# LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES: A STUDY OF UNICEF-ASSISTED PROGRAMMES/PROJECTS IN SELECTED STATES OF NORTHERN NIGERIA: 1996 — 2004

**BY**

**BELLO OHIANI**

**PH.D/SOC-SCIE/43329/2004-2005**

Being a Ph.D Dissertation in the Department of Political Science Submitted to the Postgraduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

**NOVEMBER, 2006**

## DECLARATION

The author hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by him and that it is his contribution to knowledge. This work has not been presented in any previous study for a higher degree and where reference is made to published and unpublished literature, it is duly acknowledged.

_____ _____

BELLO OHIIANI DATE

## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled: LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES:A STUDY OF UNICEF-ASSISTED PROGRAMMES/PROJECTS IN SELECTED STATES OF NIGERIA, 1996 — 2004, by BELLO OHIANI meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is thus approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

| | |
|---|---|
| _____ | _____ |
| Professor R. A. Dunmoye | Date |
| (Supervisor) | |
| _____ | _____ |
| Professor Paul Izah | Date |
| (Supervisor) | |
| _____ | _____ |
| Dr. Umar Kaoje | Date |
| (Head of Department) | |
| _____ | _____ |
| Professor S. A. NKOM | Date |
| (Dean, Postgraduate School) | |

## DEDICATION

To the suffering masses of Nigeria who are neglected, abandoned and exploited by their elected and appointed leaders.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisors, professor R. A. Dunmoye and Professor Paul Izah of the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello university, Zaria for their objective critique and suggestions during this study. I am particularly grateful to Professor Dunmoye, not only for his brilliant inputs but also for his untiring efforts and encouragement, without which this work could not have been completed as scheduled.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to other persons too many to mention here, for their moral and intellectual support during this study.

May Allah the Almighty reward them here on earth and beyond.

## ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to find out why some focus local governments failed to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes handed over to them over in January 1996. In answering this question we focused attention on the role of the local government top functionaries (Chairmen, Councillors, Secretaries and Heads of Departments) otherwise referred to in this work as the local governing elites and State government functionaries. Our argument throughout the study is that the self-serving interests of these local and State elites were largely responsible for the failure of the local governments to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes. To pursue this argument, we were guided by Political Power Theory, which says government policies, decisions and actions are reflections of and dictated by the self-serving interests of policy makers and administrators who constitute the governing elites local and state level. Data for the study were generated through administering of questionnaires, interviews, focus-group discussions and extraction of secondary information in the benefiting communities, the focus local governments and the four state government ministries and agencies responsible for local government matters as well as the Bauchi and Kaduna Zonal Offices of the UNICEF. The data so generated were helpful in testing three hypothesis. The hypotheses were confirmed. The study further

revealed that even though the focus local governments failed to involve the target communities in their activities, the communities were full of initiatives to help themselves in providing some basic social amenities with little or no support from the local governments. It was also revealed that democracy at local government level has not changed the attitude of local government top functionaries toward

(a) Resource management (it is business as usual),

(b) Service delivery (always handled with levity) and

(c) People's participation in local governance (which is never taken seriously. Local governments are converted to personal estates, of the top functionaries with the active collaboration of State government officials responsible for supervisory functions.

It is therefore, recommended that:

a) Section 7(i) of the Constitution o the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) be amended to give local governments the autonomy they deserve.

b) Local governments should be given the opportunity to participate identifying their needs, planning and physical implementation of donor agency programmes to be able to takeover and sustain them eventually.

c) Benefiting communities too should be empowered and given the chance to participate in planning programmes provided for them by outside bodies for the same reason as in (b) above.

d) There is a dire need for further investigation/study into local government and intergovernmental relations in Nigeria to determine the extent of autonomy local governments should enjoy to serve as instrument of sustainable development.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Title page –

Declaration -

Certification -

Dedication -

Acknowledgement

Abstract –

Table of Contents

List of Tables-

Glossary –

**CHAPTER ONE**

INTRODUCTION - - - - - -

1.1 Background to the Study - - - -

1.2 Statement of the Problem for the Study - -

1.3 Objectives and Justification of the Study - -

1.4 Scope (Delimitation) and Limitation' of the Study

1.5 Propositions/Hypotheses - - - -

1.6 Outline of Chapters - - - - -

**CHAPTER TWO**

**LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

2.1 Introduction - - - - - -

2.2 Sustainability of Development Programmes/Projects

2.3 Issues in Project Sustainability - - -

2.4 Prerequisite of Project Sustainability - -

2.5 Local government and Sustainability of Programmes

Projects in Nigeria - - - - -

2.6 The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) as an

International Development Agency - -

2.7 State-Local Government Relationship in Nigeria –

2.8 Local Government Autonomy and Performance in

Other Countries - - - - -

2.9 Theoretical Framework - - - -

**CHAPTER THREE**

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY** - -

3.1 Introduction - - - -

3.2 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

3.3 Presentation and Analysis of Data –

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE SELECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS AND PILOT-PROJECT COMMUNITIES BEFORE UNICEF INTERVENTION BETWEEN 1991 AND 1995** - - - -

4.1 Introduction - - - - - -

4.2 Economic Profile of the Selected Communities –

4.3 Basic Education in the Communities - -

4.4 Health Profile of the Communities - - -

4.5 Water& Sanitation in the Communities - -

4.6 Self-help Efforts by the Communities - -

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNICEF-ASSISTED PROGRAMMES IN THE PILOT-PROJECT COMMUNITIES BETWEEN 1991 1995** - - - - - - - -

5.1 Introduction - - - - - - -

5.2 Implementation of the Programmes - - -

5.3 Benefits of the UNICEF Projects/Activities to the Target

Communities - - - - - - -

**CHAPTER SIX**

**PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

6.1 Introduction - - - - -

6.2 Types and Sources of Data- - -

6.3 Testing of Propositions/Hypotheses –

6.3.1 First Proposition/Hypothesis –

6.3.2 Second Proposition/Hypothesis –

6.3.3 Third Proposition/Hypothesis –

6.4 Discussion - - - - -

**CHAPTER SEVEN**

**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND**

**RECOMMENDATIONS** - -

7.1 Summary of Findings - -

7.2 Conclusions - - - - -

7.3 Recommendations

Bibliography - - - - - -

Appendices:

Appendix I — Letter of Introduction to Respondents

Appendix II — Questionnaire for Local Government Officials

Appendix III — Questionnaire for Community Respondents

## LISTS OF TABLES

2.1 Distribution of local government facilities between urban and rural communities of the selected local governments in Northern States - - - - - - - 39

2.2 Local government expenditure pattern (2001 — 2004) - - 41

2.3 Sample of respondents from State ministries - - - 89

3.3 Respondents from each local government - - - 90

3.4 Respondents from each local government - - - 91

3.5 Sample of community respondents - - - - 92

3.6 Sample of community respondents according to States, LGAs and communities - - - - - - 95

3.7 Summary of respondents according to categories/strata And States - - - - - - - - 96

4.1 States, LGAs and communities selected for study - - 99

4.2 Types and conditions of socio-economic facilities in the 8 LGAs 102

4.3 Economic status of communities studied/surveyed - - 107

4.4 Basic education facilities in the communities - - - 111

4.5 Number of schools and pupils in the communities - - 112

4.6 Pupils admitted into post-primary schools before 1991- - 116

4.7 Types and number of health institutions in the villages before 1991 - - - - - - - - - - 120

4.8. Types and number of medical workers in the health institutions of the villages before 1991- - - - - - 123

4.9 Community Development Associations in the 16 villages before 1991 - - - - - - - - - 132

5.1 UNICEF and State government financial contributions to the Implementation of the UNICEF-assisted programmes in the 16 pilot-project communities for the 1991 — 1995 period - 163

5.2 Number and types of para-medical staff trained between 1991 And 1995 - - - - - - - - 166

5.3 Number of sensitization participants between 1991 and 1995 In the local government and the target communities - - 167

5.4 Types and number of artisans trained for water and sanitation Activities in the target villages 1991 — 1995 - - - 169

5.5 Types and number of trainees for food security and nutrition - - 172

5.6 Types and number of personnel trained for basic education in The communities - - - - - - - 175

5.7 Assessment of primary health care services in the pilot-project Communities in 1998 - - - - - - 180

5.8 Assessment of basic benefits to the target communities - 184

5.9 Benefits of water and sanitation activities in the 16 communities (1998)- - - - - - - 191

5.10 Benefits of food security programme to the 16 pilot-project Communities - - - - - - - 194

6.1 Number of questionnaires administered and returned - - 199

6.2 Sources and types of secondary data from records - - 200

6.3 Staffing situation of Health and Medical Departments in the Focus local governments (1996 — 2004) - - - - 203

6.4 Primary Healthcare institutions in the focus LGAs (1996 — 2004) 204

6.5 Level of drugs and equipment availability in the pilot-project (1996-2004) - - - - - - - - 206

6.6. Number of Teachers for primary schools in the communities (1996—2004) - - - - - - - 207

6.7 School teachers by qualifications - - - - - 209

6.8 Level of local government performance in sustaining food Security programme (1996 — 2004) - - - - 214

6.9 Level of local government efforts to sensitize communities (19.96-2004) - - - - - - - - 218

6.10 Community volunteers trained for programme-sustainability - 219

6.11 Rating of reasons why the focus local governments did not have enough medical staff - - - - - - 226

6.12 Level of local government input into the budgetary process (1996 — 2004) - - - - . - - - 230

6.13 Reasons why States control local governments in Nigeria - 233

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.1 Background to the Study

Nigeria is a country where major characteristics of underdevelopment are glaringly manifested. Nigeria is faced with widespread poverty; high rate of Nigeria is faced with widespread among woman and children, high population growth rate; skewed income distribution, unproductive public service and above all, bad governance. Bad governance is exhibited through lack of transparency and accountability in managing our scarce resources by political officeholders and top/senior career officers, lack of participation in decision making and implementation by the citizenry; top-down approach to development efforts and lack of response to people's demand by government officials, just to mention a few. These and other manifestations of and governance have led to the continuous backwardness of the country over the years.

Since independence in 1960, successive civilian and military governments have made efforts to deliver services, at federal, state and local levels. Attempts have been made to chart a sustainable path to socio-economic development through the instrumentality or mechanism of medium and short term planning such as the 1962-68; 1970-74; 1975-80 and

1981 -85 National Development Plans as well as the 1990-92 and 1991-93 Rolling Plans.

The main objectives of these attempts include:

- A just and egalitarian society
- Increase in per capita income
- More even distribution of income
- Reduction in the level of unemployment
- Balanced development
- Increase in productivity
- Enhancing the level of socio-political awareness of the people.

It goes without saying that all the and other goals of the Rolling Plans still remain unfulfilled to date. They still remain a far cry.

For the first time in the history of development planning in Nigeria, local governments were directly involved in preparing and in implementing development programmes in the 1981-85 plan period. The Federal Military Government charged local governments with the responsibility of "projects in their areas of jurisdiction which touch on the lives and well-being of the population especially, health, agriculture and road [ ]. Since then till date studies have shown that local government performance in programme implementation has not be impressive. In spite of improvement

in their manpower and financial situations over the years, their contribution to grassroots and national development has been very insignificant. Reasons usually adduced for local governments' poor performance include poor funding, shortage of skilled manpower, lack of autonomy and poor responsibility-sharing with the other tiers of government as well as between them (L.G.) and Donor Agencies. State and Federal Government share responsibility with local governments in agriculture, primary health care, basic education, rural development and water supply just to mention a few. In preparing development plans to improve these areas, local governments on their own, do not know where to start and end; neither do they know precisely what resources to allocate too each of the sectors.

The introduction of Rolling Plan method of planning for development somehow brought out the role of local governments in national development. Between 1990-92 and 93-95 Rolling Plan period, the Federal Government made it clear that:

The Local governments will, like other levels of government, prepare programmes and projects in their areas of jurisdiction for incorporation into the National and State Rolling Plans. With development, it can be claimed that the basis for participation in development by L.G.s is established.

To ensure the workability of this intention, the Federal Government sent out call circulators to all local governments in Nigeria as guide times for preparing L.G. Rolling Plans. In such circulars, L.Gs were expected to pay special attention to Agriculture, Irrigation, Livestock, Forestry, Fishery, Small-scale manufacturing and Power, all under the Economic Sector. Under Social Development Sector, L.G. Rolling Plans would take care of Primary Education, Health Care, Information and Community Development.

At the end of the day, studies revealed that local governments performed very poorly. Put together, local governments in Nigeria were able to carry out only 3.5% of the facilities assigned to them in the national rolling plans of 1990-1992 and 1993-1995 (Abubakar 1998).

It is for this reason (poor performance of local governments) that one can understand intervention of Donor Agencies like the UNICEF, UNDP and others in providing basic facilities and services to grassroots level. The UNICEF in particular concentrated on assisting local governments to provide facilities in the areas of Basic Education, Primary Health Care, Water and Sanitation and Food Security and Nutrition between 1985 and 1995. Its major activities in these areas were:

- Capacity building of local government staff
- Mobilization of communities

- Supply of materials and basic tools
- Advocacy at state government level.

These activities were handed over to local governments in January 1996 for continuity and sustainability. What this meant was that each of the focal local governments should continue to build the capacity of its staff, mobilize the target communities for participation in planning and execution of projects and provide materials and basic tools to their primary schools, health facilities, water supply points and some target or demonstration forms. To achieve these goals the focal local governments were expected to:

a) Prepare their rolling plans which would take care of the activities in the four areas of socio-economic development;
b) Prepare and implement annual budgets;
c) Release funds to carry out the UNICEF activities handed over to them since 1996 monitor and evaluate projects that are implemented in the four areas.

It was expected that when and if each of the focal local governments was able to do these things effectively and efficiently the UNICEF-assisted development programs handed over to them since January 1996 would remain functional and contributory to the socio-economic development of the target communities and beyond. This is what we mean by sustainability

of development programmes. And this is what this study is all about. This study sets to examine the extent to which the focal local governments which took over the UNICEF-assisted development programmes were able to sustain them through planning, budgeting, release of funds, and implementation of activities, monitoring and evaluation

Studies have shown that majority of the Donor Agency programme/ projects have either been completely abandoned or poorly sustained by the benefiting local governments and communities. For example, the federal Government UPE programme, Operation Feed the Nation, Green Revolution and Rural Infrastructures collapsed in the hands of local governments. The United Nations Development Programme (UNCP) rural roads and rural income initiatives have been abandoned by local governments. The UNICEF and World Health Organization Drug Revolving Scheme otherwise known as Bamako Initiative is almost becoming a thing of the past in majority of benefiting local governments and communities. Reasons usually advanced for the poor state of affairs include shortage of skilled manpower, inadequate ‘funds, poor management and corruption in the local governments.

This work feels there is the need to go beyond these over flogged reasons to more fundamental causes. Until these fundamental causes are

identified and addressed, local governments in Nigeria will remain ineffective, inefficient, and irrelevant to sustainable development.

## 1.2 Statement of Problem for this Study

The problem for investigation in this study is the failure of eight focal local governments in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States to sustain the UNICEF-assisted development progrmames handed over to them in January 1996. The programmes were Basic Education, Primary Health Care, Water and Sanitation and Food Security. The focal L.Gs was expected to collaborate with the target communities to sustain these programmes through:

- Planning and budgeting
- Release of funds annually or when the need arises
- Carrying out of specific activities that will make the development programmes functional and continuous
- Monitoring and evaluation of activities carried out to sustain the programmes.

In addition to these activities, the local governments were also expected to train their staff involved in the UNICEF-assisted programmes, ensure that there is constant maintenance of projects and that normal

services are delivered similar to the period when the UNICEF assisted in providing them.

Studies by the UNICEF itself in 1998, federal and state Ministries of Health (1999), Education (2000), Agriculture (2000), Works (2002) and World Health Organization & UNDP (2001) revealed that majority of Donor Agency programmes in Nigeria, including those of the UNICEF were either abandoned or very poorly maintained. For instance, the UNICEF-WHO Drug Revolving Scheme (Bamako Initiative) is a dead programme in majority of Nigeria LGAs. The UNDP Rural Water Scheme/Projects have become a thing of the past in almost all focus or benefiting LGAs and communities. The Federal Rural Infrastructural projects of 1987 — 1993 have all died a natural death due to abandonment by local governments. These are just a few programmes provided by outside bodies but suffered total neglect or poor maintenance by the benefiting local governments and communities. The UNICEF-assisted programmes of 1991 — 1995 in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger have suffered the same fate. And so, the research question is: What did the local governments do to the programmes after taking over in 1996?

## 1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to find out why the eight focal local governments in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States failed to sustain the UNICEF-assisted Development Programmes handed over to them in January 1996. The specific objectives are:

1. To assess the efforts of the local governments (if any) not only to sustain the development programmes but also to deliver services in general.
2. To identify and assess the factors responsible for the failure of the local governments to sustain the development programmes.
3. To contribute to the argument that sustainable development at local level requires the efforts of the three tiers of government in Nigeria instead of local governments alone.

## 1.4 Justification of the Study

Previous works on the failure of local governments to perform their development-oriented functions or to serve as instruments for sustainable development have paid more attention to availability of human, material, financial and managerial resources. It is assumed that availability of these resources in the right quantity will translate into high level of performance in terms of service-delivery and prudent management of resources. Empirical

evidences have not shown this. And so, there is more to the problem of poor performance by local governments than we have seen.

In principle and in practice, the federal, and state and local governments in Nigeria are responsible for some functions referred to as concurrent responsibilities in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Such functions include basic education, primary health care, rural and semi-urban water supply, environmental sanitation and agriculture just to mention few. A large percentage of these functions is expected to be performed in rural communities were more than 65% of the Nigerian population stays and works. In majority of cases, local governments are expected to work hand in hand with benefiting communities to maintain and operate facilities provided by other tiers of government after completion. The Federal Government participates in these functions through establishment actively in funding and implementing projects. Examples of such bodies are the National Primary Education Commission, the National Council for Primary Health Care, and the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. These bodies are replicated at State Level to participate in planning, funding and implementing programmes and projects at Community level. It was this situation that informed the rural development efforts of Babangida Administration. A particular case in point

was the establishment of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures in 1988. This body conceived, planned, funded and provided a number of projects like feeder roads, rural water supply points (bore holes) nursery fro fruit trees and rural health clinics just to mention a few. By the time the directorate was scrapped by Abacha Administration in 1994, its projects were expected to be taken over by local governments.

A post-implementation evaluation of DFRRI Projects carried out by UNICEF in Nigeria in 1997 showed that no Local Government took the projects over for sustainability. Among the reasons given by local governments were that:

- They (the Local Governments) were never involved initially in the conception, planning and implementation of the DFRRI projects;
- Some of the Projects were not the immediate needs of their people in rural communities;
- The projects were not part of the areas of priority earmarked in their (Local Government's) rolling plans and by implication in their annual budgets approved by the state governments (UNICEF, 1997:41).

For these and other reasons, the DFRRI Projects died with the collapse or overthrow of Babangida Administration. The same fate befell the pet projects of Babangida's Wife (the Better Life Programmes for Rural

Women), same for the programmes initiated and started by General Abubakar Abdulsalami's Wife (Family Support Programme) meant to uplift the living standard of Women in Nigeria. Laudable as the programmes were, they could not be taken over by local governments because they were elitist in conception, planning and execution.

It was due to these and other reasons that in 1991, UNICEF insisted (in her Agreement with the Federal and state Governments for the 1991-95 Programme Period) that her projects would be handed over to local governments for sustainability. To ensure that this was done successfully by the Local Governments after December 1995, the agency (UNICEF) carried out capacity building and Empowerment of the Local Governments concerned, through:

a. The training of some local government technical staff to repair or maintain the facilities like boreholes, hand bumps, hospital equipment and hand tools provided by the agency;
b. Provision of vehicles, cold chains, refrigerators computer sets and schools furniture
c. Holding of sensitization workshops for members of benefiting communities on attitude change towards disease, education and ownership of public facilities

d. Training of some masons and artisans in the community to repair the facilities provided not only by the UNICEF but also by governments (federal, state and local) (UNICEF, 1991:29).

Having carried out these activities between 1991 and 1995 by the UNICEF, it was expected that each of the Local Governments concerned would start and continue the following activities as efforts toward sustaining the agency's projects:

i. Inclusion of the projects in the subsequent rolling plans and budgets;
ii. Allocation of funds to the projects for maintenance and expansion to other Communities in the Local Government Areas;
iii. Training and retraining of technical staff for the repair of the equipments, hand pumps, hand tools, school building, vehicles and furniture provided by the agency, other agencies and governments;
iv. Involvement of benefiting communities (through their association) in planning and budgeting and in raising funds to maintain and expand the facilities (UNICEF, 1991:32-34).

The decision to handover the UNICEF – assisted Programmes and Projects to the Local Governments was based on the assumptions that:

a) Local Governments in general would free the Federal and State Governments from onerous and detailed involvement in small projects, leaving them time to plan for bigger and more critical national projects;
b) Local Governments should be able to generate additional resources through efficient collection of revenue from internal sources;
c) Local governments could directly plan and implement their own development programmes (including those assisted by the UNICEF) which would take a longer time to materialize were they left for the Federal and State Government (UNICEF, 1991:41-42).

Among other things, it was discovered that Projects provided by the local governments was concentrated in urban centers, that is, the Local Government Area headquarters to the neglect of rural communities. Such facilities include Primary School Structures, boreholes, health clinics, town halls and drainages. The few of these facilities provided in rural communities were not only far apart but also sub-standard and un-kept.

It is important to find out why local governments in Nigeria have always failed not only in sustaining development programmes but also in performing their constitutional functions. This will assist in making the third tier of government relevant to the process of achieving sustainable

development in Nigeria. This study is also justified on the ground that its findings and recommendations will open more areas of research into relationship between Donor Agencies and the Nigerian State (with regards to efforts toward sustainable development).

## 1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

### 1.5.1 Scope of the Study

It is important to recognize that the failure of local governments to perform their development-oriented functions is a clear manifestation of some weaknesses at federal and State government levels. At the two (higher/levels of government in Nigeria, there are cases of corruption, inefficiency, wanton neglect of official responsibilities and failure to sustain their programmes. In fact the magnitude of these problems is higher at State and federal levels. Yet, it is the local government that receives more criticism than the other two tiers of government. Some commentators say this is so because local governments are supposedly closest government to the people. The closeness is not only in terms of person-to-person relationship but also in terms of service-delivery and opportunity to participate in governance and development process.

Therefore, this work is limited to local government performance by way of programme sustainability meant to improve the living standard of children and women in particular and some communities in general. Instead of looking at the executive capacity of the local governments alone (as done by previous studies) this work goes further to look at the effects of state/local government relationship on the efforts of local governments to sustain UNICEF- assisted programmes between 1996 and 2004. The specific areas of state/local govenrmetn relationship dealt with in this work are:

a) Local government budgetary process for service-delivery including programme sustainability;
b) Disbursement of statutory allocation from the State-local government Joint Account to local governments in each state ;
c) Power to hire and fire staff of local governments;
d) Control and management of local government funds;

This work covers four states; Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger out of the eight pilot-project States selected in the Northern part of Nigeria by the UNICEF for its programmes (Primary Health Care, Basic Education, Water & Local government budgetary process for service-delivery including programme sustainability; Sanitation and Food Security) in 1991. The other four States selected for the programmes were Yobe, Katsina,

Plateau and Kebbi. In each of these States, two local government areas (one rural and the other semi-urban), were selected for project- implementation by the UNICEF. Table 1.1 below shows the four States, the eight LGAs and sixteen pilot project communities (PPC) selected for this study.

Table 1.1 States, LG and Pilot Programme Communities selected for study.

| States | Local Government Areas | Communities |
|---|---|---|
| Adamawa | 1) Gombi | a) Dzangola<br>b) Ga'anda |
| | 2) Mayo Belwa | a) Maya Farrng<br>b) Sindigawo |
| Bauchi | 1) Darazo | a) Lanzai<br>b) Yautare |
| | 2) Katagum | a) Chinade<br>b) Madara |
| Kaduna | 1) Birnin Gwari | a) Randagi<br>b) Tabani |
| | 2) Ikara | a) Old Ikara Village<br>b) Ungwan Doya |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Niger | 1) Agale | a) Eyye<br>b) Shabba Woshi |
| | 2) Kagoma | a) Pandogari<br>b) Tegina |

Source: Field Survey (May, 2006).

According to the UNICEF guidelines for the selection of the pilot project communities, for a community to qualify for selection, it must satisfy the following conditions:

- must be deprived in terms of social infrastructures and facilities such as health and educational institutions, water and toilet facilities;

- must be deprived in terms of social infrastructures and facilities such as health and educational institutions, water and toilet facilities;

- must have organized development association(s) that is/are prepared to participate in development process;

- must have at least one representative in the local government council whether elected or appointed. [UNICEF, 1990].

Between January 1991 and December 1995, the UNICEF, in collaboration with State government Provided

1. Materials either to repair or rebuild the facilities;
2. Equipment and technical know-how to operate the facilities,

3. Training of local government staff to run the institutions and
4. Sensitization of the benefiting communities to participate in operating and maintaining the facilities

These activities were handed over to the focus local governments in January 1996 for continuation.

Reasons for the selection of the focus local governments in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States for this study are:

a) Their level of success and failure to sustain the UNICEF assisted programmes (as defined earlier). On our scale of assessment the two focus local governments in Adamawa and the two in Niger State are considered to be fairly successful while those of Bauchi and Kaduna failed. There are lessons to learn from the experiences of the four local governments.

b) The states are picked to represent the three geopolitical zones of Northern Nigeria. Thus, Adamawa and Bauchi from the Northeast, Kaduna from the North-West and Niger from the North Central.

c) Ethnic/cultural diversity of the focus local government areas in the four states selected. The focus LGAs in Adamawa and Niger States are more heterogeneous than those of Bauchi and Kaduna states. There are lessons to learn from this phenomenon as it relates to

management of resources and participation in governance at local level.

### 1.5.2 Limitation of the Study

The major limitation of this work is the geographical coverage, that is, only four (4) out of eight (8) States covered by the UNICEF for the pilot projects. The implication of four choice of for this study is that we can not generalize on the basis of our findings. However, our hope is that this work will serve as the beginning of more studies to unravel the negative effect of bad governance on local government performance in Nigeria.

The second limitation the of this work has to do with the attitude of some local government respondents (Chairmen, Secretaries and Councillors) who were either absent from office very often or feeling very reluctant to sit down and attend to our Research Assistants). It took four to five weeks of repeated visits to their offices before some Chairmen, Secretaries and councilors could attend to, our Research Assistants. These respondents are politicians who would always travel to State capitals and Abuja for businesses. This writer and some of our Research Assistants had to visit guest houses in their State capitals to get them to answer our questions. This was facilitated by their Personal Assistants and close friends.

The third problem is that of very poor record-keeping in the focus local governments. It was an uphill task to get data on actual expenditure, number of materials and equipment used in maintaining the UNICEF-assisted facilities between 1996 and 2004. In some of the focus local governments, figures on these items were lumped together with other capital expenditure items. In such cases, we resorted to the use of figures in Treasury files and vouchers as well as Chairmen's Annual Reports.

