western Region, where it was adopted in January 1955 (Ifemeje 1984: 77). A similar programme started in the then-Eastern Region, in 1957 - and these two decisions were major factors in the increase in the number of Nigerian primary schools from 5,894 in 1947 to 15,703 in 1960; the primary population increased (by over 465%) to over 2.9 million in the period (Ifemeje 1984:77) ⁵⁸.

Post-independence Universal Primary Education expanded to the national level the concepts in the fore-runner regional schemes. Free Universal Primary Education was originally intended to be in place in the Eastern, Western, and Mid-Western Regions by 1970, with "...not less than 50% of children of primary school age." set as the enrolment target for the Northern Region by that same date (Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education 1983: 2). These region-specific goals were nowhere near attainment when the military government of General Gowon in 1969 established the Somade Committee. This was to study, together with participants from the States, the role of education and the feasibility of free primary education. The October 1970 report of the committee set out benchmarks for pupil participation *in all states*:

- by 1976 - 30% of age-group enrolled;
- by 1980 - 50% enrolment;
- by 1985 - 80% enrolment; and by 1990 - 100% enrolment.

(Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education 1983: 4)

⁵⁷ Fafunwa (1974), Adesina (1975), Bame (1975), Bray (1981), Bray, Clark and Stephens (1986), Chuta (1986), Ubah (1980), and Urwick (1983 and 1985).

⁵⁸ As will be described, these programmes failed (Wilson 1979: 1; and Fafunwa 1974: 171).

It also recommended three principals to guide "Free and Universal Primary Education", summarized as:

- 1) UPE is desirable and worthwhile, but must be carefully planned and funded;
- 2) Planning, financing and execution should consider not only the necessity for a "well-shaped education pyramid", but also human and financial resource requirements for the whole economy;
- 3) "The impression given that Free Primary Education would help to bridge the gap between geographical areas needed to be examined more critically....in terms of easing imbalance, removing friction and bringing about national unity, areas which are less able to compete in numbers should be given assistance at secondary level to produce men who would compete at higher levels."

(Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education 1983: 3)

UPE, as known today, was an outgrowth of the Public Service Review Commission report, the "Udoji Report". The Federal government response to the enquiry was the *White Paper on Udoji Report*, dated 1974 and released through the Federal Ministry of Education (Urevbu 1984: 226). These in turn built on the 1969 National Curriculum Conference, as well as workshops and seminars sponsored by the Nigerian Educational Research Council. The Udoji Report, quoted in the White Paper, stated that:

" By far the most important reform in primary education is the introduction of programmes of occupational orientation and training....Currently education gained in rural schools serves too much to provide knowledge and incentives which prompt migration of talented and ambitious young people to the cities, since the content and method of education in primary schools in rural areas, as in urban areas, is academically oriented, with emphasis on preparation for higher levels of education. Parents and children are left with the impression that the purpose of primary education is to provide them with the basis for escape from traditional society....the primary education system must provide programmes for children who will remain in the less developed areas, and in particular in the rural areas....

We cannot emphasize too strongly that Universal Primary Education will end in failure and disillusion if it results only in a vast expansion of the existing system which is irrelevant to the needs of a large majority of those whom it is intended to serve....educationists in Nigeria have been saying that education is too school-oriented and not sufficiently life oriented. It is time something was done about it."

(abbreviated from quote in Urevbu 1984: 226)

The synthesis of these separate policy paths led to the proposal of the "6-3-3-4" system of education, enunciated in 1977 as the core of the National Policy on Education (*op. cit.* 224). The 1977 National Policy on Education was revised under the Second Republic, the civilian Shagari administration. The result is cited as the National Policy on Education (revised) 1981, which set out seven basic objectives. The important shared characteristic of these goals is that there is an overt commitment to restoring national cultural values and to supporting vocational and trade skills. The intentions are written in terms that seem to be influenced strongly by Northern system goals, seeking simultaneously to mirror social traditions typical of African society (see 4.1) in conjunction with "modern" primary education methods:

- a) permanent literacy and numeracy, and the ability to communicate effectively;
- b) laying a sound basis for scientific and reflective thinking;
- c) citizenship education for effective participation in and contribution to society;
- d) character and moral training and development of sound attitudes;
- e) developing in the child the ability to adapt to this changing environment;
- f) opportunities for the child to develop manipulation skills to the limits of his capacity;
- g) basic tools for further educational advancement including preparation for trades and crafts of the locality.

Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education 1983: 6-7.

Field research indicated that, regardless of the goals outlined in the Constitutions (1978 and 1989), primary education has failed consistently to achieve equitable development. This appears to have been acknowledged in the First National Rolling Plan (1990-1992), which states that "Current efforts are aimed at consolidating the gains made over the years and putting greater priority on qualitative improvement in standards rather than embark on the kind of expansion witnessed in the 70s and 80s..." (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1990: 210). However, the plan outline continues by noting that education expansion was still on the agenda for primary and secondary levels "...where the economic down turn of the late eighties led to a decline in enrolment." (*Ibid.*)

This indicates both precocious growth and subsequent collapse of the universal system of education. Local level research is the path to an explanation. This research also indicates the degree to which policies intended for equality measure-up to Government intent.

It is not surprising that a massive national education scheme should have stumbled out of the starting gate. In northern States the intention to make UPE compulsory within four years of its launch required an increase of capacity of five to ten times (Urwick 1983: 331-2). In fact, the original recommendation had been to begin the system in 1979, with 1990 as the target date for universal enrolment (*op. cit.* 333). Urwick characterizes the acceleration of the suggested implementation schedule as a political decision, removed from the commitment to equality or to national unity: he acknowledges that neither Bray nor Fafunwa agree with this cynical interpretation (*op. cit.* 337) ⁵⁹ .

The design of UPE is illustrated in Figure 5 (p. 75), as originally set out in the National Policy on Education in 1977, and as it continues to this day. Technical discipline teachers are graduates from Senior Secondary Schools, in theory with graduate diplomas from Polytechnics. All other teachers are supposed to graduate from at least Teacher Training Senior Secondary Schools and preferably from National Certificate of Education granting tertiary institutions. Among the latter, the higher diploma is granted by specific Faculties of Education, rather than by the general G.C.E. stream.

The failings of the initial implementation were understood thoroughly by the Federal Ministry of Education, which in a 3-page 1980 internal briefing document (Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education 1980) detailed serious facility and resource deficits. This was the case despite estimated primary school age-group participation rates that averaged less than 60%. From 1975 to 1978 there was both an underlying classroom deficiency, based on projected UPE enrolment, and a further deficit in construction due to higher-than-projected enrolment. The latter constituted about 10,000 out of the estimated total 30,000 shortage of classrooms, assuming a pupil-teacher ratio of 35:1. The per-classroom construction costs were calculated at N 7,000, although the range was from 50% to over 200% (in Lagos State) of this mean figure. The briefing document notes that a UNESCO team had calculated that the construction cost could be reduced to N 2,738 with the use of 'direct'

⁵⁹ It is naive to pretend that political gain was not a motivation, but it is insupportable to assume that knowledgeable politicians would be heedless of the personal and party pitfalls of failing to deliver a major policy with nation-wide effects, such as UPE and the larger 6-3-3-4 system of which it is the bedrock.

labour and 'local' materials.

The implication of this contention is that contracts were being manipulated to improve returns to companies and individuals. This is entirely likely, being a generally acknowledged practice in Nigeria and known to occur in public works projects universally. As data in chapter 6 show, not many schools were commissioned in Imo State in the post-1975 period, so the impact of this type of cost seems unlikely to have been serious for UPE take-off in the study area.

Less than 50% of the teachers were qualified, even though the definition of qualified included, and still does to some extent, individuals who have failed their basic Grade II certificate examination. What effect this particular deficiency of resources had on the progress of UPE is not quantifiable. It must have been significant, and was perpetuated, in the view of the Federal Ministry of Education of that time, by States establishing unauthorized teachers' colleges. Again there is no readily available evidence to measure the accuracy of this conviction, although problems of keeping qualified teachers continue today. Even in the un-named State reporting the highest number of qualified teachers only 78% were so-designated, including those who had failed the Grade II exam.

The curriculum was expanded under UPE, in stages. To the existing core of Language arts, Mathematics, Social Studies and Elementary Science were added Cultural Arts, Health and Physical Education, Religious and Moral Instruction, and Agriculture and Home Economics. It is worth noting that, at least in the study LGA, in Imo State almost all schools have had a school "farm" - the size of a large suburban vegetable garden in Canada - since the school was founded. All schools now have these farms, stocked with plants grown from tubers or seeds that are most often supplied by pupils.

4.2 EDUCATION IN THE EASTERN REGION

Traditional African education has been characterised by Fafunwa (1974: 16-17) as having four general characteristics, incorporating socialization and personal growth.

- A: a collective and social nature, having great importance;
- B: being intimately tied to social life, both materially and spiritually;
- C: having a multivalent character in terms both of goals and means employed;
- D: with a gradual progression conforming to physical, emotional and mental development of the child.

Fafunwa (p.20) further typifies traditional education as incorporating seven general aspects [*emphasis added*] :

- 1 - to develop the child's latent physical skills;
- 2 - to develop character;
- 3 - to inculcate respect for elders and those in *position* of authority;
- 4 - to develop intellectual skills;
- 5 - to acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude towards honest labour;
- 6 - to develop a sense of belonging and to participate actively in family and community affairs;
- 7 - to understand, appreciate and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large.

These general statements do not apply uniformly, and in the Ibo culture it has been observed that achievement rather than position is respected (Seibel 1973: 66-7, and Okpu 1977). Frequently a key component of African social structure is the age-group, and in many parts of Nigeria - including Ibo areas - this is still the case. Indeed, where age-groups exist, they are crucial in mobilizing social and financial capital in order to realize community projects ⁶⁰ . Woodhouse and Enufoha (1986: 104) concur on the broad outline of traditional education:

"Before the advent of Western education, Nigerians, like other Africans, transmitted what was considered worthwhile to their young by means of non-formal and informal education ... [which] included riddles, conundrums and folk-tales whose aim was to develop and increasing awareness of both tradition and the child's environment specialized training was carried out by guilds and secret societies, while the social, political and economic aims of informal education were met by the integration of the individual into his [*sic*] social milieu."

Igwe (1988) cites Ibo examples of both historical and current age-group roles in community financing of education. It is significant that over time the focus of demands from

⁶⁰ Fadayomi (1988) particularly notes that rural migrants continue to remit funds to their home village, although without specifying if this is age-group related or a standard of social conduct. References to Benin, Ghana, and unspecified places, as well as Nigerian examples, suggest that Fadayomi is addressing a widespread African cultural norm rather than specific group custom (p. 75-6).

his age-group changed from primary to secondary school funding.

In Imo state there was a tradition of missionary presence from about 1878 (Isichei 1973: 88), the date of the first mission station established on the southern fringe of Ibo territory. These were primarily Catholic, and the major organizations were the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the Society of African Missions (Isichei 1973: 144). "As late as 1942 the missions controlled 99% of the schools and 97% of the students." (Kurtz 1973: 60, citing James S. Coleman writing in 1958). This had some significance in the first decade of independence, in that among legislators 85% of those from the east - and 13% of northern elected politicians - in the 1961 Regional Houses of Assembly were educated in Christian schools. Similar proportions were also evident in the 1954, 1959, and 1965 Federal House of Representatives (Kurtz 1973: 59, 67 and his Table 5). It may be that the forced acquisition of mission schools that started in 1970 owes something to the fact that northerners dominated the military government then - as is the case today under the Babangida administration.

During the first three decades of expansion proselytising outweighed education in mission work, until Britain's formal annexation and consolidation of Nigeria in 1914. By 1906, for example, only some 6,000 Ibo (Igbo) children were in Christian schools in the Eastern Region (Isichei 1973: 156), principally under the aegis of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.).

In the period 1914 to 1927 ⁶¹ a western style education system was implanted as an integral part of the colonial administration in the southern parts of Nigeria. However, the responsibility of government changed; from 1914 to 1928, and again from 1951 administration was at the regional level. In the intervening years it was a national (colonial)

⁶¹ Lord Lugard proposed an education ordinance and code in 1914, which was adopted in 1916; consultations with voluntary agencies and officials occupied the period of delay. A system of inspection was introduced, and on its results grants to assisted schools were based. Other schools flourished despite the low quality of many - in 1922 there were 195 assisted and 2,432 unassisted schools, an increase in unassisted numbers of 1200%. By 1926 they counted over 3,000 (Fafunwa 1974: 110-5). As noted previously, further regulations were put in place in the 1925 - 1927 period.

responsibility (Kurtz 1973: 60). In terms of colonial history, education was part of the policy to create an indigenous administrative capacity; that this policy was dictated by the need and desire to minimize expenditures on the colony.

In Okigwe division, a small sub-unit of the Eastern Region, there were 7,549 pupils in 1926 in 452 schools with 403 teachers the Education Ordinance of that year halted openings of new schools: moreover, the standards established led to the closure of over 300 schools and reduced pupil and teacher strengths to 320 and 6,173 (Ubah 1980: 383). Both this reform and the spread of colonial administration (remembering that Nigeria only became a formal, unified colony in 1914) engendered a positive attitude toward education. The spread of community action based on the Udi (chapter 3) experience was an integral part of this new receptiveness - as was the realization that English-speaking Nigerians exploited non-speakers in all colonial administration matters requiring written communications (Ubah 1980: 384-6).

The mission schools had a flexible curriculum in the sense that primary education could extend to ten years. Ubah notes that by the post-World War II period clever children could finish the curriculum in eight years, passing from vernacular instruction to English language learning. A 'Standard VI' examination, in religion, English, arithmetic and general studies, excluded manual and agriculture skills (Ubah 1980: 381). It is important to point out that this had nothing to do with equality of opportunity. The education was neither universal nor intended to serve a basic need. In fact, although mission schools were entirely taken over, some vestiges of the elitism inherent in that early approach can be seen in the provision of pre-school services (described in chapter 2). These are available principally in a few major towns and cities in the case of Imo State, and are often owned by religious groups. Other private schools, such as the two *Corona* primary schools in Lagos and the *Santana* private boarding school in Awo-Omama (Oru LGA) are also being established.

The Eastern Region launched a UPE scheme in February 1957, relying on local authorities to build the additional schools and operating with a heavy addition of untrained teachers, often in temporary and makeshift facilities (Fafunwa 1974: 171). Fafunwa ascribes the collapse of this attempt, apart from the logistical nightmare of a hurried launch, to opposition from Catholic bishops who, among other contentions, argued that "...Freedom to

choose a school for one's children is an essential freedom. It should not be removed by any government." (*op. cit.* 172).

The 1957 UPE programme had at least one forceful and lasting impact on primary education in the East, even though it collapsed within a year: in Imo state 315 of 965 primary schools, begun in the period 1945 to 1959 (and still functioning in 1989), were opened in 1957. Lack of funds and political opposition ended the 1957 UPE scheme in the east; however, the expansion of the schools infrastructure was supported by reverting to community and fee-levying funding. Until the end of 1966 primary education in the East was governed funding limits.

At this time a series of recommendations was presented by the 1958 Dike Report and the 1962 Uka Committee on Primary Education. Among the key policy suggestions of these enquiries were (Fafunwa 1974: 173):

- complete government (state) control of all primary schools;
- setting up local school boards, and involving local government in primary education;
- consolidation of primary schools, closing non-viable ones;
- reduction in the length of primary education from seven to six years;
- improvement in teachers' service conditions, and in-service training courses.

That the road to universal education has been marked by many obstacles is evident from the high wastage (drop-out) rates illustrated by research and by participation surveys (Adesina 1975). The causes of wastage - the term describing failure of many pupils to complete school to the highest (E6/P6) level - are in themselves a topic for major research effort.

4.3 PRIMARY EDUCATION AS A BASIC NEED

In Nigeria as in most countries of the South provision of education is viewed as a critical pre-condition for national development. The 1979 Nigerian Constitution is adamant on its importance (Nigeria: 1978):

"...government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels."

This policy goal incorporates a dilemma. At what level are resources to be

concentrated in order to offer both equal and adequate opportunities ? Current debate on the status of primary education - is it a basic need, and should it be supplied only by government - follows from the types of reform prescriptions of international lending agencies. The evisceration of education and health budgets to meet SAP prescriptions provides the impetus for questioning universal literacy programmes, and it also attacks the nominal national planning goals of countries, such as Nigeria, constrained by SAPs.

Education can be adequate only if it offers a full range, including post-graduate degrees and technical training. To provide this, primary, secondary and tertiary institutions are essential, together with trained staff and a range of teaching aids. These resources must be maintained year after year. Yet Nigeria is a poor society. Worse, the main source of income for all three levels of government is the Federation Account, largely financed out of highly variable petroleum-generated income. Even if the education standard selected as the target of education policy is ideal, the funding to maintain a programme to meet that objective is unreliable.

Hallak (1990: 78) has suggested that there is widespread agreement that education is a "quasi-public good", where the role of government is to "... (i) [develop] the structures, services and institutions... and (ii) [equalize] access....". Thus government is "... required to finance education and training services for those unable to purchase them on the private market." (*ibid.*). This is a marked departure from the universal access demanded and routinely available in the Northern countries, whose lending agents dictate terms to aid-recipient states.

Another important policy distinction assumed by Hallak is that there exist different goals for different levels of an education system - that some components are preparatory and others are terminal (*op. cit.* 85-6). The suggestion is that a primary system often may be an end in itself - i.e. terminal - although national resources and public policy are assigned to foster the belief that it is preparatory to further training. The structure of the Nigerian 6-3-3-4 system (illustrated in Figure 5) is such that primary education is general and subsequent levels are streamed for vocational training and academic learning. This is clearly the case where UPE is preparatory, a conclusion re-enforced by the much higher per-student spending and large enrolments at post-primary levels.

The means to assess the effectiveness of the system implemented are diverse and not universally accepted. The major division is between proponents of theory that schools themselves have the greatest impact on student success and those who argue that the social (especially home) environment is paramount. For productive analysis, this division must be evaluated because the research methodology depends on which of the theories reflects the real-world situation most accurately.

Nine organizational and structural characteristics defining effective schools have been suggested (abbreviated from Cohn and Rossmuller 1987: 381-2):

- 1) School site management is emphasized, school staff having considerable autonomy;
- 2) The school principal provides strong instructional leadership, supported by other staff (although the role of the principal is crucial);
- 3) Stability and continuity are valued, and actions decreasing staff stability avoided;
- 4) Curriculum development is the focus of a co-ordinated, goal-achieving programme;
- 5) Staff development responding to expressed teacher needs is schoolwide and curriculum specific;
- 6) Parents understand and support school goals and student responsibilities, especially regarding homework;
- 7) Schoolwide recognition of academic success is recognized;
- 8) Academic subjects accented, with disruptions/non-academic time minimized;
- 9) Support from the school district is evident.

Needless to say, these are Northern model-type conclusions which, although they do not fail for that reason alone, might be viewed sceptically by Nigerian parents, were they to be offered these as a desirable set of objectives. In this suggestion is embodied the question of value systems - African devotion to community may well demand rather different performance standards to measure-up to an effective system of education. The main drawback of these nine characteristics is that they focus on the school system and evaluate it as a free-standing entity. The measures of effectiveness focus on internal standards, with parents on the outside. This perception is not that discernible from interviews in the field in Nigeria, where parents may be sufficiently disenchanted with the performance of teachers to keep children entirely outside the system. This choice also reflects a key difference between the type of system described by Cohn and Rossmuller and that of a non-Northern country. The former operates in a resource-rich environment where resources are expected eventually to be available, and often immediately so, to implement system-plans. The latter

functions in the expectation that little will be made available, and that piecemeal.

In addition, as is evident from the goals established for UPE both by the Somade Committee and in the 1977 and 1981 Education Policies, UPE is intended and assumed to be additional to community and family education, with a strong emphasis on meeting vocational training goals. Four process variables suggested by Purkey and Smith are reported in Cohn and Rossmuller (1987: 382):

- a) Collaborative planning and collegial relationships help consensus and unity;
- b) There is a strong sense of community, which reduces alienation;
- c) Clearly defined purposes and agreed priorities support clear goals and high expectations;
- d) Order and discipline are based on clear rules enforced fairly and consistently.

The nine characteristics of effective schools above integrate 'technical efficiency' and 'pedagogic' aspects of school resources. The difference between these may be summarized as follows (after Urwick and Junaidu 1991: 19-20):

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| technical efficiency | - provision of basic school inputs such as teachers, teaching materials, and academic learning time; |
| pedagogic | - emphasis on teaching skills, school organization, curriculum, and the environment and openness to experiment. |

Estimates of per-pupil primary level spending for Nigeria (1982-3) are 132 naira (Chuta 1986: 527) ⁶². This is notable in being substantially more than the Federal Ministry of Education estimate (1979-80) of naira 60 per pupil, and naira 75 in the Primary Education Improvement Programme (P.E.I.P.) schools (Federal Ministry of Education 1980: 2) ⁶³. It seems likely that the increase for typical recurrent costs of 125% in three years

⁶² Approximately U.S. \$100 at that time.

⁶³ I have no information on this programme, but model and 'demonstration' schools have been established fairly widely, particularly in the North. Nevertheless such facilities are still very few in terms of the total number of primary schools, and it seems unlikely that, in Imo State, more than a dozen exist. This conclusion is based on examining the names and construction dates listed in the *Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State - 1989*, Imo State of Nigeria Ministry of Education.

is a reflection of the impact of inflation in the petro-naira era, and also of increased costs for imported texts and school aids. For 24 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the spending on primary education in 1980 was U.S. \$ 92 per pupil (Fuller 1986: 498). These figures may seem adequate, but the appearance masks the fact that many inputs for education were at that time imported.

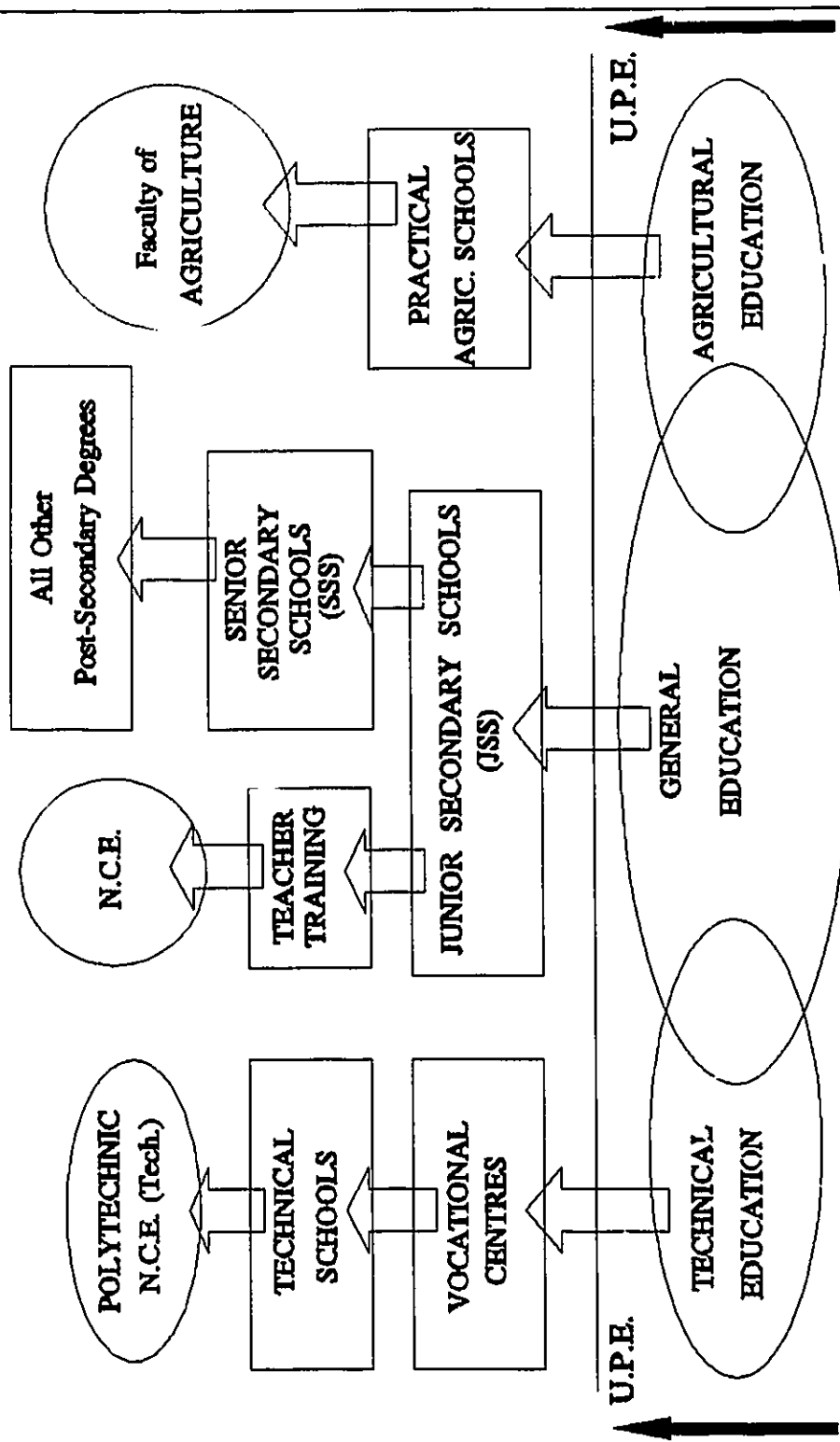
There is little indigenous textbook production in Nigeria. What limited stocks are available are supplemented by inadequate quantities of imported books. Field observation and purchases showed that domestically manufactured exercise books are of poor quality paper and quite expensive ⁶⁴. Together with international exchange rate declines, lower oil revenues, and the introduction (June 1986) of the Structural Adjustment Programme, educational spending has declined in both absolute and relative terms. A 1989 World Bank estimate is that 98 percent of Nigerian pupils lack textbooks (Hallak 1990: 35). Field investigation in rural Imo and Lagos states in 1991 showed that no pupils have textbooks. Even those which are available, and which most likely are concentrated in urban and/or demonstration schools, are imported. For Africa south of the Sahara United Nations estimates suggest that per-pupil spending dropped from \$33 to \$15 in the period between 1980 and 1986 (Hallak 1990: 28 - Figure 2.1).