## 1.6 **Hypotheses**

Given the general and specific/objectives of this study, the following hypotheses are tested. They are:

1) that the weak executive we capacity of the focus local governments, in terms of technical manpower, finance and managerial skill, made programme-sustainability very difficult;

2) that the overbearing control of local governments by State governments is a major factor responsible for the weak executive capacity of the focus local governments;

3) that the self-serving interests of State government top functionalities in terms of financial gains and political power, are the motives behind the control of local governments.

## 1.7 Definition of Key Concepts

The following concepts are defined for better understanding of their meanings as went in this work.

A) Sustainability of Development Programmes – According to Kidd (2001) sustainability of Development Programmes means.

The process of ensuring that development programmes continue to survive and generate benefits for people after the initial providers must have completed left.

The operationalisation of that process involves the following activities by the beneficiaries and government:

a) Preparation of annual budget or inclusion of the development programmes in the annual budget by government in partnership with the beneficiaries
b) Release of funds to maintain the programmes as contained in the annual budget
c) Physical maintenance of projects contained in the development programmes.
d) Monitoring and evaluation of the development projects

B) Development

Continuous improvement in the quality of social, economic and political life of people in a given society through constant provision of;

- Education training
- Health facilities and medical services
- Means of production (land, labour and capital)
- Infrastructures (roads, electricity, water etc)
- Opportunity for citizen-participation in political activities and policy making at governmental level.

# CHAPTER TWO

# LITERATURE REVIEW THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter deals with the findings and conclusions of previous works carried out on programme-sustainability, local government as an institution for sustainable development, UNICEF as an International and Development as a process and a stage. The purpose is to identify areas of weakness and or strength in the previous works from which some useful lessons can be learnt for this and future studies. We also intend to develop an appropriate theoretical framework from the literature reviewed. The purpose of the theory is to guide data collection and analysis in relation to the problem being investigated.

## 2.2 Sustainability of Development Programmes/Projects

For the purpose of this work, sustainability of development programmes/projects is “the process of ensuring that development projects continue to survive and generate enough activities that produce benefits for target communities or groups”. [Kidds; 2001]. From this point of view, sustainability is the capacity of a target group to maintain projects so as to continue to derive benefits there from, not only by the present beneficiaries

but also by future generations. The survival or continuation of projects is core to this definition of sustainability.

Gustafson (1994: 121-134) views sustainability of projects as the capacity of recipient of development projects to provide sufficient means and efforts to keep them (the projects) going after the donors must have withdrawn their assistance. He relates this definition to agricultural extension programmes to mean “the ability of an institution to produce outputs that sufficiently demand for inputs to continue production at a steady or growing rate, leading to long term positive results [Gustafson, 1994:143]. The results, which are a positive one by all standards, should be long term. In the same vein, Brinkehoff and Geldof 2OO2:3,69) see sustainability as “the ability of a project or institution to earn the commitment of target groups or beneficiaries to give support to development efforts on a continuous basis”. By this definition, sustainability is viewed as an ongoing process rather than a static condition.’ In their opinion, it may be far better socially and economically to close institutions or projects that fail to achieve sustainability. What we can deduce from these definitions and views is that sustainability is futuristic which involves• the ability of present generation of beneficiaries to keep benefits without preventing future beneficiaries from reaping equal benefits from development projects.

Project sustainability is usually evaluated or determined within an institutional framework. Project sustainability can be viewed from the point where “the activities, organization or technology that are introduced or encouraged become locally institutionalized, self-sustaining and continue without external support after the formal project activities ends” (Zaki, 2002). A sustainable project then, is simply a successful one by most project evaluation standards. Beyond the actual project targets, roads constructed, boreholes drilled, trees planted, classroom blocks built, etc, it is imperative to ascertain whether institutions, organizations or communities are capable of continuing the project and maintain what has been done or created. Zaki (2002:43) recounting an experience in Belize (Malaysia) observed that: “communities that have received the most development assistance are often the ones that are least capable of autonomous, self-generating sustainable development”. He cited cases where projects executed achieved their short-term goals, but donor or implementing agencies failed to build the institutions that could sustain or maintain the efforts.

According to Raphael, (2003:35) when we apply the term sustainability to any development project or planned intervention, we are no longer speaking purely of ecological externalities or economic viability. Rather, over and beyond the actual projects executed, ‘we have to ask if

organizations and institutions capable of sustaining the project have been established.

Zaki and Raphel's position concerning project sustainability are similar, in that they emphasize the creation rather than the sheer feeling of joy or accomplishment derived from project execution. What happens to the project after its creation is of utmost importance to them.

Raphael (2003:40) further observes that the technical and economic feasibility of a project cannot be decided in advance rather, it is a product of the interaction and empowerment that is part of institution building. There is thus some measure of good practical guidelines for building the kind of organizations that will be capable, in the long term, of ensuring project sustainability in organizational, cultural and ecological terms.

This approach to project sustainability seems expensive and time consuming and offers no immediate promise of increase in output or production. However, there is good evidence that organizational sustainability must be given high priority in selecting and evaluating sustainable basic social services projects. Simply put, if there is no workable organization, there is no possibility of a sustainable project. Therefore, one can safely conclude, that a project's sustainability cannot be achieved if

there is no social infrastructure in place to sustain the project after its execution.

Some critics in academic circles have argued that there is a contradiction involved in an institutional description of project sustainability. They argue that self-sufficiency cannot be created through intervention. Communities or beneficiaries cannot sustain projects because they are not a product of their own creation or initiative. They argue further that, by their nature, development projects create dependency, clientage, opportunism, instability and short term planning [DFID, 2002:17]. An underlying theme in a lot of historical ecology is that a people or community can achieve sustainability if left alone and given time. Hence there is no need for the justification for intervention at all. This view point seems to tally with that of dependency theorists who advocate a radical break with the international capitalist system. Dependency theorists see the activities of donor agencies as an extension of imperialism (Ramachandran, 2000:13). Evaluating project sustainability in Gujara (India), Ramachandran states that sustaining the benefits of development project remain uncertain, because, project and development planners did not put into consideration how benefits will be sustained after the closure of projects. Thus, local communities did not develop a sense of ownership in the project and were

reluctant to sustain them. Project must therefore encourage the involvement of user groups, which is critical to its sustainability [Ramachandran, 2000:18].

Project sustainability with regards to agricultural project practices, are closely linked to the environmental system that allows intensifications, using mainly local available resources (i.e. sustainable agriculture) have an important place. However, the demand of an ever-increasing population have to be met and this may drive structural reforms, in some cases towards more commercial and intensive scales of operations. This means in essence, that the continuation of development projects by the communities without the assistance of the donor agency, is the higher objective of the donor agency.

Project sustainability is a team effort. As patterns in development, communities should be expected to carry their share, but not the entire burden or what they can realistically sustain. In other words, the expected responsibilities of benefiting communities should be clearly spelt out and allocated, so that, they also have a part to play in sustaining their own project [Rhyne, 2004:16]. This responsibility should however not be beyond what the community can handle. It is in light of this that most donor agencies like UNICEF adopt the principles of counterpart funding with

government agencies and communities. Partnership and collaboration could greatly enhance project sustainability [UNICEF, 2004:38].

When complete withdrawal of support to completed project is not appropriate, an ensemble of partners should be put in place to share the load of sustainability. These partners vary in responsibilities and capacities and could include governments at all levels, the private sector, NGOs, CBAs, and other development agencies like UNICEF, DFID, CIDA, USAID, etc. These partners/agencies can support the sustainability of projects by providing financial as well as technical expertise [UNICEF, 2004:51]. Rhyne and Otero (2003:66) identified 4 distinct levels of self-sufficiency in project sustainability. They are:

i) Low sustainability — High level of grants or soft loans still required.

ii) Fairly low sustainability — Grants still required, but the level of subsidy is less than in (i) above.

iii) High sustainability — most subsidy is eliminated, but there is still some need for 'top up' grants or soft loans.

iv) Full sustainability — No grants or soft loans required.

The goal of project sustainability is full sustainability where communities or beneficiaries take full responsibility for maintenance of project/facilities without any form of assistance from donor agencies. Project

sustainability involves ownership and management of facilities that perpetuates new community initiated decisions, projects and direction.

When an independent, self-reliant community is created and developed, it becomes an essential creation for project viability and sustainability. Any community that is a passive, powerless recipient of social services, is unlikely to have either the capacity or opportunity to grow and to sustain her projects (Rhyne, 2004:23).

## 2.3 Issues in Project Sustainability

As stated earlier, a project as a scheme that can be used to organize the use of a given amount of resources in a particular way can be used to achieve specific results, all within a given period of time. All projects have fundamental parts or phases and activities from the point at which a project is conceived to the point of its execution. All these parts or activities fit together and relate to each other in a project's life cycle.

In executing development projects, certain problems may arise within the project life cycle that could adversely affect sustainability.

Leonard (1998:113) identified and summarized some of these problems thus:

i) **Institutional problems:** This could arise if there is no proper clarification of lines of authority, responsibilities and working relationship among the project teams and organizational units. The clarification can be done with formal and properly applied lines of communication, and proper decision making authority. For example, difficulties in obtaining land for the building of a girl- child education project may be the result of dealing with a wrong organization, poor project management and staffing, procurement difficulties, and poor monitoring and evaluation (Leonard, 1998:18).

ii) **Conceptual problems:** This may arise from inadequacies in project formulation and from insufficient or false background information proposed project site, or inadequate planning work expected to be performed. For example the project may be too rigid (i.e. not flexible enough to give room for adjustments or manipulations), wrong or non-sustainable objectives, to many or unrealistic project components and objectives, and unrealistic implementation schedule.

iii) **Technical Problems:** This could arise when unexpected factors are discovered during project implementation. For example, there could be a consistent shortfall in production from fish ponds, due to seasonal water quality changes or poor quality of feeds not foreseen in project

formulation, or the standard of engineering design and/or construction may be poor (Leonard, 1998:ibid).

iv) **Financial Problems:** This can result when procedures and schedules for securing, manpower, supplies and equipment etc. necessary for carrying out project activities, have not been adequate organized or delays in implementation results in additional costs, or project could have been-under estimated. For instance, there could be recurring budget shortages due to poor delivery scheduling of heavy earth moving equipment for digging new canals or dredging, or as a result of under-estimated investment or operational costs. Also financial problems may occur because of a change in price for a product as a result of competition or other market factors.

v) **Social Problems:** These could arise from inadequacies in the analysis of social aspects of project in formulation work, or from changes in social balances/organization during project implementation. Problems may be manifested for instance, in a slow adoption of project techniques by the target group which may find fish farming unattractive or difficult, or there may be an inequitable distribution of benefits as some farms are naturally more productive than others.

vi) **Political Problems:** These could be as a result of changes in national policies or government, or sudden unexpected political events. The result could be insufficient commitment on the part of the government of the day. For example there may be a change in government to one which is opposed to financial incentives to say, education and the removal of all or partial educational subsidies or grants, or a project may be terminated or disrupted as a result of internal crisis, such as ethnic or religious conflicts.

vii) **Environmental Problems:** These often arise and affect the project or the project itself may cause unacceptable environmental damages. In the former case, this may arise either from project related or external natural factors unforeseen during project formulation, for instance, there could be sudden water pollution from new industrial projects nearby, or competition for the same water resources for urban and rural development. In the second case, examples may be heavy discharge of nutrients from the system causing 'lalga blooms' dangerous to a nearby oyster fishery, or scoring may be destroying more mangroves than initially foreseen and accepted.

Other problems may occur which may be related to the management and operation of the project itself. These could be referred to as the human

factors where for instance, the personality of one member of the management team causes some difficulties, whether major or minor that affect project implementation.

While any of these, problems could manifest itself at any stage of the project life cycle, these could be forecasted during project design. Any of these problems could constitute a challenge to project sustainability by communities. This is because a manifestation of any of the problems could make host communities to distance or dissociate themselves from the project. No community will want to sustain a project that has harmful effect on their members or one that serves as a conduit for the siphoning of public wealth, [Leonard, 1998: 115-120].

## 2.4 Pre-requisites of Project-Sustainability

The long-term benefits of **a** development project cannot be achieved without sustainability. It is therefore important to identify and meet certain prerequisites of sustainability if a particular development project will continue to operate and yield future benefits. Among the prerequisites of sustainability are; participation, maintenance, capacity-building and social security.

i) **Participation:** According to Friedman and Ammassari (1991:265) “the

critical importance of sustainability to UNICEF and its link to community participation are not in doubt. The active participation of communities or intended beneficiaries in project formulation and implementation is the catalyst for project sustainability.

This is because, a community can not be said to be empowered unless social services/projects and programmes are sustained. Participation creates project viability, lasting impact, capacity for self-sustenance and self-renewal.

People-centred development is the best form of development. To actualize people-centred projects, there is the need to incorporate the participation of would-be beneficiaries in all aspects of project cycle.

Beyond income and basic services, the poor remain poverty stricken if they are not empowered to participate in the decisions that shape their lives and destiny. The principle of participation is derived from the acceptance that people are at the heart of any development or activities. They are not only the ultimate beneficiaries of development, they act through groups, association and as individuals. The people or communities themselves have to be active participants in the project cycle in order to ensure its success. Participation and community ownership guarantees sustainability [Gray, 1993: 289-303).

Geldof (1994:48-53) supporting participation as a prerequisite for sustainability posits that “The involvement of would-be beneficiaries in their own advancement such as they are actors/change agents is important for meaningful and sustainable development”. This participation of beneficiaries according to Geldof will “help communities to tap their own resources” and “provide communities with the tools they may require to advance in the way they may deem fit”.

Participation is a bottom-up approach to development, which is essential to any sustainable development effort. Many development programmes and efforts have not been sustained which may lead to its ultimate failure altogether, if the inputs or involvement of beneficiaries are not taken into consideration.

**i) Maintenance:** Maintenance is an integral part of project operations which ensures sustainability. In most cases, much attention seems to be concentrated in project investment. But the benefits that is planned to accrue from that investment can only be actualized after the main phase of investment has been completed. Hence, Cusworth and Franks (1993:146) observed that “these benefits will not be kept at their planned level if the facilities that have been constructed are not functioning properly”.

Therefore, in their own estimation, “effective and efficient maintenance of project facilities” is a key element to project sustainability.

Maintenance as a critical prerequisite for sustainability helps to ensure that “the assets created by the project will continue to operate without the continuous injection of external fund from government or donors for rehabilitation”. A very critical aspect of maintenance is keeping facilities so created for a community, if not properly maintained, may not only cease to contribute any benefits to the community they serve, but could also constitute a health hazard. Non-maintenance could lead to outbreak of diseases and epidemic of great proportion (Gusworth & Franks, 1993:143-154).

Given the need and desirability for maintenance as a perquisite for sustainability, it is often neglected. Gustworth and Franks identified 3 factors as being responsible for the neglect:

i) Too much attention on the investment phase of the project cycle. Many professionals prefer to work on this phase because it is more interesting and often more rewarding.

ii) The facilities cannot be maintained because they were not properly designed or constructed in the first place, or because

the equipment or spare parts necessary for maintenance are not readily available.

iii) Maintenance demands a high level of managerial competence which is often unavailable. This could be very true especially in rural areas where most development and social services projects are often sited [Ibid, p. 163].

**iii) Personnel and Capacity Building** The issue of capacity building is so important that donor agencies should not wait until the end of its funding cycle to address. Training of relevant personnel who will maintain and repair project facilities so created, advocacy and mo1ilization need to be operational at full capacity, at every stage of the project cycle. Donor agencies should endeavour to bring their expertise and resources into use not only in the planning stage of a project cycle, but also throughout the whole project process to help communities to put personnel and capacity building support in place. This effort could make a whole lot of difference between project termination and project sustainability [UNIcEF Nigeria, 2001: 286-288].

As noted in the multi-donor evaluation with regards to most countries, past UNICEF efforts n Nigeria tended to focus on basic social services delivery with little efforts on capacity building. The strategy adopted and

utilized for the implementation of development programmes must not only be seen to support the delivery of basic social survives, but should at the same time incorporate personnel and capacity building to increase chances of sustainability. The empowerment of communities and individuals to become actors in their own development efforts is a fundamental idea in capacity building, [Ibid, p. 291).

With regards to personnel and capacity building, it is worth noting that sustainability is very demanding of a very high level of managerial competence which is usually unavailable (observed by Gustworth and Franks earlier). Efforts should then be made to develop manpower and build capacity, which should of necessity be incorporated into the project or programme design. This should cover areas such as reliability, accessibility and maintainability. The demand for skilled personnel is both at the managerial and operative levels. It is therefore necessary to provide adequate and appropriate training both at the initial stage and at regular intervals thereafter, in order that sufficiently trained personnel are available for efficient maintenance of project facili'ties and assets.

According to a report by UNICEF in Dakar (1997:88) "strengthening of people's organization and capacities allows for the gradual transformation of wisdom and wider responsibilities". The strengthening of people's

organization and capacity leads to easy mobilization of target group or community around interests and priority problems. When communities are involved in problem identification, implementation and evaluation of results, they are likely to contemplate innovations as their own rather than outside intervention. Thus external support is progressively decreased as communities acquire the knowledge and skills to handle every aspect of the project cycle on their own. This kind of confidence that is engendered by the acquisition of skills is what guarantees the sustainability of projects and programmes in the long run, after implementing agencies have withdrawn their support [Ibid: 95].

**iv) Social Security:** According to Menna (2003) "Social security is one of the necessary prerequisites for promoting sustainability". In her opinion, sustainability refers to "development process which enhances people's capacity to create and consume wealth on a lasting basis". Sustainability therefore requires a socio-economic, political and cultural environment which enables people to engage in and sustain the development projects.

To create social security for sustainability to flourish, Meena advocates that the political system should provide stability in the polity that will enable the populace to be engaged in productive activities. Therefore, intra- and inter- ethnic conflicts, tribal wars as well as denial of rights should

be curtailed, because they can hinder the promotion of sustainability, [Ibid, p. 46].

## 2.5 Local Government and Sustainability of Programmes/Projects in Nigeria

In principle and in practice, State and local governments in Nigeria are responsible for some functions referred to as concurrent responsibilities in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Such functions include basic education, primary health care, rural and semi-urban water supply, environmental sanitation and agriculture just to mention few. A large percentage of these functions is expected to be performed in rural communities where more than 65% of the Nigerian population stays and works. In majority of cases, local governments are expected to work hand in hand with benefiting communities to maintain and operate facilities provided by the State governments after completion. The federal government too participated in these functions through establishment of bodies to participate actively in funding and implementing projects. Examples of such bodies are the National Primary Education Commission, The National Council for Primary health Care, and the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. These bodies are replicated at State level to participate in

planning, funding and implementing programmes and projects at community level. It was this situation that informed the rural development efforts of Ibrahim Babangida Administration. A particular case in point was the establishment of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrasturctures in 1988. This body conceived, planned, funded and provided a number of projects like feeder roads, rural water supply points (boreholes), nursery for fruit trees and rural health clinics just to mention a few. By the time the Directorate was scrapped by Abacha Administration in 1994, the projects were expected to be taken over by local governments.

A post-implementation evaluation of DFRRI projects carried out by UNICEF in Nigeria in 1997 showed that no local government took the projects over for sustainability. Among the reasons given for the attitude of local governments to the projects were that:

- they (the local governments) were never involved initially in the conception, planning and implementation of the DFRRI projects;

- some of the projects were not the immediate needs of their people in rural communities;

- the projects were not part of the areas of priority earmarked in their (local government's) rolling plans and by implication in their annual budgets approved by the state governments (UNICEF, 1997:41).

For these and other reasons, the DFRRI projects died with the collapse or overthrow of Babangida administration. The same fate befell the pet projects of Bangida's wife (the Better Life Programmes for Rural Women), same for the programmes initiated and started by General Abubakar Abdulsalami's wife, (Family Support Programme) meant to uplift the living standard of women in Nigeria. Laudable as the programmes were, they could not be taken over by local governments because they were elitist in conception, planning and execution.

It was perhaps, due to these and other reasons that in 1991, UNICEF insisted (in her agreement with the federal and State governments for the 1991 - 1995) programme period) that her projects would be handed over to local governments for sustainability. To ensure that this was done successfully by the local governments after December 1995, the agency (UNICEF) carried out capacity' building and empowerment of the local governments concerned, through:

a) The training of some local government technical staff to repair or maintain the facilities like boreholes, hand pumps, Hospital equipment and hand-tools provided by the agency;

b) Provision of vehicles, cold chains, refrigerators, computer sets and schools furniture;

c) Holding of sensitization workshops for members of benefiting communities on attitude change toward diseases, education and ownership of public facilities.

d) Training of some masons and artisans in the community to repair the facilities provided not only by the UNICEF but also by government (federal, State and local)UNICEF, 1991:29].

Having carried out these activities between 1991 and 19595 by the UNICEF, it was expected that each of the local governments concerned would start and continue the following activities as efforts toward sustaining the Agency's projects:

i) inclusion of the projects in the subsequent rolling plans and budgets;
ii) allocation of funds to the projects for maintenance and expansion to other communities in the local government areas;
iii) training and retraining of technical staff for the repair of the equipments, hand-pumps, hand-tools, school buildings, vehicles and furniture provided by the agency, other agencies and governments;
iv) involvement of benefiting communities (through their associations) to expand the facilities (UNICEF, 1991: 32-34).

The decision to hand over the UNICEF-assisted programmes and projects to the local governments *was* based on the assumptions that:

a) Local governments in general would free the federal and State governments from onerous and detailed involvement in small projects, leaving them time to plan for bigger and more critical national projects.
b) Local governments should be able to generate additional resources through efficient collection of revenue from internal sources;
c) Local governments could directly plan and implement their own development programmes (including those assisted by the UNICEF) which would take a longer time to materialize were they left for the federal and State governments [UNICEF, 1991: 41-42].

Studies carried out by the World Bank in local governments of Adamawa, Taraba, Bauchi, Kaduna and a number of other local government areas in Northern States in 2001, 2003 and 2004 revealed that local governments did not live up to their expectations in terms of service delivery [World Bank, 2003:113]. Among other things, it was discovered that projects provided by the local governments were concentrated in urban centers, that is, the local government area headquarters to the neglect of rural communities. Such facilities include primary school structures, boreholes,

health clinics, town halls and drainages. The few of these facilities provided in rural communities were not only far apart but also sub-standard and un-kept. This is considered to be "a serious problem associated with the elitist behaviour of local government officials in Nigeria" [World Bank/UNICEF, 2004:86]. The following table illustrates this point.

**Table 2.1** Distribution of local government facilities between urban centres and rural communities of selected local governments in northern states, 2001 — 2004

| State | Local Government | Facilities provided in urban centers | Facilities provided in rural communities |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Song | 3 boreholes<br>15 classrooms<br>6 Health Clinics | 5 Wells<br>2 Classrooms<br>2 Health Centres |
| Adamawa | Fufore | Renovation of Central Motor Park.<br>Repair of township drainages.<br>Supply of new desks and chairs to primary schools. | Repair of 3km feeder roads.<br>Construction of 2 new culverts<br>Digging of 3 wells<br>Purchase of drugs for 4 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | clinics |
| Bauchi | Darazo | Renovation of 2 slaughter slabs.<br><br>Construction of 10 open market stalls. Repair of Village Head'shouse.<br><br>Expansion of 3 motor parks. | Purchase Of Drugs For 4 Clinics<br><br>Repair Of Village Head's House<br><br>Repair Of 3 Viewing Centres |
| | Gamawa | Fencing of the Local Government Secretariat.<br><br>Purchase of new vehicles for the L.G. Chairman. | Digging of 5 wells in 3 villages.<br><br>Expansion of 2 cattle markets. |
| | Ikara | Construction of 21 classrooms in 5 primary schools.<br><br>Construction of public latrines.<br><br>Renovation of 3 Nurses' quarters. | Improvement of 5km roads in 2 villages.<br><br>Improvement of forestry seedlings.<br><br>Financial assistance to 6 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kaduna | | | communities development associations. |
| | Birnin Gwari | Fencing of L.G. Secretariat.<br><br>Furnishing of Chairman's and Secretary's offices.<br><br>Sinking of 3 boreholes. | Dredging of 5 earth dams in 2 villages.<br><br>Construction of 4 Village Heads' houses. |

Source: UNICEF/World Bank Joint Research on "Local Governments and Provision of Social Services in Nigeria, 2001 — 2004". (UNICEF Country Office, Abayomi Street, Lagos 2004).

A look at the expenditure pattern in these local governments show that Recurrent Expenditure like salaries, allowances, stationeries and fueling of local, government vehicles took more than 76% of total expenditure during the period under review (2001 — 2004).

Table 2.2 Local Government Expenditure Pattern (2001 — 2004)

The following table presents the picture more vividly.

| States | Local Govt. | Recurrent | Capital | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | Expenditures | | Expenditures |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adamawa | Song | N26.1m (78.5%) | N7.2m (21.5%) | N33.5m |
| | Fufore | N31.6m (73.8%) | N11.2m (26.2%) | N42.8m |
| Bauchi | Darazo | N38.8m (82.5%) | N8.4m (17.9%) | N47.1m |
| | Gamawa | N28.4m (80.5%) | N6.9m (19.5%) | N35.3m |
| Kaduna | Ikara | N41.6m (76.1%) | N13.1m (23.9%) | N54.7m |
| | Birnin-Gwari | N29.7m (75.4%) | N9.7m (21.6%) | N39.5m |
| Niger | Agale | N51.3m (78.4%) | N14.1m (21.6%) | N65.4m |
| | Kagara | N41.7m (77.3%) | N12.3m (22.7%) | 54m |

Source: UNICEF/World Bank, Ibid, p. 213.

It is clear from the two tables above that the self-serving interest of the local government officials influenced the pattern of project distribution (between urban and rural areas, and allocation of funds to recurrent and capital expenditure).

In his assessment of local government physical and fiscal performance for the period (2000-2003), Gboyega (2003: 68-70) came up with the same findings from Oyo, Ogun, Ekiti, Enugu and Cross River States. The findings, among other things, were that:

- Allocation of financial and material resources was disproportionately in favour of urban centers where only **23%** of the total population of each LGA lived. On the average, between 8O-85% of total capital expenditure of the local governments went to projects executed in the cities.
- Recurrent expenditure gulped between 76% and 800/c of total funds spent during the period under review, leaving a meager 2O% for capital projects meant to improve the living standard of the masses.
- Salaries took between 63% and 71% of recurrent expenditure, leaving 29% for overhead cost.

Gboyega likened the local governments to a huge funnel into which a huge resources are poured. Down the funnel, the officials continue to pilfer the resources until very little or nothing get to the real owners, the masses who are helpless politically. This is not peculiar to the local governments studies but to majority of local governments in Nigeria.

It is against this background that scholars like, Abubakar (2001:38), Okoli and Orewa (2002:16) at different fora expressed doubt about the capacity of local governments to play any meaningful role in rural development and poverty alleviation. Lamenting about the poor performance of local governments during the hay days of rural development in Nigeria (1988 **— 92).** Abubakar (2000:15) observed that:

> The score cards of local government in the area of service delivery over the last years (1993-2003) do not give any hope that they (the local governments) are prepared to play any meaningful role in the ongoing efforts by the federal government to alleviate poverty.

This observation, he said, is based on the level of corruption and mismanagement of financial and material resources made available to local governments since May 1999 that the new dispensation began. He observed further that:

> The flamboyant lifestyle of local government chairmen and supervisory councilors is in sharp contrast with the standard of life of the masses the officials are expected to serve. In a society where drugs are out-of-stock in health clinics, where pupils sit on bare floor in primary schools; where rural feeder roads are unmotorable except during dry seasons; where fertilizers are out of the reach of peasant farmers, ... it is a contradiction to buy expensive jeeps for chairmen, to furnish their official quarters with millions of naira and to buy telephone handset for all councilors (Abubakar, 2001: 15-18).

Beyond these, it is also observed that the chairmen and secretaries attend conferences and workshops in Abuja, Lagos, Kaduna and in State capitals involving payment of huge sums of money every month. On the average each official spends up to N350,000.00 monthly on such trips (Abubakar, 2001:21). All these and frivolous trips took a lot of money from the local government treasures at the expense of service-delivery to the masses.

## 2.6 The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) as an International Development Agency

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) was established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1946. Its original mandate was to meet the emergency needs of children and women in the Second World war affected countries of Europe. By this mandate, the Agency was saddled with the responsibility of providing relief materials like cloths, drugs, food, hospital equipment etc. to children who were made orphans and women who became widows by the Second World War in Europe (UNICEF, 1990:2).

In October 1953, the Agency became a permanent part of the United Nations Development System, with a widened role and wider geographical coverage to include Africa, Asia and Latin America. Its mandate was expanded to include the designing and implementation of programmes aimed at enhancing the living conditions of children and women in developing countries.

### 2.6.1 Modus Operandi

The UNICEF works in close cooperation with national governments as well as non-governmental organizations and other United Nations Agencies to identify the needs of children and women. In doing this, it uses

the energies and resources of individuals, families, communities and governments to help less developed countries to address identified needs. It assesses those needs, prepares plans, and liaises with government and other development partners to provide services, secure supplies and stimulate local capacity to participate in development activities (UNICEF, Ibid: 15-18).

UNICEF programmes in any country are centrally decoded at its head offices in New York but the detailed plans of action are prepared in the capital city of the country in collaboration with the central government of that country. Such Plans of Action are articulated in a document called "Master Plan of Operation" (MPO). This is followed by a Basic Cooperation Agreement, signed by representatives of the UNICEF and the central government. The Agreement provides the legal foundation for UNICEF operation in that country and that country's financial, material and technical contributions toward programme implementation (S.I.D., 1991:13).

### 2.6.2 Contribution to International Development

Since its establishment in 1946 and the expansion of its mandates in 1953, UNICEF, in partnership with national governments has made attempts to alleviate poverty, to enhance the chances of child survival and to alleviate

the suffering of war affected communities in several developing countries. A few examples will illustrate this point.

In the sixties, UNICEF made significant strides in three major areas of community life of India, Brazil and Nigeria just to mention a few. The first area was disease control, based on the conviction that improving the health status of children and their mothers was most important towards the development of a country (S.LD.). Consequently efforts were directed at the control of prevailing diseases like yaws in India, Leprosy in Nigeria, malaria and Tuberculosis in Peru and Brazil between 1961 and 1964. The Agency (UNICEF) also supported the establishment of public health services to facilitate health care delivery, thereby mitigating the effects of the diseases.

The second area of concern was malnutrition which was considered the bane of children development in third world countries. Based on the Report of dreadful effects of malnutrition among children in developing countries in 1961, the UNICEF started a School Feeding Project in 1962 to meet the food needs of children and their mothers with the supply of vitamin capsules and powdered milk in fifteen less developed countries of Africa, Asia and South America (UNICEF, 1990:56). For instance, the Agency distributed 1.6 million pounds of powdered milk to 10,000 pre-school age children and 20,000 school pupils in selected towns and villages of Nigeria,

India, Pakistan, Brazil, Indonesia and Argentina between 1962 and 1965 (UNICEF, 1991:116). The provision of milk to children served as an incentive for their attendance of clinics and schools. Mothers too were motivated to attend ante-natal and post-natal clinics (UNICEF, Ibid, 121).

Third area of assistance by the UNICEF was the relief supplies to countries that went through civil wars in the sixties and seventies in Africa and Asia. The Agency in partnership with other International Donor Agencies, provided humanitarian assistance to war affected communities in Nigeria, Pakistan and Bangladesh between 1967 and 1973. for instance, in the eastern part of Nigeria, the UNICEF catered for more than *the* million children by providing food materials, clothing and drugs (UNICEF, 199 1:86). After the war (in 1970), the Agency assisted in confronting the problems of hunger, ill-health and basic education in the eastern region (UNICEF, 1991, Ibid:102.

Among other things, the UNICEF assisted in rehabilitating and or reconstructing health centers, primary schools and social welfare centers.

### 2.6.2 UNICEF in Nigeria (1980 — 1995)

Nigeria witnessed major interventions by the UNICEF between 1980 and 1995 in the area of water supply, primary health care and environmental

sanitation. In States like Niger, Gombe, Enugu, Kwara, where there were high incidence of guinea worm infection, the UNICEF in 1981-85, assisted States and local governments to provide deep wells, boreholes and hand-pumps in several villages. This helped to reduce, not only cases of guinea worm infestation but also problem of water scarcity in the benefiting villages (UNICEF, 1981:102). UNICEF in Nigeria also helped to control some diseases which were then the major contributions to high infant morbidity and mortality rates. Statistics shows that malaria, acute respiratory infections and malnutrition were the most common diseases leading to morbidity and mortality of children and their mothers. As at 1984, it was estimated that 200,000 children were dying annually from six children killer diseases, namely tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio and measle, (UNICEF in Nigeria 1985:38). Studies also revealed that as at 1984, about 150,000 children were dying every year from diarrhea and dehydration related causes (UNICEF in Nigeria, 1986:31). The same study by the UNICEF (1986: 46:49) revealed that between 25-35 percent of child mortality was attributed to vaccine preventable diseases. Thus, the UNICEF embarked upon and carried out activities like immunization against the killer diseases, control of locally endemic diseases and supply of drugs to treat the common diseases between 1986 and 1990.

The Agency also assisted the federal government programmes on Immunization and Oral Dehydration Therapy (ORT) (UNICEF in Nigeria, 1986: 105).

The UNICEF assisted Nigeria to implement these programmes by providing vaccines, cold chains, vehicles, equipment and training of para-medical staff at local and state government levels.

In October 1990, the UNICEF and federal government of Nigeria entered into the 1991-95 Cooperation Agreement to carry out activities in the areas of Primary health Care Services, Basic Education, Water & Sanitation and Food Security. Activities in these areas were carried out in selected rural communities. As a tier of government in Nigeria, each local government, was expected to make contribution to the implementation of the programmes through relevant staff. They were also expected to set up programmes implementation and monitoring communities. Local governments benefiting from the programmes, otherwise known as focus local governmenwere expected to assist in sensitizing the target communities and to train some community volunteers to participate in sustaining the UNICEF- assisted projects after December 1995.

UNICEF in Nigeria has its Country Office in Lagos (now transferred to the UNITED NATIONS BUILDING in Abuja) and four zonal offices in

Ibadan, Enugu, Bauchi and Kaduna. At national level, the Agency works in the National Planning Commission, Federal Ministries of Education, Health, Women Affairs, Works, Water Resources, Information and Agriculture to plan, implement and evaluate programmes. At State level, the UNICEF works in partnership with State Ministries of Economic Planning, Education, Health, Women Affairs, Water Resources, Information, Agriculture and Primary Education Board to carry out planned programmes. At local government level, officials of the UNICEF zonal Offices in Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna and Bauchi work in partnership with relevant local government staff to provide services directly to target groups in communities and to monitor and evaluate projects. Each focus local government has Project Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation Committee for UNICEF-assisted programmes/projects.

A similar committee was set up in each of the pilot-project community to work in partnership with local government staff in UNICEF-assisted projects.

To enhance the sustainability of UNICEF-assisted programmes/projects, the Agency usually embarks upon:

- Training of local government staff and community volunteers;
- Provision of vehicles to state and local governments;

- Supply of computer sets fo processing and storage of information;
- Community sensitization on the need to participate in maintaining UNICEF-assisted projects in the benefiting villages;
- Holding of regular meetings with local government staff and chief executives to assess project implementation, utilization and maintenance.

## 2.7 State-Local government relationship1,IN Nigeria

Agitation for the granting of autonomy to local governments in Nigeria has been on since the first-ever nationwide reform of local government, system in 1976. The argument has been if local governments are to effectively perform their statutory functions, a reasonable measure of autonomy in taking decisions, in formulating their policies including budgets, in generating financial and material resources, in managing such resources and in implementing their policies is an indispensable prerequisites. This Position is well articulated by Okunmade and others. Their argument is that no amount of reform that excludes the issue autonomy can be meaningful (Okunade, 1983:51).

The 1976 reform seemed to make the issue of autonomy one of its cardinal principles. Among other things, the then Chief of Staff Supreme

Headquarters, Brigadier Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, in the Forward to the Reform Guidelines said,

> …In embarking on these reforms, the Federal Military Government was essentially motivated by the necessity to stabilize and rationalize government at the local level. This must, of necessity, entail the decentralization of some significant functions of State governments to local levels in order to harness local resources for rapid development. The FMG has therefore decided to recognize local government as the third-tier of governmental activity in the nation (FRN: 1976).

The federal government's definition of local government as contained in section of the Guidelines suggest the centrality of local autonomy in the Reform. In the words of the federal government then,

Local government is government ,at local level exercised through representatives councils established by Law to exercise specific power within defined areas. These powers should give the Coun1éil substantial control over local affairs as well as the staff institutional and financial powers to initiate and direct the provision of service, (Ibid).

This definition emphasizes autonomy as the central pillar of local government in Nigeria. In a similar vain, the UNITED NATIONS (Office for Public Administration) defined local government as:

> …A political sub-division of a nation or in a federation, a State, which is constituted by Law and has substantial control of local affairs including the power to impose taxes or to exert labour for prescribed purposes. The governing body for such an entity is elected or otherwise locally selected (UN 1961:11).

It paradoxical that the FMG that initiated the 1976 Reform did nothing to put the principle and idea of local autonomy into practice during the first phase of the reform implementation in the States. The Model Local Government Edict prepared by the FMG and adopted by all he then nineteen States of the federation did not provide the necessary legal and administrative apparatus to ensure an autonomous local government system in Nigeria. Worse still, some provisions in the Implementation Guidelines and the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria ran counter to the establishment of an autonomous local government system. The Guidelines for instance provides that a State Governor has the power:

…to appoint a local government chairman out of three names submitted to him by each local government council ... and that he can dissolve a Council at any time if after due enquiry it determined that the Council is incapable of discharging its functions effectively, (FGN, 1976:1).

The Constitution of e Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 states very clearly that:

> …the system of local government by democratically elected council is under this Constitution guaranteed (FRN, 1979).

In addition, the Constitution stipulates in a succinct manner, the power of state governments

> …to ensure the existence of local governments under a Law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such Councils (Ibid).

It would be remembered that the civilian State Governors who took over power from the military Governors in October 1979 hid under the cover of this constitutional provision to dissolve all local government council, appointed Sole Administrators and caretaker Committees and created new local government areas (in majority of States) between 1981 and 1983. It can

be seen from the foregoing that both the military and civilian political leaders were never sincere about establishing autonomous local governments in Nigeria.

The history of local government in Nigeria is replete with facts to show that Regional and State governments never intended to give substantial autonomy to local governments. A few cases will illustrate this assertion. During the colonial administration, Native Authorities were tools in the hands of Regional Governments to maintain law and order through the Native Police, the Customary Courts and the prison (all under the control of Native Authorities) and to generate revenue through poll tax and other forms of fees, fines and licences with the active support of traditional rulers. Between January 1966 and December 1976, the military government (at State level) transformed the Native Authorities into local administration to assist in implementing State policies at local level (Orewa1 & Adewunmi, 1983:36).

Between 1976 and 1988, evidences of the unwillingness of State governments to loosen their control over local governments can be found in a number of policies and actions. A few examples will suffice.

State Governors had power to fix the salaries of local government chairmen and councilors based on internal revenue generated by each local

government. The implication of this was that many local governments inflated or falsifled their internal revenue figures to attract more salaries (Odiongenyi, 1988:43).

Another interesting area of State control over loca1governments is the dynamics of local government administration. This is with particular reference to the appointment, posting and discipline of Secretaries to Local Governments and senior staff on Grade Level 07 and above. These officers are appointed either by the State Governors or the State Local Government Service Commissions. Their career prospect is in the hands of either the state Civil Service Commissions (if they are posted to local governments from the mainstream of the State service or in the hands of the Local Government Service Commissions which are extra- ministerial departments created by the State governments. The implication of this is that these officers are State civil servants legally and technically speaking and therefore are loyal to the State governments much more than to the local governments they are posted to as birds of passage. In many areas, it is discovered from studies that local government chairmen have had quarrels with Secretaries to their local governments as a result of dual loyalty and lack of loyalty to the Chairman. Such quarrels are sometimes resolved in favour of the Secretaries who were very senior in the civil service before their transfer to local governments.

As observed by Oyeyipo:

> There is no doubt that the role of the Secretary to the Local Government eroded the autonomy of grassroots government. Very often, the local governments are no more than local administration, that is field nits of the State administration (Oyeyipo, 1985:4).

According to this scholar, “Government at local level was not really seen to be working. The Secretary to Local Government who should have been appointed by the local government was controlled from the State headquarters.

Between 1976 and 1992, the supervisor role of the State government agencies created an interventionist stance in State-local government relations. In principle, the then Ministries for Local Government were supposed to monitor the activities of local governments because of the great deal of financial and technical support required from State governments. The reality observed by scholars and even some public affairs commentators was that:

A situation in which one controls the other was not exactly one of partners in progress. In fact, it was reflective of master-servant relationship in practice (Ibid).

Other studies showed/later that State government officials were unwilling to let go, the strings of power they had held over the local administration. There was no doubt that local governments operated at the pleasure of State governments which had the sole right to review and supervise local government services (Ibid).

It is easy to conclude from the observations so far that it was the suffocating control of local governments by State governments in Nigeria that led to the series of changes introduced by Babangida administration between 1987 and 1993. A brief summary of the changes include:

i) The abolition of Ministry for Local Government (in 1 ministry was widely and severely criticized constraint to local government autonomy and initiative.

ii) The direct channeling of local government's Federation Account to them instead of through the Joint Account opened by State governments.

iii) The application of the 1988 government level, while made chief executive and Accounting local governments.

iv) The extension 0/the logic of presidential system of government to the local level which empowered local government chairmen to appoint their secretaries from outside.

v) The scrapping of Local Government Service Commissions throughout the federation, thereby empowering each local government to hire and fire its senior and junior staff.

vi) Increasing of local government share of the Federation Account from10% to 15% and to 20% in 1992.

These measures were taken principally to grant substantial level of autonomy to local governments in Nigeria. A scholar noted among other things that:

Babangida administration had exhibited the greatest determination to fully integrate local government, its politics as well as its administration into the mainstream of inter-governmental relations, as an autonomous unit of governmental decision making in the country (Abubakar, 40-59).

Unfortunately, no sooner did Babangida “stepped aside” in 1993 than things changed and reverted to the old order. All the democratically elected local government councils were dissolved by Abacha administration. Sole Administrators were appointed to take over. Since November 1993, State governments intensified their control over local governments. Return to civil rule since May 1999 has not changed the situation.

## 2.8 Local Government Autonomy and Performance in other Countries

In this section of our literature we wish to examine the experiences of other countries with the local governments in terms of success stories and challenges, with particular reference to level of autonomy, service delivery and sustainability of programmes. The countries selected (with reasons) are:

1) Britain (a unitary State) because it laid down the basis for local government in Nigeria as our colonial mentor;
2) The United States of America because it is a federation like Nigeria;
3) India because it is a federation and a developing country like Nigeria;
4) Tanzania because of its brand of socialism and as a developing country like Nigeria.

Britain and America are developed and highly capitalist (which Nigeria want to copy) while Tanzania is developing and socialist in political and economic philosophy or outlook. India is developing economically but developed politically. Nigeria has one thing or the other to le n from these

countries, especially the activities and attitude of their power-elites to governance in general and local governments in particular.

### 2.8.1 Great Britain

Britain operates a unitary system of government, where there is a central government and other subordinate units of government created and assigned functions by the central (not by the Constitution of the country). The subordinate governments are generally referred to as Local Authorities which are of different sizes (in terms of population and land) and have different names, such as counties, county-boroughs, non-county boroughs or Administrative Counties, urban districts and Rural Parishes. These levels of authorities can engage in activities or functions for which they have statutory powers. Their powers are conferred by law either as General Act of Parliament which apply to all local authorities or Private Laws which apply to individual (specific) authorities.

The main functions of local authorities in Britain can be categorized into three as follows:

a) Environmental functions such as road construction, provision and maintenance of Street lights, water supplies, recreation grounds, street cleaning and refuse disposal.

b) Protective functions which deal with safety of citizens such as Police and Fire Service.

c) Personal services which deal with individual wellbeing, such as housing, education, libraries, health services, etc[60].

It is important to note that not all local authorities can perform these functions. For instance, some District Councils and Parishes do not engage in protective and environmental functions which are beyond their financial capabilities. The types of functions carried out by any local authority are mainly determined by the law establishing the authorities, their financial and manpower capabilities not by administrative fiat of the central government.

The common features of local authorities in Britain are:

a) elected councils as the law-making and governing bodies;

b) chairmen elected from and by the council members every year;

c) appointed staff by the authorities themselves. These include the Council Clerk or Town Clerk, (equivalent of Secretary to Local Government in Nigeria), Treasurer, Teachers, Transport Workers down to street cleaners,

d) A high degree of autonomy (not absolute autonomy) to:

   i) prepare and approve their annual budgets;

ii) generate and spend revenue from internal sources (largely through taxation, charges, fees and licences);

iii) spend general grants provide by the central government;

iv) borrow money either from banks or through issuance of stock;

v) employ, promote, train and discipline their staff (Odoh, 1995:27).

**Central-Local Relationship:**

In Britain, Parliament decides the functions of local authorities but gives them a wide range of discretion in certain directions. Effective administration of some local services such as education, police and public health, is essential to the welfare of the country as a whole. Therefore, the central government is justifiably anxious to maintain prescribed minimum standards of service. Having achieved these minimum standards, local authorities are free to develop and vary the scope of the services to meet local needs within the national framework.

Within the national framework, local authorities can exercise a considerable degree of discretion. This freedom of action is essential if local authorities are to operate effectively to meet local needs. If all local decision

making were to dominated by the central government, it would cease to be a local authority and become merely an agent of central government. it is along this line that Polland reports that:

Local authorities in Britain are not emanations of the State but are responsible bodies, competent to discharge their own functions. Although they may be the statutory body through which central government policies are given effect and may operate to a large extent with government money, they exercise their own responsibility in their own right, not ordinarily as agents of central government departments (Ibid).

Central government ministries/departments have no legal control over local authority functions. The "control" is however mainly exercised informally through a process of consultation between local authorities and officers of various government departments and in the issuance of circulars and memoranda. In this way, central government policies pervade the work of local authorities. Some observers have described the central-local relationship in Britain as that of partnership. According to Richards, the central government needs the cooperation of local authorities and information from them on local conditions, problem and needs while local authorities require central government help and advice in carrying out some of their functions (Richards, 1988:46).

In practice there are four distinct' kinds of central control of local authorities in Britain, they are:

1) Legislative control by Parliament.
2) Administrative control by central government ministries.
3) Financial control also by government ministries.
4) Judicial control by the courts.

The main reasons for these forms of control are:

1) The importance of the work of local authorities in the public sector of the national economy and the resultant need to ensure that local authority expenditure is consistent with the central government economic policy.
2) The high proposition of local authority income by way of central government grant and Parliament's wish to exercise some supervision over the spending of the money (grants).
3) The national importance of much of the work of local authorities and the tendency to require certain minimum standards.
4) The need to protect taxpayers against possible financial mismanagement local authorities.
5) The need to protect local authority staff against arbitrary dismissal.

6) The need to provide suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between local authorities and individuals (Stevenson,. 1991:148).

Let us look at the four types of central government control of local authorities briefly.

**1) Legislative Council:**

We have said earlier that local authorities in Britain are legally autonomous bodies with their own powers and duties assigned to them by Actsof Parliament. We should add too that they are subject to a substantial measure of control by not only ministries but also by Acts of Parliament, which give supervisory powers to ministers over some local authority functions like education, healthcare, social welfare and country planning. Parliament has the power to withdraw these or any of these functions from some local authorities when it is realized that they cannot meet the national standard of performance. Examples are the transfer of country planning and highway responsibilities from Rural Country Councils to Urban Countries in 1989 (Ibid).

**2) Administrative Control:**

Some functions or areas of responsibility assigned to local authorities are closely supervised and monitored by relevant ministries/departments.

Indeed, development plans for such responsibilities must be approved before they can be implemented. For instance, where a local authority decides to erect a primary/secondary school, the plan must be approved by the Ministers of Education and Science before any work can start.

Ministries/departments also exercise administrative control through issuance of directives , regulations, supervision, approval or amendment of bye-laws and inspection of local authority projects (Ibid).

**3) Financial/Control:**

This constitutes the most effective form of central government control of local authorities in Britain. It is effected through grants (specific and general), loans and eternal auditing. By a skillful exercise of financial control, a minister can compel a proper performance of duties and requests that local authorities should submit returns (reports on projects/programs) provide financial reports and even conform to departmental policies (Jackson, 1993:85).

**4) Judicial Control:**

When local authorities trample upon people's rights through their actions or in the course of carrying out their duties, such persons can appeal to law courts to seek redress. In some cases, appeals may be heard by appropriate ministers. For instance, where a local authority wants to acquire

land by compulsory purchase, Persons affected have the right to go to court or appeal to the appropriate minister to intervene (Clarke, 1988:201).

**5) Effect of Central Control:**

In spite of these forms of central control, local authorities in Britain have a considerable degree of freedom and scope for alternative actions, subject to availability of revenue Central government is concerned to see that local authorities operate effectively and would therefore not interfere to such an extent as to jeopardize the work of the subordinate units of government. Local authorities are given plenty of opportunity to formulate and implement proposals, after approval, aimed at meeting local needs. Central government control of local governments in Britain is not for selfish reasons as in Nigeria and other third world countries.

### 2.8.2 The United States of America

The United States of America operates a federal system of government where we have three tiers of government federal, State and local governments). While the federal and State governments are creations of the federal constitution, local governments are created by State governments.

Local governments in America are governed by laws of the States and not those of the federal government and so there is no uniform pattern of

local government. Thus, the law and practice of local government vary from State to State. On the whole, there are three tiers of local government in many States, namely:

i) The counties which are mostly field agencies of state governments but with a high degree of freedom to initiate and implement some policies of theirs;

ii) Municipalities including cities, Boroughs, villages and Incorporated Towns, which are corporate bodies with their clear identity, Perpetual succession and a high degree of autonomy to manage their own affairs;

iii) Special (school) Districts which have their own identity too, perpetual succession and autonomy to carry out their duties. These are like government parastatals in Nigeria.

In the US, local governments are all democratic structures which the people look onto as “small but better than the big and distant governments” (Alderher, 1981:3). They are the only government that ever’ citizen has the opportunity to participate in actively (Ibid). Wherever is the population size and nomenclature of local government units in the US, they have the following features in common:

a) Elected governing body ma up of peoples representatives;

b) Elected or appointed/hired chief executives variously called Mayor (strong or weak), Chairman and Manager;

c) Employed career staff (local civil servants);

d) A high degree of autonomy to manage their affairs and resources within the limits State laws that create and assign responsibility to them;

e) The type of relationship between the local governments and State governments that of partnership and cooperation.

**State-Local Government Relationship:**

In the United States of America, there are three superficial control of local governments by State governments, namely, the legislative, administrative and. judicial forms of control. We call the forms of control superficial because they have very minimal effect on the operations of local governments. Let us see how they are:

**i) Legislative Control:**

This form of control is to ensure that no local government in each State operates beyond the powers and functions assigned to it by the State legislature.

This is called power of ultra vires. Any unit of local government that goes beyond its limit can be sanctioned by the State law-making body. This is a general rule that affects all units of local government in America.

**ii) Administrative Control:**

Administrative contacts between the State and local governments are mainly (not solely) through officials of appropriate State departments for purposes of advice, technical and financial assistance to local governments. For instance, officials of a State Department of Education render some technical assistance or advice to officials of School Districts. Similarly, the officials of state Department of Health can assist officials of Health Department in a local government.

State governments control of any local government activities is based on three reasons:

a) to ensure that grants given to local government units are prudently utilized;

b) to ensure that some federal and State government responsibilities delegate to local governments to perform on their behalf meet national standard. Examples are construction and maintenance of Airport, health and medical facilities and highways;

c) to make local governments a positive force contributing to the socio-economic and political development of the country as a whole (Blair, 1985:221-230).

**iii) Judicial Control:**

This is meant to prevent or minimize cases of misuse of power by local governments in the areas like:

- implementation or enforcement of bye-law that may interfere with the rights of individuals and other corporate bodies;
- over-spending of public funds, especially grants-in-aids by local government officials who would be surcharged when found guilty by the law courts;
- exceeding the powers and functions assigned local governments by State laws.

**Effect of State Government Control of Local Governments:**

In general, State-local relations in the US is designed to render technical, administrative and financial assistance to local governments rather than control for the sake of it. As observed by Wallace, S.C. “the extent of State dictation to local governments has been very slight, and State officials have applied such sanctions most reluctantly (Wallace, 1988:134). Another observer, Brooke Groves noted too that:

> Local officials are powerful and well-organized for administrative and political actions. Any State agency that thoughtlessly seeks to apply pressure may find its appropriation for enforcement purposes cancelled. The advancement of standards, education and techniques is being achieved more through voluntary associations of local officials and professionals than through central control of local officers (Graves, 1981:93).

It can be seen from the foregoing that the behaviour and activities of power-elites at State level do not in any way affect (negatively) the performance of local governments in America. Local governments have the autonomy to:

- prepare and implement their budget, without interference by the State government;
- employ, train, promote and discipline their staff;
- generate and manage their revenue;
- maintain and sustain their programmes and those of other levels of government as long as funds or grants are provided;

This level of local government autonomy is certainly a function of political culture and sophistication of the American people in general, and the power-elites in particular.

### 2.8.3 Local Governments in India

India is a federation built on three levels of government (federal, State and local) and it is a developing nation like Nigeria. India is the largest developing multi party democracy in the third world. As a federation, political power is decentralized from the federal government called Union Government to State governments by the Constitution. But local governments are creatures of State governments as in America.

India has tree levels of local government, namely, District/Municipal Council (Zila Parishad) as the highest tier, Sub-District (Pamchayat Samiti or Kshetria Samiti) as the second tier and Village Council (Pamchayat) as the third and lowest tier. Let us look at the structure and operation of these tiers of local government from the third tier up.