Even as a basic need Nigerian universal primary education cannot achieve simultaneously the integrated optima for effective, quality schooling. Demand, even after drop-outs of the order of 45% by Primary VI (P6), consistently outstrips supply of the needed inputs. Federal Ministry of Education figures for 1984-5 - the first graduation year subsequent to the 1979-80 nation-wide adoption of UPE - through 1990 ranged from 37.4% to 51.7% ⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Nigeria produces a small quantity of pulp. It is from tree species that provide only short-fibre pulp which has poor tear-resistance. Interviews suggested that roughly 25% of newsprint is lost through print-run damage, and that textbooks do not last more than three years. Store-bought exercise books prices ranged from 2 to 6 naira. With a rural family having as many as five or six school-age children, the cash cost of exercise books - 3 to 12 per pupil - soon becomes prohibitive.

⁶⁵ Compiled by the Statistics Branch, Planning, Research and Statistics Department, June 1991, at request of researcher.

FIGURE 5: STRUCTURE OF 6-3-3-4 SYSTEM (NIGERIA 1981)



Source: *Statistics of Education in Nigeria 1980-1984*
Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, 1985

4.4 PRIMARY EDUCATION 1960-1976

Free primary education was established in 1957 in the then-Eastern Region, but had reverted to fee-paying before 1958 (Chuta 1986: 523).

Under each civilian constitution and military government since independence, education has been a primary concern of Federal authorities. Until the most recent constitution (Nigeria 1989a), planning and the control of fund allocation at each level of the national education system resided at either the state or national level. The current hierarchy is termed the "6-3-3-4" system ⁶⁶, with 6 years of primary school, 3 each for junior secondary and senior secondary schools, and the balance for university (Onyewuenyi, personal communication, March 13, 1991).

The current constitution assigns funds and responsibility for P1-P6 schools to LGAs (Nigeria 1989a) while the curriculum is set by the State or the Federal government (Onyewuenyi, personal communication March 13, 1991). Until it was abolished in January 1991 ⁶⁷, the administrative body at State levels was designated the Primary School Management Board, which had responsibilities for curriculum setting, teacher allocation, capital spending, and Local Inspectors of Education (L.I.E.s). There were also, at the LGA level, individual Local Government Education Authorities. The supervisor for the latter was, by the 1989 Constitution until April 1991, an elected LGA Council member. In April 1991 the Federal government decreed that these positions were to be staffed by professional civil service appointees, to be hired as part of a new LGA management category of Supervisors ⁶⁸.

Oru LGA had 35,170 pupils in 1989 and about 37,500 in 1991. There are no pre-primary schools on Oru, and there are no special education facilities. The latter would include: purpose-built handicapped schools; nomadic schools; or riverine schools. There is a small, recently-built school for the handicapped in Owerri. There were 78 primary schools

⁶⁶ The 6-3-3-4 structure was adopted in Lagos State in 1969 (Adesina 1975: 138).

⁶⁷ *West Africa* No. 3871, 18-24 November 1991, p. 1937.

⁶⁸ *West Africa* No. 3878, 13-19 January 1992, p. 75.

in the study LGA in 1989.

Harber, citing Brays' 1980 doctoral dissertation, lists four reasons why qualified teachers cannot be attracted and/or retained by the primary and, to a lesser extent, secondary school systems (amended, after Harber 1984: 149):

- 1) The standard Grade II certificate has a low qualifying grade, being the equivalent of a West Africa School Certificate Ordinary level pass, so it is not hard to enter into teachers college or university education programmes;
- 2) The rapid implementation of UPE entailed hiring many unqualified teachers so that the prestige and status of the profession has declined;
- 3) At that time (before 1980) the economy was expanding rapidly under the first flush of "petro-naira" inflation, and alternative opportunities were common - this has not been the case since about 1984;
- 4) Many primary schools are in rural areas, as illustrated by the relatively equal numbers of schools in Imo State LGAs (Table 6.2). These areas have even less reliable than urban supplies of electricity and water, and are virtual wastelands in terms of consumer goods, housing, and transport.

As with local government itself, approaches to establishing primary education have varied over time.

In 1975 the Federal Military Government began to carry out the Third National Development Plan, and the Education Programme was framed by that plan and by the fact that from 1970 State governments began to take over all Voluntary Agency schools. The initial impact may be gauged by the fact that between 1961 and 1971 government ownership and control of primary schools increased from 27% to 61% (Ifemeje 1984: 89-90) ⁶⁹. Throughout Nigeria this process has continued, and during field research it became clear that almost all of primary schools are now government owned and controlled.

4.5 COMPARISON OF NOMINAL AND REAL STANDARDS

Standards established for education include those for teacher qualifications; for student attendance; for construction and equipping of schools; for curriculum; and for

⁶⁹ In Oru LGA, survey questionnaires showed that all responding schools had been taken over in 1970.

graduation of pupils. Measurement of these standards is part of the UPE system, for which purpose Local Inspectors of Education are on staff in all LGAs. The accuracy of information concerning standards, received during interviews, is not easy to gauge, since there is a natural inclination to put forward the best case. This is the primary constraint on establishing the difference between nominal and observed standards.

In Nigeria teacher qualifications commonly found include, in ascending order (Federal Ministry of Education - *Statistics of Education in Nigeria* (1985):

Table 1.15, p. 29, and p. 1).

- A) 1) Primary VI Certificate;
2) West Africa School Certificate (WASC);
3) National Certificate of Education (N.C.E.) Grade III diploma;
- B) N.C.E. Grade II (failed);
- C) N.C.E. Grade II diploma;
- D) N.C.E. Grade I diploma.

In addition Islamic (Qu'oranic) teachers are employed both under UPE and as traditional *mallams* in Muslim communities. These tend not to have any diploma, even when working in the UPE schools, according to Federal Ministry of Education interviewees. This is the case despite successive deadlines for traditional Islamic teachers to attain the minimum Grade III diploma. However, in Imo State there are very few Islamic teachers, with only one reported in Oru LGA surveys.

Field research - both interviews and survey questionnaires - established the current resource profile of primary schools in Oru LGA. This rural area receives funding for teachers' salaries directly from the Federal government, as part of the allocation for local government established by the 1978 Constitution. At inception, the 1976 provisions for local government required that 10 percent of Federal funds be distributed to the LGAs, but this amount was routed through the State governments. The result was that the allocation was almost always late, and frequently did not filter down at all. In the latter case, it was appropriated to pay back the intermediate government for advances to LGAs.

Under the present arrangements, the LGA allocation is 20% of Federal revenue - having passed through intermediate stages noted above in chapter 3 - and was, in mid-1991,

paid in regular monthly tranches. The amount is based on the requirements of the preceding year, and as a result remains a matter for dispute.

For example, new teaching positions may not be assigned until salary funding has been confirmed, although the amount of internally generated revenue of wealthy LGAs allows leeway in this decision. In Eti-Osa LGA, incorporating the rich Ikoyi area of Lagos as well as remote rural areas to the east of the former capital, the tax base is large enough that teaching positions can be paid for without serious worry about repayment. However in Oru LGA it is inconceivable that such a course could be contemplated. The question is rendered somewhat academic, since in Oru the rural primary schools are chronically short of teachers because of the lack of applicants, although schools in the major towns of Mgbidi (the LGA headquarters) and Awo-Omama have this problem to a lesser degree.

Curriculum standards are nationally established, but the shortage of necessities is so severe that it is a moot point whether the changes are reflected in real instruction. Very few teachers have any textbooks, and the cost of exercise books for pupils is almost prohibitive. These conditions have existed for some time, and have been worsened both by the ambitious expansion (nominally from September 1976, the implementation of Universal Primary Education - Onwuka 1983: 3) and the strains of post-1986 Structural Adjustment Programme.

In terms of these objectives, interviews in both Oyo and Imo states suggested that the minimum qualification of a Grade II certificate has been met, but this was not universal. In addition, the national objective has been revised so that the new standard is Grade I. Furthermore, national education resources are being stretched to include children in settings than militate against education - nomads and people living in riverine/coastal areas. For example the nomadic schools in Plateau State numbered 31, with 130 teachers and 2,696 pupils, in 1990. This particular programme took-off in 1983 (*New Nigerian*, no. 7,711, January 10, 1991: p. 10)⁷⁰. However, the re-organization of responsibilities that has

⁷⁰ This delightful term appears in every description of a project or programme launch. I have no idea of how it came into universal use, but every exercise or scheme has a "take-off" announcement. Unfortunately the announcement typically precedes actual action by a fairly long leadtime.

attended post-1989 administrative changes (per the Constitution as amended by decrees), has had repercussions on all aspects of education. In the Nomadic Education Programme complaints have been voiced about lack of direction and of Federal funds, with the blame placed on the dissolution of the National Primary Education Commission and its replacement by a National Commission for Nomadic Education (*New Nigerian* , no. 7,814, May 21, 1991: p. 21). Certainly my observations confirm that "...only a few individuals...." (*Idem*) staff the office at the Federal Ministry of Education in Lagos, and the concerns reported in the May 21, 1991 news report also mentioned confusion due to being "...at the mercy of the assistance rendered ... by the various state and local governments." (*Idem*).

Other crises affecting the provision of primary education, and repeated over the period of this study in different areas of Nigeria, include complaints by teachers of salary arrears, low minimum pay, and inadequate or late allowances for transport, housing, annual vacation pay, and food. For example, all civil servants in Gongola State struck for an adequate minimum wage, which the Nigerian Labour Congress defined in May 1991 as being 360 Naira per month - compared to the Federal Government decreed monthly stipend of 250 Naira (*The Punch* , Vol. 15, no. 15448, May 10, 1991: p. 1 and 13). The primary schools were closed as a result of the strike. Interviews in Oyo and Imo states confirmed that teachers and other civil servants often were left without pay, especially allowances but including basic salaries ⁷¹ . However most informants added that the assumption of primary school teacher salaries by the Federal Government had reduced these problems - while leaving unresolved pre-existing outstanding claims.

As noted in chapter 3 the core problem has been that local governments have the responsibility to deliver UPE, while senior governments both garner the bulk of financial resources and compete for trained staff. The 1978 Constitutions' enabling intent, and ambiguous terminology, underlies confusion as to which level shall deliver UPE (Hinchliffe

⁷¹ The non-payment of allowances remains a common complaint by diverse work sectors with employees often being owed several years of back-pay. In the cases mentioned during interviews base pay was occasionally withheld. This situation refers to teachers as a group, rather than those individuals suspended or docked pay for failure to teach.

1989: 234). The 1989 Constitution makes the division of powers clearer and, as modified by federal fiat in 1991 and early 1992, assigns a larger share of the Federation Account income to LGAs.

However, the clarity of the latest decrees has been constrained by simultaneous multiplication of the number of LGAs - from 301 in 1976, to 454 in 1988, and 589 in 1991. The numerical increase of nearly 30% in 1991 alone is a clear challenge to the availability of experienced and effective staff at the LGA level.

As for teaching staff, this resource base has been pressured by both relatively low pay, and particularly by abysmal rural working conditions. While urban primary schools are not uniformly superior, they attract far more investment in model programmes and teaching aids than rural schools.

4.6 EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A general description of rural development was suggested in a 1976 Commonwealth Secretariat report (quoted in Kumar 1979: 208) ⁷² :

"...a comprehensive mode of social transformation which recognises that national development must involve all elements of the population. It is a socio-economic process which seeks to bring about a more equitable distribution of resources and incomes within a society. It involves the integration of the rural poor, the vast majority of the population in all developing countries, into the national economy."

(as quoted in Kumar 1979: 208)

Kumar indicates that extension education is a prerequisite for rural development, in that it is both a basic need and one of the social factors upon which agricultural production increases depend (*op. cit.* 210-11). This point of view is so circumscribed that it is of little use, particularly when such basic requirements as labour are not always adequate for agricultural production. Ude and Salau (1987) illustrate how labour shortages can exist, especially where new crops are being introduced.

Their study uses examples from Anambra State which borders on the north of Imo

⁷² *Report of the Workshop on Rural Development in Africa*, London 1976. The workshop was held at Ibadan in that year.

State: two of their six research sites are irrigation projects (World Bank sponsored) in Aguata LGA, abutting Oru LGA. The study cases are small-scale projects, involving 2,085 hectares worked by over 2,500 farmers. Families have an average of slightly fewer than six children, typically with a single husband-wife partnership. The many variables included in statistical analysis included competition from planting traditional subsistence crops, the varied crop-nurturing processes, as well as the need for different types of labour for specific tasks. The conclusion was that adding a new technology (paddy rice cultivation) posed a problem of cash-labour hiring, since the added tasks demanded by the rice crop could be managed by neither traditional community work-sharing nor by family members.

While Kumar writing almost a decade before Ude and Silau was almost complacent theorizing about the role of education in rural development, individual empirical case studies leads to a more critical assessment of needs.

For example, Kumar identified the objectives of an Integrated Rural Development approach as ⁷³ :

- a) improved income distribution;
- b) full and productive employment;
- c) increased productivity;
- d) improved self-sufficiency;
- e) provision of basic needs and amenities - food, housing, health, as well as accompanying infrastructure (physical, institutional, community services).

The absence of education *per se* , and the emphasis on economic indicators, are striking. They reflect a bias inherent in the authors' profession, that of economics lecturer, as well as the passage of time. Seeking out data suitable for quantifying a theory or hypothesis, without giving adequate weight to other social factors, inevitably leads to a partial model.

Brays critique of self-help projects in education is pointed, and broader in scope than a theorist such as Kumar could construct from his narrow approach: these well-founded observations apply neither universally nor as a complete suite of effects noticeable in any given undertaking.

⁷³ Kumar 1979: 208.

- boot-strap projects do not relieve government of obligations and costs;
- self-help efforts in fact normally result in more demands on government resources;
- community efforts may be wasteful, due to poor organization or skill deficits;
- local people are not necessarily imbued with 'national spirit' by projects;
- community participation in curriculum setting is unproductive ⁷⁴.

The impact of social and institutional infrastructure investment cannot be calculated, at least not without moderately 'heroic' assumptions. Physical infrastructure is open to some cash-calculated benefit-to-cost analysis. The case is compellingly so when considering intangible benefits such as better health and larger, more detailed understanding of the means to achieve personal and group goals. A population less afflicted with disease and more confident in its communal ability and rights is likely over time to be increasingly demanding of administration and officials. Government at all levels may underestimate the velocity and strength of these qualitative changes, and be surprised by lower tolerances of manipulation. This particular impact, inherent in successful broadly-based IRD, cannot be assigned a benefit cost.

⁷⁴ Certainly UPE in Nigeria makes small concession to local curriculum setting. PTAs (Parent Teacher Associations) meet infrequently - surveys in Oru LGA suggested one to four times per year, although some meet monthly - or only at the request of the headmistress or headmaster. Lacking contrary information, this suggests that HMs together with State Ministries of Education, and presumably teachers, direct most curriculum development. Imo State inaugurated a pilot 'Primary Science and Maths Project' in 64 (of 2,018) primary schools, allocating only N 9,000 to 19 of those 64 for supplying technical equipment (*West Africa* No. 3869, 4-10 November 1991, p. 1857). This coincided with the delayed resumption of school after the 'long break', officially set at October 12, 1991.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Imo State is a traditional homeland of the Ibo, one of the three largest ethnic groups in the nation, both historically and currently (Okpu 1977: 20; Graf 1988). It is also densely populated, as a population of nearly 4.8 million reside in an area of about 12,687 square kilometres. The political structure of the Ibo is decentralized, in that the culture does not contain the structured hierarchy of traditional chiefs or emirs found in western or northern areas of Nigeria (Okpu 1977: 24, 32-3). This characteristic may be a factor in the distribution of fund allocations within LGAs, although as noted in chapter 3 the formula for Federation Account disbursements is constitutionally fixed.

There are two potential avenues for assessing evidence concerning the allocation of resources to primary education in LGAs. On one hand there is the mapping and weighing of statistics detailing the primary school system and its development. On the other, is the consideration of the policy environment - the political and economic terms in which these distributions have evolved.

The means for accomplishing this research include: evaluation of relevant literature; field research surveys and interviews; and numerical evaluation of data.

5.1 RESEARCH CONTEXT

The principal assumption of this investigation is that there are measurable indices of resource allocation and of success in implementing government at the local level. Optimum data for analysis include statistical records:

- a) POPULATION - for the study area and time period (Oru LGA 1986-1991);
- b) school population as in a);
- c) comparison population data as in a) and b) for Imo state and for Nigeria;
- d) BUDGET ALLOCATIONS for primary education in Oru LGA;
- e) budget allocations for other Imo State LGAs;
- f) overall primary education spending, Imo State (state and federal)
- g) TOTAL LGA capital/operating funds for Oru LGA;
- h) comparison budgets for other Imo State LGAs, and the state;

In addition other desirable data include:

- i) location, size, and pupil distribution among primary schools in Oru LGA;
- j) same data, as well as the age of the schools, for other Imo State LGAs;
- k) data on numbers, qualifications, and distribution of teachers;
- l) scope of primary education curriculum, and its application ;
- m) current prices of school supplies, uniforms, texts, and exercise books;
- n) availability of texts and other school aids;
- o) participation and wastage rates of pupils in Oru LGA, Imo state, and Nigeria;
- p) the general economic and health conditions - the socio-economic environment - of rural dwellers in Imo state, and in Nigeria;
- q) the distribution of supervisory, administrative and executive powers in Oru LGA over the study time-frame;
- r) the changes in constitutional and revenue power over time, in Nigeria.

A major concern, regardless of state and region in which social science projects are located, is data accuracy. In Nigeria this is a critical limitation which can be addressed only through field work and scepticism concerning government data. Even central government sponsored research projects generate few reliable statistics at any scale (see Bello-Imam for example of recent data collection difficulties).

Field surveys were intended to establish the limitations of official data, through experience with site-visits and interviews. It was evident that published data, particularly federal level statistics, were inadequate for the assessment of social and economic conditions. This is due to inadequacy of collection tools, sporadic record-keeping with few automated aids, and to wide swings in Nigerian economic conditions since the end of the Civil War. The latter renders comparison statistics almost unobtainable ⁷⁵.

5.2 DATA LIMITATIONS

Both field research and literature review indicated that few statistical data are obtainable, and that which is available lacks uniformity in format and detail. For example, there are no reliable overall population figures, since there has been no accepted official census since 1963. The November 1991 census is already in dispute, and is in any case

⁷⁵ A useful critique of economic indicators is Mosley (1992), while Adebayo also notes that the impact of Sahelian droughts, family planning campaigns, economic hardship, and the Civil War are not considered by analysts (1990: 263). While he is discussing census deficiencies, these same constraints affect estimates for every other type of socio-economic activity.

neither available at the LGA level nor appropriate for the time-frame covered by this research - there are no comparison data from censuses in the nearly three decades that separate these exercises. As a result some mixing of statistics is unavoidable: Tables 6.11 and 6.12 include population estimates based on annual growth of 2.5% since 1963. Comparison with Table 3.2, incorporating 1991 census data rather than 1989 estimates, suggests inflation of population: Imo-Abia State in the 1991 exercise is over 30% lower than the 1989 estimated population for the same area.

From the context of inflation ⁷⁶, now entrenched by the falling international value of the naira ⁷⁷, it is clear that both budget estimates and expenditures demand sophisticated manipulation to arrive at indexed constant values. But the required baseline information is difficult to obtain, and the inflation figures suggested by Federal statistics are not necessarily reliable bases for producing indexed values.

Neither the project information in hand nor available capital and operating (recurrent) budget figures provide evidence of such adjustments. The Presidency has been pursuing all states in 1991 through a commission to collate information on all incomplete development projects in Nigeria. This campaign has been quickened by the appointment of a task force to collate details of Federal level activities over the entire period of post-Second Republic military government for transmittal to the incoming (January 1993) Third Republic government (*West Africa* No. 3904, 6-12 July, 1992, p. 1179).

Some lingering effects of the Civil War (1967-70) continue to influence the cultural and political landscape. Resources in primary schools and the physical condition of public buildings still reflect deficits from losses from the Biafran war (Onyewuenyi 1991c). However, the effect of retrenchment (re-structuring of public services) and of tight foreign

⁷⁶ The petro-naira era of inflation (1973-1981) was checked by the oil-price crash, world recession, and the 1986 SAP.

⁷⁷ The value of the Naira has fallen since it was floated on March 5, 1992, by about 80% - for much of the period 1991 through March 1992 it was at roughly N 10.5/\$ U.S.: after the float it trades at N 18.6/\$ U.S. In the period from June 1986 to the beginning of 1991 the official exchange rate fell from about N 3/\$ to N 8.5/\$. (*African Business*, No. 166, June 1992: 20)

exchange controls is perhaps more important in the allocation of resources today. For example, Nigeria cannot afford to import pulp for paper making, and must rely on the local short-fibre pulp. This is both intermittent in supply and of poor quality, resulting in shortages of exercise books and an almost total lack of texts.

As a case in point, the example of successive National Development Plans is instructive. Organized by sectoral capital expenditures, these plans have not served as anything more than loose guidelines within which budget estimates were made according to inspired guesswork. Gyrating inflation rates have inevitably reduced the planned spending suggested by these five-year plans.

In education estimated spending per pupil and allowances per classroom block, used as planning guides in 1979 were hopelessly outmoded by 1983 - the year in which the Ministry of Education did a major appraisal of the UPE programme. The reports themselves acknowledge this point ⁷⁸.

As to specific classes of data the situation is no better. Federal planning for UPE is based on enrolment numbers which are poorly calculated. For example, the 1990-1992 Rolling Plan estimate is that in 1989 there were over 1,054,061 pupils in Imo State: the detailed break-down by the State Ministry of Education counts 910,296, a variance of some 13.7% from the Federal figure still in use in 1991 at the Federal Ministry of Education. The results of the 1991 census make it even more unlikely that the Federal figure is accurate.

The 1991 census exercise is even more problematic. The population estimates used in Imo State have been based, at least since 1986, on a standard population increase of 2.5% per annum, giving a 1989 population of over 6.8 million (Tables 6.11 and 6.12). Yet the 1991 count showed 4.783 million - a variance of nearly 2.02 million less than the estimate from 1989 !

If the age group covering primary school-age pupils is assumed to be 16% of total population, then enrolment should have been in the range of 765 thousand (16% of 4.783M) to 1.088 million (16% of 6.8M). What, then, to make of the State count of 910,256 pupils

⁷⁸ Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education 1983.

in 1989 ? It is in the correct range and, allowing for drop-ins (pupils who fall outside of the 6 to 12 year age-group), may be fairly accurate. Presumably the teacher counts are more accurate since the number concerned is less than 4% of the pupil registration - and teachers must be paid - but there is no guarantee of complete accuracy. Personal interviews allowed for observation, and the mail survey of Oru LGA schools established the range of reliability of the State summary of 1989 enrolment figures. The mailed surveys suggest that these enrolment figures tend to err in being too high (illustrated by Table 6.17), supporting an interpretation that the 1991 census is in fact fairly accurate for Imo State.

5.3 THE STUDY AREA

Field research for the study was conducted in Oru LGA, with complementary (though less extensive) investigations in Mbaitoli LGA ⁷⁹. Owerri is the state capital, a major city of approximately 85,000 people. Imo had 21 LGAs in 1988, of which several were subdivided into districts (*Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State*, p. viii-ix). As a result of the division of the state on August 27, 1991, the new and smaller state has 21 LGAs in an area roughly half that of the predecessor Imo State. New LGAs have been created, in Abia and Imo - their boundaries are almost all according to the pre-existing subdivision districts. Figure 6 and all Tables presenting LGA data reflect the boundaries of those LGAs which were functioning in 1989. Table 5 records the basic statistical data defining the State (1989).

The population of Imo State is fairly homogenous. This is due to the majority concentration of Ibo (Igbo). The major urban centre in 1989 was the city of Aba, which may be over three times the size of Owerri; it is now in Abia State. Oru LGA adjoins Anambra State (to the north) and is otherwise surrounded by Imo State LGAs. Oru LGA is somewhat closer to Owerri than to the similarly sized city of Onitsha, the site of one of only three road bridges in Nigeria over the Niger River and a traditional ferry point.

The principal town is Mgbidi which, judging by the heavy concentration, variety and number of businesses, is also the service centre and largest place in the LGA. For example, Mgbidi has a large town market and motor park, with lock-up stalls. It has at least two

⁷⁹ The study LGA is north and east of Owerri, the capital of Imo State. Figure 3 maps the boundaries of LGAs in 1989, prior to the changes decreed in 1991.

news sellers selling eight or nine of the commonly available Nigerian daily and weekly newspapers, and also several of the news-magazines: *Newswatch*, *The African Guardian*, and sometimes *Tell*, but not *African Business* or any of the specialist publications widely available through both street vendors and stalls in cities such as Owerri or Lagos. There are several stores selling dry goods, toiletries, 'mineral' (bottled spring water), and very expensive processed goods such as jams and canned vegetables and meats. The town market has specialized vendors selling soft drinks by the flat of 24 bottles, beer by the case, and other beverages, as well as plastic and aluminum manufactured household items. There were no marketers, either in stalls or street-hawking, for cassette tapes, leather goods, batteries, photographic, or other consumer items such as are offered in large towns and cities. It seems that these are only available in places at least the size of Onitsha, Owerri, and Oshogbo. However, xeroxing and small-business services were on offer in some of the commercial-strip enterprises along the main highway. This is one of the two-lane asphalted roads which is rated as a class 1 highway in Nigeria. In this instance the road has been built without an aggregate base and accordingly is washing away fairly rapidly.