**a) The Pamchayat (Village Council):**

This is the basic lowest unit of local government in India. Each village could have a population of 2,000 people and above. Village Councils are

created mainly to involve people in governance right from the grassroots level.

The Councils are composed of elected representatives to participate in development planning. The Council also serve as electoral colleges for election of village representatives to the sub-district councils. In addition to the Village Councils, there is the committee of all adults in the village which meets twice or thrice a year to discuss and approve the Village Development Plan and budget as they affect agriculture and natural resources. That body of all village adults is called Gram Sabha (Mathur-93). This body is also consulted on progress of work by the Village Council over a period of four months. Other functions of the Village Council include collection of revenue, maintenance of census records, maintenance of minor facilities like feeder roads, deep wells and primary schools. The Council also settles minor disputes between individuals on cases like stealing, gambling and cattle trespass (Mathur 1983:65).

**b) Panchayati Samiti (The Sub-District Council):**

This comprises a block or group of villages. The Council is made up of Village Council representatives elected by the Village Council. The population of a Panchayati Samiti ranges from 6,000 to 3 miliion[75].

The main functions of this second tier of local government are:

i) execution of district Policies that is, policies made by the highest tier of local government,

ii) supervision of village activities;

iii) participation in development planning in the specific areas of agriculture, forestry cooperatives, small industries, education and primary health care

iv) implementation of projects in these areas (Ibid).

**c) District Council (Zila Parishad):**

This is the most viable of local government which works through the lower tiers (sub-district and village councils) for grassroots development. It also serves as the vehicle for State government presence in rural areas. The Council is composed of elected representatives of sub-district Councils. However, some of the district councilors, are directly elected by the people. The Council meets at least four times a year to:

i) formulate and approve policies affecting the activities of the local governments;

ii) receive and debate reports received from the sub-district councils in progress of work at that level;

iii) receive and discuss reports from heads of departments of the local government on progress of their activities and or programmes;

iv) decide on revenue allocation to the lower tier of local government. (Aiyar, 1995:260).

Functions of the local government at this level include:

i) provision and maintenance of roads, education and health facilities, agricultural extension service etc;

ii) supervision of functions of the lower tiers of local government;

iii) Collection of all land revenue;

iv) Coordination of planning from village level to the district level;

v) Community and rural development (Ibid).

**State-Local Governments Relations in India:**

Relationship between State and local governments in India is similar to what operates in the United States. State governments have powers to create, finance and assign duties or functions to the three levels of local government. Other contact between State and local governments in India are:

i) Modification and approval of development plans to avoid conflict with state/Plans;

ii) Modification and approval of bye-laws to avoid cases of ultra vires and violation of any person's rights.

iii) Issuance of directives and regulations standard of performance of some key functions that enhance socio-economic development of a State in particular and the country as a whole.

iv) Inspection of certain projects by officers of State ministries to ensure prudent spending of grants provided by the State government.

v) Supervision or tax laws made by district Councils to avoid arbitrariness and excesses that will make such taxes difficult for the masses to pay. Approval is also necessary to determine the sharing formula between the three tiers of local government.

vi) Approval of budgets of indebted Councils to ensure that adequate provisions are made to repay the debts.

vii) Establishment of qualifications and salaries of senior staff of local governments and review of disciplinary actions taken by local Councils again to prevent arbitrariness.

viii) Hearing of appeals against local governments by citizens in cases of trespass compulsory acquisition of individual persons' properties.

ix) Settlement of disputes between local government councils.

x) External auditing of local government accounts and financial records (Ibid).

**Effects of State-Local Government Relationship on Performance:**

It is interesting to note that all the administrative, legislative, financial and judicial control measures enumerated above do not negatively affect local government performance. Samuel Humes has observed that "if any thing, these measures assist to create a conducive environment for effective performance by local governments, making India the most successful country in community and rural development in the world" (Humes, 1984:428). Three factors are responsible for the success stories of local governments in India, namely:

i) the political culture of Indian citizens, who strongly believe in democratic governance from village to national levels;

ii) committed political leadership (the power-elite) who work very hard to mobilize every adult Indian to participate in self-help efforts or community development. The leaders are aware or conscious of India's level of poverty economically but rich in human resources.

iii) Dedicated followership (the citizens) who believe not only in their leaders but also in democracy as a way of life. India is the oldest, and most populous democracy in the third world.

### 2.8.4 Local Government in Tanzania

Tanzania is a unitary State with five layers of local administration below the central government. The country is a one-pa socialist State. The five layers of local administration (not local government in the real sense of the term), are the Regions, Districts, Divisions, Sub-division, and Villages. Each of these layers has party officials as members of the planning committee and supervisors of lower layer of local administration.

Let us see the structures and functions the different layers of local administration in the country.

a) <u>The Regions</u>

The Region is the immediate local administration below the central government. It has no legislative body. Officials of the region are central government field administrators and party officials charged with the following responsibilities:

- implementing central government policies, plans and budgets in the region;

- coordinating planning activities of Districts within the region to prevent any conflict with central government plans and budgets;

- supervise the activities of District Councils to enforce efficiency and prudence in the management of resources (Mawhood, 1971: 87- 90).

b) The District

The District has a policy making council, planning committee and departments. The council is composed of elected representatives from the electorate and party officials representing the local branch of the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU). The Planning Committee is composed of representatives of the District Council, the party (TANU) and the Region. The departments are composed of Regional officers as Heads of Departments and local officials employed by the District Council.

The main functions of the District as a layer of Local administration are:

- Planning of socio-economic activities;
- Preparation and implementation of annual budgets provide facilities for education, health care, water supply, agriculture and natural resources etc.
- Supervision of sub-divisional activities.

c) Divisions

A Division is below a District. It has the same structures and functions as District but subordinate to or under the supervision of a District Council. For instance, all divisional plans and budgets must be approved by the District Officers who are themselves representatives of the Region. Furthermore, Heads of Departments in a Division are either District Administrators or TANU officials representing the local branch of the party.

d) The Sub-Division

This is a field unit of a large division. It has no policy making or planning body. Its staff is staff of Divisional officer. They carry out policies and the approved plans of the Divisional Council. TANU (PARTY) officials participate actively in supervising the activities of the sub-divisional officers.

e) The Village

This is the lowest layer of local administration in Tanzania. It has a Council, Planning Committee and an adminitrative machinery. It is a body corporate but not autonomous. The composition of the Council and Planning Committee is similar to that of a District, that is, representatives of the people, the party and the central government.

**Central-Local Relationship**

Relationship between the/central and local governments in Tanzania is at three-level, namely:

- Central-local un/s of government,
- Party-local un)14 of government,
- Local-local u/its.

The unitary and one party nature of the country makes the web of relationship very complex and suffocating. Pa influence on central and local government decision making, planning and implementation processes is enormous, due perhaps to the ideology of the party (African Socialism) which believes in a high level of centralization of power. Some observers have noted that “in Tanzania, the party (TANU) is government and government is the party” (Shivji, 1983). Obviously, the relationship between the central and local administrative units (from Regions down to villages) is that of master-servant type. In planning and administration, the local units of administration must always do the bidding of the central government. This is demonstrated through the following ways:

a) Development Plans and Annual Budgets of all tiers of local administration must be approved by the central government, either directly or through its field administrators.

b) Bye-laws and Standing Orders of Districts, Divisions and Village Councils must be approved by the Minister of Regional Affairs.

c) Loans and contracts above certain amounts must be approved by the Minister.

d) Investment guidelines are issued by the Minister and must be complied with by local administration units.

e) Appointment and posting of Heads of Departments and Heads of Planning Committees of local units of government.

f) Strict compliance with the Financial Memoranda (for management of local finances issued by the central government.

g) Inspection of local projects by field officers of the central government (Mawhood, op. cit).

**Effects of the Controls on Performance of the Local Units of Administration**

The major effects of the control measures enumerated above include:

- stifling of local initiative and capacity to plan and implement projects,

- over-centralization of political and administrative powers leading to over-bureaucratization or red-tapism at the central government level. This in turn leads to frustration at local and grassroots level.
- Great conflict of interest between the central government officials (administrators) and members of local policy making councils, especially at District and Village levels.

From the foregoing, it is clear that devolution has never taken place in Tanzania. Deconcentration has been the practice even under (villagisation policy). Little wonder then that the policy never succeeded and so Tanzania is still grappling with the problems of political underdevelopment and economic poverty. Much of the problem is with the central government which has no political will to devolve power to the periphery and lack of political will to make local government work. This is a typical case of negative elitism that inhibits local government performance as we have in Nigeria.

In all the four countries we have surveyed (Britain, America, India and Tanzania) it is the power-elites that determine the workability or otherwise of local governments. In Britain, it is the power-elite in the Parliament and central government that y4ake it possible for local authorities to operate satisfactorily in terms of service, delivery and sustainability of

programmes. In the US and India, it is the governing-elites at State level that create the enabling environment for local government performance. In Tanzania, it is the power-elites at the central government and party levels that stifle local government capacity to perform.

The second determinant of local government performance in Britain, America and India is the political culture of the countries, they believe in democracy as a way of life. Tanzania is a one-party State which believes in over-centralization of power. Until recently that is since 1999, Nigeria had gone through military dictatorship which also believed in concentration of power at federal level. It was the Federal Military Government that had power to create local governments, to determine their structures, functions and powers and to work out the revenue sharing formula since 1976. It is the federal power-elites that usually set up committees to reform reorganize and restructure local governments in Nigeria. Thus, State and local elites only follow the footsteps of the federal elites to incapacitate local governments in the country.

So far (in this review of related literature) we are able to identify a common flaw that cuts across previous works on local governments and programme-sustainability. They (the previous works) were more concerned with the executive capacity of local governments and communities to sustain

programmes than with the relationship between local and higher levels of government. The previous works we have reviewed assume that as long as a local government has adequate skilled manpower, funds, materials and equipment, so long it will be able to carry out its functions successfully, including Programme-sustainability. We have seen from other works on State-local relations at executive capacity of local governments is a necessary condition that not sufficient to make local governments perform. A more important condition is adequate (not total) autonomy for local governments to make their policies, prepare and approve their budgets, generate and control their resources and to plan and execute their programmes. This is the gap we have attempted to fill.

We have seen (in our literature review) that the main difference between local governments in Nigeria and other countries like the United States of America, Great Britain and India is the level of autonomy they enjoy. While local governments in Nigeria are extensions of State governments, that is local administration, local governments in the US, Britain and India are real tiers of government in their own right. Whether under military rule or civilian administration, State and even the federal governments have held tight to local governments under the disguise of

supervisory functions. State governments in particular claim to/be performing their supervisory functions by:

i) approving local government budgets;

ii) fixing spending limits for top functionaries of local governments, beyond which they are penalized;

iii) holding the power to hire and firing local government senior staff on salary Grade Level 07 and above;

iv) inspecting local government books of account, minutes of meetings, documents relating to financial transactions and physical projects;

v) auditing the accounts,%' local governments annually through External auditors,

vi) making outrageous and sometimes fictitious deductions from Local Government Statutory Allocations.

These aspects of State,-local relations are more fundamental than local government capacity to perform their development functions.

## 2.9 Theoretical Framework

On the basis of the literature we have reviewed so far, the most appropriate theory to explain why local governments in the four States we

have selected for this work failed to sustain programmes is the Theory of Political Power Relations as enunciated by Max Weber, Laswell, Kaplan, Carl Frederick, Bertrand and Robert Dahi. According to Max Weber (1971) "power is the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of other persons". For him political power involves domination, that is, reciprocal relationship between rulers and the ruled in which the actual frequency of compliance is only one aspect of the fact that the power of government exists (Ibid). for Lasswell (1960:103).

> Power, that is, political power is a special case of the exercise of influence. It is the process of affecting the policies of others with the help of (actual or threatened) severe deprivations for non-conformity with the policies intended.

Carl Frederick sees power as the capacity of an individual or groups of individuals to modify the conduct of others in the manner which he desires (Frederick, 1963:201-202). This is in line with Betrand Russell's definition of power as "the production of intended results on other persons" (Russell, 1978:25). In the same vain, Robert DahI (1977:201) sees power as 'the product of human relationships, where a person has power over the

other person to the extent that he can compel the other person to do something that he would not otherwise do".

From all these views, it is clear that political power is the power exercised over men. Power is the ability to get things done, to make others do what we want even if they do not want to do it. Political power presupposes some interaction between parties in conflict. We can therefore postulate, as the Theory of Political Power Relationship, that:

> The extent to which a party in a conflict losses or succeeds in the fight depends upon the ability of the party to impose its wishes or demands on the other.

The main assumptions of this postulation are:

- that the stronger or winning party has a power base such as laws, the constitution, wealth, opportunities, vantage position etc. which can be used to reward or punish the other party,
- that the power base can be used freely without reference to another person or group of persons for approval.

This theory or postulation is relevant to our study when we look at the relationship between State and local governments in Nigeria. As we explained in the literature we reviewed, the Federal Military Government and later the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria have made

local governments the weaker partners to State governments politically, administratively and financially.

State governments have the power base such as Edicts, Decrees and the Constitution as well as vantage position to control local governments as earlier highlighted. Local governments in Nigeria take dictations from state governments on virtually every step and action they Luke, ranging from budget preparation to spending of public funds.

We are aware of the internal weaknesses of local governments in Nigeria, but a more serious problem is the relationship between them and state governments over the years (before, during and after colonial and military rule).

# CHAPTER THREE

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

## 3.1 Introduction

The type of methodology chosen by a researcher to carry out an investigation depends largely on the topic, the research problem, geographical coverage and population size. For the purpose of this work, we have chosen the survey research method to investigate the failure of local governments to sustain development projects in general and UNICEF-assisted projects in particular. Survey research is a systematic way of collecting data through interviews and questionnaire techniques from a sample or a total population, depending upon the size and composition of a population.

We chose the survey research method for this work due to the following reasons:

- The heterogeneous and large size of some components of the population, that is, State government officials in four States, local government staff in eight LGAs and Community Residents in sixteen (16) communities.

- The types of data needed to answer our research question, that is, opinions of respondents, figures (quantitative data) and assessments.

In spite of the relevance of survey research to our work, we are mindful of its inherent limitations or problems such as:

- Biases in its instrument construction
- Biases in interviewer/respondent interaction
- Suitability of sampling technique
- Method of data collection to ensure reliability and validity.

These problems can negatively affect the reliability of data collected and conclusions arrived at in the end. To minimize or eliminate these limitations, we took the following measures (as described below):

- Careful construction and pre-testing of research instruments (questionnaires and interview schedule).
- Recruitment and intensive training of Research Assistants.
- Adoption of sampling procedure to ensure representativeness of population
- Close supervision of research assistants during data collection in the field.

## 3.2 Construction of the Survey Instrument

According to Cohen (1973:42) the most obvious difficulty in constructing any research instrument, revolves around linguistic problems and the construction of questions that will actually reach the manifestation of a given concept". One has to worry, not only with how well the questions are asked but also how they assist in measuring the variables and how respondents (who do not understand the language used in asking the questions) will answer the questions. In our own case, we prepared our questionnaire and interview schedules in English Language but translated some questions into Hausa Language for our illiterate respondents in all the sixteen communities located in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States. It is important to note that even though the respondents have different languages, Hausa Language is a lingua franca (common or general language spoken and understood) in the four States in general and in the communities in particular.

The translation of the questions (not all) into Hausa by Research Assistants for the understanding of illiterate and semi-illiterate respondents was done during field work directly from the instruments which are in

English Language. But the questionnaires and interview schedule for State and local government officials were in English Language; even though they too can speak and understand Hausa Language.

### 3.3 Recruitment and Training of Research Assistants

To eliminate or minimize the interviewer/respondents biases mentioned above, we recruited our research assistants from the Community Development Department of each of the eight (8) local governments visited. The other reasons for this are:

- Understanding of Hausa Language by both the research assistants and respondents, thereby making communication very easy.
- Familiarity of the Research Assistants with the terrain, the people, their problems and projects provided by the UNICEF. The Research Assistants are the Community Development Officers in the various local governments.
- Participation of the research assistants in executing the UNICEF-assisted projects in the pilot-project communities between 1991 and 1995.

The advantages of recruiting these officers as our research assistants etc.

- elimination of suspicions by respondents, who freely responded to questions put to them by officers they are already familiar with
- very little time wasted in collecting data from the communities.
- Commitment of the research assistants to the research field work, due to their interest in the result of research in terms of findings and recommendations.

Two Research Assistants were recruited by this writer from each of the eight (8) local governments visited for study, making sixteen (16) of them altogether. The two R.As visited the two communities together, that is moving together as a group from one community to another.

The 16 Research Assistants were invited to Zaria (Department of Local Government Studies, Ahmadu Bello University) for one week training including pretesting of research Instruments. The training involves:

- Briefing on the topic of research, statement of problem, objectives, scope and methodology.
- Detailed discussion of sampling techniques, sample size and populations.
- Interview techniques and code of conduct for interviewers.
- Types of secondary data needed, how to collect them and their sources.

- Role play to test their comprehensive of training material.
- Pre-test of the Research instruments in Bizara (a community along Zaria, Jos Road) three kilometer from Zaria.

### 3.4 Sampling Procedure

No concept is as fundamental to the conduct of survey research as sampling. Sampling is the taking of any portion of a population in such a way that the portion taken is representative of the entire population and on the basis of representativeness of the population by the sampling generalization can be made about the population. Results of data from sample make it possible the drawing of inferences about the population.

For the purpose of this study, we adopted different sampling techniques to select our respondents from:

- The relevant State government ministries and organizations concerned with local government matters or affairs of Adamawe, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger State.
- The relevant State government ministries and organizations concerned with local government matters or affairs in Adamwa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger State.

- The eight focus local governments responsible for the sustainability of the UNICEF-assisted projects between January 1996 and December 2004.
- The sixteen (16) pilot project communities in the 8 LGs of the states.

To sample our respondents from the State ministries, local government and communities, we adopted the following procedures.

**1) Definition of the Population**

What we did here was to identify the characteristics of the populations where we sampled from. The characteristics of the various populations are:

For State officials we sampled from those

- who have something to do with local governments in each State such as Commissioners, Permanent Secretaries, Inspectors, Auditors, Directors, Planning Officers and Administrative Officers.

For local government officials we sampled from those:

- who participate actively in policy making such as Chairman, Councillors, Secretaries and heads of Departments
- who took part or were expected to participate in activities relating to project sustainability in communities.

At community level our population was composed of:

- household heads (male and female)
- leaders of community-based associations as Chairmen, Secretaries, Treasurers, Public Relations officers
- leaders of women groups in the communities such as Chairpersons, Secretaries, Treasurers and Public Relations Officers.

**2) Obtaining the list of units of the population**

We relied on various sources to obtain the lists of the populations enumerated above.

The list of State government officials and senior civil servants was obtained from the relevant organizations, that is, Ministry for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs. The list of local government officials and career staff was obtained from the Office of Director, Personnel Management (DPM). The list of population of community respondents was obtained from the zonal offices of the UNICEF in Bauchi and Kaduna.

**3) Determining the sampling Method**

Sever methods have been devised for selecting respondents that will be representative of a total population. These methods include random,

stratified, systematic, purposive and cluster. Any method or combination of methods adopted is informed by the size and composition of a population.

For this study we sampled and took our respondents from communities, local government organs and State ministries and extra-ministerial departments. In all our selections of respondents, we were guided by their knowledge of issues being investigated, their involvement in UNICEF-assisted projects their participation in local government activities including project sustainability and the effects of local government activities on their life. In this regard, we adopted different sampling methods to select our respondents.

At community level, we did not take the entire population as our universe for the sampling of our respondents. Instead, we concentrated on households, associations and groups whose lists we obtained from the zonal offices of the UNICEF in Bauchi and Kaduna. The households, associations and groups represent the entire community and they meet our criteria for selecting respondents, which are:

- knowledge of issues being investigated
- participation in self-help efforts and implementation/sustainability of UNICEF-assisted projects

- effects of the UNICEF assisted projects on their social and economic life.

From the list of the households, associations and groups available to us, community by community, it is the household only that we used stratified sampling method to select our respondents from. The associations and groups are too small in number to select from. Therefore, we took all of them as samples from each community as shown under sample size below.

At State and local government levels, our selection of respondents was also guided by the following criteria:

- Knowledge of the issues being investigated
- Involvement in the implementation and sustainability of UNICEF-assisted projects.
- Involvement in local government policy making, planning, budgeting, resource management and project implementation! sustainability.

It was for these criteria that we focused our attention on the relevant political office holders and career civil servants to select our respondents. We used stratified sampling method to select our respondents.

### 3.5 Sample Size

Having determined the sampling procedure as we did above, the next thing was to decide the sample size. The sample size of the entire respondents was influenced by the size of each sub-population at community, LGA and State levels.

Table 3.1: Population and Sample Size of Households Community by Community

| States | LGA | Communities | Population of Households | Number Selected |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adamawa | 1. Gombe | a. Dzangola | 513 | 25 |
| | 2. Mayo Belowa | b. Ga'anda | 495 | 25 |
| | | c. Mayo Farrang | 534 | 16 |
| | | d. Sindigawo | 311 | 15 |
| Bauchi | 1. Darazo | a. Lanzai | 309 | 15 |
| | | b. Yautare | 415 | 21 |
| | 2. Katagum | a. Chinade | 681 | 35 |
| | | b. Madara | 616 | 30 |
| Kaduna | 1. Birnin Gwari | a. Randagi | 319 | 19 |
| | | b. Tabani | 406 | 20 |
| | 2. Ikara | a. Old Town | 590 | 30 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | b. Ungwa Doya | 315 | 16 |
| Niger | 1. Agaie | a. Eyye<br>b. Shaba Woshi | 443<br>438 | 22<br>22 |
| | 2. Karaga | a. Pandogari<br>b. Tegina | 696<br>710 | 35<br>35 |
| | | **TOTAL** | **7,864** | **385** |

Source: UNICEF Zonal Office in Bauchi and Kaduna, April, 2006.

The heads of the selected households were the respondents given the questionnaires to and interviewed by our research assistants. During the field work a few women whose husbands were not available seR'ed as respondents.

### 3.5.2 Sample Size of Local Government Respondents

Guided by the criteria for selecting respondents described earlier, we selected our local government respondents on the basis of knowledge of issues being studied; participation in sustaining the UNICEF-assisted projects, involvement in policy-making, planning, budgeting, project execution and resource management. The local government political office

holders and career officers who met these criteria were/are the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Elected Councillors, Supervisory Councillors, Secretary to the Local Government, professional Heads of Departments and professionals directly concerned with project implementation and sustainability.

Table 3.3 below shows the sample size of these officials we selected from each of the eight (8) local governments.

Table 3.3 Sample size of local government respondents

| S/N | A<br>Officials | B<br>Population | C<br>Number Selected |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chairmen | 8 | 3 |
| 2. | Vice-Chairmen | 8 | 3 |
| 3. | Elected Councillors | 40 | 15 |
| 4. | Supervisory Councilors | 16 | 6 |
| 5. | Heads of Departments | 24 | 8 |
| 6. | Professional | 48 | 15 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | Extension Workers | 64 | 15 |
| | TOTAL | 198 | 65 |

Source: Secretaries of the eight focused local governments in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States (April, 2006).

Out of 400 officials from the eight (8) local governments, we sampled 198 as shown in table 3.3 above.

### 3.5.3 Sample Size of State Government Respondents

Relevant ministries and extra-ministerial departments from which we sampled our respondents are the office of the Governor, Office of the Secretary to the State Government, Ministry for Local Government, Local Government Service Commission and Office of the Auditor-General (Local Government). The political officer holders and career officers handling local government matters in one way or the other are the Commissioners, Special Adviser on Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Permanent Secretaries, Directors and senior Career Officers (on grade level 08 and above). Table 3.4 below shows the sample size of these officials from the four states visited, namely: Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger. Table 3.4 shows the sample size for one State multiplied by four (4).

Table 3.4 Sample size of State respondents

| **A**<br>**Organization** | **B**<br>**Officials** | **C**<br>**Population** | **D**<br>**Sample** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Governor's Offices | Special Adviser | 4 | 1 |
| | Permanent Secretary | 4 | 1 |
| 2. Ministry for Local Govt. | Commissioner | 4 | 1 |
| | Permanent Secretary | 4 | 1 |
| | Directors | 8 | 2 |
| | Senior Civil Servant | 16 | 4 |
| 3. Local Govt. Service Comm. | Chairman | 4 | 1 |
| | Members | 8 | 2 |
| | Secretary | 4 | 1 |
| | Directors | 8 | 2 |
| | Senior Admin. Officer | 12 | 3 |
| 4. Officials of the Auditor-General for Local Government | Auditor-General | 4 | 1 |
| | Directors | 8 | 2 |
| | External Auditor | 12 | 3 |
| TOTAL | | 100 | 25 |

Source: Secretariats of the four (organizations in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna

and Niger States.

**Table 3.5 Summary of Respondents**

| Categories | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Community Respondents | 385 | |
| 2. Local Govt. Officials | 65 | |
| 3. State Govt. Officials | 25 | |
| 4. UNICEF Officials | 6 | |
| **TOTAL** | **481** | |

## 3.5 Pre-Test of Research Instruments

We stated earlier that our Research Assistants were invited to Zaria for one week training. Part of the training was the pre-test of the instruments. The objectives of the pre-test were:

a) To see if the sampling method we adopted was workable,

b) To know if our questions in the research instruments were answerable, that is sensible and understandable to respondents at community, local government State public service levels.

c) To know if respondents were going to hesitate or refuse to answer questions sincerely.

d) To rehearse the fieldwork in order to identify likely problems during the actual exercise.

The pre-test was done in Bizara community near Zaria City, Zaria Local Government and the Kaduna State Local Government Service Commission.

This took place simultaneously for three days. The Research Assistants were split into three groups, for each group to visit the three places of fieldwork, i.e. Bizara community, Zaria Local Government Secretariat and the Local Government Service Commission.

The pre-test yielded the following results:

a) Discovery that councilors were very difficult to meet in the Local Government Secretariat if there was no council meeting. This discovery prepared us for the real fieldwork in the focus local governments in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger State.

b) Discovery that some questions were not very clear to the respondents at community level and so could not be answered sensibly. Such questions were reframed for easy understanding.

c) Hesitation of local government career staff to receive and attend to the research instruments, especially questionnaires without a letter from the Ministry for Local Government, Kaduna, authorizing

them (the local government career officers) to receive and treat the questionnaires. It was the intervention of the Director of Personnel management (my degree student in the Department of Local Government Studies, A.B.U. Kongo Campus, Zaria) that saved the situation. Again, this experience made us to obtain the necessary letter of authorization/introduction from the State Ministry for Local Government before visiting the eight (8) focus local governments for the real fieldwork.

d) Refusal of some state public officers to answer some questions in the questionnaire due to what they called "the sensitive questions" such questions were later reframed before we went out for the real fieldwork.

### 3.7 Data Collection (The Fieldwork)

Actual fieldwork began simultaneously in the four States on 5th April, 2006 and lasted till 10th May, 2006. In all, twenty four (24) research assistants were engaged, that is six per state. The six assistants were grouped into three. One group of two assistants worked at State level, the second group in the two local governments, while the third group carried out the exercise in the four communities. The first and second groups were armed

with a letter of authorization/introduction obtained from the State Ministry for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs.

The first port of call by the first group was the Ministry for Local Government to administer the questionnaire. This was followed by focus group discussion and interview with the Commissioner, Permanent Secretary and Directors. These officials assembled in the Commissioner's office for the focus group discussion after attending to their questionnaires individually in their offices. The other respondents (career staff) of the ministry attended to the research assistants in their offices individually. The Research Assistants moved from the Ministry to the Local Government Service Commission, the Governor's Office and Office of Auditor-General (Local Government) for the same exercise.

In Adamawa State, the exercise was smooth except the delay in filling the questionnaires by some Directors in the Ministry for Local Government and the Local Government Service Commission. In Bauchi State, Research Assistants were not attended to by the Commissioner, the Permanent Secretary and the Chairman of the Local Government Service Commission for two weeks due to what they called "more pressing matters". In Kaduna State, the exercise went on smoothly except the outright refusal of some senior administrative officers in the Local Government Service Commission

to fill their questionnaires. In Niger State, our assistants did not face any problem in carrying out their assignments at the civil service level.

The fieldwork at local government level began after that of the State civil service, but not at the same time in all the four States. The exercise began with administering of questionnaires to Chairmen, followed by Vice-Chairmen, Secretaries, Councillors and career officers in that order of political positions. This was followed by group discussions with the political office holders in the Council Chambers.

Interviews with some senior career officers on technical and administrative issues were held in their respective offices.

Fieldwork at this (local government) level met some hitches here and there, but later overcome by our assistants. For instance, there was a two-week delay in attending to questionnaires by Chairmen and Councillors in Adamawa and Bauchi States due to their journeys to the State capital (Yola and Bauchi towns) either for meetings with their Governors or for workshops. To overcome this problem, our assistants had to visit the respondents either in the State capitals at the venues of the meetings or in their hotel rooms. In Kaduna and Niger States, the problem faced by the assistants was the tactical way of refusing to answer some questions mainly by career officers in the local government due to what they called “sensitive

nature of the question". Example of such questions related to corruption in local governments. You are either told that the issue has been blown out of proportion or that corruption is higher at higher levels of government. To overcome this problem of avoiding "sensitive" questions by respondents, our assistants reframed the question to talk about mismanagement of resources.

Data collection at community level started with a courtesy call on the Village Head to intimate him with the objectives, duration and methods of the fieldwork. The Village Head was earlier informed of the visit by a Community Development Extension Worker in charge of the District.

The next step was the invitation of community members, particularly leaders of households, associations and professional groups. Children, youths and women were also around. The fieldwork proper began with the introduction of self by the research assistants, introduction of the objectives, duration and method of the fieldwork. This was followed by questions and answers session about the community in terms of social and economic problems, facilities, providers of the facilities and their sustainability. Thereafter, focus group discussions were held with associations, professional and women groups and village level workers resident in the community. Other activities engaged in by the research assistants were household to interview. These were also done to leaders of groups and

associations. The exercise ended with transect walk across the village by the assistants in company of some youths to observe and inquire about facilities in the village.

In carrying out the community fieldwork, the following problems were faced and solved:

- long time taken in explaining some questions to respondents for clear understanding;
- absence of some household heads from home, requiring several visits before meeting them;
- refusal of some house wives to answer questions in place of their husbands, when the latter were away from home; also requiring repeated visits.

The intensity of these problems varied from community to community. They did not affect the quantity and quality of data collected.

At the end of the day, the research assistants received a high level of cooperation from the communities, local governments and State organizations visited. This was because majority of respondents knew the value of the study — assisting to identify and to find solutions to the problems of project sustainability of local governments in Nigeria in general and in the four States in particular.

### 3.8 Secondary Data

This study is mainly a post-mortem examination of UNICEF activities and sustainability of those activities by local governments. Some vital information (numerical data) are available in existing records at State and local government levels. Therefore, we obtained such data from records in the local and State government records. Even at community level we also got some data form records kept in schools, health centers and by some community-based associations. Data on UNICEF activities and their costs between 1991 and 1995 were obtained from records in the Zonal Offices of the Agency in Bauchi and Kaduna. Table 3.5 below shows the sources and types of secondary data obtained for this study.

Table 3.5. Sources and types of secondary data

| Organizations and Places | Sources of Data (Records) | Types of data obtained |
|---|---|---|
| 1. The UNICEF Zonal Offices (Bauchi and Kaduna) | Files, reports and published works | Plans, activities, costs, results. |
| 2. State | Files, report and | Plans, activities, cost, |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Government Organizations | government publications | results. |
| 3. Local Governments | Files, reports, Accounts, and Budgets | Decisions, activities and output. |
| 4. Communities | Minute books, school record, health records | Decisions, activities, pupil enrolment, patients, workforce, facilities. |

Source: Fieldwork (April, 2006).

The secondary data helped to complement primary data in explaining relationships between variables and in understanding situations as they were.

### 3.9 Methods of Data Presentation and Analysis

This work is essentially a descriptive study of past events and their consequences at community level. We therefore present our data in tables followed by detailed explanation (description) of relationship between variables as presented.

Our questionnaires and interview schedules contain open and close ended questions. Responses to close ended questions were given numerical values to make categorization, tabulation and analysis easy. The open ended

responses were also grouped into categories and value given to each category.

Simple descriptive statistics such as average and percentages were employed to analyze numerical data, while qualitative information were analyzed in prose.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE SELECTED LOCAL OVERNMENT AREAS AND PILOT-PROJECT COMMUNITIES BEFORE UNICEFINTERVENTION BETWEEN 1991 AND 1995

## 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, attempt is made to show the socio-economic conditions of the local government areas and pilot-project communities (selected for this study) before the UNICEF intervened in 1991-1995. In specific terms, what we present here are the number, types and functionality of amenities and infrastructural facilities provided by the three tiers of government in the local government areas and communities before January 1991.

From the data available to us, as presented in this chapter, it is quite clear that infrastructural facilities provided by the federal, State and local governments in the local government area headquarters were fairly well maintained by the local governments; while the few ones provided in rural villages were left for them to maintain. It is also clear from our investigation that the rural communities rose to the challenge through self-help efforts, not

only to maintain the facilities provided by ‘outsiders’ but also to provide more for themselves.

Table 4.1 Below presents the eight local government areas and sixteen communities selected for this study.

| State | LGAsa | Projected Population as at December 2004 | Communities | Projected Population as at December 2004 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Adamawa | 1. Gombi<br>2. Mayo | 118,650<br>136,930 | 1. Dzangola<br>2. Ga’anda<br>3. Mayo Farrange<br>4. Sindigawo | 11,530<br>8,310<br>6,580<br>5,110 |
| 2) Bauchi | 3. Darazo<br>4. Katagun | 268,510<br>283,680 | 5. Lanzai<br>6. Yautare<br>7. Chinade<br>8. Madara | 7,010<br>9,850 |
| 3) Kaduna | 5. Birnin Gwari | 175,880 | 9. Randagi<br>10. Tabani<br>11. Unguwa Doya<br>12. Ikara Town | 4,140<br>4,550<br>6,750<br>18,590 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4) Niger | 7. Agaie<br>8. Kagara | 126,570<br>105,890 | 13. Shaba<br>Woshi<br>14. Eye<br>15. Pandogari<br>16. Tegina | 5,670<br>4,380<br>13,540<br>15,750 |

Source: UNICEF Field Officers in Bauchi and Kaduna (April, 2006).

The eight local government areas are called focal local government areas and the sixteen communities are called the "Pilot-Project Communities" by the UNICEF for the purpose of its programmes. We also would like to adopt the nomenclature for the purpose of this study.

Information available to us from secondary sources for this study shows that there was a higher concentration of infrastructural facilities in local government headquarters than in rural areas. Table 4.2 below shows the types and conditions of the facilities before the UNICEF invention. However, the table does not show the spread of the facilities among the rural communities that make up each local government area. From existing records in the local government secretariats we saw that between 70% of the facilities were located in the local government area headquarters. We saw the Trunks 'A' and 'B' roads, pipe-borne water, functional boreholes, well staffed primary and post-primary schools all concentrated in the local

government headquarters. These facilities were in fairly good conditions in terms of structure, functionality and maintenance. But in rural areas, we saw un-kept facilities like open wells, earth dams, ill-equipped dispensaries, unmaintained feeder roads, dilapidated primary schools and open air markets. These are over-stretched and unkempt. The few ones that were poorly maintained were done through self-help efforts of the communities. As shown in table 4.2, we classified the urban and rural facilities into “good”, “fair” and “poor”, having observed them directly and through discussions with our respondents, especially extension workers who knew much about the conditions of the facilities in rural areas. Those classified as “good” are those that were still very functional and needed no repairs at all. Those considered as “fair” are those that were functional but needed some repairs. Those classified as “poor” were those that needed major repairs or total replacement. Majority of the facilities in poor condition were expected to be maintained by local governments. Examples are markets and motor parks which we saw abandoned or neglected for more than five or seven years. The poor condition of the facilities had far reaching effects on the social and economic life of the people. For instance, the damaged roads prevented easy movement of goods, especially farm produce to urban markets for sale. It also limited the capacity of the villagers to transport sick

people to health institutions in the local government area's headquarters or big towns for treatment. This led to higher rate of maternal and child mortality in rural areas than cities. Other negative effects of the poor facilities in the villages include rural-urban drift by young and able- bodied men and ladies, refusal of Teachers and local government extension workers to stay in rural areas general backwardness of rural people due to limited exposure to the outside world.

The failure of local governments and even the State governments to extend socio-economic facilities to rural areas is a function of elitism inherited from the colonial administrators. Business men, politicians, civil servants and their friends live in towns and cities where socio-economic facilities and amenities are available for their comfort and progress of their enterprises. Thus, agitation for creation of more States and local government areas by the elites has always been for extension of modern facilities and control of public resources by them rather than for bringing government closer to the people as we are always made to believe. Near total neglect of rural areas by the three tiers of government in Nigeria has drawn the attention of International Donor Agencies like the UNICEF, UNDP, UNESCO AND WHO just to mention a few.

Table 4.2 Types and conditions of socio-economic facilities in the eight local government areas before January 1991

| STATE/ LGA | TYPES AND CONDITIONS OF FACILITIES AS AT SEPTEMBER, 1997 | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Adamawa | Gombi | FG(G) LG(F) | SG(F) LG(P) | LG(F) CM(F) | CM(F) | LG(G) CM(F) | SG(P) CM(P) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(P) | LG(F) CM(P) | LG(P) |
| | Mayo Belwa | FG(G) BG(F) | LG(F) CM(P) | LG(F) CM(P) | LG(P) CM(F) | SG(F) LG(F) | LG(F) CM(P) | LG(F) CM(F) | CM(P) | LG(F) CM(P) | LG(P) |
| Bauchi | Darazo Katagun | FG(G) SG(F) | SG(F) LG(F) | LG(P) CM(P) | LG(F) CM(F) | SG(P) LG(F) | LG(P) CM(F) | LG(P) CM(*G) | LG(P) CM(G) | CM(G) CM(P) | |
| Kaduna | B/Gwari | FG(G) SG(F) | SG(G) LG(G) | LG(F) CM(F) | SG(F) LG(F) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(F) CM(G) | LG(F) | LG(F) |
| | Ikara | SG(G) LG(F) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(G) CM(P) | LG(G) CM(P) | SG(F) LG(F) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(F) CM(G) | LG(F) | LG(F) |
| Niger | Agaie | FG(G) | SG(G) | LG(F) | SG(F) | SG(G) | LG(F) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(F) | LG(F) | LG(F) |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | SG(F) | LG(F) | CM(F) | LG(F) | LG(F) | CM(F) | | CM(F) | | |
| | Kagara | FG(G) BG(F) | SG(F) LG(P) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(G) CM(F) | LG(G) CM(F) | SG(P) CM(P) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(F) CM(F) | LG(F) CM(P) | LG(P) |

Source: UNICEF Field Offices in Bauchi & Kaduna States (April, 2006).

**KEY:**

i) 1 —10 are the facilities provided by the Federal Government (FG), State Government (SG), Local Government (LG), Communities (CM).

ii) The facilities are:

1) Roads e.g. Trunk 'A' & 'B' and feeder roads
2) Pipe-borne water from water works and boreholes
3) Wells dog by local government and communities
4) Health institutions like General Hospitals, Health Centres and Dispensaries
5) Earth Dams and Irrigation Schemes
6) Sanitary facilities like latrines, incinerator and refuse collection centers
7) Television and Viewing Centres

8) Community/Town Halls

9) Primary Schools

10) Post-primary Schools

11) Adult Education Centres

12) Women Development Centes

13) Other facilities like markets, motor parks, abattoirs etc.

iii) G = Good condition, F = Fair condition, P = Poor condition.

Our grading of the facilities is based on our direct observation in the local government area headquarters and discussion with local government extension workers who knew the conditions of the facilities in rural areas (April, 2005).

Table 4.2 is a summary of facilities provided in the eight local government areas by the three tiers of government and communities. We are interested in their conditions and not in their number. We could see from the table that majority of them were either fair or good. These are facilities provided in the local government area headquarters while those in the remote villages were in poor condition. The other important facilities we found in the local government area headquarters were electricity, telecommunication, post offices and banks. In large towns like Azare, headquarters of katagun Local Government Area of Bauchi State and Kagara

in Niger State, we saw digitalized telephone facility, general hospitals and shopping complexes.

The picture is quite different in the sixteen rural communities we studied. They were picked to serve as pilot project areas by the UNICEF because of their socio-economic of inter-related social services like education, health, sanitation, water supply, .agriculture and community development which determine the standard of living of the people. We tried to assess the general level of these sectors in each of the sixteen communities in particular and in the local government areas in general. We looked at education facilities such as classrooms in primary schools and non-formal education centers and how the facilities are utilized and maintained. We tried to determine the extent to which illiteracy and people's attitude to western education are responsible for the prevailing poverty and social backwardness.

In the same vein, we inquired into the general status of health of the people in terms of availability or otherwise of basic health services and how this relates to rural poverty and stagnation. We looked at the relationship between food production and health status of children and women in the communities. The presence or absence of food in the right quantity and quality has direct bearing on the condition of health, wealth and generation

prosperity and or poverty of the rural communities. Directly related to the health of the people is the availability and quality of water and sanitary facilities in the rural areas. We inquired into how and where water is fetched for domestic use and the types of water borne diseases prevalent in the villages.

Community development was another important area we looked into for its role in programme implementation and sustainability. As discussed later in this study, we noted that before any group of people can be organized for social action, they must have a virile spirit of community-consciousness and a strong feeling that they lack certain amenities which they must strive together to have. We saw how community development created the opportunities of force for social organizations and leaders to emerge from among the people themselves.

In the eight local governments visited, we inquired into how community- based Associations were involved in identification of community needs, in planning, in implementing programmes and in sustaining projects. We saw the reasons why communities were either marginally involved or not involved at all in the first two activities and so felt reluctant to participate in maintaining projects, not to talk of taking them over.

## 4.2 Economic Profile of the Selected Communities

The sixteen communities studied are inhabited by people classified into very poor, poor and fairly rich. Our classification is not based on per capita income usually used by economists. Rather, we used indicators which the people themselves are familiar with and used during household interview, key informant interview and focus group discussions. This is because poverty and wealth are relative terms. Poor people in one society may be considered rich in another. It also depends on the kind of society and variables it uses to categorize certain individuals therein as poor or rich. For the purpose of this study, very poor people are those who do not own houses in the rural areas even though they are more than forty years of age and married with children, have no sufficient food to feed themselves and their families, have few clothes which are of poor quality, have no livestock from which they can derive income, always willing to sell their labour for subsistence, always indebted to others for more than six months. They command very little or no respect in the community.

A poor person, according to the people of the sixteen communities, is he who owns a mud and thatched house, has a wife and children, cannot send any of his children to school but engages them in economic activities

on the farm and in the market, has very poor quality clothes to wear and feeds himself and his family on monotonous diet (starchy food always), has malnourished children, cannot afford hospital bills for himself and family and so relies more on herbalists and patent medicine sellers in the village. But he is always willing to participate physically in community efforts either to implement or maintain structures, (Community interview, May — June, 2006)

According to our investigation between May and June 2006, a fairly rich person in the communities is seen as one who has enough food to feed himself and family, he is the center of attraction and admiration in the village. Many people including his relations live in his house, begging for favour. He wields a lot of influence in the village because of his material possessions. Using these three categories of economic status we asked our respondents referred to here as key informants to group their various communities into percentages of total population that are considered very poor, poor and fairly rich. The result is as shown in table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 Economic status of communities surveyed

| STATES | LGA | COMMUNITIES | ECONOMIC STATUS |
|---|---|---|---|

| | | | Very Poor | Poor | Fairly poor | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adamawa | Gombi | 1. Dzangola | 10% | 78% | 12% | 100 |
| | | 2. Ga'anda | 25% | 60% | 15% | 100 |
| | Mayo Beiwa | 1. Mayo Farrang | 40 | 50 | 16 | 100 |
| | | 2. Bindigawo | 35 | 55 | 10 | 100 |
| Bauchi | 1. Darazo | a. Lanzai | 25 | 65 | 10 | 100 |
| | | b. Yautare | 30 | 65 | 10 | 100 |
| | 2. Katagum | a. Chinade | 15 | 70 | 10 | 100 |
| | | b. Madara | 20 | 70 | 10 | 100 |
| Kaduna | 1. Birnin Gwari | a. Randagi | 35 | 60 | 5 | 100 |
| | | b. Tabani | 30 | 65 | 5 | 100 |
| | 2. Ikara | a. Old Town | 15 | 45 | 40 | 100 |
| | | b. Ungwa Doya | 20 | 60 | 20 | 100 |
| Niger | 1. Agaie | a. Eyye | 30 | 60 | 10 | 100 |
| | | b. Shaba Woshi | 25 | 65 | 10 | 100 |
| | 2. Karaga | a. Pandogari | 30 | 50 | 20 | 100 |
| | | b. Tegina | 25 | 50 | 25 | 100 |

Source: Field Survey, (May — June, 2006).

Through key informants, household and checklist of issues, a number of factors were identified as being responsible for the large percentage of poor people in the communities old age, sickness, lack of skills, ignorance

and the drift bodied men to towns in search of collar jobs. Almost in every community surveyed, people classified as very poor or poorest of the poor were over 55 years old, physically weak and in very poor health. They were also illiterate, without any modern skills to engage in useful economic ventures such as trading and farming.

Ignorance and over contentment also play very important role in their overall economic performance. Most of these people are rooted to the soil where they are born and bred with little or no contact with other people outside their homes. They looked highly contented with their low status. The focus group discussion we held in majority of the communities gave this result. In 13 of the 16 communities, those classified as very poor did no think they had any energy again to work hard for better life. They said they played their part at younger age but now come to the end of their active life.

Other factors responsible for the high rate of poverty in the communities include lack of water (rain) for farming, infertility of soil, lack of fertilizers and credit facilities (loans) for farming. These factors were conspicuously mentioned in Mayo Farrang in Mayo Beiwa Local Government Area of Adamawa State, Lanzai and Yautare in Darazo Local Government Area, Chinade and Madra in Katagun Local Government Area

of Bauchi State and Randagi in Birnin Gwari Local Government Area of Kaduna State.

The low percentage of people considered to be fairly rich or comfortable in the sixteen communities were a few farmers who had ox-plough and could hire tractors for farming. They also had money to hire labour for weeding and harvesting. These few farmers grow crops like maize, guinea corn, sorghum, millet, beans, groundnut, vegetable and sweet potato just to mention a few.

Others considered as comfortable in the communities were traders, livestock (cattle, sheep and goat) rearers. The 'rich' farmers have access to important agricultural inputs, like fertilizers and loans through friends and relations living in towns and were close to State and local government officials (Key Informant Interviews, April 2006).

We discovered from this study that poverty played a very significant role in limiting the capacity of people in the communities to participate fully in project maintenance. The will and desire to participate were in them but the means to back it up were lacking. The efforts of the State and local governments to alleviate the situation over the years yielded very little fruits. Such efforts include construction of earth dams to provide water for irrigation; and provision of storage facilities. These efforts could reach the

rich farmers only either through their friends and relations or their membership of political parties in power at State and local government levels. In Gombi, Darazo, Katagum, Agaie and Kagara Local Government Areas, the communities surveyed alleged that it was only party Card-Carriers that had access to fertilizers, insecticides and tractors for hiring, (Social Survey, May 2006). This made the rich farmers in the communities richer, while the poor got poorer. The implication of poverty and pockets of "wealth" in the communities on programme-sustainability is that it is only the few "rich" members of the community that can effectively participate in decision making, planning and project implementation. This few economic elites of the villages and access to community-based associations, village committees and local government officials to influence decisions sometimes in their favour, thereby sidelining the vast majority of people. Examples of this scenario are in Sindigawo in Mayo Belwa Local Government Area of Adamawa State, Tabani in Birnin Gwari Local Government Area of Kaduna State and Tegina in Kagara Local Government Area of Niger State where UNICEF-assisted boreholes are sunk near the residences of village communities on farmers, rich traders and Presidents of Village Committees on Primary Health Care. These elites have easier access to safe water for domestic use than other members of their communities. The

point being made here is that the economic status of people in the communities has direct effects (negative and positive) on project sustainability. The poor may be willing to participate, but may not be given the opportunity by the rich in collaboration with union leaders and government officials.

### 4.3 Basic Education in the Communities

Education is closely associated with acquisition of skills and ideas which can be used to generate economic and social development in rural areas. As such, illiteracy can partly be held responsible for the prevailing poverty, socioeconomic stagnation, under-nourishment of children, women and even men and overall poor health of people in rural societies. In the sixteen communities studied, we probed into the levels of education attained by the people existing education facilities and their utilization. We tried to trace the relationship between education and the level of socio-economic development of the communities.

The types of education referred to here are the non-formal (adult) education and primary and post-primary education. Non-formal education is meant to teach adults, especially women, the ability to read and write in their own languages, do some simple arithmetic and teach basic skills to improve

performance in agriculture, prevention of diseases and general transformation of living standard by opening up their minds to higher goals of life. Primary and post-primary education is meant to lay solid foundation for the development of children and the youth. From interviews and discussions held in the sixteen communities, it came out clearly that majority of people did not see the value of western education and so, they felt reluctant to send their children to school. Some adults too could not see the value of education and so were not too keen to enroll in adult education classes.

Table 4.4 below shows a picture of educational facilities available in the communities while Table 4.5 shows the enrolment.

| STATES | LGA | COMMUNITIES | NO. OF PRIM. SCH. | NO. OF ADULT EDUC. CENTRES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | For males | For Females | TOTAL |
| Adamawa | Gombi | 1. Dzangola<br>2. Ga'anda | 2<br>3 | 3<br>3 | 2<br>1 | 7<br>7 |
| | Mayo Beiwa | 1. Mayo Farrang<br>2. Bindigawo | 2<br>2 | 1<br>2 | 2<br>3 | 5<br>7 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 1. Darazo | a. Lanzai<br>b. Yautare | 2<br>2 | 1<br>2 | 1<br>2 | 4<br>6 |
| | 2. Katagum | a. Chinade<br>b. Madara | 3<br>3 | 4<br>3 | 3<br>2 | 10<br>8 |
| Kaduna | 1. Birnin Gwari | a. Randagi<br>b. Tabani | 2<br>2 | 1<br>1 | 1<br>1 | 4<br>4 |
| | 2. Ikara | a. Old Town<br>b. Ungwa Doya | 2<br>1 | 1<br>1 | 2<br>2 | 5<br>4 |
| Niger | 1. Agaie | a. Eyye<br>b. Shaba Woshi | 1<br>1 | 1<br>2 | 1<br>1 | 3<br>4 |
| | 2. Karaga | a. Pandogari<br>b. Tegina | 3<br>3 | 2<br>3 | 1<br>2 | 6<br>8 |

Source:

1) Local Government Education Authorities
2) Social and Education Development (Adult Education Section), local governments of the four States studied (May, 2006).

The primary schools and Adult Education Centres were built by the local governments through the Local Education Authorities. But in Dzangola of Gombi Local Government Area (Adamawa State, Chinade and Madara of Katagum Local Government (Bauchi State), Tabani and Tapa (in Kaduna

State) and Tegina (in Niger State) more classrooms were built by communities in primary schools, between 1989 and 1990.

It is one thing to build primary schools, it is quite another to utilize them. While a few of primary schools and Adult Education Centres were over-populated by adult learners, others we saw were far under-populated and under-uitilized as shown in table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Number of Schools and Pupils in the Target Communities

| STATES | LGA | COMMUNITIES | No. of schools | | No. of pupils | | Average no. of pupils in classrooms | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | P. Sch | Adult Ed. | P.Sch. | Ad. Ed. | P. Sch. | Ad. Ed. |
| Adamawa | Gombi | 1. Dzangola<br>2. Ga'anda | 12<br>21 | 6<br>4 | 551<br>895 | 63<br>180 | 46<br>43 | 126<br>30 |
| | Mayo Beiwa | 1. Mayo Farrang<br>2. Bindigawo | 14<br>13 | 3<br>5 | 621 | <br>594 | 96<br>203 | 44<br>45 |
| Bauchi | 1. Darazo | a. Lanzai<br>b. Yautare | 12<br>12 | 3<br>4 | 630<br>538 | 150<br>100 | 53<br>44 | 50<br>25 |
| | 2. Katagum | a. Chinade<br>b. Madara | 35<br>30 | 14<br>12 | 1821<br>1240 | NA<br>NA | 51<br>41 | NA<br>NA |
| Kaduna | 1. Birnin Gwari | a. Randagi<br>b. Tabani | 12<br>12 | 3<br>4 | 415<br>409 | 95<br>NA | 34<br>34 | |
| | 2. Ikara | a. Old Town | 14 | 3 | 622 | 121 | 44 | 32 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | b. Ungwa Doya | 8 | 3 | 30-6 | 75 | 38 | NA |
| Niger | 1. Agaie | a. Eyye<br>b. Shaba Woshi | 7<br>6 | 2<br>3 | 216<br>170 | 63<br>73 | 31<br>28 | 24<br>24 |
| | 2. Karaga | a. Pandogari<br>b. Tegina | 36<br>38 | 15<br>12 | 1728<br>1640 | 486<br>432 | 48<br>53 | 32<br>36 |

Note: Any classroom the UNICEF having less than 40 pupils is considered under-utilized by the UNICEF

Source:

1) Local Government Education Authorities
2) Social and Education Development (Adult Education Section), in the eight local governments of the four States studied (May, 2006).

On investigation, factors responsible for the under-utilization of the classrooms in some communities include religious bias against western education, poverty of parents leading to child labour on their farms, refusal of Teachers to live in the villages and constant absence from school, lack of maintenance of primary school buildings, non-absorption of class six pupils into secondary and technical schools (Social Survey, May-June, 2006).