The village of Awo-Omama is the centre of a more extensive autonomous community than Mgbidi, but has virtually no services or businesses. In fact the only fixed commercial establishments are 'chop-houses', selling meals and refreshments (beer and soft-drinks). There is a large modern brewery, producing '33' brand beer and malt-flavour soft drinks (Maltina).

A Ministry of Local Government section chief in Owerri provided *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State*. This 1989 publication is the second of its type but even the Ministry had no copy available of the predecessor edition. Community development projects listed in it are summarised in Table 6.2, classified by a typology defined by the purpose of the projects. The quality of reported information is variable. Some LGAs have listed dozens of projects where another might have grouped them into only a handful. In other words, some of the projects described individually by one LGA council might in fact be part of a larger whole, reported by another LGA with a similar undertaking as a single case. The project descriptions give no evidence of consistency. Comparison of descriptively similar projects with the columns reporting naira amounts budgeted and spent indicates that

no adjustment for constant or current-year values has been made. It is not certain that estimates are based on a consistent method of calculation.

On the contrary, from the variation in estimates for apparently similar projects costs must have been estimated according to differing criteria. Perhaps this is solely a reflection of inflation-induced changes over the period 1981 through 1988. There is no proof that the amounts listed as spent are calculated consistently.

Some mapping is possible, since the projects are listed by community or town name. This could in theory produce a series of state maps, which illustrates the topography of development project frequency in Imo state. However, many project place-names do not appear on the *Imo State Provisional Map* (1990), which is the most recent such publication. Finally, as exemplified by the explanation of community funding set out in Igwe (1988), it is clear that project funding is somewhat constrained by the availability of levies and donations from age-groups and community members living elsewhere. What is not certain is the source of funds for the many of the projects reported in the compendium. The introduction to the source-publication states that most are community-funded, but that LGAs, the State, and other (Federal) programmes offer support both of resources (technical expertise, vehicles) and funds.

As illustrated by the tabular data copied in Tables 6.4 through 6.8 many projects details specify the exact work undertaken and the stage of completion. This affords some scope for interpretation of capital project success rates - but more important, it also allows for estimating the reliability of the data. Field research and collateral readings concerning construction prices and practice were verified through observations and field-gathered data during May and June 1991.

The sample comprises primary schools in Oru LGA, which registered 35,170 pupils in 1989 and about 37,500 in 1991. There are no pre-primary schools on Oru and there are no special education facilities. There were 78 primary schools in the study LGA in 1989, as there were in 1991.

The composition of any given LGA in this state typically includes 18 to 24 autonomous communities, ranging in population from 5,000 to 80,000, amidst a total population of about 225,000. In the 1979 Federal election, nearly 4 million voters were on

the register (Graf 1988: 86), implying a 1991 state population of over 7.0 million. This estimate assumes that about 50% of the population was registered to vote and a population growth rate of 2.2% per year ⁸⁰. According to the 1991 census the total population of Abia and Imo States was less than 4.8 million. This poses a problem for analysis since the population projections in use in 1989 were based on uniform annual increments of 2.5% from the 1963 census. For that reason, and because the 1991 census has not yet been published except as a summary of State total populations, the apparently erroneous 1989 data have been used as a reference mark in this research. All calculations concerning population bear the caveat of extreme caution.

5.4 METHODOLOGICAL BASIS

Since 1976 national policy goals and constitutional norms have established a goal of Universal Primary Education detailed in chapter 4. Funding limitations and the lack of local resources - whether due to a lack of local revenue or to inefficient fund distribution by the federal and state governments - have hampered success in attaining even primary schooling for all citizens. It is in this light that the actual effects of devolving authority and resources to LGA's, especially in the field of primary education, deserve detailed analysis.

The constitutional structure of Nigeria is in a state of constant flux, and in 1991 alone there were four decrees (from the Armed Forces Ruling Council = AFRC) directly affecting primary school funding and operation. These must be included in the contextual constraints:

- i) January 3, 1991 - a decree establishing new LGA primary education responsibilities in detail;
- ii) June 18, 1991 - a decree ending supervisory duties by elected LGA councillors, which simultaneously required the appointment of civil service supervisors under several mandatory titles (it also allowed for appointments to additional LGA administrative departments;
- iii) August 27, 1991- creation of 9 new states and 47 new LGAs;

⁸⁰ This is inconsistent with the 1991 census which suggests a national population growing at less than 2% per year since the last official count (*African Business*, No. 166, June 1992; and state-by-state 1991 census figures provided in June 1992 by the Nigerian High Commission in Ottawa.)

- iv) September 23, 1991 - establishment of 89 additional new LGAs and the **termination of the tenure of councils in LGAs affected by this.**

These constraints result from the present transition programme which is to be complete in January 1993. They also ensure that administration of LGAs and States has been a ferment of repeated re-organization, apparently a deliberate policy of the Bahangida administration to short-circuit regionalism and factionalism in the new civilian government.

Resulting data limitations are such that available statistical information is suitable only for limited estimates of resource allocation, using surrogate measures exclusively. The selected surrogate measures may be analytically useful, in terms of bridging gaps evident in available data sets. One such is the distribution of pupil population within both a single LGA, and throughout Imo state. Another is the relative money allocation to providing both physical plant (schools) and human resources (teaching and management personnel) to support primary education, both within the LGA and between LGAs within the state. A third is the quality and number of teachers, who are actually available within the study LGA (and possibly at the State level).

The sample of primary schools in Oru LGA, for purposes of interviewing and distribution of survey questionnaires, was governed by what can be accomplished under the limitations posed by both local transport and subsequent communication between Canada and Nigeria. While the author was very fortunate in being offered generous cooperation with both these types of facility, the problems remain very constraining. It has proven to be very difficult to use the international mail - only hand-carried packages and letters may be carried reliably.

Other important research objectives include determining the participation rate of pupils and the continuity of teaching staff in individual schools. Data from Lagos city indicate high teacher turn-over correlating to teacher qualifications - the higher the official qualifications, the shorter the term spent in any given school (Adesina 1975: 133).

The present research considers:

- A) Analysis of location and condition of primary school facilities in the LGA, taking into account labour, living, and materials costs;

- B) Establishing the costs of primary school education for families;
- C) Perception of the reasons for A and B (above) by local residents.

5.5 FIELD METHODOLOGY

The approach to field research was to establish local contacts and build on their knowledge in order to conduct a questionnaire survey and supporting interviews and to investigate budget allocation. This required three elements:

- 1 - a field survey of potential study LGAs, in order to select an area offering a range of urban centres; it was intended to include location mapping of the schools in the towns selected for study, as well as evaluation of the physical condition of those schools;
- 2 - recruiting of local contacts including:
 - a) National Union of Teachers (NUT) zonal and regional representatives (Owerri);
 - b) Head-masters or head-mistresses of both state and private schools;
 - c) teachers identified by the survey questionnaire and/or by 2b) contacts;
- 3 - interviews with members of LGA councils to obtain budget allocation information.

A sample research questionnaire, used as a basis for the field working copy was compiled with the advice of R. Onyewuenyi. The research period was designed to allow visits to individual schools for interviews and to quantify school population and resources. Field research sought to establish two essentials for developing the research paper:

- I) quantitative data concerning the number, location, physical conditions and pupil population of at least 20 primary schools in the study LGA, the total school population in the LGA administrative capital and the two comparison towns; and
- II) a base of interviewed personal contacts with whom to maintain links in order to both broaden the survey and to resolve additional lines of inquiry suggested by on-going research.

This approach was tailored to available resources and to the types of information most likely to be available in the study LGA. It would be desirable to develop an historical study of the full period of LGA growth (1976-1991), but the information was not available.

Even though Oru LGA. and the school population that it serves, is almost the smallest in Imo State, difficulty in local transport and in meeting a full range of LGA administrators precluded more depth of research than the LGA administrative centre and some representative comparison places. Broadening the coverage to include all towns of the study LGA required extensive local contacts and public transport exceeding what was actually offered, and would also have demanded several more field time or a research project having substantial official support.

Figure 6A shows a typical primary school layout, having three blocks. The physical structure design is most often full-wall construction (design type B in the questionnaire - see Appendix B, p. 152), although some schools are of a half-wall design (Type A).

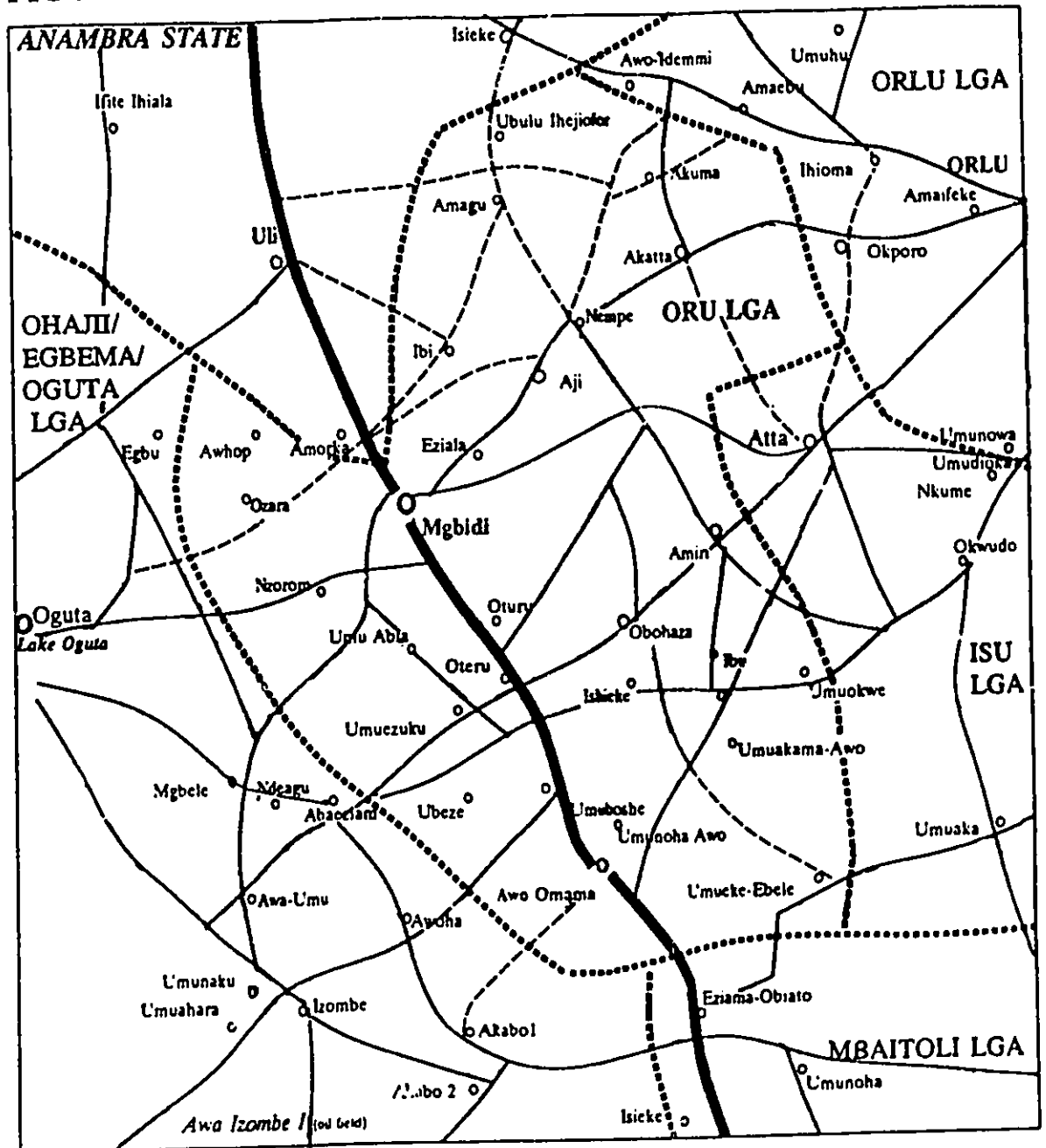
Information was collected for the last three school years. Survey results therefore over-lapped the directory information. This helped to establish whether the published primary school enrolment (1989) data were accurate. Limiting interviews to towns proved to be correct, since primary schools usually are located in towns (Onyewuenyi 1991b).

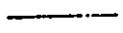
The field collected data are in chapter 6. A 1990 dated base map at the scale of 1: 250,000 (Imo State Ministry of Works) was used for locating as many autonomous community and town names as possible.

The actual opportunity for interviews was more constrained by time, transport, and local custom than anticipated, in the same way that the State Map is inadequate for detailed analysis. Outlining some characteristics of the study LGA and State is possible, but understanding the full social context necessary for more precise analysis simply was beyond time limitations. Nevertheless, the objective of gaining insights to and understanding of actual development projects was fully realized.

A preliminary mapping of LGA endowments is presented in Figure 10, based on several of the surrogate criteria analyzed in chapter 6. Endowment, described in chapter 2 (p. 32-33), is a term intended to describe the quantity and quality of resources, and the quality of life arising from allocation of resources. It cannot be measured accurately using only one or two indices, particularly when the statistics are both surrogates and of uncertain accuracy. It captures the flavour of the observations and statistics of this research, and reflects rural/urban differences in attributes evident in the landscape of LGAs in Imo State.

FIGURE 6: Oru LGA Towns Locator Map

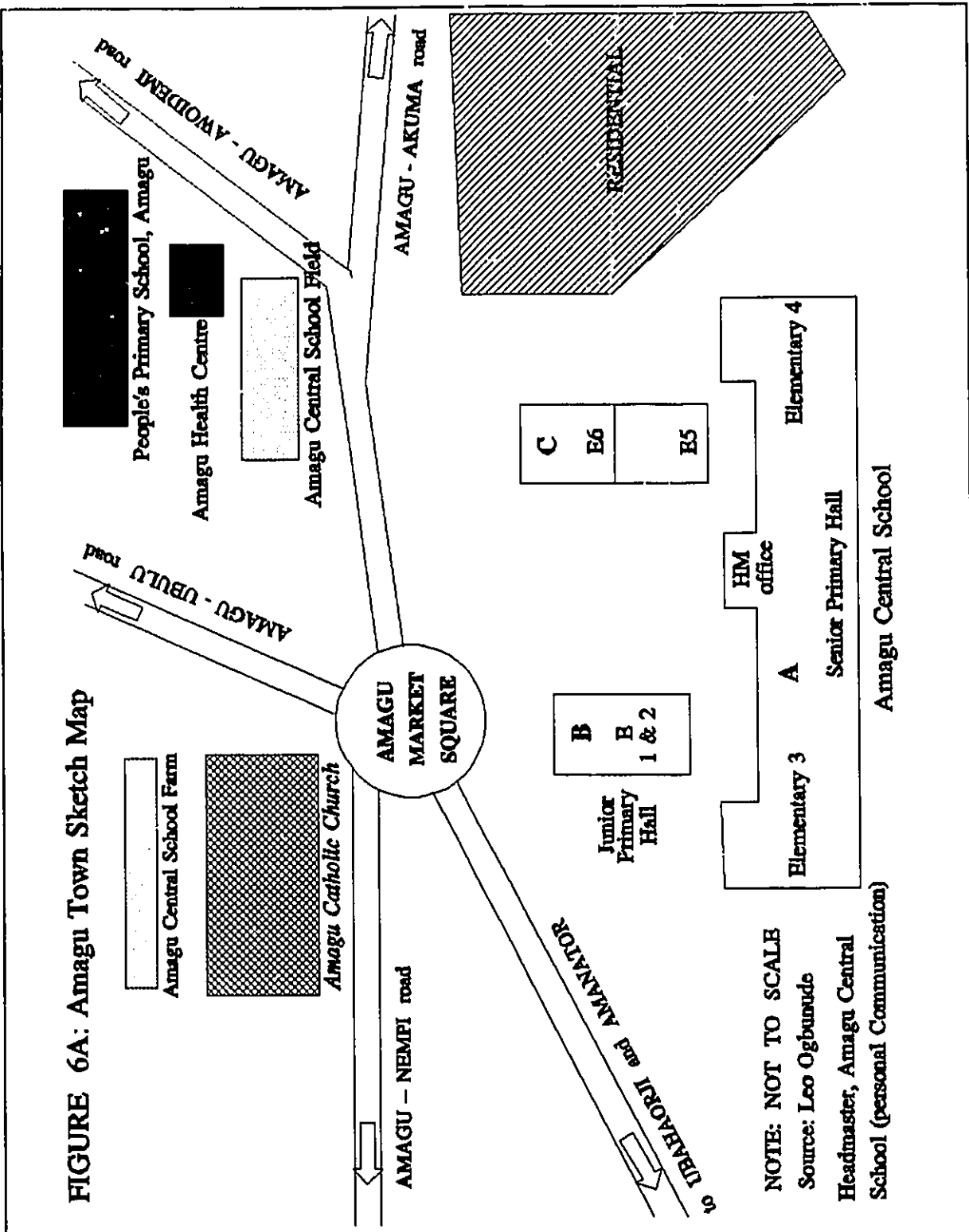


LEGEND: Town ... 
 Autonomous Community 
 Main highway 
 Other roads 
 Boundaries 


 0 5 km.



Source: *Provisional State Map, 1990, Ministry of Public Works, Imo State.*



CHAPTER 6: DATA ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter has four sections, with the first three setting out and describing the data acquired during research. The final part summarizes the observations and relates them to the research hypotheses.

6.1 LGA DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

The limitations of the project data, aggregated for Imo State in Table 6.2 and illustrated by Tables 6.4 through 6.8, are evaluated in the preceding chapter:

- lack of common, base-year adjusted expenditure and budget figures;
- uncertain parameters describing projects (types A - H in Table 6.2 are self-defined);
- absence of details on project status (on-going, suspended, stage of completion);
- specific division of responsibility for funding, realization, and maintenance.

These are serious impediments to constructing detailed explanations based on the projects as individual activities. However, they do not eliminate broad evaluation illustrating geographic variations, exemplified by the priorities inherent in community choices. It is reasonable to interpret the concentration of effort by community and type as a surrogate measure of differential endowment. This approach assumes that community values are adequately represented by the frequency of certain types of project.

It would strain credulity to state that all development projects are either selfish, designed solely to benefit some elite; or utterly altruistic, designed and accomplished completely without reference to the self-interest of various groups both local and LGA-wide.

The evidence of economic riots, dating to the Women's tax revolt in Aba in 1926 and continuing into the present with the widespread food and fuel price protests of May and June 1992, is that Nigerians do not sit passively while their interests are neglected. It would take a remarkable person, 'Big Man' or otherwise, unilaterally to impose terms for all projects in any given area over a specific timespan. It is reasonable therefore to assume that the choice of community funded and actualized development projects represents a fairly sophisticated balance between competing interests.

The preface to the LGA reports notes that community self-help efforts are important

in establishing infrastructure ⁸¹. Details make it clear that community effort includes particular groups within the area, of which some examples are noted in Table 6.1:

TABLE 6.1 EXAMPLES of SPECIFIC FUNDING SOURCES

Bende LGA	Akwamu Item Town Hall	Egodinohia Women Group	N	50,000
Bende LGA	Ozuitem Sec. Library	by a Philanthropist	N	120,000
Bende LGA	Ozuitem Secondary Tech. Workshop	Ozuitem Development Union	N	90,000
Bende LGA	Ozuitem Sec. School rehab.	Ozuitem Develop. Union	N	50,000
Bende LGA	Ogboko Ozuitem Town Hall	Age grade group	N	90,000
Bende LGA	Umuokwe Town Hall	Umuokwe Women	N	250,000
Bende LGA	Alayi J.S.S. workshop	Otu Umu Igiobi, <i>Lome, Togo</i>	N	86,000
Bende LGA	Alayi J.S.S. domestic science	Chief Kalu Onwubiko	N	95,000
Bende LGA	Ntalakwu Pr. Sc. assembly Hall	Age grade group	N	115,000
Ideato LGA	Ndiawa-Izuogu Magistrate Hall	Peoples Club of Nigeria	N	400,000
Mbano LGA	Umuluwe Ajirija Civic Hall	Women's Wing of Dev. Union	N	50,000
Nkwerre LGA	Amaigbo Agro Science Centre	[Fed.] Gov't. + community	N	1,500,000
Nkwerre LGA	Amaigbo Police Stn/Barrack	[Fed.] Gov't. + community	N	2,000,000
Nkwerre LGA	Amaigbo Poultry Farm	Local Gov't. and community	N	20,000
Nkwerre LGA	Ekwe community Soap Industry	Pillar Social Club	N	500,000
Nkwerre LGA	Ike Obodo Civic Centre	Social Club (un-named)	N	1,500,000
Obioma Ngwa	Obegu Women Centre	Obioma Ngwa Local Gov't.	N	180,000
Obioma Ngwa	Umuode Pr. Sc. block (4 classes)	Umuode Village	N	7,000
Obioma Ngwa	Umuokorocho Village Hall	Umuokorocho Village	N	50,000
Obioma Ngwa	Umudaba Village Hall	Umudaba Village	N	50,000
Obioma Ngwa	Mgboko-Amairi Water Reservoir	Obioma Ngwa Local Gov't.	N	160,000
Obioma Ngwa	Garri Industry	Obioma Ngwa Local Gov't.	N	70,000

Source: *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State*, Ministry of Information and Culture.

Table 6.2 enumerates 931 projects based on the detailed project lists reported in the 1989 compendium *Spotlight on Local Government - Imo State*. The types of project are:

- A - electric power supply, especially rural electrification;
- B - water services, mainly of piped water but including erosion control;
- C - roads, largely rural feeders with some urban and rural asphalt roads;
- D - schools, for the most part secondary and vocational establishments;
- E - market stalls, both lock-up and open, usually concrete bases and steps;
- F - health infrastructure, usually hospitals and clinics but including pit-latrines;
- G - "civic centres", typically small one-storey town halls or assembly rooms;
- H - other projects, predominantly trade or industry-oriented facilities.

⁸¹ *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State*, (1989), p. v. While the preface mentions three levels of government (Federal, State, and Local) in fact most of the projects specifically attributed are community, or community group, funded.

TABLE 6.2	DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS by LGA, IMO STATE - 1989							
Name of LGA	TYPE of Development Project as defined in text p. 1							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1. Aboh-Mbaise	2	4	0	17	12	3	13	7
2. Ahiazu-Mbaise	22	8	0	2	0	0	5	2
3. Bende	8	2*	9	24	0	5	30	2
4. Mbano	22	2	8	3	0	4	16	6
5. Etiti	7	3	3	6	2	1	8	0
6. Mbaitoli	14	9	2	1	3	6	6	0
7. Nkwerre	13	12	4	27	7	19	25	10
8. Owerri	0	4	4	17	4	3	9	3
9. Ohaji/Egbema/ Oguta	1	1	3	21	6	8	10	6
10. Isuikwuato	0	0	8	9	3	7	11	4
11. Ideato	15	6	6	7	8	7	12	2
12. Orlu	9	1*	21	3	0	2	1	0
13. Oru	4	1	0	2	0	0	1	5
14. Aba	1	1	3	1	0	1	4	2
15. Isiala Ngwa	3	3	2	11	1	5	13	2
16. Obioma Ngwa	0	10	3	15	8	8	11	18
17. Ukwa	0	2	0	21	3	3	1	6
18. Afikpo	6	1	6	5	1	5	12	1
19. Ohaozara	0	0	8	3	2	3	5	9
20. Arochukwu	3	1	0	1	1	1	1	2
21. Ikwuano	2	2	3	0	0	1	0	3
TOTALS (N = 931)	132	73	93	196	61	92	194	90

NOTE: * These projects include erosion control.
Based on detailed project lists for each LGA: types as on page 103.
Source: *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State*, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri (Research, Documentation and Publications Division), January 1989.

TABLE 6.3		CHARACTERISTICS OF PROJECTS		
LGA	Period	Project Total	Funding Sources	Budgeted Amount
1.Aboh-Mbaise	1980-1988	58	communities	N 23,465,950
2.Ahiazu-Mbaise	not stated	39	communities	N 12,832,776
3.Bende	not stated	80	community/State	E N 10,600,629
4.Mbano	1974-1987	61	not stated	E N 11,924,758
5.Etiti	1977-1987	30	not stated	N 5,281,500
6.Mbaitoli	1972-1989	41	not stated	N 13,552,569
7.Nkwerre	not stated	117	community/LGA	N 91,620,000
8.Owerri	1978-onward	44	communities	N 3,449,467
9.Ohaji/Egbema/ Oguta	not stated	56	communal effort	N 8,321,170
10.Isuikwuato/ Okigwe	not stated	42	communal effort "the women" (1)	N 11,720,200
11.Ideato	not stated	63	not stated	E N 44,698,291
12.Orlu	not stated	37	not stated	N 9,212,100
13.Oru	not stated	13	community/LGA	N 4,133,000
14.Aba	1984-1988	13	not stated	N 3,701,507
15.Isiala Ngwa	not stated	40	not stated	N 6,720,000
16.Obioma Ngwa	1980-onward	73	communities	N 27,684,000
17.Ukwa	1981-onward	36	communities	N 1,750,500
18.Afikpo	1977-1988	37	not stated	N 8,436,000
19.Ohaozara	1980-onward	30	communities	N 6,590,700
20.Arochukwu	not stated	10	not stated	N 20,080,000
20.Ikwuano	1982-1988	11	community/State	N 2,296,139
Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Government - Imo State</i> , Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, January 1989.				

Aggregate characteristics of these projects are shown in Table 6.3, illustrative of the scope and scale of this type of Local Government/Autonomous Community activity.