1) <u>Religious Bias Against Western Education</u>

This is as old as the history of western education in Northern Nigeria. Up till the time of this survey (May — June 2006) many Muslim parents in

the communities still felt reluctant to send their children to primary schools for fear of conversion to Christianity as was the fear when missionaries brought western education to Northern Nigeria. It usually takes local governments and some enlightened traditional rulers some hard time to convince such parents (through vigorous campaigns) that the fear was no longer tenable. Muslim Teachers and civil servants from the local government secretariats were sometimes involved in the enlightenment campaigns to parents in villages who refuse to enroll their school age children in primary schools. We were told by our key informants in Chinade, Madara, Lanzai, yautare (all in Bauchi State), Pandogari and Tegina in Niger State that some parents were threatened by District Heads to be jailed if they refused to enroll their children or if they withdrew their children from school.

2) Child-Labour Due to Poverty

When we visited some primary schools in the villages in May-June 2006 we did not see up to half of the pupils in any of the classrooms. On inquiry, we were informed that the absentee pupils were in their parents' farms helping to weed or participate in other farming activities. This was the response we got to our inquiry into why the children were absent from

school. In places like Tegina and Pandogari in Niger state, Chinade and Madara in Bauchi State and in Ikara in Kaduna State, some pupils were absent from school to assist their parents in the village markets between November and December every year either to assist in selling farm produce or to serve as store-keepers during market days. We were informed that on many occasions, the Headmasters of the affected schools would go to the markets in the company of policemen to apprehend the parents of the pupils, after which they (the pupils were released by their parents to go back to school).

3) Refusal of Teachers to Live in the Villages

This was another serious factor militating against effective utilization of primary school classrooms in the villages visited. In places like Dzangola which is 48km from Gombi in Adamawa State, Randagi about 36km from Birnin Gwari in Kaduna, and Lanzai, 45km from Darazo in Bauchi State, majority of Teachers lived in the local government headquarters where you have pipe-borne water, electricity and general hospitals. These Teachers would arrange with those living in the villages to combine their classes on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. The absentee Teachers would go to school only on Mondays and Wednesdays. Those living in the villages were paid some allowance by the absentee Teachers at the end of each month for

the excess workload on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Many parents were aware of the ugly arrangement and so decided to keep their children at home or take them along to the farm.

4) Lack of Maintenance of School Buildings

It is pathetic to see how pupils were being taught under the shade of trees or in open spaces during harmattan period. And during the rainy season between June and October, half of pupils in some primary schools stayed back at home due to lack of repairs and replacement of roof-tops that have been blown off by heavy storm. Maintenance of primary schools is the responsibility of the Local Government Education Authority. Sometimes vibrant Parents-Teachers Associations were called upon to assist. In ten of the sixteen villages we visited, half of primary school buildings were not maintained at all. The Headmasters said all letters written to the Local Government Education Authorities about the damaged root-tops yielded no results (Social Survey: May 2006). The PTAs could not assist either. The results was that pupils could not learn under an unconducive environment, leading to poor performance of the pupils in their examinations. This takes us to the next problem — non-absorption of class six pupils into post-primary schools.

5) Non-Absorption of Class Six into Secondary Schools

It is clear from the foregoing that pupils can hardly perform well in class tests, promotion examinations and common entrance examinations into postprimary schools at the end of six years. Table 4.6 below shows the rate of absorption of class six pupils into secondary schools in the villages visited, April 2006.

Table 4.6: Pupils Admitted into Post-Primary Schools Before 1991

| STATES | LGA | COMMUNITIES | No. of pupils in Class 6 | No. Admitted into Secondary schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Number Admitted | % of Total |
| Adamawa | Gombi | 1. Dzangola | 78 | 30 | 38 |
| | | 2. Ga'anda | 86 | 39 | 45 |
| | Mayo Beiwa | 1. Mayo Farrang | 37 | 15 | 39 |
| | | 2. Bindigawo | 41 | 20 | 49 |
| Bauchi | 1. Darazo | a. Lanzai | 36 | 31 | 86 |
| | | b. Yautare | 78 | 58 | 74.3 |
| | 2. Katagum | a. Chinade | 136 | 80 | 56 |
| | | b. Madara | 141 | 95 | 67.4 |
| Kaduna | 1. Birnin Gwari | a. Randagi | 61 | 32 | 49.2 |
| | | b. Tabani | 46 | 20 | 43.5 |
| | 2. Ikara | a. Old Town | 49 | 31 | 63.3 |
| | | b. Ungwa Doya | 53 | 20 | 38 |
| Niger | 1. Agaie | a. Eyye | 63 | 38 | 60 |
| | | b. Shaba Woshi | 79 | 31 | 39.2 |
| | 2. Karaga | a. Pandogari | 156 | 50 | 32 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | b. Tegina | 166 | 63 | 38 |

Source: Primary Schools in the sixteen villages visited (May 2006).

The low rate of absorption of class six pupils into post-primary schools was very discouraging to many parents. This could lead to the refusal of some parents to send their children to school. Some of the household heads we interviewed said they could not see the benefit of primary education for further studies nor for any skill that would make them useful to themselves and their parents, not to talk of the community they live in (Social Survey, May 2006).

## 4.4 The Health Profile of the Communities

It is often said that health is wealth and that a healthy society is a happy society. The level of poverty in a society is directly linked to the health status of that society. Sick and malnourished people cannot be expected to work and produce enough wealth off the land they till.

We said earlier in this chapter that almost in all the sixteen villages, the. poorest of the poor were the old people about 65 years of age, sick, undernourished, slow in thinking and resigned to fate. Our investigation reveals that majority of the people, especially women and children suffered from a large variety of diseases which had reduced their capacity to work

and earn decent living. Most notable among these were malaria, meningitis, dysentery, polio, scabies, guinea worm, river-blindness, abdominal pain, etc. Children suffered from diseases caused by malnutrition such as kwashiorkor, stunted growth in physique and brain.

On the whole, our inquiry shows that the vast majority of people in the villages were in poor health. They were exposed to very many diseases without adequate facilities to treat them. Malaria tops the list of diseases in the villages responsible for the death of many old men, women and children. The highest number of attacks was in the rainy season, that is between June and October during which mosquitoes breed faster near houses. Meningitis is common during hot season, that is between March and May when it kills many people. Scabies is another very common and dangerous disease spread throughout the sixteen villages. It is linked up with the use of di untreated water for human consumption. Its highest victims are in Gombi, Mayo Belwa (Adamawa State), Katagum and Darazo (Bauchi State), Birnin Gwari in Kaduna State and Kagara in Niger State. According to health officials in the local governments, scabies are dangerous in children. It ruptures their skins, causing many open sores and itching. Many other diseases gain entry into the children's bodies through these holes with the result that many of

them usually die (PHC Departments in the Local Governments., May — June, 2006).

Polio, typhoid, dysentery, headaches, abdominal pains and various types of eye diseases constitute additional health problems that plague the communities. We also saw that malnourishment was another main cause of ill- health in the villages. Many households, especially the very poor ones, eat only once a day. The foodstuffs they produce are never enough for their families. And some of the families have large number of children due to polygamy. The sizes of the families keep growing through birth irrespective of campaign on children spacing and its socio-economic and health benefits. Religious belief in rural areas is still a strong barrier against family planning campaign (PHC Departments, June 2006).

Malnutrition in children was more pathetic and more prevalent in the 16 villages. Children need food for body and mental growth, strong bones and teeth and capacity or immunity to resist diseases. But, due to lack of nutritious food, many children are always weak, anaemic and fall easy victims of diseases due to poor resistance mechanism.

Due to general poverty in the villages, the children did not have enough clothes to wear and so their bodies were always exposed to the harsh scorching sun during the day. It is not surprising therefore that the UNICEF

was sympathetic with the condition of children through its intervention programme (UNICEF Field Office, Bauchi, May 2006).

We cannot conclude this part of our report without looking at the state of health and medical facilities in the communities. Generally speaking, health and medical facilities in the sixteen communities were very inadequate. Most of them were in a dilapidated condition.

Furthermore, they were very inadequate for the population of each community. Table 4.7 below shows the types of and number of health institutions in the communities.

Table 4.7 Types and number of health institutions in the villages before 1991

| STATES | LGA | COMMUNITIES | Population | No. of pupils | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | A | B | C |
| Adamawa | Gombi | 1. Dzangola | 11,536 | NIL | NIL | NIL |
| | | 2. Ga'anda | 8,310 | NIL | NIL | NIL |
| | Mayo Beiwa | 1. Mayo Farrang | 6,380 | NIL | 2 | 2 |
| | | 2. Bindigawo | 5,113 | NIL | 1 | 1 |
| Bauchi | 1. Darazo | a. Lanzai | 7,075 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| | | b. Yautare | 9,856 | NIL | 2 | 2 |
| | 2. Katagum | a. Chinade | 12,890 | 1 | NIL | 1 |
| | | b. Madara | 13,535 | | | 2 |
| Kaduna | 1. Birnin Gwari | a. Randagi | 6,138 | NIL | 1 | 1 |
| | | b. Tabani | 5,359 | NIL | NIL | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2. Ikara | a. Old Town<br>b. Ungwa Doya | 6,635<br>8,239 | NIL<br>1 | 1<br>1 | 1<br>1 |
| Niger | 1. Agaie | a. Eyye<br>b. Shaba Woshi | 5,560<br>4,355 | NIL<br>NIL | 2<br>1 | 1<br>1 |
| | 2. Karaga | a. Pandogari<br>b. Tegina | 13,148<br>15,630 | 1<br>1 | 2<br>3 | 3<br>2 |

Source: PHC Department of the Local Governments (May 2006).

KEY: A = Rural Health Care

B = Maternal & Child Health Care Centre

C = Dispensaries

Our inquiry revealed that these institutions were very inadequate for the communities in four ways. First is the problem of population of each community. It is very clear from table 4.7 above that the institutions were too few to be able to cope with the population, considering the fact that majority of the people are either very poor or poor and as such are vulnerable to many types of diseases as shown in table 4.6. Closely related to the problem of population is the problem of distance of some hamlets to the health institutions. Some of the hamlets are up to 20km away from the health institutions and their roads are either seasonally motorable or completely immotorable. And so, it becomes extremely difficult to transport sick people to the institutions.

The third problem is that of lack of drugs in many of the health institutions. Local Government Primary Health Care Departments are responsible for the supply of drugs to the dispensaries and Maternal & Child Health care Centres while the State Governments are responsible for the Rural Health Centres.

The fourth problem is that of shortage of staff in the health institutions. We visited some of them and saw the agony patients went through in terms of time they wasted before being attended to by the very few workers on duty. This was the case in the large communities like Chinade, Madara and Yautare in Bauchi State, Tegina and Pandogari in Niger State and Dzangola in Adamawa State. This problem was more conspicuous in Maternal and Child Health Care Centres where expectant mothers went for ante-natal and post-natal care on spedfic days of the week.

The effects of these problems, as we found out include:

- patronage of traditional herbalists by people who could not travel to far places and by patients who could not get drugs from the health institutions;
- self medication by some young men and girls by buying drugs from patent medicine stores in the villages or from towns or from

drug hawkers in village markets who went there from the towns on market days;

- migration of some households from the rural communities to urban centers or to larger villages where health facilities and other amenities were available. We interviewed some family heads in Gombi and Mayo Belwa in Adamawa, Azare and Darazo in Bauchi and Birnin Gwari in Kaduna who said they migrated to the local government headquarters from their rural communities due to shortage of health facilities. These families had one health problem or another which required Doctor's attention regularly and intensively (Social Survey; April, 2006).

Table 4.8 below shows the types and number of health and medical workers in the health institutions of the communities.

Table 4.8: Types and number of medical workers in the health institutions of the villages before 1991

| STATES | LGA | COMMUNITIES | TYPES AND NUMBERS OF MEDICAL WORKERS | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | A | B | C | D | E | TOTAL |
| Adamawa | Gombi | 1. Dzangola<br>2. Ga'anda | NIL<br>NIL | 2<br>3 | 1<br>4 | 1<br>4 | NIL<br>NIL | 4<br>11 |
| | Mayo | 1. Mayo Farrang | NIL | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 7 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Beiwa | 2. Bindigawo | NIL | 1 | 1 | 1 | NIL | 3 |
| Bauchi | 1. Darazo | a. Lanzai | NIL | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| | | b. Yautare | NIL | 2 | 3 | 3 | NIL | 8 |
| | 2. | a. Chinade | NIL | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| | Katagum | b. Madara | NIL | 3 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 12 |
| Kaduna | 1. Birnin | a. Randagi | NIL | 2 | 2 | 2 | NIL | 6 |
| | Gwari | b. Tabani | NIL | 3 | 1 | 1 | NIL | 5 |
| | 2. Ikara | a. Old Town | NIL | 1 | 2 | 2 | NIL | 8 |
| | | b. Ungwa Doya | NIL | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 11 |
| Niger | 1. Agaie | a. Eyye | NIL | 1 | 3 | 3 | NIL | 7 |
| | | b. Shaba Woshi | NIL | 2 | 3 | 3 | NIL | 8 |
| | 2. Karaga | a. Pandogari | NIL | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| | | b. Tegina | NIL | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 10 |

Source: MCH Dispensaries and Rural Health Centres in the 16 Villages Studied, (May — June, 2006).

KEY: A = Medical Doctors

B = Nurses and Midwives

C = Community Health Officers

D = Community Health Extension Workers

E = Laboratory Assistants/Attendants.

To compound the problem of inadequate staff was the refusal of some of those available to live in the rural communities. In Mayo Farrang in Adamawa State, Eyye and Woshi (in Niger), Tabani and Randagi (in Kaduna State), Nurses and Midwives refused to live in the rural

communities. Their complaint mainly was that they could not leave their husbands and children in the local government headquarters to go and stay in rural areas alone all in the name of working. The other complaint was that there were no good schools in the rural areas for their children, (Nurses in Rural MCH, May 2006). The implication or effect of the refusal of Nurses and Midwives to stay in the rural areas is that patients would have to wait for longer hours before they are attended to or they must wait till the specific days the Nurses would come to the work place. What this means is that serious cases may either die or be transported to the cities for medical attention.

## 4.5 Water and Sanitation in the Communities

Our investigation revealed that water was the most scarce commodity in the rural communities. The main sources of water supply were rain (during rainy season), wells, a few boreholes, shallow streams, ponds and small earth dams. These sources get tried up for more than seven months a year except few wells and earth dams. The whole of Katagum, Darazo, Gombi and Mayo Beiwa Local Government Areas are very dry. They lie within the subsahel desert region. There is scarcity of rain and underground water. In the villages we visited, people constructed open dams to store rain

water during the rainy seasons. As the dry season progresses, the dams would dry up so that by January and February, only a little water is left in the center of the dams. People and animals survive on this water till the next rainy season (June-October). Cattle rearers drive their animals to the dams to drink water. The animals step in the water, deposit their faeces, urinate and wash their hoots into the water. Children and women bring their buckets to draw the same water for home use. They could drink the water, take bath, cook and wash clothes. Because of scarcity of water, many people could *not* take their bath for days and so they look dirty. It is this dirt that causes a number of skin diseases.

As at the time of this investigation, May-June 2006, the boreholes sunk by the UNICEF in 1994 in six of the villages visited had broken down in the sense that the hand-pumps were in a state disrepair. Deep wells dug through the assistance of UNICEF in eight of the villages since 1993 had very little water in them. We saw long line of children and women waiting for enough water to collect before they could fetch. The children and women could wait for more than three or four hours before they got water to fetch. The deep wells are very far from where some of the children and women lives.

In Agale Local Government Area of Niger State, scarcity of water was top on the priority lists of the Council and the two communities were visited. Their major sources of water were streams, earth dams and wells. The villages had cases of guinea worm infection due mainly to the poor quality of water from the sources which were neither treated nor protected. In Ikara Local Government Area of Kaduna State, the Council Chairman said tankers were used to transport water to some large communities including Tapa to alleviate the suffering of people in search of clean and safe water.

In Chinade and Madara of Katagum, Bauchi State, we saw water sellers making brisk business by selling water taken there in tankers and or dams. Sellers hired Pick-up vans to carry water in drums to the villages for sale. The buyers were the fairly rich group of people who were big farmers, civil servants, school Teachers, traders, livestock owners and traditional rulers (Village and District Heads and their title holders).

In general, the water supply situation in the communities visited was very pathetic. It was this situation among other things that qualified the communities for UNICEF assistance.

The story is the same for sanitation in the communities. In twelve of the sixteen villages we visited, the people were used to their traditional ways

of disposing human excreta, that is, by going to nearby bushes or at the back of public building like schools and local government tax collection offices. Children are the worst offenders. They defalcate anywhere including inside the compound or at best, at the back of their houses. In places like Dzangola, Mayo Farrang, Sindigawo and Ga'anda all in Adamawa State, we saw a few houses where pit latrine was in use by the educated elites such as traders, health extension workers, nurses and revenue collectors. The latrines were constructed through communal efforts by some community development associations. We saw similar efforts in Chinade, Madara, Lanzai and Yautare in Bauchi State.

InAgaie and Kagara of Niger State, Birnin Gwari and Ikara of Kaduna State the sanitation situation in the eight villages we visited was a bit fair. Many boreholes had imbibed the new habit of defalcating in either pit latrine or bucket latrine provided by the local governments many years back. This was because of Sellers hired Pick-up vans to carry water in drums to the villages for sale. The buyers were the fairly rich group of people who were big farmers, civil servants, school Teachers, traders, livestock owners and traditional rulers (Village and District Heads and their title holders). In generaL the water supply situation in the communities visited was very

pathetic. It was this situation among other things that qualified the communities for UNICEF assistance.

The story is the same for sanitation in the communities. In twelve of the sixteen villages we visited, the people were used to their traditional ways of disposing human excreta, that is, by going to nearby bushes or at the back of public building like schools and local government tax collection offices. Children are the worst offenders. They defalcate anywhere including inside the compound or at best, at the back of their houses. In places like Dzangola, Mayo Farrang, Sindigawo and Ga'anda all in Adamawa State, we saw a few houses where pit latrine was in use by the educated elites such as traders, health extension workers, nurses and revenue collectors. The latrines were constructed through communal efforts by some community development associations. We saw similar efforts in Chinade, Madara, Lanzai and Yautare in Bauchi State.

In Agaie and Kagara of Niger State, Birnin Gwari and Ikara of Kaduna State the sanitation situation in the eight villages we visited was a bit fair. Many boreholes had imbibed the new habit of defalcating in either pit latrine or bucket latrine provided by the local governments many years back. This was because of the threat of punishment by Public Health Inspectors to anybody who defalcated just anywhere outside the latrines.

This is not to say that everybody complied with the local government law. There were still some offenders who refused to leave the traditional ways, that is, going to nearby bushes to defalcate. Some of the offenders we interviewed during focus group discussion in the communities complained that the so-called modern places (latrines) were very dirty, full of exreta and urine which constitute another health hazard to the communities. Neither the local government health workers employed to keep the latrines clean nor members of the communities bothered to clean them. Another complaint was that the public latrines were too few for each of the villages. People could not line up at such places, waiting for their turn when they are hard pressed to answer the call of nature. And so, the best alternative is to rush to the bush for rescue. In-built latrines in personal residences were found only in the houses of Village and District Heads and some school Headmasters.

Environmental sanitation in the communities was quite interesting. This was taken very seriously by the communities. Perhaps, the cleanliness of the surroundings we saw might be due to the dry season that was just beginning (in November). However, we were informed during group discussions that the people had cultivated the culture of environmental cleanliness since the beginning of the Federal Government imposed monthly sanitation throughout the federation. Traditional rulers had helped a great

deal in the campaign and in coming out monthly to see that people came out to keep their surroundings clean. Furthermore, young men always came out in teams, beating their drums and did a lot of cleaning and refuse disposal in their villages. In some villages, people who refused to participate in the monthly exercise would be fined, ranging from a sum of N50 (fifty Naira) to N200 (two hundred Naira) depending upon the economic status of the offender.

## 4.6 Self-Kelp Efforts by the Communities

The concept of self-help efforts as used in this study, is the same as community development, which we define here as

> A process designed to promote and establish in the community, the motivation, the desire and the means for making use of its own aptitude, human contributions and material resources in meeting some of its felt-needs in such fields as health, education, agriculture and other areas of social and economic development, all through the action of the community itself (Chaudry, 1975:39).

What this means is that people try to solve their common problems through their own efforts and contributions rather than waiting for help from

outside their villages. A community that utilizes the process of self-help does not wait for outside help alone. It says to itself, “we have a problem let us solve it by ourselves”.

So far in this chapter, we have looked at the economic, education, health, water and sanitation situations of the sixteen communities studied. Community development or self-help effort addresses itself to all of them, because village problems are interrelated. The idea or concept of felt-needs is very important to self-help effort. Felt-needs are those problems the villagers themselves identify as existing in the communities and as they are personally or collectively affected by the problems. This means that development (under self-help efforts) should not be imposed on the people. They should be contacted and given the chance to express their needs freely. When they start to look for solution, then help can come from outside by way of planning, execution, financing, evaluation and maintenance.

Human contributions and material resources refer to the inputs which people are capable of putting in to achieve their desired plans. Most notable among these inputs are land, labour, money and equipment. Such inputs give the community self-confidence and pride in its achievements. The confidence and pride so acquired, make the community take care to see that what they have laboured hard to achieve is not mishandled.

In the villages we visited, there were Community Development Associations which brought people together for concerted actions with some level of reliance upon their resources, supplemented by external help from government and non-governmental organizations. To a large extent, the eight local governments had instilled into the minds of the people in various communities, the will to improve their ways of life by giving them the opportunity to decide how they want to fife. For the purpose of analysis in this study, we categorized the Community Development Associations in the villages into three, namely; very effective, effective and not effective. The very effective ones have the following characteristics:

i) Committed and transparent leadership (by officials who are elected democratically every two years by all members).

ii) Hardworking and dedicated followership by all members who voluntarily contribute financial and material resources toward project implementation, attend meetings whenever the need arises and take pride in achievements no matter how small or big.

iii) Written constitution spelling out rules and regulations governing the operations of the Association. Violation of any rule attracts appropriate penalty. This helps to instill discipline in all members, especially the official (social survey: May-June, 2006).

The effective Associations are those with the following features:

i) Committed but self-appointed leadership by founding members who also contribution more money always to run the affairs of the associations and to execute projects. The leaders always dominate discussion and would sometimes impose their decisions on others.

ii) Hardworking followership but out of intimidation and or sheer love

of the community and expected benefits of community projects or activities to the people as a whole not to themselves as individuals.

iii) Written constitutions but hardly respected by any member, most especially the leaders of the association (social survey: May-June, 2006).

The ineffective Associations are those:

i) Whose leaders are more opportunists by virtue of their better educational qualifications, more working experience and perhaps higher economic and social status than other members. There is very little or no probity and accountability in handling the resources of the group.

ii) Followership is highly unorganized and therefore does very little in terms of meetings, planning and project implementation.

iii) There is no written rules and regulations to enforce discipline (social survey: May-June, 2006).

We saw these three types of development associations during our visit to the communities as shown in table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Community Development Associations in the 16 villages before 1991

| STATES | LGA | COMMUNITIES | TYPES & NUMBER OF CDAS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Very Effective | Effective | Not Effective | TOTAL |
| Adamawa | Gombi | 1. Dzangola<br>2. Ga'anda | 2<br>1 | 3<br>2 | 3<br>2 | 8<br>5 |
| | Mayo Beiwa | 1. Mayo Farrang<br>2. Bindigawo | 3<br>1 | 2<br>2 | 2<br>3 | 7<br>6 |
| Bauchi | 1. Darazo | a. Lanzai<br>b. Yautare | 2<br>2 | 2<br>1 | 4<br>3 | 8<br>6 |
| | 2. Katagum | a. Chinade<br>b. Madara | 3<br>2 | 4<br>3 | 5<br>1 | 12<br>6 |
| Kaduna | 1. Birnin Gwari | a. Randagi<br>b. Tabani | 2<br>1 | 3<br>2 | 3<br>4 | 8<br>7 |
| | 2. Ikara | a. Old Town<br>b. Ungwa Doya | 2<br>2 | 3<br>4 | 2<br>3 | 7<br>9 |
| Niger | 1. Agaie | a. Eyye<br>b. Shaba Woshi | 2<br>1 | 3<br>3 | 1<br>4 | 6<br>8 |
| | 2. Karaga | a. Pandogari | 3 | 3 | 2 | 8 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | b. Tegina | 4 | 4 | 2 | 9 |

Source: PHC Department of the Local Governments (May 2006).

### 4.6.1 Activities of the Community Development Associations

From our investigation, we saw the key role played by the eight local governments visited to assist village people to form social clubs and associations for the purpose of creating, community consciousness where it was absent. The local governments also taught the associations the qualities of good leadership, initiative and ways of uplifting people's standard of living. In response to the efforts of the local, governments all the sixteen villages we visited took community development activities seriously even though some development associations were rated ineffective by our respondents. In each of the sixteen communities, we studied the activities of two associations rated very effective and not effective and one considered ineffective, making a total of 48 associations we studied. The main activities of the associations which we focused on were:

a) Decision making on the problems or felt-needs of their communities;
b) Plan formulation and implementation to address the identified felt-needs;

c) Material resources mobilization and generation of funds to implement projects;

d) Mobilization of people in the community to participate physically in project implementation and maintenance;

e) Enlightenment campaign in the community for behavioural change from negative to positive ways in the areas of school children enrolment, health practices, self-help efforts and agricultural practices (Field Research, May-June, 2006).

a) Adamawa State

In Dzangola community of Gombi Local Government Area, two youth clubs, namely; Dzangola Youth Social Club and the Young Trumpeters Associations were rated very effective and effective respectively by the criteria we enumerated earlier in this chapter. Going through their minute-books,, Annual Plans of Actions and Reports, we saw their achievements within three years, that is in the five activities mentioned above. The two associations focused on health and primary education in different locations in the community. In 1989, the Youth Social Club had reached an agreement with the community to construct a residential house for their Community Health Officer who lived in, Gombi town, a distance of 48km from the community. The objective of the project was to make the

officer to stay or live with them there so as to avoid coming late to work or being absent from work some days. By November 1990 the project was completed and was occupied in December that year. This was possible because of good leadership, cooperative followership and the expected benefits of the project to the village.

The Young Trumpeters embarked upon enlightenment campaign on the need to enroll school-age children in primary schools. This involved the hiring of a bus and public address system to go round all hamlets in July and August very year. According to the Primary School Registers for Class One in 1990, there was a remarkable increase in the enrolment situation from 41 in 1987 to 68 in 1989 and 86 in 1990 (Community School Records, May-June, 2006).

The third association we studied was the Women Farmers Cooperative Society considered to be ineffective. It really showed ineffectiveness by its failure to accomplish the task it sets for itself in 1987. that task was to contribute fund to purchase fertilizers during the 1990 cropping season. The target was 45 bags of fertilizers at the rate of N350 per bag, totaling N15,750 at the end of the day, the Cooperative Society was able to raise N6,1560.00 only. Reasons include lack of trust in the leadership

of the group and general poverty of members (Social Survey, May-June, 2006).

In Ga'anda community of the same Gombi Local Government Area, the two associations rated effective and very effective were the groups calling themselves, "The Christian Youth Club" and "The ECOMOG". The Christian Youth Club was formed in December 1987 while the ECOMOG was in 1989 (Social Survey, May-June, 2006).