Examples presented in Table 6.1 provide detail which is not available for most of the development projects. Tables 6.4 to 6.8 are examples of projects in five LGAs:

TABLE 6.4		DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMO STATE 1989		
LGA/Community MBAITOLI	Start Date	Description #	Funding *	% complete (of Estimate)
1.Mbieri	1987	B water project	N.S.	72% complete
2.Umunjam	1987	A electricity project	N.S.	94% complete
3.Umueze	1987	A electricity project	N.S.	70% complete
4.Awo Mbieri	1986	A electricity project	N.S.	17% (in progress)
5.Umuomumu Mbieri	1986	B gully erosion control	N.S.	N 2,000 c.y. 62% complete
6.Achi Mbieri	1987	A rural electrification	N.S.	10% complete
7.Umuahii Mbieri	1985	G civic centre	N.S.	20% complete
8.Umuonyali	1987	B 8 proj., connections, pipe to boreholes	N.S.	N 38,692 c.y. 75% complete
9.Orodo Community	1986	B Amakwu extension	N.S.	33% complete
10.Ubaha	1982	F Hospital extension	N.S.	36% complete
11.Ubaha	1987	B water extension	N.S.	23% complete
12.Ubaha	1987	D fencing Orodo sec.	N.S.	100% (over budget)
13.Amajiaku Orodo	1987	A rural electrification	N.S.	16% complete
14.Amajiaku Orodo	1987	G village civic centre	N.S.	15% complete
15.Amajiaku Orodo	1987	B Odumara extension	N.S.	35% complete
16.Oziri Inyishi	1987	A electricity project	N.S.	< 2% (started)
17.Umudim Community	1987	A electricity project	N.S.	358% of budget (all current yr.)
18.Avuvu Community	1987	A rural electrification	N.S.	10% compl. (c.y.)
# Description = Typology of projects (see text p.103) c.y. = current year spending. * Abbreviations: N = naira LGA = Local Government N.S. = not stated. Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i>, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, p. 134, 136, 138 and 139.				

TABLE 6.4 (continued)		DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMO STATE 1989		
LGA/Community MBAITOLI	Start Date	Description #	Funding *	% complete (of Estimate)
19.Eziama Obiato	1985	A rural electrification	N.S.	34% complete
20.Umunoha Community	1978	B water scheme	N.S.	no c.y. spending 30% complete
21.Umunoha Community	1978	F health centre	N.S.	N 5,000 c.y. 37% complete
22.Umunoha comm.	1984	A Umudurudom rural	N.S.	24% complete
23.Iho Dimeze Okpuala Iho	1978	C Umunoha Iho road	N.S.	N 5,000 c.y. (total, = 10%)
24.Iho Dimeze Okpuala Iho	1986	E Eke Iho market,new stalls (rehabilitation)	N.S.	N 10,000 c.y. < 7% complete
25.Iho Dimeze Okpuala Iho	1986	G Okpuala Iho civic centre.	N.S.	N 43,000 c.y. 54% complete
26.Iho Dimeze Okpuala Iho	1987	A Okpuala Iho electricity project	N.S.	N 23,000 c.y. 23% complete
27.Akabo/Amatta Community	1986	B Akabo water project (est. N 700,000)	N.S.	N 251,000 c.y. 36% complete
28.Akabo/Amatta	1986	H Post Office	N.S.	89% complete
29.Afara	1985	H Afara Civic Hall	N.S.	40% complete
30.Amakohia Community	1987	E Eke Amakohia Mkt. open & lock-up stalls.	N.S.	N 5,000 c.y. (total) = 5%
31.Ngugo/Ikembara Community	1986	F Ikembara Health Centre Project	N.S.	site cleared, surveyed N 6,000 c.y.
32.Ngugo/Ikembara	1986	F Ngugo Com. Hospit.	N.S.	44% complete
33.Ngugo/Ikembara Community	1986	A Ikembara electricity (poles bought)	N.S.	N 2,000 c.y. < 3% complete
# Description = Typology of projects (see text p.103) c.y = current year spending. * Abbreviations: N = naira LGA = Local Government N.S. = not stated.				
Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i> , Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, p. 134, 136, 138 and 139.				

TABLE 6.4 (concluded)		DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMO STATE 1989		
LGA/Community MBAITOLI	Start Date	Description #	Funding *	% complete (of Estimate)
34.Ogwa/ Amandugba	1982	C concrete bridge (embankment filled)	N.S.	N 5,000 c.y. 59% complete
35.Ifakala	N.S.	A Ifakala electricity	N.S.	60% complete
36.Ifakala	N.S.	B Ifakala Water (head tank in construction)	N.S.	no c.y. spending 63% complete
37.Ifakala	N.S.	E market expansion	N.S.	70% complete
38.Eziama/Ikeduru	1987	G Civic Centre	N.S.	< 14% complete
39.Atta community	1989	F Atta Hospital	N.S.	4% complete
40.Okwu/Ugirike Community	1985	F Okwu Community Hospital, 3 ward expansion (roofed)	N.S.	2 nd male ward + 2 nd female ward. 48% complete
41.Okwu/Ugirike Community	1985	A Ugirike electricity (poles bought)	N.S.	N 10,000 c.y. < 5% complete
# Description = Typology of projects (see text p. 103) c.y. = current year spending. * Abbreviations: N = naira LGA = Local Government N.S. = not stated. Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i>, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, p. 134, 136, 138 and 139.				

Mbaitoli LGA adjoins Oru LGA and its projects are instructive in the contrast with the latter. The study LGA (Oru) lists 13 projects estimated to cost over N 4.1 million, about 30.5% of the amount Mbaitoli plans to spend on 41 undertakings. Of these, 23 are electricity and water provision, amounting to approximately N 4.43 million and N 1.82 respectively - some 46% of budgeted community project spending. Oru's five water and electricity projects are estimated to require over 54% of planned spending. Oru has spent N 1.32 million of the estimated project costs (32%), while Mbaitoli has spent N 3.92 (29%).

The common traits characterizing the 931 projects is that a large number appear to be inactive, judging both by the project descriptions and the amounts listed as spent in 1988. A summary of dormant projects by LGA appears in Table 6.9.

TABLE 6.5		DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMO STATE 1989		
LGA/Community ORU	Start Date	Description #	Funding *	% complete (of Estimate)
1.Amiri	N.S.	A Rural Electrification Project	N.S.	N 290,000 spent 29% complete
2.Amiri	N.S.	B Amiri water extension	N.S.	N 108,000 spent 47% complete
3.Ohakpu	N.S.	D Secondary commercial school	N.S.	N 352,257 spent 70% complete
4.Ibiasoegbe	N.S.	A Ibiasoegbe Rural Electrification	N.S.	N 10,000 spent < 2% complete
5.Ofekata 1	N.S.	D Ubogwu Secondary Commercial School	N.S.	N 304,430 spent 45% complete
6.Ubulu	N.S.	H Osita Dinma school Club Hall	N.S.	N 80,000 spent 16% complete
7.Ubulu	N.S.	H Ubulu Standard Post Office	N.S.	N 80,292 spent 40% complete
8.Mgbidi	N.S.	A Uzinaumu rural electrification	N.S.	N 8,666 spent 9% complete
9.Mgbidi	N.S.	A Umuabiahu Rural Eelectrification	N.S.	N 80,000 spent 26% complete
10.Mgbidi	N.S.	H Nigerian Youth Service Corps community dev. pr.	LGA	N 500 spent project complete
11.Mgbidi	N.S.	H Oru Rural Women Farm Project	LGA	N 1,000 spent 50% complete
12.Mgbidi	N.S.	H Umuehi Co-op Society Farm Proj.	N.S.	N 800 spent 18% complete
13.Mgbidi	N.S.	H NCWS Co-op Society farm proj.	N.S.	N 3,000 spent 60% complete
# Description = Typology of projects (see text p. 103). c.y. = current year spending. * Abbreviations: N = naira LGA = Local Government N.S. = not stated. Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i>, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, p. 224.				

TABLE 6.6		DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMO STATE 1989		
LGA/Community ABA	Start Date	Description #	Funding *	% complete (of Estimate)
1.Eziukwu Aba	1984	G Civic Centre with playground	N.S.	est. N 500,000 78% complete
2.Eziama Aba	1986	G Civic Centre at wall plate level	N.S.	est. N 60,000 34% complete
3.Eziama Aba	1987	C 6 feeder roads, 7 km. total (C grade)	N.S.	est. N 8,000 70% complete
4.Umuokpoji (in Eziama Aba)	1985	G Civic Centre, multi- purpose (lintel level)	N.S.	est. N 500,000 < 6% complete
5.Osusu (Eziama Aba)	1988	H Village Hall, ground floor decked	N.S.	est. N 300,000 11% complete
6.Uratta (Eziama Aba)	1986	A Electric power to whole community	N.S.	N 45,000 spent 45% complete
7.Ohazu Aba (Ward 30)	1986	B piped water to all of the ward	N.S.	est. N 84,507 38% complete
8.Akoli (Ohazu Aba)	1986	D additional storey to existing block	N.S.	est. N 35,000 70% complete
9.Ohabiam (Ohazu Aba)	1987	C 5 km. connecting roads - bulldozed.	N.S.	est. N 25,000 40% complete
10.Umuneisii (Ohazu Aba)	1987	C road "face-lift" 4 km. linking roads	N.S.	est. N 5,000 35% complete
11.Umuneisii	1987	F 5 compartment VIP latrine (WATSAN prog.)	N.S.	est. N 4,000 N 700 spent < 18% complete
12.Aba (Municipal)	1987	H Rotarian info. centre and amusement park.	N.S.	rapid progress N 45,000 spent 56% complete
13.Aba (Municipal)	1987	H cultural centre w. conference room	N.S.	est. N 2,000,000 10% complete
# Description = Typology of projects (see text p. 103). c.y. = current year spending. * Abbreviations: N = naira LGA = Local Government N.S. = not stated. Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i>, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, p. 4,6,7 and 9.				

TABLE 6.7		DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMO STATE 1989		
LGA/Community AFIKPO	Start Date	Description #	Funding *	% complete
1.Afikpo urban	1977	G Ugwu Elu c.centre	N.S.	65% complete
2.Afikpo urban	1981	D Ehugbo Tech. Col.	N.S.	61% complete
3.Afikpo urban	1983	C 12 km. lat. roads	N.S.	67% complete
4.Afikpo urban	1985	F Itim Ukwu Health Centre-sections ready	N.S.	N 239,340 spent 48% complete
5.Afikpo urban	1986	A Itim Ukwu rural el.	N.S.	50% complete
6.Akpoha	1985	G Maduachi Civic C.	N.S.	51% complete
7.Akpoha	1986	C Amachi 2.5 km.road	N.S.	98% complete
8.Akpoha	1986	G Onyemaechi Civ. C.	N.S.	< 30% complete
9.Amasiri	1980	H Ogbuaku Civic Hall	N.S.	complete
10.Amasiri	1985	G Ohaechara Civic Centre	N.S.	at lintel level 24% complete
11.Amasiri	1985	C Ndukwe bridge	N.S.	78% (decked)
12.Amasiri	N.S.	C Ohaechara 15 km.	N.S.	work stopped
13.Amasiri	1985	H Ndukwe Multi- Purpose Hall	N.S.	ready for roofing 56% complete
14.Amasiri	1986	A Ihie rural electrif.	N.S.	79% (lining started)
15.Amasiri	1986	F Amasiri Comprehsv. Health Centre	N.S.	N 37,430 spent < 8% complete
16.Amasiri	1986	G Ogbuaku civic hall	N.S.	35% complete
17.Amasiri	1987	C Ndukwe/Akanto rd.	N.S.	68% graded
18.Amasiri	1987	A Ndukwe rural elect.	N.S.	71% complete
19.Amasiri	1988	G Iro Atu civic centre	N.S.	7% (foundation)
20.Amasiri	N.S.	A Uhere rural electr.	N.S.	74% (lining)
# Description = Typology of projects (see text p. 103) c.y. = current year spending. * Abbreviations: N = naira LGA = Local Government N.S. = not stated. Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i>, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, p. 27 and 29.				

TABLE 6.7 (continued)		DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMO STATE 1989		
LGA/Community AFIKPO	Start Date	Description #	Funding *	% complete
21.Ebunwana	1983	G Amaeke Civic Centre	N.S.	decking @ 2 nd level 71% complete
22.Ebunwana	1983	G Igbara Civic Centre	N.S.	N 89,346 spent 60% (roof complete)
23.Ebunwana	1983	G Amoji Civic Centre	N.S.	51% (decking)
24.Ebunwana	1987	A rural electrification	N.S.	24% (poles/lining)
25.Ekoli	N.S.	F Ekoli Cottage Hosp. 4 sections compl.	N.S.	N 243,180 spent 49% complete
26.Etiti	1983	D Community Secndry Technical School	N.S.	4 classes roofed 21% complete
27.Ibii/Ozizza	N.S.	F Ibii health centre	N.S.	< 3% complete
28.Ibii/Ozizza	1985	C 1.5 km. road	N.S.	61% complete
29.Ibii/Ozizza	N.S.	H Ovum Town Hall at lintel level	N.S.	N 10,250 spent 34% complete
30.Ibii/Ozizza	1987	F V.I.P. latrine	N.S.	74% (roofed)
31.Ibii/Ozizza	N.S.	D Ozizza Sec. School	N.S.	49% (on-going)
32.Nguzu	1988	A rural electrification	N.S.	< 1% (started)
33.Oso	1983	D Oso Secondary Technical School	N.S.	tech.shop complete 38% complete
34.Owutu	1986	G Asagu civic centre	N.S.	44% complete
35.Unwana	N.S.	D Unwana Comprehensive Secondary School	N.S.	N 522,000 spent 4% over budget, 2 nd phase just started
36.Unwana	1987	B spring water dev.	N.S.	40% complete
37.Unwana	1987	E 20 lock-up, 84 open stalls, Unwana.	N.S.	467% over budget complete
# Description = Typology of projects (see text p. 103). c.y. = current year spending. * Abbreviations: N = naira LGA = Local Government N.S. = not stated. Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i>, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, p. 27 and 29.				

TABLE 6.8		DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IMO STATE 1989		
LGA/Community IKWUANO/UMUAHIA	Start Date	Description #	Funding *	% complete (of Estimate)
1.Ariam	1986	C road and bridge	C/S**	complete (N 72,400)
2.Obuohia Ibere	1985	C road and bridge	C/S**	complete(N125,100)
3.Nsirimo Ubakala	1983	A rural electrification	C	complete(N350,000)
4.Nsukwe Ukbala	1987	A rural electrification	S 42% C 58%	S = N 45,954 C = N 63,685
5.Nnono Oboro	1987	B piped-water project	S/C	complete
6.Ariam /Usaka	1987	B satellite water proj.	S	complete
7.Amawom Oboro	1987	C road project	C/S**	Open-ended
8.Umuawa-Alaocha	1982	H Umuokorafor Women agro/ind.	C/S**	N 4,050 spent < 5% complete
9.Umuawa-Alaocha	1982	H Okpuala Women agro/industrial	C/S**	N 5,500 spent < 6% complete
10.Umuawa-Alaocha	1987	H Udo-Oba Women agro/industrial	C/S**	N 2,160 spent < 1.5% complete
11.Umuawa-Alaocha	1988	F Idinotu Women Health Centre	C/S**	N 2,500 spent < 3% complete
# Description = Typology of projects (see text p. 103). c.y. = current year spending. * Abbreviations: N = naira S = State Government N.S. = not stated. S** = state providing technical assistance only. Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i>, Minsitry of Information and Culture, Owerri, p. 99 and 101.				

The variety of community project investments, and their description by the State government as infrastructure, supports the contention that such spending is *de facto* Integrated Rural Development. For example Aba LGA, occupying only 18 km.², is unquestionably the largest place in Imo State in population and diversity of businesses. It has a relatively low number and value of projects, ranking nineteenth out of the 21 LGAs in both measures. This is consistent with the argument that the community development projects are mainly infrastructural improvements.

TABLE 6.9		STATUS of IMO STATE PROJECTS 1989		
LGA	Total #	# dormant * 1989	of dormant, # dormant > 1 yr.	basic infrast. projects (types A+B+C+D)
1.Aboh-Mbaise	58	E 10	E 2	39.7 % (# = 23)
2.Ahiazu-Mbaise	39	E 7	n.a.	82.1 % (# = 32)
3.Bende	80	12	n.a.	53.8 % (# = 43)
4.Mbano	61	31	E 18	57.4 % (# = 35)
5.Etiti	30	E 15	E 11	63.3 % (# = 19)
6.Mbaitoli	41	1	n.a.	42.6 % (# = 26)
7.Nkwerre	117	28	n.a.	47.9 % (# = 56)
8.Owerri	44	14	E 4	56.8 % (# = 25)
9.Ohaji/Egbema/ Oguta	56	E 23	n.a.	46.4 % (# = 26)
10.Isuikwuato/ Okigwe	42	8	n.a.	40.5 % (# = 17)
11.Ideato	63	E 20	n.a.	54.0 % (# = 34)
12.Orlu	37	E 16	n.a.	91.9 % (# = 34)
13.Oru	13	E 7	n.a.	53.9 % (# = 7)
14.Aba	13	E 7	n.a.	46.2 % (# = 6)
15.Isiala Ngwa	40	E 14	1	47.5 % (# = 19)
16.Obioma Ngwa	73	E 38	E 10	38.4 % (# = 28)
17.Ukwa	36	E 11	1	63.9 % (# = 23)
18.Afikpo	36	E 13	E 4	48.6 % (# = 18)
19.Ohaozara	30	E 9	1	36.7 % (# = 11)
20.Arochukwu	10	E 3	n.a.	50.0 % (# = 5)
21.Ikwuano	11	E 4	n.a.	63.6 % (# = 7)
* = dormant projects defined as those less than 30% complete, or stated to be inactive. E = estimated based on presence/absence of claims regarding activity, and % complete. Source: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i>, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, 1989.				

Estimating the number of projects which are dormant is difficult, and the figures shown in Table 6.9 are mostly estimates. Nevertheless, almost all of the LGAs acknowledge that some of the projects are at a standstill; most often the reason given is that there are insufficient funds for further work. Where a building is at some interim stage of construction, indicated by 'walls at lintel level' or a similar phrase; or where the project status is reported, with a note that a particular material (such as poles for electrical wiring) has been ordered, it is fair to assume that many of these are in fact suspensions of activity. Field travel in May and June 1991 established that many building projects are at a standstill because of high costs and lack of (especially imported) materials ⁸².

For example, 16 of 41 projects in Mbaitoli LGA are listed as having 1988 spending of Naira 2,000 to 5,000 (all amounts reported are reported in even amounts - thousands). It is reasonable to interpret most of these sums as essentially maintenance costs - possibly a generous assumption since they may well represent distribution of administrative charges.

To illustrate specific cases from Mbaitoli (Table 6.4), the Ikembara Health Centre Project (no. 31 in Table 6.4) is stated to have started in 1986, with an estimate of N 300,000. In 1988 N 6,000 was spent to clear and survey the site; the remarks also note that there are "blocks ready for the project". The 6,000 naira represents the total to-date spending. In the case of the Ugirike Electricity Project (no. 41, started in 1985) with "poles bought but not yet mounted", N 10,000 current year spending of a total N 30,000 (estimate: N 700,000) is reported. The Umunoha Health Centre (no. 21, launch-date 1978) is listed as having 5,000 naira in current spending on a total of N 75,000: the estimate is for N 200,000 to complete it. Finally, the Oziri Electricity Project required 5,000 naira in the current year. This was the first spending on the 1987, N 278,000 project (no. 16).

There are an additional fourteen projects with one or more of these characteristics, in Mbaitoli LGA.

⁸² For example, a 20 kg. bag of cement cost Naira 12 to 15 in 1985/86: by March 1991 it was priced at over Naira 40 (*West Africa* No. 3836, 11-17 March 1991, p. 344), and in the field in May/June 1991 the asking price varied from Naira 50 to 65 per bag. Questions in Imo State elicited information that a panel of rough plywood was N 140, and a bundle of zinc roofing had risen by 50% since January, 1991.

Other LGA reports are more difficult to interpret. In that for Ahiazu-Mbaise dormant projects were counted from examples such as the Rural Electricity Extension Project for Ekwerazu Town ⁸³. Estimated at N 498,000, it is stated to be a case of 'work in progress'; yet the to-date spending is only 10,400 naira. The Lude Pipe Borne Water Project records spending of N 11,340 against an estimate of N 305,057. Of the 930 projects the majority of those complete and near-to-completion are close to their estimates or budgets. So, while it is likely that some counted for Table 6.9 as being dormant are in fact active, there are others, over the '30% complete' cut-off which are in fact dormant. The possibility of errors certainly exists, but on balance the tabulation is a reasonable estimate of overall development project status in Imo State. The example of the Mbano LGA reports is supporting evidence. Projects numbered among the dormant are those which have the remark "Lack of finance is the problem of this project", or where no current year expenditure is listed. Start-dates are given for each project, so that a combination of low percent of estimated total expenditure, notations about financing problems, statements that a particular phase is complete, and passage of time from project-initiation provides a reliable count of projects which are inactive. This can be extended to assume more than one year of dormant state. More than half of Mbano LGA projects were inactive in 1988-1989, and a majority of these appear to have been so for more than one year.

The final column in Table 6.9 groups projects from the project types most closely associated with essential services - basic needs. The crude percentage (not weighted for amounts budgeted and spent) out of the total number of community initiated development projects is a surrogate measure of the perceived need for this type of infrastructure.

Comparison of Tables 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 illustrates the different emphases of a rural LGA (Oru), one apparently balanced (Mbaitoli) and one that is overwhelmingly urban (Aba). Most of the Aba projects are of a similar scale to those in Oru. The largest, the Aba Cultural Centre (no. 13 Table 6.6) appropriates 54% of total project estimated costs,

⁸³ Not in Tables. *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State* (1989), p. 39. This LGA lists 22 rural electricity extension projects, estimated at N 9,244,111, of which less than 47% had been spent to 1988 (N 4,321,463). At least some of this amount must have been funded by DFFRI and/or NEPA (see Glossary).

while in Oru the Amiri rural electrification (no. 1) requires 24% of projected costs. In Mbaitoli two community hospitals (nos. 39 and 40) are each budgeted at N 2,500,000. This totals 37% of all planned projects. Considered in context these data suggest very different emphases which depend on the resources and aspiration of the LGAs. Aba puts its funding into a major prestige project; Oru into basic services; and Mbaitoli into infrastructure at a level which will provide urban amenities - multiple-ward full service hospitals.

At the spending 'low end', Oru lists four farm projects (nos. 10 to 13 Table 6.5) totalling less than 0.03% of the project budget; Aba lists two feeder-roads and a V.I.P. latrine comprising less than 0.01%. Mbaitoli has a two civic centres, a road project, an erosion control project, four electricity installations, and a market renovation - all between N 16,000 and N 53,000 and amounting to N 359,000 (less than 0.3% of total estimates). The smallest of these nine Mbaitoli projects is 33% more expensive than all four farm establishments in Oru, and slightly less (N 1,000) than the total budgeted for the three small Aba developments.

However, it is likely that not all of these 'community-funded' projects are self-reliant. The clearest case is that of water projects which constitute 8% of those listed in the listings. Ikwuano-Umuahia LGA (Table 6.8) is the only administration to specify the participation by State, 'People's', and other agencies. The Nnono Oboro Water Project (no. 5, Table 6.8) lists contributions by the State as N 155,000 for 620 lengths of pipe, and provision of N 599,000 by other (State) agencies. The community participation was only N 46,000 out of a completed project expenditure of N 800,000. Similarly, the State provided all of the funds for the N 364,000 Ariam/Usaka Satellite Water Scheme, although unaccounted community labour may have played a significant role in both cases. The State is also acknowledged for technical assistance on all 11 development projects reported, while LGA cash participation is specified as 'Nil'.

It may be that many of the State total of 132 electrification projects (14%) also benefit from State and Federal agency (DFPRI and NEPA - National Electric Power Authority) assistance, particularly in obtaining transformers, wire, and through connections to the NEPA grid. Certainly NEPA is vociferous in its complaints of vandalism through

theft of transformers and wire, and damage to pylons ⁸⁴.

Another detail of participation that may be overlooked in the general assignment of local participation to the catch-all phrase 'community effort' is the role of special groups. Some examples are listed in Table 6.1, but the example of Ukwa Local Government is instructive. Five secondary school projects - three providing technical workshops, one a dormitory block, and one building administration and science laboratory blocks - are funded by Parent Teacher Associations (P.T.A.s). This is consistent with examples provided by Igwe (1988). Many of the 196 type 'D' projects (21% of total) in Imo State in 1989 likely had such participation, given that 5 of Ukwa's 21 such examples are supported by P.T.A.s.

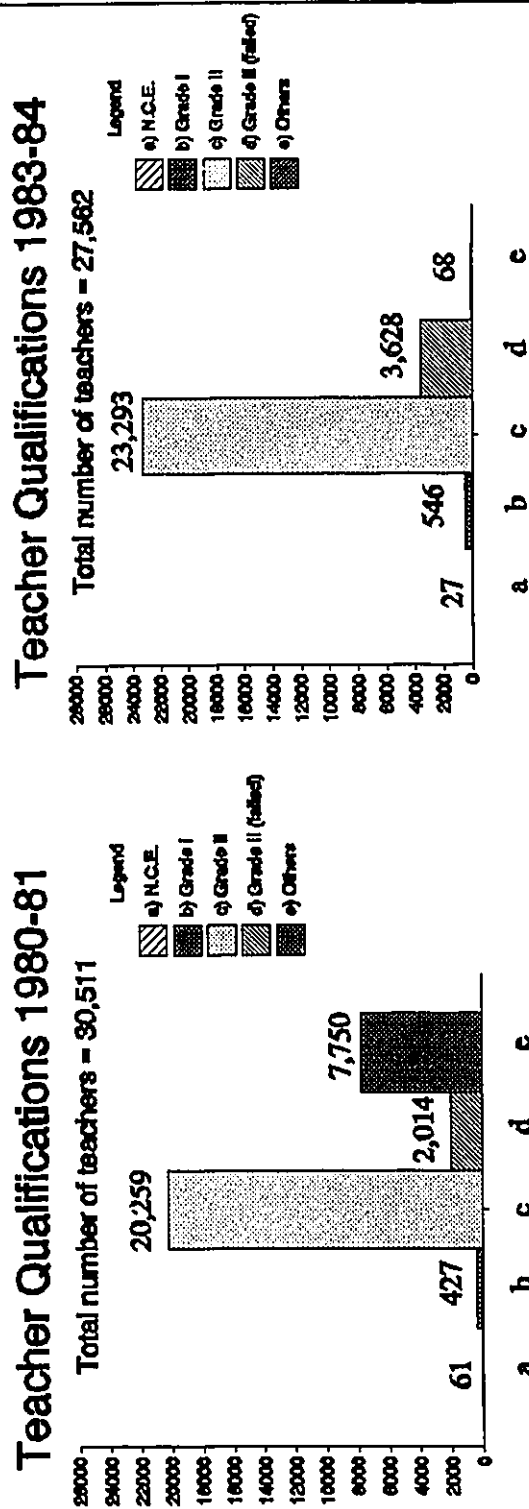
Ukwa LGA includes three womens' groups, two age-grade associations, one individual, and three development organizations as specific funding agencies; in sum, 14 out of 36 projects are sponsored by particular contributors. This suggests that more detailed project reports might reveal that 40% of Imo community undertakings have such patrons, while the evidence of water and electrification works is that some 20% of all projects are supported by resources from the State, parastatals or, on occasion, the local government.

Examples from Afikpo LGA (Table 6.7) round out the picture of diversity and variety of scale in community development.

There are instructive examples of over-budget projects, notably the Unwana Comprehensive Secondary School (no. 36, Table 6.7) and the Market development in the same community. The latter appears to be complete, costing N 350,000 against a 1987 estimate of N 75,000. Other details highlight the stages achieved for particular construction works, and suggest the phasing of comparable work. In Ebunwana, three civic centres were initiated in 1983 (nos. 22, 23, and 24). All have reached different states of completion and

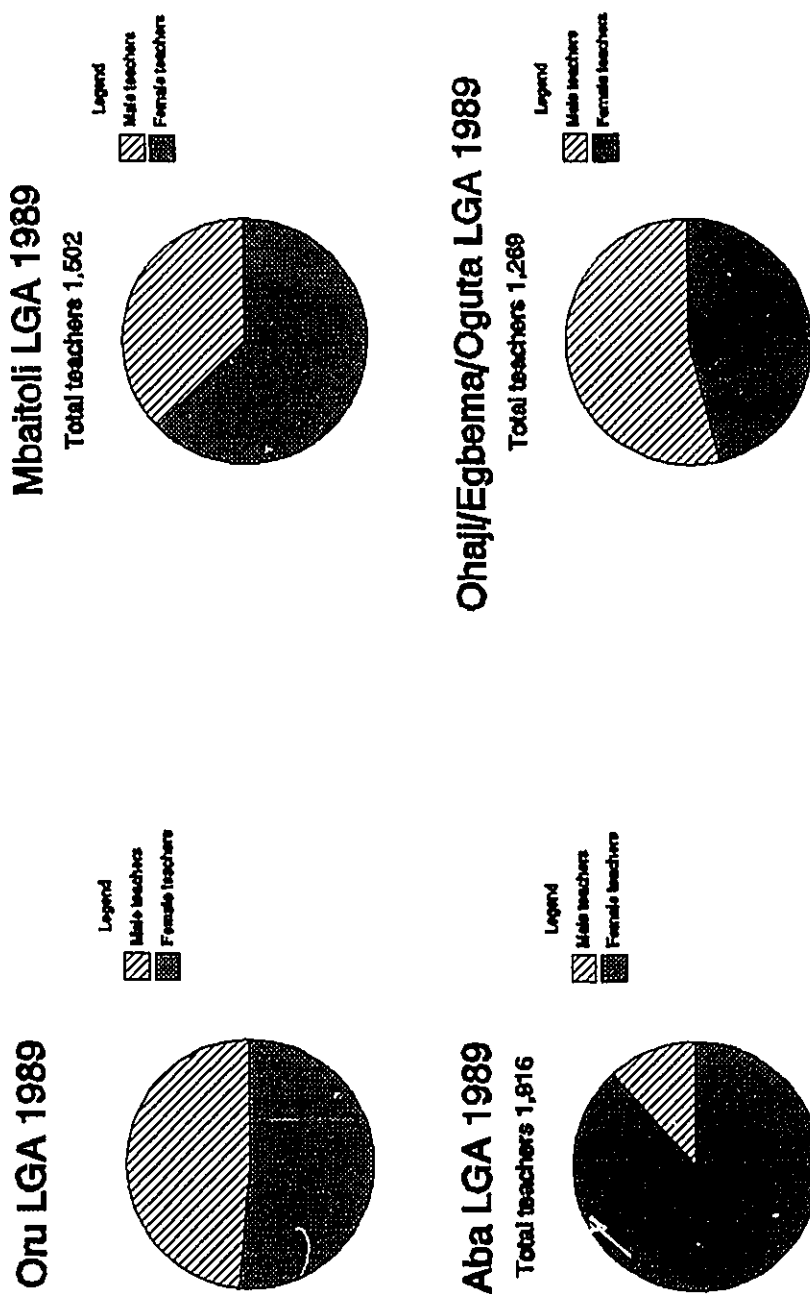
⁸⁴ *Newswatch* (Vol. 13, no. 22 - May 27, 1991 p. 8-15) featured a cover story on theft of NEPA (also known as *Never Expect Power Always*, according to the lead editorial) and NITEL (Nigerian Telecommunications) equipment, focusing on the recovery of two trailer-loads of copper cables in Onitsha, and on damage to pylons and thefts of transformers nationwide. A special box records 32 instances of vandalism to transmission lines between December 1988 and March 1991. It was not clear whether employees of the two agencies were suspects in all cases.

FIGURE 7: QUALIFICATION CHANGES, IMO STATE



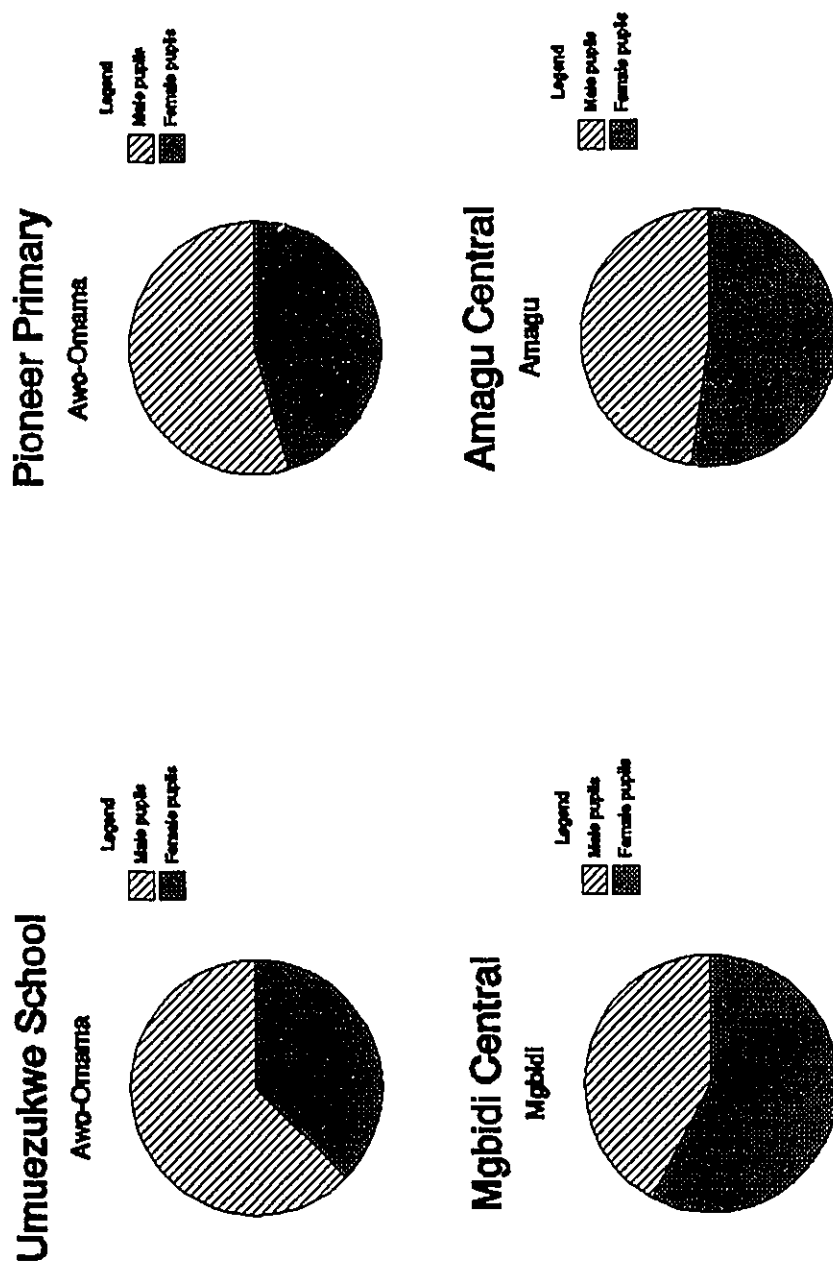
Source: *Statistics of Education in Nigeria 1980-1984*
Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, 1985.

FIGURE 8: TEACHER RATIOS, IMO STATE LGAs 1989



Source: *Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State 1989*
Ministry of Education, Owerri, Imo State, 1989.

FIGURE 9: PUPIL RATIOS, ORU LGA SCHOOLS 1989



Source: *Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State 1989*

varied to-date expenditures, against identical budget estimates of N 150,000 each ⁸⁵ .

There is no pattern of completion attainment discernible from the project data which are, as noted, incomplete. Neither very large nor very small projects are advanced or hindered uniformly throughout Imo State, at least in 1989. Under the strictures of inflation and currency devaluation, new and higher demands for LGAs to provide constitutionally mandated services, and a squeeze on group funds, it is likely that decisions identifying which projects to fund in any given year will become much more difficult.

6.2 PRIMARY EDUCATION - FIELD SURVEYS

The field-gathered interview and survey information confirmed the general situation suggested by published sources, regarding available human and financial resources and their allocation. This cast doubt on the validity and value of official statistics, since field research information often conflicted with specific official data ⁸⁶ .

Figures 7, 8, and 9 highlight selected comparisons of education data, showing the trend in teachers qualifications and the range of male-female ratios among both teachers and pupils.

Figure 7 illustrates the increase in qualified personnel and the decline in both unqualified and overall staff employed. The 1989 sex-ratio distributions in Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the rural-urban dichotomy discussed below, where female teachers and pupils are more numerous in urban schools, and males predominate in rural areas.

Table 6.10 reflects the pattern implied by the history of UPE. The number of teachers increases from 1976 to 1981-2, and declines to a roughly stable status. However, it is important to note the varied year-to-year proportion of female and male teachers. The

⁸⁵ Only on-site inspection would disclose the actual differences, and even then interviews would be necessary to pinpoint causal factors.

⁸⁶ Mail distributed questionnaires were the most valuable research tool employed. Of the total of 78 primary schools in Oru LGA, 26 replied to the 3-page detailed questionnaire, supplementing 9 field interviews in the study area. There was a certain amount of official concern about the purpose of the questionnaires, which was overcome by the intervention of other local contacts. The returned forms are sufficient to amplify and corroborate field collected data, press reports, and details noted in interviews in Lagos, Oshogbo, and Ikirun - all on the subject of resources for local government and education.

variation is so large as to suggest rapid entry into and exit from the profession.

TABLE 6.10		IMO STATE PRIMARY SCHOOL STATISTICS 1975-89				
YEAR	Number of schools	Number of male teachers	Number of female teachers	Total number of Pupils	Pupils per teacher (crude)	Pupils per school (crude)
1975-76	1,880	19,033	5,979	739,013	39	395
1976-77	1,897	18,000	9,130	938,398	35	495
1977-78	1,925	18,553	10,623	1,014,826	34	521
1978-79	1,925	19,784	11,586	1,014,467	32	527
1979-80	1,939	14,092	16,895	1,095,023	35	565
1980-81	1,953	16,692	13,819	1,183,300	39	606
1981-82	1,958	M + F	33,562	854,835	25	430
1982-83	1,990	M + F	27,562	826,584	34	410
1983-84	2,011	M + F	26,368	793,867	30	395
1984-85	2,012	M + F	E 26,000	849,703	E 31	E 422
1985-86	2,010	n.a.	n.a.	887,039	E 33	E 441
1987 *	2,031	n.a.	n.a.	913,282	E 35	E 450
1988	E 2,020	n.a.	n.a.	976,359	E 35	E 483
1989	2,018	10,809	15,041	910,296	35	451

NOTES : * School year changed to match calendar year.
 School year changed in October 1991 to return to Sept. - April cycle.
 E = figure estimated by author.

Sources: Table 1.1.1, p. 6 (Statistics of Primary Education in Nigeria) and Table 1.3, p. 21 (Statistics of Primary Education in Nigeria), *Statistics of Education in Nigeria*, Federal Ministry of Education, 1985, *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State*, Ministry of Information and Culture, Owerri, 1989, *Directory of Primary School Statistics in Imo State - 1989*, Ministry of Education, Owerri, Imo State of Nigeria, 1990, and *First National Rolling Plan 1990-1992*, Table 1, Volume 1, p. 223, Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1990.

6.2.1 SCHOOL ENDOWMENTS ⁸⁷

Since the accuracy of the general population estimates is suspect, and the distribution among LGAs more-so ⁸⁸, it would be analytically and procedurally wrong to assign equal weight to these figures. For this reason no attempt has been made to equate number or value of development projects to LGA population. Similarly, devising a model to represent rural-urban differences on the basis of population is not realistic. Nevertheless some useful illustrations and comparisons are possible, particularly using the distribution of male and female teachers, pupil-teacher ratios, and size and age of schools.

Of the 39 schools opened between 1945 and 1959, 9 did so in 1957 and 2 in 1958, the years of the first attempt at UPE in the then-Eastern Region. This is a lower percentage than the 32.6% represented by 1957 school commissionings throughout Imo State. It may be a reflection of the presence of a Catholic mission Novitiate in Awo-Omama, indicative of early establishment of expatriate education in the area. Indeed while Awo-Omama has the largest number of primary schools (16, or about 20% of the LGA total) in Oru LGA, only one school was built in the community in 1957 (as well as one in 1958). On the other hand Awo-Omama has 25% (6 of 24) of the schools opened in the LGA prior to 1945.

Taking the community of Omuma as an example illustrates some of the general analytical information concerning primary education resource allocation which deserve mention. Of the 1957 schools, three are located in this one community where there are seven primary schools in total. The 1989 *Directory...* data indicate that all of these schools

⁸⁷ Several places named in the primary school register do not appear on the (1990) *Imo State Provisional Map*. Eleh (2 schools), Ibiaoegbe (5), Omuma (7) and Otulu (2), as well as 14 places with only one school, are not named. Conversely, 14 place-names on the map are not listed in the directory - Awhop, Eziala, Ibi, Ihu, Ishieke, Nzoram, Obahoza, Ubeze, Umueke Ebele, Umu-Abia, Umunoha-Awo, Umuezuku, Oteru and Oturu. These last two may correspond to Otulu, listed in the *Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State*. Umezuku (map) may be Umuezukwe.

⁸⁸ Imo State was in the heartland of former Biafra, so that the 1963 distribution of population among the LGAs cannot be assumed to be an accurate reflection of post-Civil War resettlement. Returning refugees may well have settled in their former homes, but it seems unlikely that adult deaths were evenly distributed over the whole region. Logically those areas subject to the lengthiest blockade had higher death rates, not necessarily equally recovered in the intervening years.

had pupil-teacher ratios exceeding 56:1 . There were 30 male teachers and 22 female - a reversal of the general state ratio of two men for every three women staff, while the pupil-teacher ratio was distinctly higher than the mean of approximately 35:1 . Three questionnaires were returned, indicating a shortfall of 28 teaching staff in 1991, when these three schools had 35 staff compared to 23 in 1989. The large change arose from an apparent doubling in size at Ozuh Community School, from 450 pupils reported officially in 1989 to 1,050 in 1991. However, the survey questionnaire also reports 890 pupils in 1989, so it is hard to gauge whether the school expanded or there was a leap in enrolment.

Of the three questionnaires, two reported rehabilitation or construction of some of the school-blocks, while the third indicated that all of the schoolblocks had been rehabilitated. This interpretation is based on the question asking for the construction dates of individual blocks to be noted, where any date after the commissioning year is taken to be rehabilitation. The ratio of male to female teachers is typical of rural schools, where men predominate. From personal observation it is almost certain that no pupil at these schools has a textbook - nor are they likely ever to have possessed one. On the other hand school exercise books are relatively common and increase in number with the grade attained by a child. As noted previously the quality of these work books is poor and, given that few children have any carrying case; that the climate is that of a tropical jungle with a lengthy rainy season (May - September); and that the child normally cannot leave these books in school, it is unlikely that the small number available is adequate for learning.

Discipline is strict, and learning is usually by rote, a result of high pupil-teacher ratios. The children are required to stand outside in line formations for morning inspection of hygiene and uniforms. Those in the first grade, or newly enrolled, are usually allowed leeway in wearing the required uniform. Punishment for dirty hands, unkempt hair, or inadequate uniform is typically meted out to hand or head by wooden ruler. Visitors are met by all children rising and in unison reciting a rehearsed formal greeting. Teaching aids such as posters and school supplies other than exercise books and pencil are unusual.

Although the electrical supply is notoriously unreliable, with NEPA (National Electric Power Authority) more often unserviceable than working, the cost of electrical generators (let alone adequate supply and quality of fuel) is prohibitive. Instruction is

disrupted by poor light conditions since few schools, and none of the rural ones visited, had any electric power. Visual aids are correspondingly rare. Throughout a child's primary schooling only the standard chalk-board normally is used.

In Imo State it was common for pupils to have to bring their own seat, a stool, to class, but it appears that this particular deficit has been overcome, for the most part. It seems likely that most pupils can now sit at a wooden form (a table built for several children) most of the time, although usually the classes are crowded.

What does this general situation say about resource allocation and the success of the LGA reforms ?

To answer the question the data must be broken down into those which describe the chosen analytical object, the UPE system as known by the primary schools, and those which describe development projects. Some might identify the main problem of these data as being that they do not conform either in variety or volume to what is viewed in the North as necessary. This is actually a red herring because specific empirical cases rarely match either a mean or any other aggregate measure. In the case of a complex ethnic mix such as Nigerian society is, the critical variable both spatially and socially is the cultural milieu. Although Imo State has a relatively high degree of ethnic homogeneity it remains true that among the Ibo there are many clans so that even language is split into a dozen or more dialects. The practical need to address real local feelings of identity with a relatively small community is the impetus for numerous LGAs. This same need has been the catalyst to State creation which may not yet be satisfied. Certainly each State-creation exercise has been marked by arguments regarding the exact assignment of individual LGAs, to the extent that many instances occurred where LGAs were shifted from one state to another after the declaration of new boundaries - minor variances responding to sometimes violent community agitation.

This research began with a technical question and, due to constraints of time, proceeded in a narrow investigation of an extremely complex topic. That narrowness, necessary though it was, is reflected in the applicability of the data to the conclusions concerning the research hypothesis. In field work lengthy local residence, with research evolving from insights generated by a baseline ethno-cultural study - is important.

6.2.2 TEACHER DISTRIBUTION

Since most of the recurrent (operating budget) costs of UPE are due to staff pay, the distribution of teachers is an important indicator of resource allocation. The comparison of teacher location with pupil-teacher ratio emerged as another useful measurement, both because interviews unanimously indicated that staff were more attracted to urban schools and because the distribution of schools - if equal opportunity is assured - will match the enrolment at any particular place.

Interviews established the widespread and forceful opinion both that teachers are reluctant to take assignments in remote areas, and that in large villages and towns there is a preponderance of women teachers. Many of these are wives of professionals or traders in those places. While no data were collected on the socio-economic status of teachers, other authors have confirmed the logical inference from the fact that at least half of the staff are graduates of secondary or post-secondary institutions: teachers aspire to and expect middle-class urban lifestyle.

Bame (1975: 2) cites Ghanaian statistics showing a 7:3 ratio in the male:female distribution of teachers, with a higher ratio in Uganda and Zaire. This ratio may have changed since 1975. In Imo State the male:female teacher ratio in 1989 was approximately 2:3 (Table 6.10). This generalization obscures the very heavy weighting of women teachers in cities, and the reverse situation in rural LGAs. The ranking of LGAs by total number of teachers, and numbers of men and women staff, illustrates (Table 6.11). Interviews provided the explanation that many of the urban women teachers are wives of professional or white collar workers in the cities. Conversely the poor amenities, bad roads and long distances, and the dangers of travel militate against women teachers being willing to accept long-term work in non-urban schools.

A comparison of Tables 6.11 and 6.12 illustrates the truth of the view that women teachers predominate in urban areas. Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta, and Isuikwuato/Okigwe LGAs are the two largest, in area. They have relatively low population densities, ranking 20th and 14th respectively. Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta ranks fourth in number of male teachers and eleventh in female; while Isuikwuato ranks first and seventh. In contrast the smallest LGA -Aba - ranks 20th in male and 2nd in female teachers. Figure 8 illustrates these trends.

TABLE 6.11		IMO STATE LGAs - 1989 TEACHER DATA				
LGA Name	Estimated Population	Primary schools *	# teachers (total) *	teachers male *	teachers female *	area sq. km.
1. Aboh-Mbaise	342,998	55 (19)	883 (16)	324 (18)	559 (13)	315
2. Ahiazu-Mbaise	218,914	47 (20)	724 (17)	300 (19)	424 (16)	107
3. Bende	208,576	66 (16)	522 (21)	338 (16)	184 (21)	679
4. Mbano	476,656	118 (6)	1,159 (12)	541 (11)	618 (9)	352
5. Etiti	441,066	117 (7)	1,408 (7)	555 (10)	853 (6)	207
6. Mbaitoli	389,451	138 (3)	1,502 (6)	560 (9)	942 (5)	376
7. Nkwere	378,186	95 (10)	983 (14)	425 (12)	558 (14)	212
8. Owerri	440,940	181 (1)	2,347 (1)	565 (8)	1,782(1)	1,114
9. Ohaji/Egbema/ Oguta	310,022	91 (12)	1,269 (10)	685 (5)	584 (11)	1,378
10. Isuikwuato/ Okigwe	463,301	148 (2)	1,633 (5)	825 (1)	808 (7)	1,190
11. Ideato	310,662	99 (9)	919 (15)	395 (14)	524 (15)	262
12. Orlu	270,537	88 (13)	1,165 (11)	474 (13)	691 (8)	202
13. Oru	227,336	78 (14)	674 (19)	328 (17)	346 (17)	189
14. Aba #	243,321	58 (17)	1,916 (3)	225 (21)	1,691(2)	18
15. Isiala Ngwa	316,971	116 (8)	1,309 (8)	728 (4)	581 (12)	578
16. Obioma Ngwa	266,276	123 (5)	2,005 (2)	787 (3)	1,218(4)	790
17. Ukwu	170,658	41 (21)	524 (20)	281 (20)	243 (20)	925
18. Afikpo	315,091	56 (18)	653 (18)	361 (15)	292 (18)	855
19. Ohaozara	338,156	77 (15)	1,092 (13)	805 (2)	287 (19)	1,096
20. Arochuku	384,684	92 (11)	1,300 (9)	684 (6)	616 (10)	1,161
21. Ikwuano	288,557	134 (4)	1,863 (4)	623 (7)	1,240(3)	681

* Figure in brackets is rank for this characteristic, out of 21 LGAs in 1989.
Aba urban population estimates exceed this figure.

Sources: *Directory of Primary School Statistics in Imo State - 1989*, Imo State of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Owerri; and *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State* (1989); and from calculations by author.

TABLE 6.12		IMO STATE LGAs - STATISTICAL RANKINGS			
LGA Name	Estimated Population*	Area in km. ² *	population per km. ² *	population per A.C.* #	schools per A.C. * #
1. Aboh-Mbaise	342,998	315 (14)	1,089 (9)	14,292 (15)	2.29 (21)
2. Ahiazu-Mbaise	218,914	107 (20)	2,046 (3)	15,637 (14)	3.35 (19)
3. Bende	208,576	679 (10)	307 (19)	18,961 (9)	6.00 (8)
4. Mbano	476,656	352 (13)	1,354 (5)	19,861 (8)	4.91 (12)
5. Etiti	441,066	207 (17)	2,131 (2)	22,053 (6)	5.85 (10)
6. Mbaitoli	389,451	376 (12)	1,036 (10)	18,545 (10)	6.57 (6)
7. Nkwerre	378,186	212 (16)	1,724 (4)	18,009 (11)	4.52 (15)
8. Owerri	440,940	1,114 (4)	396 (13)	12,969 (17)	5.32 (11)
9. Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta	310,022	1,378 (1)	225 (20)	16,317 (13)	4.79 (13)
10. Isuikwuato/Okigwe	463,301	1,190 (2)	389 (14)	22,062 (5)	7.05 (4)
11. Ideato	310,662	262 (15)	1,186 (8)	14,121 (16)	4.50 (16)
12. Orlu	270,537	202 (18)	1,339 (6)	11,272 (20)	3.66 (18)
13. Oru	227,336	189 (19)	1,203 (7)	12,630 (19)	4.33 (17)
14. Aba **	243,321	18 (21)	13,518 (1)	81,107 (1)	19.33 (1)
15. Isiala Ngwa	316,971	578 (11)	548 (11)	16,645 (12)	6.82 (5)
16. Obioma Ngwa	266,276	790 (8)	337 (16)	12,680 (18)	5.86 (9)
17. Ukwu	170,658	925 (6)	184 (21)	10,666 (21)	2.56 (20)
18. Afikpo	315,091	855 (7)	369 (15)	26,258 (3)	4.66 (14)
19. Ohaozara	338,156	1,096 (5)	309 (18)	33,816 (2)	7.70 (3)
20. Arochukwu	384,684	1,161 (3)	331 (17)	25,646 (4)	6.13 (7)
21. Ikwuano	288,557	681 (9)	424 (12)	20,611 (7)	9.57 (2)
IMO STATE mean			536	17,854	
* NOTE : Ranking in brackets, out of 21 LGAs in 1989. # A.C. = Autonomous Community. ** Aba population estimate low. Sources: <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i> (1989) Ministry of Information and Culture, Imo State of Nigeria, from project reports, and calculations by author.					