The CYC embarked upon Drug Revolving Scheme in Ga'anda Maternal and Child Health Care Centres in 1988. Members of the Club launched a fund raising campaign in July 1990 and was able to collect N38,500 to increase the quantity of drugs to the health institution. By buying drugs from reputable pharmacy in Yola and selling to patients at cheaper rate than from patent medicine stores, the Scheme solved the problem of out-of-stock syndrome in the Health Centre. The Scheme was still in operation as at the time of this investigation in May- June, 2006.

The "ECOMOG" was named after the Economic Community of West African States' peace-keeping force in Liberia. The members said the Association was so named to show their determination that they meant business in all their activities. It is an Association formed to fight men of the under-world who came to the community mainly from neighbouring

countries (Chad, Niger and Cameroon) and States to terrorize, rob and sometimes kill people. The main functions of the group is to apprehend suspects and report them or take them to Police Station in the village. Members of the group go round from house to house to raise fund for their equipment (torch light, rain boot, uniform, horse-whip and whistle) and to pay themselves a token allowances for night duty. As at the time of this study, the group was waxing stronger in terms of increase in membership, financial contribution from the villagers and successful operations.

Community Development Association in Mayo Belwa Local Government Area were not as successful as those of Gombi described above. In Mayo Farrang community, the two Associations rated effective and very effective incidentally joined hands to implement a project between February 1986 and August 1985 which was only half completed as at October 2005. The Associations were called “The Transporters” and “Community Traders Union”. The project was the rehabilitation of a nine-kilometer road linking the community to Mayo-Belwa-Ganye road. It involved physical labour from the community and hiring of a grader from either the local government or any road construction company in Yola. The project began in March 1988 that is during the dry season and got up to three kilometers before August the same year. Farming and other economic

activities of the villagers stalled the project till February 1990. Work continued till July that year up to five kilometers. Meanwhile, heavy rains in 1989 had damaged the three kilometers already rehabilitated in the year. As at the time of this study, six kilometers of the road rehabilitated by the two community development associations in Mayo Farrang had been damaged again by heavy rainfall. Thus, the road needed the attention of the local and state governments for it to be motorable all year round, (social survey: May-June, 2006).

The development association rated ineffective in the community was the “Young Farmers Club”. During community discussion and interview, we saw that the Club could neither meet nor embark upon any meaningful project for the past one year or so. This was because many of the officials had left the community for Yola and other cities in search of collar jobs. They were secondary school leavers who took to farming as a last resort when collar job was not available. A few of the young boys who migrated to town went to the State Polytechnic Yola after making their G.C.E. Ordinary Level papers (social survey: May-June, 2006).

In Sindigawo village of the same Mayo Belwa Local Government Area, community development associations were almost non-existent. Those classified as very effective and effective had their last meetings in 1990. The

last project they executed was the expansion of a community church in May 1990. All efforts made by the officials of the associations to mobilize human, material and financial resources to maintain or repair the blown-off roof of the primary school in the village proved abortive since January 1990. One wonders what made the associations "effective" as rated by the people we interviewed. On further inquiry, we were told that the inability of the associations to embark upon any project was due to political and religious differences. Our informants refused to go further. As far as we were concerned, poverty was the main hindrance to the community efforts toward self-help projects. As shown in table 4.2 below, 90% of the people in the community were classified as very poor and poor.

b) Bauchi State

In Darazo Local Government Area, we saw the efforts of the Council in collaboration with District and Village Heads in enlightening communities on the need to join hands with governments for the development of their villages. It was made clear to community leaders such as Association officials and village elders that financial resources available to the local and state governments were becoming more and more scarce while the pressure on government for social services kept increasing on daily basis. Therefore, communities were being invited and encouraged to embark

upon development activities, based on their identified felt-needs. The response to this call was quite encouraging as briefly summarized below.

In Lanzai community, the two Associations rated as effective and very effective were the “Lanzai Welfare Association” and the “Community Progressive Union”. The Welfare Association was made up of retired civil servants, retired soldiers and old Teachers who have now returned home to rest. They are back home as pensioners who now engage in philanthropic activities to improve the standard of living of their people. The Progressive Union is composed of serving public servants living outside home but sending their monthly contributions to the union officials very regularly. Membership is open to all sons and daughters of Lanzai villages at home and abroad.

As at the time of our visit to the village in April 2006, the Welfare Association had just completed an enlightenment campaign on child immunization against the six childhood killer diseases (polio, tetanus, measles, whooping cough, and diarrhea). Before embarking on the campaign, people in the village were very reluctant to bring out their children because of the fear that the vaccines were going to cause more harm than good to their children. Some ignorant and fanatical religious leaders in the village did not help matters either. They created fear in some of their

followers that the immunization of children was an American and European device to reduce the population of Africa.

With the enlightenment campaign of the Welfare Association, more turn out of mothers and their children was recorded. The Association made it clear to the villages that the immunization exercise was nationwide, in fact world-wide and that there was no truth whatsoever in the negative impression given to them by some religious fanatics.

The Progressive Union was preparing to start a project, sinking a boreholes in strategic locations in the village. The objective was to reduce the hardship which women and children encounter in looking for safe water. Two boreholes would be sunk to begin with, and these would cost 850,000. As at the time of our visit to the village, the Association had raised N631,480.00. Experts had been invited to the village to survey the place and locate the boreholes in appropriate sports where water would be reached adequately. The local government was expected to provide the balance to meet the target of N840,000.00 for the project.

The weak or ineffective Association which we studied in the village was called “Lanzai Youth Forum”, found in 1986. As the name implies, the Forum was formed mainly by unemployed school leaders to open and run evening classes for members who were interested in preparing to retake their

GCE, Ordinary Level papers. The evening classes began in April 1987 till March 1990. The Youth Forum employed and paid a token allowance to the three Teachers coming from Darazo (Government Secondary School). The Forum started to have problems since July 1990 when majority of members had left the village, some for further studies after passing their GCE papers, while others for collar jobs or petty trading in big towns. For many months, the Forum could not meet; there was no payment of monthly dues again and so there was no money to pay the secondary school Teachers who were coming from Darazo to teach them in the evening. The Teachers had stopped coming since March 1990. As at the time of our investigation for this study, the Forum only existed in name.

In Yautare, another community we visited in Darazo Local Government Area, the three associations we talked to had nothing to write home about even though two of them were rated very effective and effective. What we saw were association formed by the local elites of the village involved in meaningless popularity sometimes bordering on hooliganism; when underlying factor was politics. Majority of members and leaders of the two groups belonged to two different parties fighting each other for the councillorship of the ward. When one party wins the other becomes antagonistic and hostile to each other at the expense of community efforts

for development. When we visited the village (in May-June 2006) we were told that the Presidents of the two Associations were in Court at Darazo over piece of land which one of the Associations had wanted to site a project — Community Viewing Centre — on. The legal battle over ownership of the plot began in 1989. All their monthly dues and other monies they collected for development purposes went into fighting the legal battle over the plot. In Chinade and Madra communities of Katagum Local Government Area, the picture was quite different. In Chinade for instance, community development had become a way of living in the areas of environmental sanitation, water supply, primary health care and basic education just to mention few. Katagum Local Government Council gave very encouraging support to the two Associations we studied. The support was in the areas of technical advice in designing and preparing estimates for projects, financing of projects and of viable ones after completion.

From what we saw and were told during our visit to the village, the people of Chinade constitute a true community which well perceived needs and readiness to come together to implement jointly planned projects. Among projects planned and executed by the two Associations were the construction of feeder rods to link their village to Azare-Misau road, a total distance of 14 kilometers, construction of new Juma'at Mosque, sinking of

boreholes and maintenance of their primary school root. The two associations considered most effective were the Chinade Progressive Union (CPU) and Chinade Elders Forum (CEF). The one considered effective was the Youth League. One important feature of self-help efforts in this community was communalism, that is, the process of harnessing all resources and bringing them together for a common purpose rather than each association going its way. The three associations we studied shared members and worked in harmony when it comes to pursuance of common goals. According to our inquiry, it is only in few exceptional cases that they undertake different projects.

In objectives of the associations in the community were, among others, mobilization of the entire people to be self-conscious and self-reliant, execution of projects to meet the felt-needs of community as identified by them and participation in decision making and planning at local government level through direct representation to the Council. The people realized that the three tiers of government could not afford to do everything for them and so, they must join hands with the local and the State governments to develop their community. Perhaps, the factors responsible for the success story of community development in the village include religion (Islam), homogeneity of culture, respect for traditional authority and presence of rich people in the

place. Almost everybody in the community is a Muslim. They study the religion together, they pray together daily and weekly in the same mosque and so share their feelings (joy or sorrow). Culturally, the people are the same Hausa ethnic group. The few Fulani among them have been assimilated; the District and Village Heads play a decisive role in the operations of the development associations. Chinade is blessed with highly placed public officers in local, State and federal governments. The community is also blessed with successful businessmen in big cities in Nigeria. These rich sons and daughters of the village are highly committed to the development of their people back home. They belong to one or two of the development associations and send their monthly contribution regularly. The activities of the associations cover almost all aspects of human endeavour, such as water supply, road construction, education, health, agriculture, security and cooperative movement just to mention a few.

Community development in Madara presented a less impressive picture. The people of the village adopted a less positive approach to development even though there are development associations. The three of them were Madara Matasa Development Association, Himman Zumunta Union and Madara Teachers-Parents Association. The first is made up of traders, transporters, big time farmers and artisans numbering up to 250

members. The second one is an association of petty traders, peasant farmers and some unemployed youths. The third one is an amalgam of PTAs in the primary and Islamic schools in the village. The first one was formed in 1998 with the aim of engaging in multipurpose development activities while the second one was formed in 1990 to engage in environmental sanitation especially during rainy season to clear weeds round their compounds and public places like schools, health centers and houses of the District and Village Heads. The third one, as the name implies, was formed to participate in the maintenance of primary and Islamic school structures when the need arose.

During our investigation, we saw the only 65 of the 140 desks and 76 of the 315 benches planned for. We were informed that the carpenter making the furniture items promise to supply the remaining ones by the end of October, (Interview in May 2006). Generally speaking, the spirit of self-help is high in the people of Madara community. We were informed that the people were always forthcoming whenever the need arose and were asked to contribute labour and funds to execute projects or to carry out any activities in the interest of the entire community.

c) Kaduna State

There were some community development efforts in the four villages we visited in this State. In Randagi of Birnin Gwari Local Government Area, for instance, development associations existed only in name. People could meet once in a while to discuss current issues which were of common interest but not for any serious action. They could also meet in groups to discuss how to assist themselves socially and economically on an individual basis not in form of communal efforts. For a long time before our visit to the village in June 2006, there was no community development project. The Community Development Department of Birnin Gwari Local Government had held series of meetings with the leaders of the associations.

It was made very clear to them that self-help efforts could not come about if people did not come together to form associations which would meet from time to time to identify community felt-needs, prepare plans of action, mobilize resources and carry out projects or activities. We were Informed that such meetings between the local government officials and the representatives of the village started to yield fruits as from 1994 especially after the traditional ruler of Birnin Gwari, that is, the Emir of Birnin Gwari had personally moved round to all the ten districts of the local government area. The Emir too emphasized the importance of self-help as the best help. The Emir constituted a Committee of District and Village Heads which

meets every fortnight to report to him, progress and problems of community development in their domains. Such reports are studied by the Emirate Council and forwarded to Birnin Gwari Local Government for necessary action. It was these combined efforts of the local government and the Emirate Council that led to the formation of development associations in Randagi and many other communities. The three of such associations we studied in the community are called “Kungiya Alheri Matasa”, Gbagi Youth Development Association” and “Randagi People’s Club, (Interview in June 2006). None of these associations had carried out any project as at the time of our visit. But the first one had met to elect the officials and had been sworn in by the Village Head. The officials had called the meeting of all members, numbering up to 83, to chart their course of action for the year. Among other things, the general meeting of the association intended to engage in water project, that is digging of community wells to start with before going into bigger projects later. The association would like to start with four wells located in strategic places in the community for easy accessibility by all parts of the village. Experts in the local government would be contacted to prepare the estimated, draw the site plan and determine how much the people and the local government should contribute to the implementation of the project.

The Gbagi Youth Development Association is more or less a cultural organization, whose main goal is the revival of Gbagi (Gwari) culture which they felt was almost dead due to Hausa invasion and occupation of the local government area since the 19th century. Among the cultural revival activities which the association would engage in were the campaign for the teaching of Gbagi Language instead of Hausa in the primary school, holding of Gbagi Cultural Festival at least in December every year and construction of a Town hall in the village for Gbagi Festivals and Meetings. When we visited the community the group had put the campaign machinery in motion by setting up a nine-man committee to go round the entire local government areas and other local government areas in Kaduna State to identify and take census of Gbagi speaking Teachers with educational qualification of NCE and above.

The purpose of this exercise was to identify capable hands who would assist in translating some primary school teaching materials (books, pamphlets, instructional materials) into Gbagi Language. The Association had levied each member and all Gbagi people in the community a sum of N50.OO to be collected by the end of November 1987.

The money would be spent on sending the members of the campaign team to local government areas in the State.

The third association, “Randagi People’s Club” existed only in name. Officials had been elected but no general meeting was held thereafter to decide what next to do. The only activity engaged in by members on individual basis’ was the cash assistance to members in times of birth, death and marriage ceremonies. Members could also assist each other on their farms to clear land, make ridges, weed and harvest.

In Tabani village of the same Birnin Gwari Local Government Area, we saw one viable development association, called “Club 2000” formed by the fairly rich and rich members of the community in 1988. Its goal was to establish a community bank by 1990. The group had very dedicated leaders — Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, Public Relations officer and Auditor. Membership was open to all indigenes of Birnin Gwari Local Government Area in general and Tabani village in particular as long as one was ready to comply with the provisions of the Association’s constitution. One of such provisions is that “any member who fails to pay his or her monthly due and fails to attend meeting for more than three months without any acceptable reason like ill-health, loss of job, or means of livelihood, stands removed and ceases to be a member”. Each member shall pay a monthly due of N100.00 and any levy decided by the

general meeting from time to time, in pursuance of the association's goal (Interview in June 2006).

As at the time of this study, in June 2006, the Association was yet to start the banking business due to insufficiency of funds so far raised. We were told that the fund raised then was N475,000.00 as against N2.5 million required to start the community bank. The association was still hopeful that by the year 2000, sufficient fund would have been raised for the business to start (Interview in June 2006).

The other two associations we looked at were grappling with leadership crisis which had almost grounded the activities of one to a halt while efforts were made to resolve the second one. The leadership crisis in one named "Tabani Progressive Union" was in connection with the inability of the President and the Assistant-General to get along due to the lukewarm attitude of the Secretary to record keeping and minute-writing at meetings. The Secretary could not take down accurate minutes of the Association's meetings and also the Association did not have a coherent and intelligent record of proceedings leading to important decisions. Furthermore, there was no follow-up action on provisions and so, matters arising was always zero. This attitude led to the suspension of the Secretary in March 1987 which the

violently protested against by taking away all minutes and other important documents belonging to the Association.

It took the intervention of the Police before the documents were retrieved from the Secretary. His kiths and kins in the Association felt offended that their man had been humiliated and so they wrote to resign their membership of the Association. Elders of the community intervened and restored normalcy to the Association by July 1987, (Interview in June, 2006).

The leadership crisis in the third Association was a vote of no confidence passed on he Chairman due to lack of financial accountability. The Association called “Kungiyar Manoma Tabani”, that is Association of Tabani Farmers, wanted to embark on construction of ten kilometer road from the village to a farm market, costing N1.8 million. The Association record kept by its Treasurer, showed that it had N685,000 in its purse, that in its bank account in Birnin Gwari branch of Kaduna State Cooperative Bank as at June 1987. but to the surprise and dismay of the other members who went to the Bank to find out the financial soundness of the Association, the money in the Association’s account was P4250,000.00 only (Interview in June 2006). This revelation sparked off agitation that the Chairman should pay back the balance and resign as the Chairman. He resisted and threatened

to take legal action against the members for defamation of character. After a protracted quarrel over this, the Chairman eventually paid back P458,000 but left the Association (Interview in June, 2006).

Again, elders of the community intervened to douse tension. The Association could not start any project as at the time of this investigation.

The account given above shows that the Community Development Unit of Birnin Gwari Local Government was not alive to its responsibility in terms of assisting development associations to resolve crisis. In practice, its influence did not go beyond Birnin Gwari town. Most of the community development village level workers live in the town and visit the villages sparingly.

Community development work in the two villages studied in Ikara Local Government Area (Ungwan Doya and Ikara) was higher and more encouraging than what we saw in Birnin Gwari Local Government Area. This is because the people of these villages adopted a more positive approach of their communities.

In Ungwan Doya for instance, we studied the activities of three associations, namely “Community Education Development Association (CEDA)”. The Islamic Cultural Group otherwise known as “Jama’atul Nasrul Islam” and the “Association of Yam Growers”. To avoid duplication

of efforts and waste of resources on tiny projects that would not improve any standard of village life, the three associations decided to work together to carry out a project (expansion of village health center) which was built in 1973. Due to increase in population and types of diseases in the community, the health center was no longer enough for the people. The three associations decided to join hands to execute the project. A joint meeting of community elders and members of the three associations was held in January 1987. The meeting agreed, among other things, to:

i) embark on the project jointly;

ii) contract the Community Development Department, Primary Health Care Department and Works Department of Ikara Local Government to assist in preparing the technical plan and costing of the project;

iii) mobilize and generate three quarters of the cost and contact the local government to bear the balance;

iv) carry out the construction of work through direct labour by local artisans and mission but all electrical and plumbing work to be handled by exports from the local government;

v) contact Donor Agencies like the UNICEF and UNDP to provide the fixtures, fittings and equipment;

vi) complete all construction work by October 1987 (Interview with Community Development Association members in June 2006).

Between February and August 1990;

a) construction work had reached 80%;

b) the local government had accepted to do the electrical and plumbing work in addition to some building materials (bags of cement, iron rods and roofing sheets) it had provided;

c) the UNICEF, Kaduna Zonal office had also agreed in writing to provide the equipment and kiths for weighing and cold chain for vaccine storage as soon as the building was completed.

The success story of community development efforts of the village was largely determined by:

1) Committed and honest leadership not only of the associations but also of community elders;

2) Community consciousness by the entire villagers who were willing to participate in identifying their felt-needs and in finding solutions to them;

3) Cooperation and support of the local government and the UNICEF through financial, material and technical contribution (Interview in June, 2006).

In Old Ikara village also of Ikara Local Government Area community development activities were not as successful as in the other village. There were those of Ungwan Doya. The Community Development Extension Workers in the village made efforts to bring four of such associations together to form a larger and stronger group. The group called “Tapa Development Council”, was formed in April 1992. It was made up of representatives of all associations of women traders and mothers; four religious leaders (three Muslims and one Christian); all State and local government workers resident in the village; 5 representative of the primary school in the village and the Village Head as the Chairman. The Council meets every month in the Village Central Mosque. It has other financiers to run the affairs of the Council. The officers were volunteers not elected. When any of them leaves the village on transfer or as a result of death, another volunteer takes over at a general meeting of the Council convened for that purpose.

As at the time of this investigation, the Village Development Council was only beginning to plan for a project-rehabilitation of a feeder road linking the village to Zaria-Kano Express Way. The activities of the Council were limited in scope for some reasons.

First, the youth who constituted the bulk of membership from different associations, were not permanently resident in the village. They were and still are living either in Zaria or Kaduna in search of collar jobs or are engaged in petty trading. Second, the Village Council derived its revenue mainly from monthly dues which are not regularly paid by majority of members. Thirdly, the Council had not been registered by the local government and so was not receiving any assistance from her. Fourthly, the leadership is undemocratic. It is made up of the Village Head (a traditional ruler) and volunteers who are described by some of our respondents as "unserious and sometimes nonchalant toward community mobilization for self-help efforts" (Interview in June 2006). This weakness is responsible for poor financial contribution by members who seem not to have enough confidence in the leadership for probity and accountability. As at the time of this study, nobody knew the amount of money owned by the Village Council and so on, no project could start (Interview in April 2006).

d) Niger State

In Eyye community of Agaie Local Government Area, there was very little community development activities. We were told of a few development associations that were not functional. People used to meet once in a while to discuss any current issues which were of common interest but they were not

organized for any self-help activity (Interview in June 2006). The people would hold their meetings at the instance of either the Village Head or any politician from Minna or Abuja. But, an overriding necessity forced the people of the village to come together to repair the primary school roof blown off by rain storm in August 1988. We were informed that local government village level workers in charge of the community did not visit the place since January 1987 (Interview in June 2006). Therefore, there was no encouragement from the local government for the villages to organize development associations and to mobilize themselves for social and economic development. The only viable association we were informed of was the "Women Rice Sellers Cooperative Society formed in March 1985 by twenty-six women. The Cooperative Society was formed to facilitate the transportation of rice to urban centers for sale. Members would contribute money to buy a heavy duty truck popularly known as "911" which would be used in transporting rice from the village or from Badegi to Abuja, Kaduna, Kano, Lagos and other cities. The vehicle was bought in June 1987 and it started work immediately (Interview in June 2006).

The situation in Shaba-Woshi was the same as in Lyye. The people were not organized for community development work. The community leaders did not do anything to mobilize the people for self-help efforts. The

leaders did constitute a self-conscious group with means, desire and ability to articulate felt needs. They could not plan nor execute any project on their own. On inquiry, we were told of three associations, but we saw that they existed only in name.

Their leaders were unserious and uninspiring. The associations did not have clear objectives nor any laid down rules and regulations to guide their operations. It was for these reasons that the Local Government Community Development tried to use directive approach in the village (Interview in June 2006).

By this approach, the Community Development Officers decided the project to embark upon by the community, provided little fund and sent a Senior Extension Worker to the place for action. The officer called for a meeting of all leaders of associations, cultural groups, farmers' groups, women group, traders and elders, including religious leaders. At the meeting (which took place in May 1988) the Extension Officer talked about the need to come together for community development activities; how to form a strong association for the village, who and who should be leaders or officials of the association; how much they should contribute monthly as dues; the types of projects the people should plan for and execute and how the local

government would assist financially and technically to carry out any project they could plan for.

In response to. the call by the Extension Officer, an association called "Shaba-Woshi Development Union" was formed in July 1989 amidst pump and peasantry. It was a big occasion that attracted all sons and daughters of the community at home and outside. A sum of N688,000 was realized through voluntary donations. There and then, interim chairman and other officials of the union were selected by an ad-hoc committee of elders chaired by the Village Head (Interview in June 2006). The Interim Executive Committee of the union swung into action shortly after its formation. The first thing it did was to set up three committees, namely project Planning Committee, Resource Mobilization Committee and Project Implementation Committee to take care of functions Committee had held two meetings with the Local Government Community implied by their names. As at the time of this study, the Project Planning Development Extension Workers in attendance to provide technical advice. No project was suggested as at the time of our visit to the village (June 2006). According to the Chairman of the Planning Committee, he and other members were taking their time to study some projects implemented by communities in neighbouring local

government areas to know their financial, social and other implications before arriving at one.

Community development activities in Pandogari in Kagara Local Government Area present a brighter picture than that of the two communities we studied in Agaie Local Government Area. Pandogari is a fairly large and heterogeneous community along Lagos-Kaduna highway.

The community is heterogeneous in terms of ethnic groups living there, their occupations and economic status. There are Hausas, Fulanis, Gwaris (Gbagi), Kamuku, Nupe and Kambari as indigenes. There are Ibo, Yoruba and other ethnic groups as traders, transporters and technicians. There are rich, fairly rich, poor and very poor people in the community. The poor and the very poor are in the majority as shown earlier. But the influence of the rich and fairly rich is overwhelming in the area of decision making, project planning and implementation (Interview in June 2006).

The greatest problem of the community, when we visited there, in June 2006 was lack of safety from men of the underworld in the night and sometimes in the day time. Pandogari became notorious for insecurity and attack by armed bandits at the outskirts of the town. The Police in the area seemed helpless, either due to non-availability of sufficient equipment to work with or due to alleged collaboration between them and the bandits. The

community identified this (insecurity of life and properties) as its greatest priority need. A group calling itself “Pandagori Vanguard” spearheaded a campaign for reinforcement of the activities of the vigilante groups in the two. The elders, elites, youth, women and rich people of Pandogari responded positively by coming together at a meeting to work out strategies of combating the menace.

Among other things, the meeting agreed to set up three committees for the following activities:

1) Enlightenment campaign on the need to be vigilant and beware of strangers staying in the village for more than one month. Such cases should be reported to either the Village Head or to the Police Station there.
2) Mobilization of people for financial and material contribution to equip the Civil Defence Corps members and to pay them token allowance.
3) Training of some hunters to join the Civil Defence Corps in collaboration with the Police Divisional headquarters in Kagara the Local Government Headquarters (C.D.A. Minutes Book, Pandogari, June 2006).

The committees swung into action as soon as they were sworn in by the Village Head of Pandogari. There was every indication that the people were ready to take part in any activity that would raise the standard of social and economic life of the community. They were not waiting for the local nor State government to provide everything.

Having surveyed all the sixteen committees in the eight local government areas of four states (Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger) the conclusion we can draw is that some of the communities were prepared to initiate, plan and implement development projects with little or no support from outside while others needed to be pushed into action. Some of the community-based associations did enough to show that they were aware of community felt-needs and they needed change in their standard of living. In some communities, the local governments proved incapable of coping with the demand for development projects by community-based associations.

Such local governments failed to fulfill their promises to development associations in terms of financial, material and technical contributes to project planning and Implementation.

# CHAPTER FIVE

# IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNICEF-ASSISTED PROGRAMMES IN THE PILOT-PROJECT COMMUNITIES BETWEEN 1991 AND 1995

## 5.1 Introduction

The UNICEF-assisted projects in the Pilot-project Villages were carried out were carried out in the areas of Primary Health Care, Basic Education, Water & Sanitation and Food Security aimed at:

a) Improving the health status, educational standard and survival rate of children and women in the villages;

b) Changing the attitude of adults positively towards enrolment of children in primary schools, immunization of children (0 — months) against childhood killer diseases;

c) Sensitizing the entire community members (represented by male and female adults, heads of households, elders and leaders of community-based associations) to take over, operate and maintain projects provided by outsiders;

d) Encouraging local governments to involve communities in development process (formulation, implementation, monitoring and maintenance of facilities).

The specific activities (projects) carried out by the agency were:

a) Capacity-building (training of local government staff in the areas of health care services, adult literacy, water supply, environmental sanitation and food processing and preservation.

b) Repair of physical structures in the areas mentioned above such as Health Care Centres/Clinics, Adult & Primary Schools, boreholes and hand-pumps, public latrines and food processing industries.

c) Supply of vehicles and equipment to health centers in the pilot-project villages.

d) Monitoring and evaluation of the activities in all the benefiting villages.

e) Enlightenment campaign in the benefiting communities and training of community volunteers to participate in the activities mentioned above.