The other LGA with a major urban centre - Owerri - also has the State capital-city, so it is not surprising that it ranks first in both the total number of teachers and female teachers, while having only the seventh largest corps of male instructors.

Reversing this procedure, it is evident that two small LGAs - Etiti and Orlu - have similar teacher ratios. Ranking 17th and 18th in size, both have higher women than men rankings. This suggests that the population figures, while not reliable in absolute terms, may be a fair comparative statistic. This follows from the fact that both have high population densities, consistent with being more urban than rural. If this is correct then the rankings of Bende, Isiala Ngwa, Afikpo, Ohaozara, and Arochuku should indicate low population density and therefore a more rural than urban character. They rank 19th, 11th, 15th, 18th, and 17th, respectively.

Survey returns indicated that daily one-way travel of 5 to 10 kilometres is not unusual for staff at rural schools in Oru LGA (transport is usually limited to moped or bicycle). With the falling value of the naira, it is likely that transport options will continue to be reduced, especially if the *molue* buses become scarcer through attrition. The longer the commuting distance, and the more expensive the transport, the less likely that teachers will be willing to work in rural areas. The large number of vacant teaching positions, ranging from 40% to 60% of the nominal establishment for each school, revealed by the surveys attests to the difficulty in Oru LGA in attracting staff.

TABLE 6.13		SCHOOL ASSETS IN AWO-OMAMA - 1991			
School Name	male teachers	female teachers	vacant positions	supplies?	changes
3. Isieke 1 Primary	3	7	5	exercise/textbooks	latrine/roof '90
7. Pioneer Primary	4	5	5	none stated	rehab. 1989-90
10. Ubogwu Community	6	4	8	exercise books from LGA (12/class)	many broken forms
11. Umubochi Primary	4	6	6	none stated	latrines 1991
12. Umuduru Isieke *	2	2	2	Nil	roof 1989
* Note - this school is stated to be 8 km. from town, the farthest distant in Awo-Omama. Source: Survey forms mailed October 1991.					

It is notable that the first four schools in Table 6.13 had P.T.A. meetings twice per term, and the most remote from town and village, Umuduru Isieke, was called once per term. One headmaster noted that enrolment had increased since the equipment fee was cancelled (by the State), and another attributed improved attendance to the introduction of 'continuous assessment' (regular testing and marking).

TABLE 6.14		SELECTED SURVEY DATA - ORU LGA SCHOOLS 1991			
School Name	male t.	female	vacant	supplies	changes
21.Akatta Central	3	6	5	Nil	latrines/forms
34.Amagu Central	4	4	10	Nil	desks/blackbrd
38.Community (Eziani)	9	4	10	Nil	roof repair
44.Ibiasoegbe Prog.	5	2	7	Nil	roof 1989
46.Anidimma (Mgbidi)	5	6	3	texts,rulers & technical eq.	not stated
47.Mgbidi Central	5	13	4	some math texts	forms '89 and '91
Source: Survey forms mailed October 1991.					

Table 6.14 shows the striking difference between schools in the large town and LGA headquarters (Mgbidi) and other places in Oru. There are more female teachers, and fewer vacancies, in Mgbidi than in most of the other selected places - the exception being the town of Akatta. Only the Mgbidi schools report receiving some supplies, and Anidimma Public School is the only one to mention any technical equipment. The teachers at Mgbidi Central School also tend to have been at that school longer than staff at others - three men and eight women teachers had been there for three to five years. The others have been there less than three years. Another indicator of differential endowment is the age distribution of schools. The LGAs with the highest absolute and percentage numbers of post-1975 construction are Aba and Owerri, Aba having 21 schools (36%) of its stock in this group and Owerri having 15 (15%). These are 28% of all the post-1975 primary school construction in Imo State. It is not surprising to note that Ohafia (Arochukwu LGA) and Okigwe (Isuikwuato LGA) have 22% and 14% of their school stock in this 'modern' group.

TABLE 6.15		PRIMARY SCHOOL ESTABLISHMENT, IMO STATE				
LGA NAME	to 1944	1945-59	1960-75	1976-89	Total	no data
1.Aboh-Mbaise	23	30 (14)*	1	1	55	-
2.Ahiazu-Mbaise	18	26 (7)*	2	1	47	-
3.Bende	28	34 (19)*	1	3	66	-
Ehime-Mbano	30	29 (3)*	1	5	65	-
Isiala-Mbano	25	25 (3)*	2	0	52	1
4.Mbano LGA total	55	54 (6)*	3	5	117	1
Ihite/Uboma	14	16 (4)*	1	0	31	-
Obowu	15	15 (5)*	3	2	35	-
Ezinhitte	26	23 (7)*	1	1	51	-
5.Etiti LGA total	55	54 (16)*	5	3	117	-
Ikeduru	27	33 (9)*	2	1	63	-
Mbaitoli	26	45 (7)*	0	4	75	-
6.Mbaitoli total	53	78 (16)*	2	5	138	-
Isu	21	26 (5)*	4	3	54	-
Nkwerre	20	13 (1)*	6	2	41	-
7.Nkwerre/Isu total	41	39 (6)*	10	5	95	-
Ngor-Okpala	29	48 (12)*	1	3	81	1
Owerri	44	33 (11)*	7	15	99	-
8.Owerri total	73	81 (23)*	8	18	180	1
9.Ohaji/Egbema/ Oguta	41	36 (9)*	9	4	90	1
Isuikwuato	24	32 (17)*	10	3	69	2
Okigwe	34	29 (14)*	7	7	77	-
10.Isuikwuato total	58	61 (31)*	17	10	146	2

* number in brackets is the number of primary schools commissioned in 1957.
SOURCE: *Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State - 1989*, Ministry of Education.

TABLE 6.15 (continued)		PRIMARY SCHOOL ESTABLISHMENT, IMO STATE				
LGA NAME	to 1944	1945-59	1960-75	1976-89	Total	no data
11.Ideato	40	51 (22)*	5	3	99	-
12.Orlu	42	34 (14)*	6	6	88	-
13.Oru	29	39 (9)*	5	5	78	-
14.Aba	10	20 (7)*	7	21	58	-
15.Isiala Ngwa	40	72 (23)*	0	4	116	-
16.Obioma Ngwa	49	60 (27)*	5	8	122	1
17.Ukwa	21	16 (7)*	2	2	41	-
18.Afikpo	14	34 (5)*	3	5	56	-
Ohaozara	13	29 (3)*	1	1	44	-
Onicha	5	28 (0)*	0	0	33	-
19.Ohaoz./Onicha total	18	57 (3)*	1	1	77	-
Arochukwu	26	15 (6)*	4	1	46	-
Ohafia	13	18 (11)*	5	10	46	-
20. Arochukwu total	39	33 (17)*	9	11	92	-
21.Ikwuano/ Umuahia	66	56 (28)*	6	6	134	-
TOTALS -	813	965 (315)	107	127	2,012	6
* number in brackets is the number of primary schools commissioned in 1957.						
SOURCE: <i>Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State - 1989</i> , Ministry of Education, Owerri, Imo State of Nigeria, p. 63-6.						

Once again Etiti and Orlu rank fairly low on the scale, with about 3% and 7% of their schools of recent vintage. Both have a high proportion of total stock pre-dates 1945 - 48% and 47% respectively, compared to 17% in Aba. However, even Owerri has 44% of its schools dating from 1944 or earlier, which is higher than the State mean of 40% in this age category. As is evident from Tables 6.13 and 6.14, rehabilitation work is relatively rare.

6.3 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

As can be seen from Table 6.16 the pupil-teacher ratios in Oru LGA are above the estimates for Imo State as a whole (44:1) as published by the Federal Ministry of Education in April 1991 (*West Africa* No. 3873, 2-8 December 1991: 2020). Survey results, reported in Table 6.17, suggest the situation is mixed. Appendix C has comparison data for Mbaitoli.

TABLE 6.16: Primary Schools in Oru LGA 1989

Name of school	Location	Year founded	Pupils	Teachers	P/T *
1 Amaji Primary	Awo-Omama	1945	375 M 309 F	10 M 7 F	40.2
2 Central School	Awo-Omama	1934	218 M 185 F	3 M 5 F	50.4
3 Isieke 1 Primary	Awo-Omama	1948	243 M 207 F	4 M 7 F	40.9
4 Obibi Primary	Awo-Omama	1947	177 M 183 F	4 M 3 F	51.4
5 Ohuba Progressive	" "	1953	162 M 143 F	4 M 2 F	50.8
6 Okwoji Primary	Awo-Omama	1912	234 M 214 F	4 M 4 F	56.0
7 Pioneer Primary	Awo-Omama	1919	281 M 236 F	6 M 6 F	43.1
8 Santana Primary	Awo-Omama	1963 #	157 M 289 F	8 M 5 F	34.3
9 Ubachima Primary	Awo-Omama	1941	206 M 179 F	3 M 5 F	48.1
10 Ubogwu Com.	Awo-Omama	1956	335 M 365 F	3 M 10 F	53.8
11 Umubochi Prim.	Awo-Omama	1954	171 M 176 F	2 M 6 F	43.4
12 Umuduru Isieke	Awo-Omama	1958	110 M 130 F	3 M 1 F	60.0
13 Umuezukwe	Awo-Omama	1911	421 M 253 F	7 M 8 F	44.9
14 Umuokwe Prim.	Awo-Omama	1945	285 M 245 F	4 M 6 F	53.0
15 Umuokwe School	Awo-Omama	1957	217 M 195 F	5 M 5 F	41.2
16 Unity Central	Awo-Omama	1923	202 M 158 F	5 M 3 F	45.0
# Santana is a fee-paying (private) boarding school.					
17 Aji Central	Aji	1947	319 M 241 F	3 M 4 F	80.0
18 Community School	Aji	1947	226 M 196 F	4 M 4 F	52.8
19 Akuma School	Akuma	1957	232 M 214 F	3 M 4 F	63.7
20 Akuma Central	Akuma	1910	256 M 228 F	2 M 6 F	60.5
21 Akatta Central	Akatta	1909	243 M 208 F	4 M 6 F	45.1
22 Akatta Progressive	Akatta	1937	337 M 247 F	4 M 5 F	64.9
23 Ichi Amaka School	Akatta	1956	200 M 167 F	3 M 4 F	52.4
24 Ubaha Primary	Akatta	1956	156 M 124 F	2 M 3 F	56.0
25 Urah School	Akatta	1945	270 M 220 F	8 M 4 F	40.8
26 Amaofuo Primary	Amaofuo	1910	170 M 114 F	4 M 4 F	35.5

NOTE : Source listed at end of Table 6.16, p. 130.

TABLE 6.16: Primary Schools in Oru LGA 1989 (continued)

Name of school	Location	Year founded	Pupils	Teachers	P/T *
27 Amaokpuru Primary	Amiri	1952	170 M 91 F	3 M 1 F	65.2
28 Amiri Primary	Amiri	1957	202 M 218 F	3 M 2 F	84.0
29 Amiri Central	Amiri	1945	236 M 266 F	6 M 4 F	50.2
30 Mhubu Progressive	Amiri	1975	294 M 252 F	4 M 3 F	78.0
31 Ubahazu Central	Amiri	1918	171 M 131 F	4 M 1 F	75.5
32 Ugbeke Primary	Amiri	1986	80 M 120 F	1 M 2 F	66.7
33 Ukwuegbu Umuecheta Community	Amiri	1958	165 M 149 F	4 M 1 F	62.8
34 Central School	Amagu	1938	264 M 287 F	3 M 5 F	68.9
35 People Primary	Amagu	1954	157 M 143 F	2 M 3 F	60.0
36 Community Primary	Eleh	1948	93 M 119 F	4 M 1 F	42.4
37 State Primary	Eleh	1957	115 M 171 F	2 M 4 F	47.7
38 Community Primary	Eziani	1926	377 M 309 F	10 M 7 F	40.3
39 Community Sch.	Eziama	1950	340 M 300 F	5 M 6 F	58.2
40 Ihite Central	Ihite	1948	279 M 235 F	5 M 5 F	51.4
41 Agumiri Com.	Ibiasoegbe	1910	338 M 309 F	7 M 2 F	71.9
42 Community Primary	Ibiasoegbe	1956	216 M 190 F	4 M 2 F	67.7
43 Hill Top Primary	Ibiasoegbe	1957	104 M 106 F	3 M 2 F	46.0
44 Progressive School	Ibiasoegbe	1954	236 M 213 F	5 M 2 F	64.1
45 Udoma Primary	Ibiasoegbe	1939	246 M 129 F	6 M 1 F	53.6
46 Anidinma Primary	Mgbidi	1955	232 M 216 F	5 M 5 F	44.8
47 Mgbidi Central	Mgbidi	1918	355 M 484 F	5 M 18 F	36.5
48 Mgbidi Town Sch.	Mgbidi	1926	393 M 362 F	2 M 17 F	39.7
49 New Layout Primary	Mgbidi **	1950	436 M 492 F	4 M 18 F	42.2
50 United Primary	Nchoko	1953	217 M 177 F	2 M 5 F	56.3
51 Eastern Nempi	Nempi	1913	352 M 608 F	14 M 4 F	53.3
52 Nkwo-Ugbele Primary	Nempi	1956	268 M 236 F	2 M 5 F	74.6
53 Western Nempi	Nempi	1916	170 M 181 F	1 M 6 F	50.1

** New Layout School in Mgbidi started 2 shifts, due to overcrowding, in 1990.

* NOTE: P/T = Pupil to teacher ratio, rounded to nearest decimal.

NOTE : Source listed at end of Table 6.16, p. 130.

TABLE 6.16: Primary Schools in Oru LGA 1989 (concluded)

Name of school	Location	Year founded	Pupils	Teachers	P/T *
54 Community Primary	Ohakpu	1939	297 M 226 F	6 M 3 F	56.0
55 Okporo Community	Okporo	1937	221 M 199 F	7 M 3 F	42.0
56 Abia Central School	Omuma	1914	303 M 327 F	5 M 5 F	63.0
57 Omuma Central School	Omuma	1938	185 M 195 F	5 M 1 F	63.3
58 Community Primary	Omuma	1957	294 M 255 F	6 M 3 F	61.0
59 Omuma Community	Omuma	1937	230 M 258 F	2 M 5 F	69.7
60 Ozuh Community	Omuma	1957	232 M 218 F	4 M 3 F	64.3
61 Powerline Primary	Omuma	1966	177 M 165 F	4 M 2 F	57.0
62 Umuhu Primary	Omuma	1957	192 M 203 F	4 M 3 F	56.4
63 Otulu Community	Otulu	1914	250 M 350 F	4 M 8 F	50.0
64 Progressive Cent.	Otulu	1916	295 M 232 F	3 M 4 F	75.3
65 Aboh Primary	Ozara	1977	188 M 131 F	4 M 2 F	53.2
66 Ozara Central	Ozara	1936	248 M 202 F	7 M 3 F	45.0
67 Ozara Town School	Ozara	1956	350 M 250 F	5 M 2 F	85.7
68 Community Primary	Ubahaeze	1977	99 M 101 F	2 M 0 F	100.0
69 Central School	Ubulu	1936	270 M 239 F	6 M 2 F	63.6
70 Mbachu Primary	Ubulu	1945	311 M 288 F	5 M 4 F	66.6
71 Nobis Primary	Ubulu	1964	34 M 92 F	2 M 2 F	31.5
72 Ifebigbo Primary	Ubulu	1979	186 M 142 F	3 M 2 F	65.6
73 Development Primary	Ugbele	1979	160 M 156 F	1 M 6 F	45.1
74 Community Primary	Ubahazu	1956	118 M 132 F	1 M 2 F	83.3
75 Community Primary	Umuduru	1957	316 M 230 F	5 M 3 F	68.3
76 Community Primary	Umuehi	1919	167 M 133 F	2 M 5 F	42.9
77 Primary School	Umuezeola	1975	139 M 100 F	4 M 3 F	34.1
78 Community Primary	Uzinaumu	1950	245 M 210 F	4 M 8 F	37.9

* NOTE: P/T = Pupil to teacher ratio, rounded to nearest decimal.

Source of Data:

Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State 1989,
Planning, Research and Statistics Department, Ministry of Education,
Onitsha, Imo State of Nigeria p. 63-66.

TABLE 6.17: Survey data, Primary Schools in Oru LGA 1989-1991

Name of school **	Source	Data Year	Pupils	Teachers	P/T *
3 Isieke 1 Primary	1989 directory	1989	243 M 207 F	4 M 7 F	40.9
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 433	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 450	3 M 7 F	45.0
5 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 495	3 M 7 F	49.5
7 Pioneer Primary	1989 directory	1989	281 M 236 F	6 M 6 F	43.1
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 404	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 363	4 M 5 F	40.3
5 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 462	4 M 5 F	51.3
10 Ubogwu Com.	1989 directory	1989	335 M 365 F	3 M 10 F	53.8
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 638	6 M 4 F	63.8
	survey	1990	T = 731	T = 12	60.9
8 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 763	T = 10	76.3
11 Umubochi Prim.	1989 directory	1989	171 M 176 F	2 M 6 F	43.4
1 school block	survey	1989	T = 353	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 337	2 M 6 F	42.1
6 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 356	T = 9	39.6
12 Umuduru Isieke	1989 directory	1989	110 M 130 F	3 M 1 F	60.0
1 school block	survey	1989	T = 142	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 135	3 M 1 F	33.8
2 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 124	2 M 2 F	31.0
17 Aji Central	1989 directory	1989	319 M 241 F	3 M 4 F	80.0
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 398	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 585	3 M 7 F	58.5
5 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 521	2 M 8 F	52.1
18 Community School	1989 directory	1989	226 M 196 F	4 M 4 F	52.8
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 382	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 404	T = 8	50.5
7 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 503	T = 8	62.9
19 Akuma School	1989 directory	1989	232 M 214 F	3 M 4 F	63.7
8 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 524	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 560	n.a.	n.a.
5 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 542	5 M 6 F	49.3

NOTE: Source and glossary of abbreviations p. 134.

TABLE 6.17: Survey data, Primary Schools in Oru LGA 1989-1991 (continued)

Name of school **	Source	Data Year	Pupils	Teachers	P/T *
20 Akuma Central	1989 directory	1989	256 M 220 F	2 M 6 F	59.5
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 448	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 459	2 M 6 F	57.4
6 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 514	4 M 5 F	57.1
21 Akatta Central	1989 directory	1989	243 M 208 F	4 M 6 F	45.1
4 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 477	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 487	3 M 6 F	54.1
5 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 491	3 M 6 F	54.6
23 Ichi Amaka School	1989 directory	1989	200 M 167 F	3 M 4 F	52.4
2 school blocks	survey	1989	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
7 teaching pos. vac.(1990)	survey	1991	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
34 Central School	1989 directory	1989	264 M 287 F	3 M 5 F	68.9
4 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 542	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 516	4 M 4 F	64.5
10 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	E T = 538	4 M 4 F	67.3
35 People Primary	1989 directory	1989	157 M 143 F	2 M 3 F	60.0
2 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 206	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 273	4 M 2 F	45.5
4 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 417	3 M 4 F	59.6
38 Community Primary	1989 directory	1989	377 M 309 F	10 M 7 F	40.3
4 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 880	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 930	9 M 4 F	71.5
10 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 985	9 M 4 F	75.8
43 Hill Top Primary	1989 directory	1989	104 M 106 F	3 M 2 F	46.0
2 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 202	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 288	6 M 6 F	24.0
2 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 291	9 M 2 F	26.5
44 Progressive School	1989 directory	1989	236 M 213 F	5 M 2 F	64.1
1 school block	survey	1989	T = 404	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 453	5 M 2 F	64.7
7 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 500	5 M 2 F	71.4

NOTE: Source and glossary of abbreviations p. 134.

TABLE 6.17: Survey data, Primary Schools in Oru LGA 1989-1991 (continued)

Name of school **	Source	Data Year	Pupils	Teachers	P/T *
46 Anidinma Primary	1989 directory	1989	232 M 216 F	5 M 5 F	44.8
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 440	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 413	5 M 6 F	37.5
3 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 512	5 M 6 F	46.5
47 Mgbidi Central	1989 directory	1989	355 M 484 F	5 M 18 F	36.5
4 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 801	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 827	5 M 16 F	39.4
4 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 872	7 M 18 F	34.9
48 Mgbidi Town School	1989 directory	1989	393 M 262 F	2 M 17 F	34.4
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 661	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 786	n.a.	n.a.
4 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 837	4 M 18 F	38.0
55 Okporo Community	1989 directory	1989	221 M 199 F	7 M 3 F	42.0
1 school block	survey	1989	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 487	n.a.	n.a.
5 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	E T = 430	T = 8	53.8
56 Abia Central School	1989 directory	1989	303 M 327 F	5 M 5 F	63.0
2 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 499	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 524	n.a.	n.a.
7 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 658	2 M 7 F	73.1
60 Ozuh Community	1989 directory	1989	232 M 218 F	4 M 3 F	64.3
3 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 890	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 995	12 M 8 F	49.8
15 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 1,050	T = 19	55.3
61 Powerline Primary	1989 directory	1989	177 M 165 F	4 M 2 F	57.0
2 school blocks	survey	1989	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 372	n.a.	n.a.
6 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 412	T = 7	58.9
65 Aboh Primary	1989 directory	1989	188 M 131 F	4 M 2 F	53.2
6 school blocks	survey	1989	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 292	n.a.	n.a.
2 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 237	T = 7	33.9

NOTE: Source and glossary of abbreviations p. 134.

TABLE 6.17: Survey data, Primary Schools in Oru LGA 1989-91 (concluded)

Name of school **	Source	Data Year	Pupils	Teachers	P/T *
70 Mbachu Primary	1989 directory	1989	311 M 288 F	5 M 4 F	66.6
2 school blocks	survey	1989	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 618	n.a.	n.a.
7 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 722	T = 8	90.3
74 Community Primary	1989 directory	1989	118 M 132 F	1 M 2 F	83.3
1 school block	survey	1989	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 291	n.a.	n.a.
4 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 351	T = 5	70.2
76 Community Primary	1989 directory	1989	167 M 133 F	2 M 5 F	42.9
2 school blocks	survey	1989	T = 271	n.a.	n.a.
	survey	1990	T = 274	T = 8	34.3
2 teaching pos. vacant	survey	1991	T = 330	T = 8	41.3

* NOTE: P/T = Pupil to teacher ratio, rounded up to nearest decimal.

** NOTE: School names and numbers are identical to those in Table 6.16.

Glossary of abbreviations:

E = estimated # (some data missing)	F = female (pupils and teachers)
M = male (pupils and teachers)	n.a. = data not available
T = total number (M + F)	pos. = position

Sources of Data: *Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State 1989*,
Planning, Research and Statistics Department, Ministry of Education,
Owerri, Imo State of Nigeria p. 63-66; and

Field surveys May-June 1991 (in person) and December-January 1991-1992 (mail).
Sample pages from surveys appear as Appendix C: the methodology is described
in chapter 5.

The trend for ten of the schools listed in Table 6.17 is a decline in pupil-teacher ratios, discounting those where the change between 1989 and 1991 was of plus or minus two pupils per teacher. Nine others had increasing ratios. These ratio changes are not annually consistent. What is constant is that the teacher position vacancy rate ranges from 33% to 47% - 16 schools of the 26 which reported fell into this range. The outliers are the three Mgbidi schools, ranging from 14% to 21% (numbers 46-48), and two schools in Amagu and

Ibiasoegbe in the 56% to 58% range (number 34 and 44).

In confirmation of the desirability of more modern schools, the most recently commissioned of the survey reporting schools (Aboh Primary in Ozara, opened in 1977) reported only two of nine positions vacant (22%). Pupils for this facility travel on average less than one kilometre - 0.5 km. from Aboh Ozara to the east, and 0.8 km. from Odide Egbuoma to the west. This was one of the few surveyed schools that reported receiving new equipment, consisting of forms (desks) from the Local Government Education Authority. It also had roof repairs in 1989.

Almost all schools with declining pupil-teacher ratios are of post-1950 construction.

Tables 6.18 and 6.19 indicate the distribution of pupils and schools in 1989, in Oru LGA. In 1989 places with more than one primary school ratios range from 40:1, in Mgbidi, to 75:1 in Amiri. Awo-Omama and Eleh were the second lowest, at 46:1 and 45:1. The ratio of men to women teachers varies, and illustrates the ambiguity of the state mean ratio (2m:3f). Compared to the mean, these figures list only the communities with an imbalance:

Akuma (1m: 2f)	Amiri (1.8m: 1f)	Amagu (1m: 1.6f)	Ibiasoegbe (2.8m: 1f)
Mgbidi (1m: 3.6f)	Omuma (1.4m: 1f)	Otulu (1m: 1.7f)	Ozara (2.3m: 1f)
Ubulu (1.6m: 1f)			

Once again location-specific variations are evident. The pupil-teacher ratios from Mbaitoli LGA schools (Appendix C) offer a useful contrast to those of Oru (Table 6.16). However, given that the 1989 data are not matched by similar data from other years, and that the trends of pupil-teacher and male-female teacher ratios are consistent only in Mgbidi and Awo-Omama, it is not possible to draw specific conclusions from these data alone.

Some examples illustrate the problem. The highest pupil-teacher ratios are in Amiri and Amagu, at 65:1. Yet Amiri has 7 schools, 2,545 pupils, and 39 teachers, while Amagu has only two schools, 851 pupils, and 13 teachers. Their male-female teacher ratios are reversed. This comparison alone offers no explanation. However, project data include the fact that Amiri is the site of both a one million naira rural electrification scheme and a N 231,000 water extension, while Amagu does not figure in the reports at all.

The evidence of a preponderance of male teachers, of expensive (30% of budgeted Oru spending) development projects, the large number of schools - averaging less than half

TABLE 6.18		SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION DATES ORU LGA				
Community	pupils total (1989)	pre 1945	1945-59	1960-75	1976-89	Reconstruction * whole or partial
Awo-Omama	3,794 m 3,467 f	6	9	1	0	4 surveys - 2 part & 1 whole recon.
Aji	545 m 437 f	0	2	0	0	2 surveys - 1 part & 1 whole recon.
Akuma	488 m 442 f	1	1	0	0	2 surveys - 1 part & 1 whole recon.
Akatta	1,206 m 966 f	2	3	0	0	2 surveys - 1 part & 1 whole recon.
Amiri	1,318 m 1,227 f	1	4	1	1	no surveys received.
Amagu	421 m 430 f	1	1	0	0	2 surveys - 2 part reconstructions.
Eleh	208 m 290 f	0	2	0	0	no surveys received.
Ibiasoegbe	1,140 m 947 f	2	3	0	0	2 surveys - 1 part reconstruction.
Mgbidi	1,416 m 1,554 f	2	2	0	0	3 surveys - 1 part recon., 1 blank.
Nempi	790 m 1,025 f	2	1	0	0	no surveys received.
Omuma	1,613 m 1,621 f	3	3	1	0	3 surveys - 2 part & 1 whole recon.
Otulu	545 m 582 f	2	0	0	0	no surveys received.
Ozara	786 m 583 f	1	1	0	1	1 survey - new (1977) school.
Ubulu	801 m 761 f	1	1	1	1	1 survey - total reconstruction.
* 'reconstruction' is building a new school block		total: 24	total: 33	total: 4	total: 3	all partial recon. more blocks.

Source: Calculated from *Directory of Primary Schools....*, p. 63-66 (as in Table 12.1);
field surveys May; and mail questionnaires November/December 1992.

TABLE 6.19		SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION DATES ORU LGA (places with only 1 school)				
Community or place	1989 # of pupils	pre - 1945	1945-1959	1960-1975	1976-1989	Reconstruction * whole or partial
Amaofuo	170 m 114 f	1 (1910)	0	0	0	no surveys received.
Eziani	377 m 309 f	1 (1926)	0	0	0	1 survey - 1 whole recon.
Ezlamu	340 m 300 f	0	1 (1950)	0	0	no surveys received.
Ihite	279 m 235 f	0	1 (1948)	0	0	no surveys received.
Nchoko	217 m 177 f	0	1 (1953)	0	0	no surveys received.
Ohakpu	297 m 226 f	1 (1939)	0	0	0	no surveys received.
Okporo	221 m 199 f	1 (1937)	0	0	0	1 survey - 1 whole recon.
Ubahaeze	99 m 101 f	0	0	0	1 (1977)	no survey received.
Ugbele	160 m 156 f	0	0	0	1 (1979)	no survey received.
Ubahazu	118 m 132 f	0	1 (1956)	0	0	1 survey - 1 whole recon.
Umuduru	316 m 230 f	0	1 (1957)	0	0	no survey received.
Umuehi	167 m 133 f	1 (1919)	0	0	0	1 survey - 1 part reconstruction.
Umuezeola	139 m 100 f	0	0	1 (1975)	0	no survey received.
Uzinaumu	245 m 210 f	0	1 (1950)	0	0	no survey received.
* where reconstruction is building of a new school block (see text method.)		total: 5	total: 6	total: 1	total: 2	all partial recon. reported is one or more blocks.

Sources: Calculated from *Directory of Primary Schools*..., p. 63-66 (as in Table 12.1); field surveys May; and mail questionnaires November/December 1992.

the enrolment of Mgbidi, and even the slightly higher number of male pupils, suggest that Amiri is an extensive rural community. The suite of indicators suggested here comprise surrogate measures that both define elements of rural-urban endowment differences and the specific types of deficits in resources which fifteen years of local government have not answered.

Ozara and Ubulu share all of the school-statistic characteristics of Amiri ⁸⁹, and so it is not surprising that Ubulu also has two development projects - a 'School Club Hall' and a post office - totalling N 700,000 (17% of total in Oru). Ibiasoegbe also has a large rural electrification programme (N 600,000) which was just beginning. Once again it has a distinct over-representation of male teachers, of male pupils, school size averaging just about 56% of that in Mgbidi, and a high pupil-teacher ratio (61:1). The ratio of female-to-male teachers, and of pupils-to-teachers, in Mbaitoli LGA suggests that it is less rural than Oru LGA, which is consistent with the scope of community projects and the larger population.

Of these characteristics the least consistent is a majority of male pupils. However, taken together with the other indicators noted, it as a useful part of a set of surrogate measures that appear to describe rural compared to urban communities, even in an area generally categorized as rural.

Resource allocation suggested by community project spending, teacher ratios, staffing vacancies, pupil-teacher ratios and comparison between the LGA headquarters town and other communities is useful as a means to study spatially different integrated rural development in Nigeria. Figure 10 (p. 140) illustrates a preliminary grouping of the LGAs of Imo State in 1989. This is derived from the female:male teacher ratios and budgeted amounts for basic infrastructure projects, with more weight assigned to the former (Table 6.11 and last column Table 6.9, respectively). Teacher ratios change year-to-year, and the project details do not appear to have been compiled by a standard reporting method. Other factors in deriving the grouping are the total budget for projects, and the number of primary schools built after 1975. The rural-urban differences by these criteria are notable.

⁸⁹ Both have pupil-teacher ratios of 60:1, and their school size is 61% and 53% (Ozara and Ubulu) of the 742 pupil average in Mgbidi.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

It is a cruel quirk of history that the nations of West Africa became independent at the end of what must be considered a "golden age" - population levels half of those now found; relatively stable markets for commodity exports which were produced from land under considerably less production stress than in subsequent decades; high prices for commodities which were in comparatively limited world-wide production; quality of life expectations established by both strength of indigenous culture and by standard of living differences which, while large, were much smaller than now found between North and South; climate stability ⁹⁰, with an unusual run of non-drought years.

All of these factors contributed to an assurance of future prosperity that was undeniably assumed by the newly independent nations, of which Nigeria appeared the most fortunate. Although communal violence, especially the Civil War, when the Eastern Region (Biafra) broke away, caused much loss of both time and capital (both human and economic), wild oscillations of a boom-bust one-commodity (petroleum) economy have been equally destructive, augmented by serious drought in the mid-1970's and 1984-5. The political chaos which has accompanied these stresses has led to recurrent administrative disruptions as coup has succeeded coup.

This research was designed to investigate the local government structure that evolved from colonial and post-Independence traditions, and to examine the conditions imposed on the Local Government Area system by constitutional and practical constraints. The method is one of employing indirect, or surrogate, measurements to assess the way in which resources are derived and allocated. Figure 10 encapsulates a rudimentary grouping of LGAs using the most telling of these surrogate measures; female-to-male teacher ratios and ranking (Table 6.11), budgeted community development project amounts (Table 6.3), and

⁹⁰ Discussion of the trend and factors of climate change is in Kates (1985) and Gornitz (1987). Mention of the Sahelian droughts of the mid-1970's and 1983-5 is made only rarely in published literature, at least by indigenous writers. Yet the impact on food prices and overall living standards is quite marked.

the percent from the total number of such projects dedicated to basic infrastructure ⁹¹ .

Having a large percentage of post-1975 primary school construction is an important characteristic in defining an urban LGA.

7.1 SUCCESS OF THE LGA SYSTEM

Evaluating the success of the Nigerian Federal government in establishing local government implies analyzing the nature of pre- and post-Independence examples, and of measuring the way in which the current system works. Nigeria inherited a mix of approaches to many aspects of social organization, including diverse political forms with specific regional characteristics - North, East and West. These overall divisions were and remain underlain by a wide range of cultural norms, reflecting the multi-ethnic composition of the country.

The main thrust of Federal efforts since 1967 has been to entrench institutional structures which address the interests (perceived and real) of communities. This goal is incorporated both by national-level sectoral programmes and local-scale integrated development plans. Systematic standardization of both local government and of Universal Primary Education (UPE) follow from this doctrine. Although no part of this research, it is interesting to speculate on the future role of the intermediate level of governance, the individual States - given that their constitutional role seems to be under review.

All of the analytical measures of endowment distribution display anomalies. One is the pattern of development projects within both a single LGA (Oru), and throughout the study state (Imo). The relative money allocation to specific towns and communities suggests patterns of fund allocations between LGAs within Imo State, here characterized as low or high endowment rural LGAs, and urban LGAs. While sources of funds and the means by which they are allocated to development projects are difficult to establish, evidence is that LGAs larger in population - using both the surrogate measure of pupil enrolment and the

⁹¹ In Table 6.2 types A, B, C, and D (electric power, water service, roads, schools). After 15 years of UPE and given the level of primary school construction before 1976 in Imo State (Table 6.15), it is reasonable to define secondary and technical schools as basic infrastructure.

rather doubtful 1989 population estimates - carry out both larger numbers of, and more complex, projects.

The relation of core-to-periphery in the sense of a regional/State core - rural periphery is relevant for describing urban-rural dichotomy in Imo State. The State was almost 88% rural in the 1963 census definition ⁹², which suggests that such a spatial dichotomy exists.

Difficulty defining the boundaries of autonomous communities means that it is impossible to be precise about where projects are located, and the scope and scale of each. This limitation reduces the scope of conclusions about an endowment dichotomy, so that Figure 10 sets out two extreme categories and assigns the residual to a middle ground ⁹³.

7.2 DIFFERENTIAL ENDOWMENT

Endowment differences appear not to be offset by the mechanism for transmitting the Federation Account portion ⁹⁴. The reason for this conclusion is integral to the urban or rural nature of individual LGAs. Oru LGA in fact raises relatively little of its total funds from internal revenue generating efforts. Its development projects are for the most part under joint-implementation programmes ⁹⁵. This is in marked contrast to other adjoining

⁹² Table 3.2 - 'urban' defined as a place over 20,000 population. By 1989 Aba, Owerri, Umuahia, Orlu, and probably Okigwe would have exceeded this threshold.

⁹³ 'Low endowment rural' and 'urban' are the extremes, and 'high endowment rural' is the residual category. The problem of defining these groups is due to the lack of comparable data. Accumulating the number of development projects is not particularly enlightening since the breakdown by project details is influenced by approaches to the task which vary widely, among the LGAs. The estimated budget amounts also are non-uniform, although some symmetry exists (see chapter 5).

⁹⁴ As noted above, this is set by the Constitution at 15%, but has been announced by Government as subject to an increase to 20%. Formally, this has not been done.

⁹⁵ These range from Federal agencies such as DFFRI, NEPA, and the 'Better Life for Rural Women Programme' to State agencies (State Directorate for Rural Development, State Water Board, State Electricity Board) and the Water and Sanitation Project, which originated as a UNICEF-assisted scheme. This detail is abstracted from a pamphlet - *One Year in Office* (October 1987) - recounting the accomplishments of governor Lt. Commander Amadi Ikwechegh. It is too general for quoting as a citation.

LGAs, such as Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta, Mbaitoli and Orlu.

The latter has a large town (Orlu) with a revenue base of hawkers, large markets, and services that provide license fees and levies in relative abundance. Its 1988 revenues also included both poll and property taxes, the latter being realistic only in towns. The Orlu Council reported 337 employees in 1988 ⁹⁶. Mbaitoli has a significantly larger population (based on the number of pupils) suggesting similar advantages to those provided by a large town such as Orlu. A visit to the LGA offices was instructive, since the quality and size of staff offices was more comfortable than in Oru. Based on development project and budget data, Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta disposes of more resources.

In 1988 the budgets of both Orlu and Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta LGAs exceeded that of Oru by more than 25%, while the pupil population of Mbaitoli was over 30% larger than in Oru. These differences are substantial in terms of the funds that may be generated by local communities and from block-fund disbursements under the Constitution.

Other aspects of endowment observed include the physical condition of schools in different communities; the presence or absence of teachers, and staffing vacancies; and the teaching aids and supplies in use. In the more general case of development projects relative levels of LGA endowment are suggested by the type of projects undertaken. This inferential analysis assumes that projects undertaken with predominantly community-generated funds are a response to an ordered preference hierarchy.

The distribution of male and female teachers, and the number and size of primary schools (and therefore of capital spending), support a rural-urban dichotomy. At the level of Oru LGA this is between the LGA headquarters Mgbidi and the communities that are rural. Urban bias is implied by comparison of proportion of all resources allocated to the particular sector under consideration, a comparison that is difficult to make because there is uncertainty as to the accuracy of community project estimates and their status. What is abundantly clear is that any theoretical model which assumes that resource allocation is merely a matter of technical menu choices from a wide selection of options is completely inaccurate for developing, Southern nations such as Nigeria.

⁹⁶ *Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State (1989)*, p. 212.

The overall resource "pie" just isn't large enough to offer many regular choices. This conclusion is supported in this case by the paucity of supplies, dearth of building rehabilitation, and unwillingness of teachers to work in rural areas. The attempt to implement UPE over the past 15 years has demonstrated the constraints clearly.

For example, under a doctrine of equity citizens cannot be excluded from access to services. Similarly, the options for paying for service suggest that public choice can define the methods chosen, as if many administrative tools can be rallied to the cause - in contrast to the stark fact that people are the most common and often sole tool of bureaucracy. Neither ranks of typewriters nor ubiquitous computers or calculators appear in any typical office in Nigeria, regardless of the level (local, state or federal). Lacking complex record-keeping, how can service delivery be evaluated? What degree of consumer choice is possible when the suite of resources that can be deployed is neither fixed nor increasing, but gyrating according to uncontrollable Government income? Similarly the first five of the financing options are simply not realistic, perhaps not in any non-industrial country. In short, the limitations of this model are such that it is not a theory but a menu of suggestions which could be constructed for any case study rather more accurately by basic field observations and interviews.

It is inaccurate to argue that lack of choice is a reflection of government failure. Certainly in Imo State civil administration is efficient in its operation, given the limits imposed by higher levels of government on LGAs. The role of organizational decision making - the importance of institutions in spatial patterns - is a factor in resource allocation decisions. Given the fluidity of local government arrangements, especially the dance between a succession of appointed sole administrators, elected councillors, and the re-appointment of interim sole administrators subsequent to the creation of new LGAs, it is almost a triumph that any planning can be carried through.

7.3 INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Fadayomi (1988) studied the social characteristics of migrants to the Gombe project, an integrated rural development scheme that was one of the first Agricultural Development Projects in Nigeria. No interviewees in that study specifically cited lack of educational opportunity as influencing their decision to migrate from their home, which is consistent

with a Muslim area of a Northern State (Bauchi). The period covered by the survey questionnaire was 1976 to 1983, coincidental with the introduction of UPE and its very halting implementation. However, over 60% of the respondents who came from small farm households (less than 5 hectares) stated that "better conditions for farmers" was the major migration incentive. Most primary school graduates gave income improvement as a reason for moving, in contrast to respondents who had not attended school. Fadayomi concluded that the Gombe project was unsuccessful in encouraging farmers to remain on the land.

Location decisions are directed by social structure as well as economic structure of society, as is self-evident in the case of providing a common good such as primary education. The specific applicability of this branch of location theory is culture-dependent and as has been acknowledged, the research cannot accommodate specific evaluation of this factor in terms of importance to resource allocation.

Certainly it can be said that the Ibo tradition of de-centralized political nodes - exemplified by the pervasive presence of autonomous communities - has a markedly different flavour from the institutional structure observed in Oyo State. The Yoruba areas visited, around Ikirun and Oshogbo, were more intensely hierarchical than observed in Oru and Mbatoli LGAs, although proceeding through the full administrative hierarchy was still very important in the latter cases. It seems clear that the tradition of community action attributed to the Udi District experiments of the 1920's is a critical characteristic, compared to the more centralized institutions in Oyo State. However it would be a mistake to over-emphasize this difference. In Oyo the 1991 restructuring split off a new State (Oshun), with capital in Oshogbo, and there is some agitation for splitting off another part of the state, identified as "Oyo North" to form another new entity - "Oke Ogun" (*West Africa* No. 3904: 1181). This may be interpreted as evidence of continuing culture-driven demands for smaller scale organizational autonomy.

It is apparent that too many projects and programmes are undertaken simultaneously. Neither management skills nor available funds have been adequate to the task of human resource development in the form of integrated rural development. Constant pressure by the current military government to complete outstanding projects, presumably those under auspices of national sectoral infrastructure programmes, is evidence of overload, as is the

legacy of incomplete community development works.

For example, the division of adult literacy programmes among MAMSER, the Federal Ministry of Education, and both LGA and State governments means competition for facilities and human resources. It has also entrenched non-cooperative competition among contending bureaucratic institutions and exacerbated tension between traditional and modernizing values. In the case of adult literacy, community-based and locally-funded programmes appear to be informal and in the tradition of African education outlined by Fafunwa. In contrast MAMSER and the Federal education staff are operating in a system based on institutions operating in the colonial bureaucratic form.

This common sense realization was very clear in interviews and discussions during field research in Nigeria, re-enforcing the need to question the quality and value of first-world administrative and technological "expertise" applied outside of its own environment. Given the historical background of Nigeria, since the mid-19th century, any research that concerns Government policy must incorporate analysis of the administrative experience derived from British influence as a colonial power in West Africa.

In the case of primary education there is also evidence of both dissatisfaction with the daily functioning of the modern 6-3-3-4 system and UPE, and with the values that are inculcated by this institution. While an examination of the causes of attrition in the first six years of education - the average wastage rate being 45% - could not be included in the research, interviews and published sources clearly agree that the failures of UPE and unhappiness with the values and skills it produces are important facts.

Policy doctrine underlying the implementation of projects in Nigeria, whether UPE or community development undertakings, has been described as here as *de facto* Integrated Rural Development. In fact the phrase is used in public discourse in Nigeria, as a feature article in *The Democrat* illustrates⁹⁷. The by-line piece is a public relations piece, often addressed on anniversaries but usually in the form of an outright 'advertorial'. It details the

⁹⁷ *The Democrat*, Vol. 4, no. 1078, June 27 1991: p. 12. The article is the first of at least two concerning progress in Borno State under governor Lt. Col. Marwa. It is a record of the first anniversary commemoration of the governor in office, and is titled "Gov. Marwa and integrated rural development".

successes of the military governor of the northern State of Borno, specifying water provision, electricity, education, health, roads and transport, and agriculture and desertification.

The rosy picture the article paints must be viewed with caution. Civil service 'indiscipline' is an entrenched problem, often addressed in the press (and during interviews). An editorial in *The Punch* is typical and, for that periodical, quite restrained⁹⁸. The author draws attention to late work arrivals, prolonged socializing, non-official activities such as hawking goods, personal use of official vehicles, absences, snacking - all readily observable by any visitor. These conditions are not all-encompassing, and seem to be more troublesome at the Federal ministries than at either State or local government level. Nevertheless project activation can be hamstrung by 'indiscipline' so that, even when resources are available they are not necessarily put to the intended use.

7.4 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Avoiding value-laden theorizing and analysis is an important step in research into African topics in particular, and development issues in general. This requires distinguishing between rhetoric and reality at the level of theory, and also in empirical research⁹⁹.

The mix of Nigerian public policy that seeks to allay communal fears, allocate scarce resources equitably, and achieve national policy goals continues to be challenged by poverty. This is not to say that the case is hopeless.

The crucial skills and resources of local government must up-graded. The present constitutional rules hinder that task by setting a rigid, central Government-determined framework for block transfers to LGAs. This challenge must be addressed by the current administrative structure acting through the political institutions established by the transition programme. The multiplication of administrative units is cause for real apprehension about continuing viability of the local government system. Events in the new year will show whether existing potential is subverted or supported.

⁹⁸ *The Punch*, June 28 1991: p. 13. Under the byline of Henry Edebeatu, it is titled "Civil servants and indiscipline". This daily newspaper has a reputation for very aggressive reporting, sometimes of a tabloid nature.

⁹⁹ I am indebted to Barry Riddell for reminding me of this, which is a major theme enunciated by Gore (1984).

APPENDIX A: Local Government System

(Part I, Decree No. 15, Local Government (Basic Constitutional and Transitional Provisions Decree 1989), 17 May, 1989.

Local Government System and Establishment of Local Government Councils.

1. (1) The system of local government shall, under this decree, be by democratically elected Local Government Councils.
- (2) There shall be 449 Local Government Areas in Nigeria as named in the second column of Schedule 1 of this Decree and each Local Government Area shall have its headquarters in the location specified in the third column of the said schedule.
- (3) The Local Government Area shall be the only unit in respect of which the Government of a State is empowered to establish an authority for the purpose of local government.
- (4) Without prejudice to the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, the Government of a State may, by Edict or Law, create for any Local Government Area in its State up to a maximum of 7 Development Areas, having regard to such factors as common historical and traditional ties, geographical contiguity and administrative expedience.
- (5) Subject to subsection (2) of this section, the person authorised by law to prescribe the area over which a Local Government may exercise authority shall define such area as clearly as practicable and in conformity with the provisions of Schedule 1 of this Decree.
- (6) It shall be the duty of a Local Government within the State to participate in economic planning and development of the Local Government Area concerned and to this end, a joint economic planning board shall be established by an Edict or Law.
The functions to be conferred by an Edict or a Law upon a Local Government Council shall include those set out in Part V of this Decree.
- (8) Subject to the provisions of this Decree -
 - (a) the Armed Forces Ruling Council or the National Assembly, as the case may be, shall make provisions for statutory allocation of public revenue to the Local Governments in the Federation; and
 - (b) the Military Governor or the House of Assembly of a State, as the case may be, shall make provisions for statutory allocation of public revenue to the Local Governments within the State.
- (9) The Auditor-General for the Local Governments of a State shall audit annually the accounts of the Local Government and the report thereof shall be laid before the Military Governor or the House of Assembly of the State, as the case may be.

APPENDIX A (continued)

- (10) Subject to the provisions of Parts 1 to VI of this Decree, the Military Governor or the House of Assembly of a State, as the case may be, shall enact an Edict or a Law providing for the structure, composition, revenue, expenditure and other financial matters, staff, meeting and other relevant matters for the Local Governments in the State.
2. (1) There shall be a Local Government Council for each Local Government Area in the Federation.
- (2) A Local Government Council shall stand dissolved at the expiration of a period of 3 years commencing from the date of the first sitting of the Council but shall seat for only 2 years during the transition period.
- (3) Government shall ensure that every person who is entitled to vote or to be voted for at an election, shall have the right to vote or be voted for at an election to a Local Government Council.
3. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Decree, The National Electoral Commission (hereafter in this Decree referred to as "the Commission") shall divide each Local Government Area into such number of wards, not being more than 20, as the circumstances of each Local Government Area may require.
The boundaries of each ward shall be such that the number of inhabitants thereof is as nearly equal to the population quota as is reasonably practicable.
4. The Commission shall review the division of every Local Government Area into wards at intervals of not less than 10 years and may alter such wards in accordance with the provisions of section 3 (1) of this Decree to such extent as it may consider desirable in the light of the review.

Part V - Functions of a Local Government

27. The main functions of a Local Government shall be as follows -
 - (a) formulation of economic planning and development schemes for the Local Government Area;
 - (b) collection of rates and issuance of radio and television licences;
 - (c) establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds and homes for the destitute or infirm;
 - (d) licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks), canoes, wheel barrows and carts;
 - (e) establishment, maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs, markets, motor parks and public conveniences;
 - (f) construction and maintenance of roads, streets, street lightings, drains, parks, gardens, open spaces, or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the Military Governor or House of Assembly of a State;

APPENDIX A (concluded)

- (g) naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses;
 - (h) provision and maintenance of public conveniences, sewage and refuse disposal;
 - (i) registration of all births, deaths and marriages;
 - (j) assessment of privately owned houses or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the Military Governor or House of Assembly of a State;
 - (k) control and regulation of -
 - (i) out-door advertising and hoardings,
 - (ii) movement and keeping of pets of all descriptions,
 - (iii) shops and kiosks,
 - (iv) restaurants, bakeries and other places for sale of food to the public,
 - (v) laundries, and
 - (l) licensing, regulation and control of the sale of liquor.
28. The functions of a Local Government shall include participation of such Government in the government of a State as respects the following matters, namely -
- (a) the provision and maintenance of primary, adult and vocational education;
 - (b) the development of agriculture and natural resources, other than the exploitation of minerals;
 - (c) the provision and maintenance of health services; and
 - (d) such other functions as may be conferred upon a Local Government by the Military Governor or the House of Assembly of a State.

NOTE: Parts II and III define council positions and the duties attendant upon each, and Part IV describes the recall of council members and the sittings of Local Councils. Part VIII sets out sections 35 to 86, spelling out election procedures. These election provisions were amended by Decree No. 25 - Local Government (Basic Constitutional and Transitional Provisional) (Amendment) Decree 1990 - 10 October 1990.

Decree No. 25 ends with the "Explanatory Note" reading (partially) ...
 "...to empower the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces to appoint a Caretaker Committee for any Local Government and makes, amongst other things, provisions for the *open ballot system* .

The open ballot system requires that voters stand in line for the candidate who they support, and are counted at one time. It has been used in each election of the Transition programme, starting with the December 8, 1990 Local Government Area elections.

APPENDIX B: SURVEY: Primary School Questionnaire 1991E 3 pages

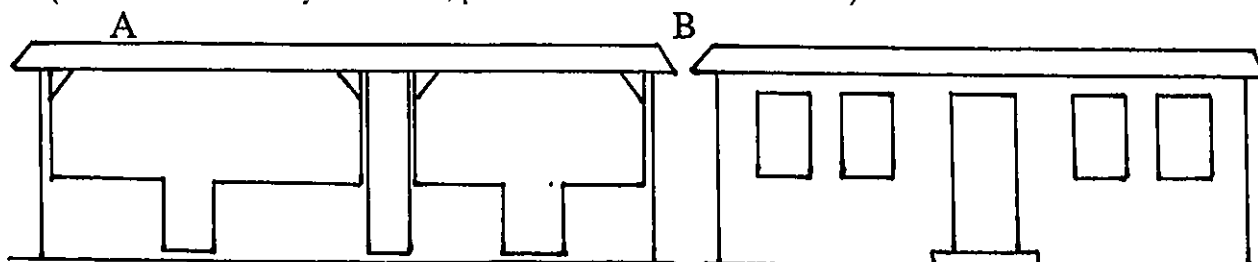
This survey questionnaire is to collect data about primary schools in several LGA's in Nigeria. It is part of an M.A. thesis at the University of Ottawa, Department of Geography. The questions are based on field research in May and June, 1991, designed to establish location and resources at specific schools.

1. Name of this school _____ Town/community called _____
2. **ORU Local Government Area** _____ School opened in 19 _____
3. a) This school has (please write number) _____ blocks of classrooms
 b) The blocks were built in (please write year of construction of each)
 first 19 _____ second 19 _____ third 19 _____ fourth 19 _____ fifth 19 _____ sixth 19 _____
 c) The blocks have (please write number) _____ classrooms each (if there are different numbers of classrooms in each block, please note) _____
5. Number of pupils each level: Jan.-July 1991 ; and Sept.-Dec. 1990 ; and Sept.-Dec. 1989
 E1/P1 1991 _____ 1990 _____ 1989 _____ E2/P2 1991 _____ 1990 _____ 1989 _____
 E3/P3 1991 _____ 1990 _____ 1989 _____ E4/P4 1991 _____ 1990 _____ 1989 _____
 E5/P5 1991 _____ 1990 _____ 1989 _____ E6/P6 1991 _____ 1990 _____ 1989 _____
6. Number of teachers for the periods of : Jan.-July 1991 ; and Sept.-Dec. 1990:
 a) Grade 1 Certificate (number of teachers) 1991 men women : 1990 men women
 of whom men and women teachers have 0 - 2 years experience (at this school);
 and men and women have 3 - 5 years primary school teaching experience;
 b) Grade 2 Certificate (number of teachers) 1991 men women : 1990 men women
 of whom men and women teachers have 0 - 2 years experience (at this school);
 and men and women have 3 - 5 years primary school teaching experience;
 c) Other Qualifications (Associate Certificate; Associate Grade 1; National Certificate;
 other qualifications (e.g. Islamic teacher):

- d) Name of Headmaster or Headmistress: _____
- e) Years experience (total) of HM _____ ; and at this school _____
7. **Rehabilitation of school and classroom blocks:**
 a) is there an office for the Headmaster/Headmistress ? _____
 b) is there a borehole(s) _____ and / or water tank _____ ?
 c) when was the borehole(s) 19 _____ built . The water tank 19 _____ built ?
 d) No. of individual classrooms (not blocks) in : 1989 _____ 1990 _____ 1991 _____
 e) No. of blocks rehabilitated : 1989 _____ 1990 _____ 1991 _____
 f) Is the roof zinc _____ : roof repairs or rehabilitation (YES or NO) 1989 _____ 1990 _____ 1991 _____
 g) When were latrines built (year(s)) ? _____
 h) Has there been any rehabilitation of latrines, forms or water facilities in 1989, 1990 or 1991? (please give details):
 (NEW FORMS for classrooms, for example) _____

APPENDIX B: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE 1991E - Page 2

8. Please circle the design **most closely** resembling the buildings of this school:
(if both construction styles are used, please state number of blocks each)



9. Was this school at one time a private school ? If so, what was its name when it was privately run, and what year did it cease to be a private school ? _____

10. NOTE: for questions in section 10, please give an **estimate for one school day**; note any change/trend over last 3 years.

- a) Approximately what percent/number of enrolled pupils attend _____ (on a daily basis) ?
b) Approx. what percent of each age group attend class (daily):

E1/P1 _____ E2/P2 _____ E3/P3 _____ E4/P4 _____ E5/P5 _____ E6/P6 _____

- c) How many classes are there in each age group:

E1/P1 _____ E2/P2 _____ E3/P3 _____ E4/P4 _____ E5/P5 _____ E6/P6 _____

- d) Approximately what percent of pupils wear school uniform _____

Any change or trend over past three years (1989-1991)?

COMMENTS

11. How many teacher positions at this school are vacant (1991) _____

12. How many teacher positions were vacant in 1989 all year part year ; 1990 all _____

- b) How far must the teachers travel to the school ? max/min km. foot/vehicle _____

- c) How far must the HM travel to school (foot or vehicle) ? _____

13. Is there a Parent Teacher Association at this school ? _____

14. How often does the PTA meet ? Who calls the meetings ?

15. Does the PTA hold all _____, some _____, or no meetings _____ at school?

- b) if not at the school, where ? _____

16. How many exercise books does one pupil usually have (1991) :

E1/P1 and E2/P2 _____ E3/P3 _____ E4/P4 _____ E5/P5 _____ E6/P6 _____ ?

APPENDIX B: PLEASE TURN OVER FOR PAGE 3 Questions
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE 1991E page 3

17. Have the textbooks suggested for the state curriculum changed,
at this school, between 1989 and 1991 ? _____
 COMMENTS: _____

18. Does each **teacher** have a complete set of textbooks for their own class ? _____
 What is the 1991 cost N_____? COMMENTS: _____

19. Does the LGA or the state government provide these (Yes or No):
 Exercise books _____ **IF YES**, how many per pupil or per class in 1991 _____
 Text books _____ **IF YES**, to what age groups (E1/P1 etc.) _____
 Pencil(s) _____ **IF YES**, how many per pupil in 1991?
 Rulers or other mechanical aids _____
 COMMENTS: _____

20. Is there a school farm ? _____ What year was it established ? 19 _____
21. Crops grown: Maize _____ Guinea corn _____ Cassava _____ Yam _____ Potatoes _____
 Soya beans _____ other beans _____ tomatoes _____ peppers _____ onions _____
 other crops _____
22. How many teachers instruct in agric and sciences ? _____
23. Where are the seeds and tubers for the farm obtained ? _____

24. Did this school offer extended instruction, into the 1991 long
 vacation, to compensate for the shortened 1991 school semester

25. Please name the places from which pupils at this school trek each day, and include the
 distance (km.) and direction of each village or place from this school.
- (name) 1 _____ direction/km (by trail/road) _____
- (name) 2 _____ direction/km. from school (by trail/road) _____
- (name) 3 _____ direction/km. from school _____
- (name) 4 _____ ditto _____

Thank you for you help. Please return this questionnaire in the return envelope provided,
 as soon as possible.

IF YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS TO ADD, PLEASE USE OTHER SIDE of p.1

APPENDIX C: Primary Schools in Mbaitoli LGA 1989

Name of school	Location	Year founded	Pupils		Teachers		P/T ratio*
1 Achi Community	Mbieri	1945	272 M	248 F	3 M	9 F	43.8
2 Achi Primary	Mbieri	1956	110 M	90 F	2 M	4 F	33.3
3 Amankata Comm.	Mbieri	1917	205 M	160 F	4 M	7 F	33.2
4 Amaulu Community	Mbieri	1921	279 M	272 F	4 M	11 F	36.7
5 Awo Community	Mbieri	1948	185 M	181 F	7 M	5 F	30.5
6 Mbieri Community	Mbieri	1934	136 M	111 F	3 M	5 F	30.9
7 Ebom Community	Mbieri	1956	106 M	94 F	1 M	5 F	33.3
8 Ezime Community	Mbieri	1929	223 M	201 F	5 M	9 F	30.3
9 Obazu Community	Mbieri	1940	439 M	379 F	6 M	21 F	30.3
10 Obazu Primary	Mbieri	1942	205 M	195 F	2 M	12 F	28.6
11 Obilubi Comm.	Mbieri	1917	309 M	387 F	1 M	21 F	31.6
12 Ohohia Comm.	Mbieri	1947	201 M	215 F	2 M	12 F	29.7
13 Ubakuru Comm.	Mbieri	1957	183 M	205 F	5 M	6 F	35.3
14 Umuagwu Comm.	Mbieri	1979	192 M	157 F	2 M	8 F	34.9
15 Umuobom Primary	Mbieri	1976	102 M	74 F	3 M	2 F	35.2
16 Umuodu Community	Mbieri	1912	422 M	366 F	4 M	24 F	28.1
17 Afara Central	Afara	1929	361 M	255 F	6 M	7 F	47.4
18 Afara Community	Afara	1958	176 M	159 F	4 M	3 F	47.9
19 Ahaba Community	Orodo	1948	180 M	172 F	7 M	3 F	35.2
20 Orodo Central	Orodo	1930	115 M	100 F	4 M	3 F	30.7
21 Orodo Community	Orodo	1926	171 M	213 F	2 M	10 F	32.0
22 Odumara Community	Orodo	1954	387 M	348 F	9 M	9 F	40.8
23 Okwu Community	Orodo	1935	159 M	101 F	2 M	5 F	37.1
24 Orodo Primary	Orodo	1946	136 M	104 F	2 M	5 F	34.3
25 Ubaha Community	Orodo	1953	144 M	137 F	5 M	3 F	35.1
26 Ubaha Primary	Orodo	1953	258 M	188 F	4 M	8 F	37.2
27 Amaike Central	Amaike I	1956	40 M	65 F	2 M	4 F	17.5
28 Amaike Community	Amaike	1950	200 M	170 F	5 M	4 F	41.1
29 Amaike Primary	Amaike I	1944	123 M	95 F	2 M	4 F	36.3
30 Eziamma Central	Eziamma	1929	136 M	137 F	5 M	2 F	39.0
31 Idem Ogwa Central	Idem Ogwa	1937	254 M	202 F	5 M	6 F	41.5
32 Ifakala Central	Ifakala	1917	395 M	315 F	4 M	15 F	37.4
33 Ifakala Community	Ifakala	1959	170 M	130 F	3 M	4 F	42.9

* NOTE: Pupil to teacher ratio calculated to nearest decimal point.

APPENDIX C: Primary Schools in Mbaitoli LGA 1989 (continued)

Name of school	Location	Year founded	Pupils		Teachers		P/T ratio*
34 Ifakala Primary	Ifakala	1956	135 M	111 F	2 M	5 F	35.1
35 Umuagwuocha Com.	"	1958	213 M	187 F	4 M	5 F	44.4
36 Ogbaku Commun.	Ogbaku	1912	376 M	333 F	3 M	14 F	41.7
37 Ogbaku Central	Ogbaku	1916	214 M	153 F	4 M	5 F	40.8
38 Nsokpo Com.	Ogbaku	1957	353 M	320 F	4 M	19 F	29.3
39 Okwu Primary	Ogbaku	1958	291 M	125 F	6 M	4 F	41.6
40 Oboro Central	Oboro	1944	236 M	224 F	5 M	4 F	51.1
41 Ubomiri Central	Ubomiri	1934	512 M	438 F	4 M	26 F	31.7
42 Ubomiri Com.	Ubomiri	1936	449 M	406 F	3 M	29 F	26.7
43 Ohuba Commun.	Ubomiri	1955	344 M	261 F	4 M	14 F	33.6
44 Umunoha Central	Umunoha	1945	339 M	317 F	5 M	11 F	41.0
45 Obeakpu Primary	Umunoha	1956	140 M	131 F	3 M	3 F	45.2
46 Umuduru Prim.	Umunoha	1981	206 M	179 F	6 M	2 F	48.1
47 Umulolo Prim.	Umunoha	1957	154 M	150 F	5 M	2 F	43.4
48 Umunoha Community	Umunoha	1948	167 M	129 F	5 M	3 F	37.0
49 Umuokparafor Community Sch.	Umunoha	1957	208 M	167 F	6 M	2 F	46.9
50 Ogwa Com.Central	Ogwa	1940	205 M	120 F	5 M	2 F	46.4
51 Oburo Community	Ogwa	1954	120 M	130 F	5 M	1 F	41.7
52 Abazu Com.Primary	Abazu	1940	80 M	76 F	3 M	3 F	26.0
53 Alaenyi Com.	Alaenyi	1952	243 M	229 F	4 M	8 F	39.3
54 Alaenyi Prim.	Alae. Ogwa	1938	191 M	192 F	7 M	3 F	38.3
55 Amaukwu Com.	Amaukwu	1953	224 M	183 F	5 M	7 F	33.9
56 Amaukwu Prim.	Amaukwu	1956	195 M	190 F	4 M	8 F	32.1
57 Awo Primary	Awo	1955	201 M	185 F	3 M	7 F	38.6
58 Azara Community	Azara	1954	158 M	143 F	6 M	1 F	43.0
59 Ekwereazu Comm.	Ekwereazu	1954	148 M	184 F	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

* NOTE: Pupil to teacher ratio calculated to nearest decimal.

APPENDIX C: Primary Schools in Mbaitoli LGA 1989 (concluded)

<u>Name of school</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Year founded</u>	<u>Pupils</u>		<u>Teachers</u>		<u>P/T ratio*</u>
60 Idume Community	Idume	1947	189 M	196 F	4 M	5 F	42.8
61 Obazu/Umunjam Community School	Obazu/ Umunjam	1957	280 M	230 F	1 M	17 F	28.3
62 Obibi Commun.	Obibi	1957	250 M	200 F	6 M	7 F	34.6
63 Ochii Commun.	Ochii	1909	360 M	0 F	7 M	0 F	51.4
64 Ochii Primary	Ochii	1953	189 M	168 F	4 M	2 F	59.5
65 Ofekata Commun.	Ofekata	1956	584 M	458 F	11 M	25 F	28.9
66 Okwu Ogbaku Community School	Okwu Ogbaku	1955	363 M	262 F	9 M	4 F	48.1
67 Umuduru Com.	Umuduru	1953	105 M	91 F	4 M	2 F	32.7
68 Umuokparanyanwu Community School	Umuok- paranyanwu	1957	69 M	61 F	4 M	2 F	21.7
69 Umuonumu Commun.	Umuonumu	1942	200 M	250 F	3 M	7 F	45.0
70 Umuomumu Prim.	Umuomumu	1947	134 M	81 F	3 M	3 F	35.8
71 Umuonyeali Com.	Umuonyeali	1957	232 M	200 F	3 M	14 F	25.4
72 Uru/Umanu Com. 44.0	Uru/Umanu	1955	264 M	0 F		6 M 0 F	
73 Umueze Ogwa Dev. Prim. School	Umueze Ogwa	1956	187 M	133 F	2 M	6 F	40.0
74 Nkwokwu Primary	Nkwokwu/ Obiato	1979	132 M	146 F	3 M	3 F	46.3
75 Otura Community	Obiato	1945	232 M	172 F	7 M	2 F	44.9

* NOTE: Pupil to teacher ratio calculated to nearest decimal point.

Source: *Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State 1989*, Planning, Research and Statistics Department, Ministry of Education, Owerri, Imo State of Nigeria, p. 81-83.

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TABLE 7.1		IMO LGAs - SUPPLEMENTAL STATISTICS 1989			
LGA Name	# Higher F/M ratio	Ratio (%) M/F teach.	A+B+C+D proj. *	Project Budget (T)	Population density @
1.Aboh-Mbaise	Y (+ 5)	0.58 (18)	39.7 %	N 23.5 M	1,089 (9)
2.Ahiazu-Mbaise	Y (+ 3)	0.71 (13)	82.1 %	N 12.8 M	2,046 (3)
3.Bende	N (- 5)	1.84 (2)	53.8 %	N 10.6 M	307 (19)
4.Mbano	Y (+ 2)	6.88 (10)	57.4 %	N 11.4 M	1,354 (5)
5.Etiti	Y (+ 4)	0.65 (16=)	63.3 %	N 5.3 M	2,131 (2)
6.Mbaitoli	Y (+ 4)	0.59 (17)	42.6 %	N 13.6 M	1,036 (10)
7.Nkwerre	N (- 1)	0.76 (11)	47.9 %	N 91.6 M	1,784 (4)
8.Owerri	Y (+ 7)	0.32 (20)	56.8 %	N 3.5 M	396 (13)
9.Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta	N (- 6)	1.17 (5)	46.4 %	N 8.3 M	225 (20)
10.Isuikwuato/Okigwe	N (- 6)	1.02 (8)	40.5 %	N 11.7 M	389 (14)
11.Ideato	N (- 1)	0.75 (12)	54.0 %	N 44.7 M	1,186 (8)
12.Orlu	Y (+ 4)	0.69 (14)	91.9 %	N 9.2 M	1,339 (6)
13.Oru	N (-)	0.95 (9)	53.9 %	N 4.1 M	1,203 (7)
14.Aba	Y (+19)	0.13 (21)	46.2 %	N 3.7 M	13,518 (1)
15.Isiala Ngwa	N (- 8)	1.25 (3)	47.5 %	N 6.7 M	548 (11)
16.Obioma Ngwa	N (- 1)	0.65 (16=)	38.4 %	N 27.7 M	337 (16)
17.Ukwa	N (-)	1.16 (6)	63.9 %	N 1.8 M	184 (21)
18.Afikpo	N (- 3)	1.24 (4)	48.6 %	N 8.4 M	369 (15)
19.Ohaozara	N (-17)	2.80 (1)	36.7 %	N 6.6 M	309 (18)
20.Arochukwu	N (- 4)	1.11 (7)	50.0 %	N 20.1 M	331 (17)
21.Ikwuano	Y (+ 4)	0.50 (19)	63.6 %	N 2.3 M	424 (12)
NOTATIONS: # = Figure in brackets is rank differential (M-F rank) out of 21 LGAs. * from Table 6.2, defined as basic infrastructure projects (% of total #). @ = estimated density per square km., 1963 data @ 2.5%/yr. increase. Sources: Researcher calculations from data in <i>Spotlight on Local Governments - Imo State</i> (1989) Ministry of Information and Culture, Imo State of Nigeria, Owerri, 1989, and <i>Directory of Primary Schools in Imo State</i> (1989).					

TABLE 7.3: AVERAGE WHOLESALE PRICES (in Naira) OYO STATE					
PRODUCT (unit of measure)	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Gari (bag)	79	63	62	89	64
White beans (bag)	92	98	103	132	220
Maize (bag)	36	36	51	52	72
Brown beans (bag)	105	112	118	250	247
White rice (bag)	59	60	65	151	175
Salt (bag)	6	8	11	30	52
Yam flour (bag)	95	107	127	183	174
Groundnut shelled (bag)	55	60	81	143	165
Palm nut oil (tin)	20	28	44	70	51
Groundnut oil (tin)	16	16	37	82	88
Melon seed (Olodo)	5	6	10	9	12

SOURCE: *OYO State 1985*, Oyo State, Chief Statistician, Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning (Statistics Division), Ibadan (1986?) Table 4, p. 5.

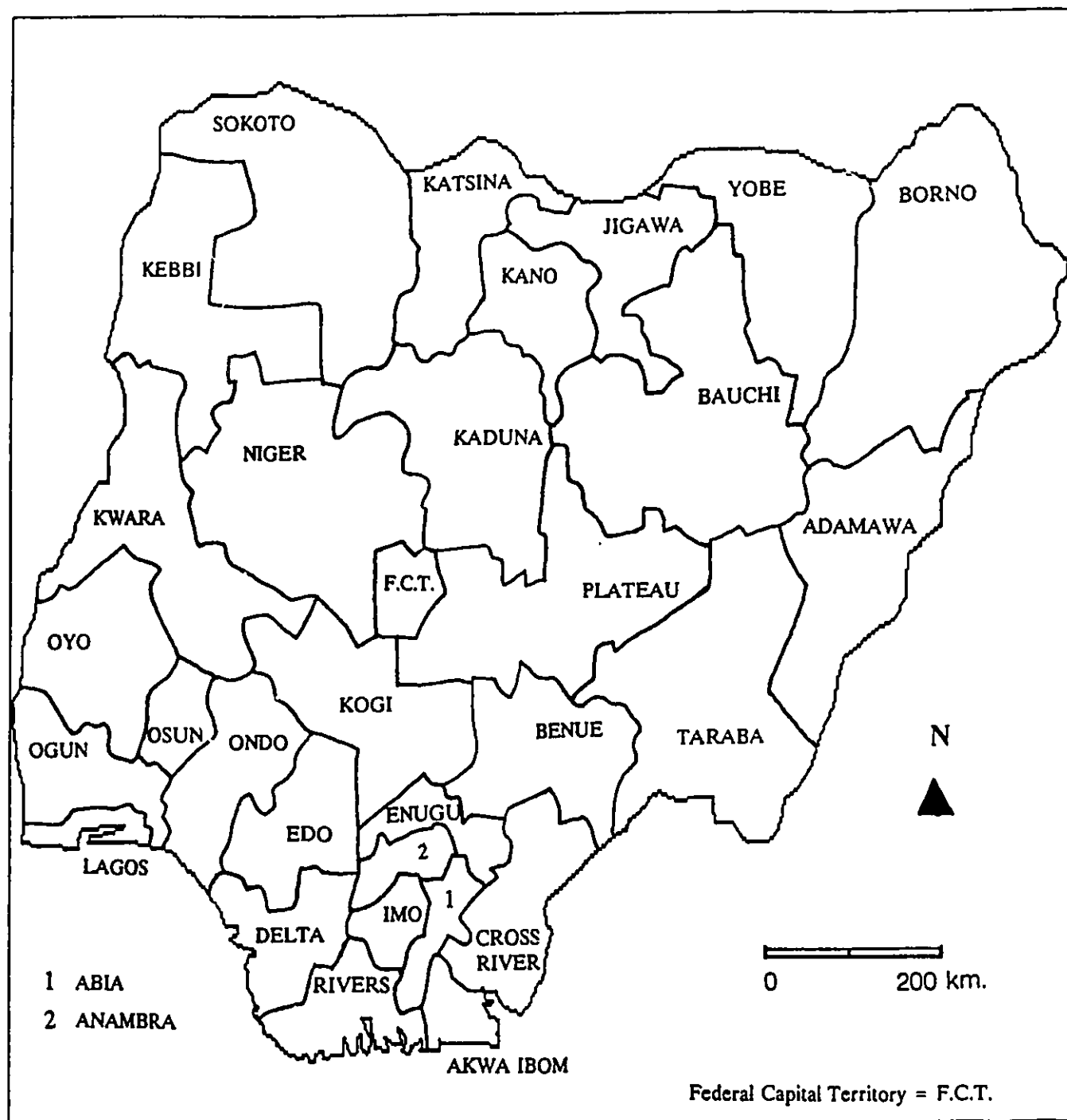
TABLE 7.4: COMPOSITE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX * OYO State					
PRODUCT * 1980 = 100	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Gari (bag)	150	166	148	203	148
White beans (bag)	150	154	170	363	342
Maize (bag)	121	123	168	266	212
White rice (bag)	110	120	129	389	296
Yam flour (bag)	138	146	116	207	165
Palm oil (tin)	104	119	275	458	272
Groundnut oil (tin)	80	82	246	478	373
peak milk	110	108	205	349	463
Agricultural eggs	108	111	150	155	251
Portland cement	107	139	168	208	252

SOURCE: *OYO State 1985*, Oyo State, Chief Statistician, Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning (Statistics Division), Ibadan (1986?) Table 5, p. 6.

TABLE 7.5: TAX REVENUES - SELECTED NIGERIAN DATA 1980 - 1985 (amounts in '000 Naira)					
DESCRIPTION	1980	1981	1982	1984	1985
OYO STATE:					
Direct Assessment	4,282	6,320	5,398	n.a.	n.a.
Pay As You Earn	12,807	19,221	25,077	n.a.	n.a.
Motor vehicle licences	5,703	8,484	8,567	n.a.	n.a.
Betting & gaming	n.a.	1,648	1,340	n.a.	n.a.
OYO STATE TOTAL TAX	23,894	37,751	42,583	n.a.	n.a.
BENDEL STATE:					
Direct Assessment	1,741	3,200	3,503	n.a.	n.a.
Pay As You Earn	11,838	18,526	21,527	n.a.	n.a.
Motor vehicle licences	4,155	6,910	7,591	n.a.	n.a.
Betting & gaming	1,677	2,037	2,034	n.a.	n.a.
BENDEL STATE TOTAL	19,693	31,073	35,430	n.a.	n.a.
ANAMBRA STATE:					
Direct Assessment	3,050	3,631	4,549	9,996	8,837
Pay As You Earn	6,052	11,966	13,821	19,615	20,330
Motor vehicle licences	4,995	7,069	7,429	8,600	9,017
Sales/Purchase Tax	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2,808	4,882
ANAMBRA STATE TOTAL	15,810	25,410	29,088	46,085	48,300

SOURCE: Ndekwa, E.C. (1988) *Tax Structure and Administration in Nigeria*, NISER
 Oyo State data from Table 3.5 (p. 42); Bendel State data from Table 3.6
 (p. 43); and Anambra State data from Table 8.2 (p. 147).

FIGURE 11 : NIGERIAN STATES 1991



SOURCES: PC GLOBE file (1990)
 and *The Economist*, Dec. 21, 1991 (p.42)
 Prepared by: Bryan Elliott