These activities were implemented by the UNICEF field offices in Bauchi and Kaduna in partnership with State government officials from the Ministries of Health, Education, Water Resources and Agriculture of

Adamawa, Kaduna and Niger States. At local government level, relevant officials from Primary Health Care, Works, Community Development and Agriculture Departments were involved in:

- identifying the facilities to repair or replace;
- deciding the communities to benefit from the UNICEF activities;
- monitoring and evaluation of the activities in the benefiting communities;
- sensitization campaign in the pilot-project villages.

Table 5.2 below, summarizes the financial contribution of the UNICEF and State governments (Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger) to the implementation of the activities mentioned above (between January 1991 and December 1995).

**Table 5.1: UNICEF AND STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNICEF-ASSISTED PROGRAMMES IN THE 16 PILOT PROJECT COMMUNITIES FOR THE 1991-1995 PERIOD**

| **PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES** | UNICEF-CONTRIBUTION | | | | | | | STATE GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTION (N000,00) | | | | | GRANT TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1991 x | 1992 x | 1993 x | 1994 x | 1995 x | TOTAL x | 1991 x | 1992 x | 1993 x | 1994 x | 1995 x | TOTAL x | UNICEF & STATE |
| 1. PRIMARY HEALTH CARE | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1) Training | 3.5 | 4.1 | 3.8 | 3.4 | 4.2 | 19.0 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 3.0 | 3.5 | 3.4 | 13.6 | 19.9 + 13.6 = 32.6 |
| 2) Supplies | 1.7 | 2.6 | 1.7 | 2.9 | 3.1 | 12.0 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 0.89 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 5.5 | |
| 3) Community Mobilization | 0.8 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 10.4 | 0.7 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 6.6 | |
| 4) M & E | 0.9 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 3.1 | 2.4 | 9.2 | 0.6 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 5.7 | |
| SUB-TOTAL | 6.9 | 9.5 | 9.3 | 12.4 | 12.5 | 50.6 | 3.7 | 6.2 | 6.5 | 8.5 | 8.4 | 31.4 | 50.6 - 31.4= 32.6 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. WATER & SANITATION | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Training | 2.7 | 2.7 | 3.6 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 16.5 | 1.0 | 1.6 | 1.8 |
| 2. Supplies | 3.1 | 2.7 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 3.3 | 15.0 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.2 |
| 3. Community Mobilization | 2.5 | 1.8 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.2 | 11.5 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 1.0 |
| 4. M & E | 1.8 | 2.0 | 2.6 | 3.4 | 1.9 | 9.9 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| SUB TOTAL | 18.1 | 9.4 | 10.8 | 11.5 | 11.1 | 52.9 | 5.0 | 3.6 | 4.6 |
| 3. FOOD & NUTRITION | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Training | 2.0 | 3.2 | 3.5 | 2.9 | 3.4 | 15.0 | 0.9 | 1.6 | 1.2 |
| 2. Supplies | 1.5 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 1.8 | 1.5 | 8.6 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 |
| 3. Community Mobilization | 0.5 | 1.11 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 6.3 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.4 |
| 4. M & E | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 5.7 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 3.0 |
| SUB TOTAL | 5.2 | 7.2 | 8.4 | 7.0 | 7.8 | 35.6 | 2.6 | 3.6 | 0.4 |
| 4. BASIC EDUCATION | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Training | 5.4 | 5.9 | 6.1 | 6.3 | 6.6 | 30.3 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 2.0 |
| 2. Supplies | 3.6 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 3.9 | 4.3 | 19.5 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 1.8 |
| 3. Community Mobilization | 4.1 | 3.9 | 2.8 | 3.0 | 3.3 | 17.1 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 1.5 |
| 4. M & E | 3.5 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 14.2 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.6 |
| SUB TOTAL | 15.4 | 16.7 | 15.6 | 16.3 | 17.2 | 81.2 | 6.1 | 7.8 | 6.9 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 37.6 | 42.8 | 44.1 | 47.2 | 48.6 | 220.3 | 17.4 | 21.2 | 21.0 |

Source: UNICEF Zonal offices in Bauchi and Kaduna (April, 2006).

From this table we can see very clearly that the UNICEF bore a heavier financial burden of carrying out the programmes by contributing N220.3m or 67.7% while the four States contributed N104.6 or 34.3%. The table also shows that out of the four programmes assisted by the UNICEF between 1991 and 1995, Basic Education gulped N11.6m or 31.8%, taking

the first position, followed by Primary Health Care programmes with N86m or 24.6%. The least expenditure went to Food Security with N50.8m or 17.2%.

We will now look at what happened under each of the four programmes during the period under consideration (1991 — 1995).

## 5.2 Implementation of the Programmes

### 5.2.1 Primary Health Care

a) Training of Health Workers and Para-Medical Staff

Between 1991 and 1995, UNICEF Zonal Offices in Bauchi and Kaduna collaborated with State Implementation Committees in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger to bring, local government health workers and community volunteers on “The Principles of Drug Revolving Scheme”, The training included:

- development of capacity for health management system,
- drug, financial and material management,
- micro-planning of health care facilities,
- target setting and supervision.

Para-medical staff like Nurses, Midwives and Community Health Extension Workers (CHEW) were given training on “Integrated

Management Approach to the Treatment of Sick Children" having complicated cases like malaria, typhoid and cholera.

Village Health Committee members and some representatives of CBAs were given basic skills required to monitor the relationship between patients and medical workers in Health Centres, the management of Drug Revolving Scheme and management of funds contributed by community members to buy drugs for their health centers.

Table 5.3 below, shows the number and types of health and medical staff and community representative trained between 1991 and 1995 in the 16 pilot project villages selected for this study.

Table 5.3 Number and types of para-medical staff trained between 1991 and 1995

| TYPES OF PARA-MEDICAL STAFF TRAINED | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Nurses and Midwives | 24 | 16 | 30 | 28 | 24 | 122 |
| 2) Community H/Offices | 41 | 45 | 40 | 48 | 46 | 220 |
| 3) Community H/Ext. Workers | 36 | 32 | 30 | 28 | 34 | 160 |
| 4) Village Volunteers | 80 | 88 | 79 | 92 | 86 | 424 |
| TOTAL | 181 | 181 | 178 | 196 | 190 | 926 |

Source: UNICEF Zonal Offices in Bauchi and Kaduna, April 2006.

b) Supply

In order to meet. the basic health needs of the target communities, the UNICEF and State governments engaged in the following activities:

i) Creation of functional supply system from the local government central stores to district and village health institutions.

ii) Provision of essential drugs and vaccines to the village and district health centers.

iii) Provision of kits and weighing scales to Community Health Extension Workers to weigh from age 1-5 years (UNICEF Nigeria: 1991-1995). Table 4.11 shows that a total sum of N17.5m was spent on these aspects of supplies. The UNICEF contributed N12m while the State governments provided N5.5m.

c) Community Mobilization

An important underlying assumption of all UNICEF-assisted programmes is that the full participation of all constituent groups of a community in decision- making process will ensure that community needs and resource utillzation will reflect the needs of the majority or the problems unique to each community.

To this end, the UNICEF and the State Implementation Committees organized sensitization meetings and workshops for women clubs, peer groups,, representatives of Development Associations, Youth Clubs and

professional groups in target villages. This was aimed at promoting community-ownership of programmes. Table 5.4 below shows the number of individuals who benefited from the sensitization programmes between 1991 and 1995.

Table 5.4 Number sensitization participants between 1991 and 1995 in the local government and target communities

| TYPES OF PARTICIPANTS | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Women Club Representatives | 168 | 178 | 150 | 165 | 205 | 866 |
| 2) Youth Club Representatives | 86 | 95 | 105 | 98 | 150 | 534 |
| 3) Village Implementation Comm. Reps. | 80 | 75 | 78 | 75 | 80 | 388 |
| 4) Dev. Association Reps. | 165 | 180 | 163 | 174 | 174 | 870 |
| 5) Professional Group Reps. (e.g. farmers, herbal Inst., masons artisans) | 210 | 240 | 2354 | 753 | 250 | 1,176 |
| TOTAL | 709 | 181 | 178 | 1,265 | 190 | 3,8634 |

Source: UNICEF Zonal Offices in Bauchi and Kaduna, April 2006.

Table 5.3 show that a total sum of N17m was spent on the programme during the five year period. Out of this amount, the UNICEF contributed N10.4m while the four State governments contributed N6.6m.

d) Monitoring and Evaluation

These twin-activities involved the supervision and assessment of programme implementation, access to health facilities and services, the quality of care, drug availability and cost of managing drug revolving scheme in each of the target communities. Basic data was generated through field visits, visits to health centers in the target villages and households. Officers charged with the responsibility of monitoring and evaluation of health programme and activities were Public Health Inspectors, Community Health Officers, Medical Record Officers and Disease Control Officers. Table 5.2 shows that this activity gulped a sum of N14.9m between 1991 and 1995. The cost sharing was N9.2m by the UNICEF and N5.7m by the four State governments.

### 5.2.2 Water and Sanitation

a) During the period under review, the UNICEF and State Water and Sanitation Committees trained artisans at local government and community levels for well digging and construction, repairs of hand-pumps and repairs of SANPLAT slabs for latrines. Other trainees were in the areas of hygiene education, improved sanitation and disposal of solid and liquid waste. Table 5.4 shows the number and types of people trained at local government and

community levels for water and sanitation activities in the target communities.

Table 5.4 Types and number of artisans trained for water and sanitation activities in the target communities, 1991 — 1995.

| TYPES OF PARTICIPANTS | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Well duggers & constructors | 160 | 165 | 155 | 155 | 150 | 808 |
| 2) Hand-pump repairers | 80 | 80 | 86 | 86 | 75 | 491 |
| 3) SANPLAT slab repairers | 46 | 52 | 48 | 48 | 50 | 241 |
| 4) Hygiene Educators | 38 | 40 | 45 | 45 | 43 | 201 |
| 5) Public Health Workers (for waste disposal) | 83 | 80 | 86 | 86 | 78 | 415 |
| TOTAL | 387 | 416 | 420 | 417 | 396 | 2,056 |

Source: UNICEF Zonal Offices in Bauchi and Kaduna, April 2006.

As shown in 5.2 this activity cost N24.6m, shared by the UNICEF N16.5m) and the State government (N8.lm).

b) Supplies

The UNICEF and State WASTAN Committees provided cement and other materials for construction of deep wells, spare parts for repairs of hand-pumps, cover for wells, sanplat slabs for latrines and boreholes drilling

equipment. All these cost N20.4m, shared by the UNICEF (N15M) and State government (5.4m).

c) Community Mobilization

In order to ensure community ownership and sustainability of facilities for Water supply and environmental sanitation, efforts were made to promote formation of Village WASTAN Committees by representatives of women, youth clubs, Village Health Workers and representatives of development associations. This Village Committee was responsible for:

i) enlightenment campaign on methods of keeping wells safe or protect from misuse;

ii) education of people on water borne diseases and how to prevent them;

iii) maintenance and repairs of wells, boreholes, hand-pumps, diesel engine for pumping water from boreholes;

iv) maintenance of public latrines and assisting individual households to construct theirs;

v) mobilization of people in the village to contribute financially toward maintenance of water and sanitation facilities.

The Village Committees were assisted with a sum of N17.5m by the UNICEF and State government during the five-year period (as shown in table 5.2).

d) Monitoring and Evaluation

Between 1991 and .1995, UNICEF Zonal officials, that is, Water and Sanitation programme/Project Officers in collaboration with State WASTAN engineers and technical officers went round to the eight focus local government areas and the sixteen target communities to ensure that:

i) wells were constructed and boreholes sunk according to specifications;
ii) the hand-pumps installed were of the right quality and that they were properly installed;
iii) the spare parts supplied for repairs of hand-pumps and other equipment were of high quality;
iv) artisans and volunteers had been trained for maintenance of facilities and equipment;
v) Village committees were formed to carry out the functions enumerated under (C) above;
vi) a reasonable percentage of village members had access to the water and sanitation facilities.

The experts engaged in monitoring and evaluation held review meetings with local government officials and Village Committees to identify areas of problems and suggest ways of resolving such .problems M&E cost the UNICEF and state government N9.9m respectively.

### 5.2.2 Food Security

a) Training

This activity received Little attention during the period under review. This was due to the parallel commitment of the UNICEF to the National Agricultural Development Programme in partnership with the Federal Ministry of Agriculture. However, efforts were made to train some local government agricultural extension workers, representatives of Young Farmers' Clubs in the target communities, Women Cooperative officials in the eight local government areas of foodstuff storage, food processing, home gardening and nutritional needs of pregnant women and children. Tables 5.6 below shows the types and number of trainees during the five year period.

Table 5.5 Types and number of trainees on Food Security and Nutrition at local government community levels

| TYPES OF PARTICIPANTS | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Agric. Extension Workers | 32 | 140 | 48 | 37 | 41 | 187 |
| 2) Young Farmers' Club Reps. | 180 | 175 | 193 | 162 | 183 | 893 |
| 3) Women Cooperative Officials. | 86 | 98 | 72 | 85 | 77 | 410 |
| 4) Monitors in the target villages | 305 | 238 | 310 | 325 | 285 | 1,463 |
| TOTAL | 603 | 551 [ | 623 | 609 | 586 | 2,964 |

Source: UNICEF Zonal Offices in Bauchi and Kaduna, April 2006.

b) Supplies

In order to promote production or the growing of variety of food crops in large quantity for improvement of hutritional status of mothers and children and to increase the economic status or wellbeing of farmers in the local government areas and target villages, selected farmers called focus farmers or demonstration farmers including women were provided with soya beans, ordinary red beans and highbred maize to plant. They were also given bags of fertilizers and tins of insecticides to apply on their farms. These supplies took N12.6m during the period.

c) Community Mobilization

Like in other programmes, community members and local government extension workers were encouraged to form viable committees whose functions included:

i) education of farmers on the need to grow different varieties of food crops to improve the nutrition status of people in general and of children and nursing mothers in particular;

ii) education of community farmers on methods of processing and preserving foodstuffs like soya beans, red beans, fruits, vegetable and energy giving food items;

iii) adoption of new techniques of applying fertilizer and other chemicals on the farms.

A reasonable percentage of the target communities was highly mobilized along these lines. To this end, the village and local government committees were given a sum of N8.9m during five year period.

d) Monitoring and Evaluation

UNICEF Agricultural Officers and experts in the State Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Development Projects formed a Monitoring and Evaluation Committee to go round the focus local government areas and target communities to:

i) identify and document the number and locations of UNICEF agricultural assistance beneficiaries;

ii) identify the types and size of crops grown by the beneficiaries;

iii) identify and document the types and number of people trained for agriculture-related activities;

iv) ensure that all types of supplies provided were properly utilized by beneficiaries;

v) submit reports to the local governments, State Implementation Committees and UNICEF Zonal offices.

These, activities cost N8.3m as shown earlier in this chapter.

### 5.2.3 Basic Education

a) Training

This activity was carried out in phases and for different categories of personnel involved in primary school administration and teaching, non-formal education for adult women and drop-out boys and girls and child development. Table 5.6 below shows the types and number of personnel trained for the programme between 1991 and 1995.

Table 5.6 Types and number of personnel trained for basic education in the focus local government areas and target communities

| TYPES OF PARTICIPANTS | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Prim. Headmasters & Assists. | 30 | 32 | NIL | 40 | 48 | 150 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2) Prim. School Supervisors | 24 | 22 | 23 | NIL | 16 | 85 |
| 3) adult Education Teachers | 80 | 88 | 76 | 78 | 91 | 413 |
| 4) Adult Education Planners | 48 | 44 | 43 | 40 | 38 | 213 |
| 5) Child Dev. Head Masters I (females) | 13 | 12 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 54 |
| TOTAL | 182 | 198 | 152 | 166 | 204 | 915 |

Source: UNICEF Zonal Offices in Bauchi and Kaduna, April 2006.

The training was aimed at increasing the administrative management and planning skills of participants. The period of training ranged from 5 days to two weeks. At federal and State levels, the UNICEF sponsored some members of staff of National Primary Education Commission (NUPEC) and State Primary Education Board (SPEB) for overseas courses for periods ranging from three months to one year. The local training programme cost the UNICEF and State governments N30.3m and N1O.3m respectively as shown in table 5.3.

b) Supplies

In order to improve the quality of teaching and learning in the target primary schools, Adult Education Classes and Child Development Centres, the UNICEF and State governments spent a total sum of N92m during the period under review to provide:

i) instructional materials and teaching aids for Teachers;

ii) EDUCKITS' to augment teaching aids for managers and Teachers of Child Development Centres;

iii) water and sanitation facilities in primary schools and Child Development Centres;

iv) audio-visual aids to Adult Education Centres;

v) deworming table and syrup for children in the Child Development Centres;

vi) textbooks for the target primary schools.

c) Community Mobilization

This activity involve the Basic Education Programme Officers, the Zonal Communications Officers and state Primary Education Board officials in the following activities during the five year period.

i) Radio and Television programmes on public awareness of the importance of girl-child education, including campaign against withdrawal of girl-child from school for early marriage;

ii) Public enlightenment campaign through drama and focus group discussion on the importance of school-age child-enrolment in primary schools;

iii) Focus group sensitization of Parents-Teachers Associations for maintenance of school buildings and other facilities provided in the schools for teaching and learning;

iv) Review meetings with community leaders and members of Village Education Committee on School problems suggested solutions;

v) Round-table talks with CBOs, PTAs and Teachers' Union to educate the general public and adult education especially for drop-outs boys and girls).

According to the data available to us for this study, a total sum of N25.lm was spent on this activity between 1991 and 1995, as shown in table 4.2.

d) Monitoring and Evaluation

Attainment of programme objectives necessitated monitoring and evaluation system In this regard, the UNICEF Education Programme Officers and State Primary Education Board officials were engaged in a number of monitoring and evaluation activities such as:

i) Visit to target primary schools to take the statistics of enrolment, attendance, performance, teaching and non-teaching and learning.

ii) Visit to Adult Education or Non-Formal Education Centres to take the same types of statistics as in (I) above.

iii) Attendance at PTA and Village Education Committee meetings to participate in deliberations on problems, issues and prospects of basic education in the target communities.

iv) Conducting of research works on peculiarities of villages in terms of social, economic and cultural factors militating against girl-child education in particular and primary education in general.

These activities cost N21.3m during the five year period as shown in table 5.1.

Data presented so far show that the UNICEF, through its zonal offices in Bauchi and Kaduna and State governments, through their Implementation Committees and relevant ministries and agencies, made attempt to strengthen the institutional capacity of local governments and community-based associations to takeover and sustain the four programmes studied. We also saw the efforts of the agencies to provide essential services and basic facilities which local government and target communities were expected to improve upon or sustain after 1995. When we look at figures presented in table 5.2, we would see that the greatest emphasis was laid on training of local government staff and community representatives by spending N118.8m or 36.7% total expenditure (N324.9m), followed by supplies of materials, tools and equipment to execute the four programmes which consumed

N79.5m or 24.4% of total expenditure (324.9m). Community mobilization took the third position by gulping N68.5m or 2l% while monitoring and evaluation of the programmes took the last position by taking N58.lm or 17.9% of total expenditure. What these figures on expenditure and tables on programmes performance show is that some efforts had been made to lay the foundation for the sustainability of the programmes for 1995.

## 5.3 Benefits of the UNICEF Projects/Activities to the Target Communities

We reported in chapter four that before January 1991, the sixteen pilot- project communities were deprived, that is, health, water and sanitation facilities were either non-existent or very poorly maintained. They lacked staff and necessary equipment to work with; there were no materials to repair structures; community members made attempts to maintain and expand the facilities but were not sufficient to sustain them and so, services were not provided.

Furthermore, children and their mothers were malnourished not because there was no farming in the communities, but because there were no facilities to preserve foodstuffs and there was no proper ‘mix of food consumption in the communities. This was the situation before UNICEF

intervention in 1991-1995. Now, let us see what happened after the intervention.

### 5.3.1 Primary Health Care Service

Access to health care services is determined by a variety of factors, including their availability within a reasonable distance and their affordability. The mere existence of health care facilities does not automatically mean that they provide most of the services that they are supposed to provide, or at the desired level of quality. Primary health care facilities are expected to provide basic prevention and health promotion services, as well as simple curative services. Such services include health education, immunization, promotion of adequate nutrition, management of simple illness, ante-natal care, family planning and treatment of simple cuts. To provide these services satisfactorily, there must be adequate staff in terms of number and qualification; necessary equipment and tools to work with and drugs for patients.

Records available to us from the UNICEF Field Officers (Bauchi and Kaduna) and the eight local governments selected for this study show that primary health care services were provided at varying degrees in the sixteen

pilot-project communities after the UNICEF intervention between 1991-1995.

Table 5.7 below shows the general picture of the assessment (of health care services) in the communities by the UNICEF and Federal Ministry of Health in 1998.

Table 5.7 Assessment of primary health care services in pilot-project communities in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States in 1998.

| S/N | SERVICES PROVIDED IN CLINICS | ASSESSMENT OF SERVICES IN THE 16 PILOT-PROJECT COMMUNITIES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Very Satisfactory | Satisfactory | Fairly Satisfactory | Poor | Very Poor | Total |
| 1 | Health Education | 2 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 16 |
| 2 | Immunization | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 16 |
| 3 | Promotion of adequate nutrition | 1 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 16 |
| 4 | Management of simple diseases | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 16 |
| 5 | Ante-natal care | 6 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 16 |
| 6 | Post-natal care | 5 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 16 |
| 7 | Family Planning | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 16 |

Source: UNICEF Field Officers IN Bauchi AND Kaduna, April 2006.

Extracted from Situation Assessment and Analysis 1998 by UNICEF/FGN, Federal Ministry of Education Abuja, 1988, pp. 213-226.

According to the study from where we got the figures for table 5.8 above.

a) Very satisfactory service is a situation where:
   i) patients were attended to within one hour of reporting to the clinic;
   ii) medical and para-medical staff were polite, friendly and kind to their patients;
   iii) drugs/vaccines were available;
   iv) necessary equipment to test patients were available;
   v) environment was clean or well maintained.

b) Satisfactory service is a situation where only one of I-v above is lacking.

c) Fairly satisfactory service is a situation where two to three of the above mentioned conditions are lacking or missing.

d) Poor service is a situation where four of the conditions are missing.

e) Very poor performance is a situation where none of the five conditions is available in any clinic.

From table 5.7 above, we can deduce that health education as a primary health care service was very satisfactorily delivered in two communities, just satisfactory in 5 communities but poorly and very poorly delivered in 3 and 2 communities respectively. It can also be seen from the table that immunization was very satisfactorily carried out in 5 communities, just satisfactory in 2, fairly satisfactory in 3 but poorly and very poorly done in 4 and 2 communities respectively. The services that recorded the highest score of performance were Ante-natal, Post-Natal and Immunization where 6, 5 and other 5 communities said the services were very satisfactory.

On the other hand, the service that was rated least satisfactory by six communities was family planning where they said the service was either poor or very poor, (FGN/UNICEF, 1998:213:226).

What we can conclude from the analysis of table 5.7 is that majority of the sixteen pilot-project communities derived a great deal of benefits from the UNICEF-assisted activities carried out in the health sector between January 1991 and December 1995.

### 5.3.2 Basic Education (Primary and Adult Literacy Services)

For the purpose of UNICEF activities in Nigeria, basic education encompasses primary education from Primary One to Six, Junior Secondary

Education from Class One to Three otherwise known as JSS I — III and non- formal education drop-outs from primary and junior secondary schools as well as adult education for adults who had no opportunity to attend formal schools at early age. These categories of learners are given the opportunity to benefit from educational facilities designed to meet their basic learning needs. The facilities to give the learners opportunity to meet their learning needs include:

i) Buildings to house classrooms

ii) Seats (desks and benches or chairs)

iii) Toilets for children and their Teachers

iv) Water for drinking and washing of hands

v) Playing ground for physical and health education children

vi) Teaching aid and instructional materials

vii) Above, all qualified Teachers.

Other requirements include:

viii) Functional Parent-Teachers Association for each primary school

ix) Competent leadership exemplified by the Headmaster or Headmistress.

x) Qualified teaching staff.

Source: Ministry of Education — UNICEF, 1997: 88-101).

As we showed earlier in this chapter, the UNICEF provided the following services between January 1991 and December 1995.

i) Supply of building materials to repair and expand primary school structures.

ii) Provision of seats (desks and benches to primary schools and Adult Education Centres.

iii) Supply of building materials to repair and or put up toilet facilities in primary schools;

iv) Training of Head-Teachers on school management;

v) Enlightenment campaign to community members on child enrolment and completion of primary education.

vi) Sensitization of PTA members on participation in repairs and maintenance of school structures and provision of seats for pupils.

The benefits of these UNICEF-assisted activities (between 1991 and 1995) were:

i) increase in school enrolment

ii) improvement of academic performance of pupils

iii) improvement/increase in the cleanliness of school environment including toilet facilities and water supply

iv) boosting of Teachers' morale

v) increase in the participation of PTA members in the maintenance of school structures and environment.

Source: (FGN/UNICEF, Fed. Mm. of Education/UNICEF 1998:55).

Table 5.8 below shows the picture of these benefits in the 16 pilot-project communities after the UNICEF intervention/assistance between 1991 and 1995.

Table 5.8 Assessment of Basic Education Benefits to the 16 target communities

| S/N | SERVICES PROVIDED IN CLINICS | ASSESSMENT OF SERVICES IN THE 16 PILOT-PROJECT COMMUNITIES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Very Satisfactory | Satisfactory | Fairly Satisfactory | Poor | Very Poor | Total |
| 1 | School enrolment | 7 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 16 |
| 2 | Academic performance | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 16 |
| 3 | Cleanliness of school environment | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | | 16 |
| 4 | Teachers' morale | 9 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 16 |
| 5 | PTA participation in school maintenance | 6 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 16 |

Source: UNICEF/FGN: Situation Analysis of Basic Education in Northern States of Nigeria 1993-1998 (UNICEF, 1998), pp. 56-68.

The situation shown in table 5.8 is that the UNICEF assistance to the 16 communities in the area of basic education yielded a variety of benefits; and that the benefits vary in degree from community to community. For instance, school enrolment or environment of children and adult learners was very high in seven communities, high in two and fairly high in three, but low and very low in four communities. Very high enrolment here means more than 50% of enrolment for the last five years; high enrolment means 45% to 49%, fairly high is between 30-39%, low is between 20 to 29% while very low is 20 (Fed. Ministry of Education/UNICEF, 1998:58).

In academic performance, the table shows that five communities recorded very high performance; two recorded high performance, three are fairly high, whole four and two were low and very low. Very high performance means that 50% above of pupils passed their promotion examination; high performance means between 40% and 49% of pupils passed; fairly high is 30% - 39%; low is 20% - 29% while very low is below 20% of pupils who passed their promotion examination.

Cleanliness of school environment was very high in eight communities, high in two and fairly high in another two.

But four communities recorded low in their schools and adult education centers. Cleanliness is assessed in terms of bush clearing, round

the schools, regular sweeping of school compound, and classrooms; maintenance of school toilets for children and Teachers and maintenance of water sources which are mainly deep wells.

A school is considered very clean when it meets all the five criteria mentioned above, it is clean when there are four of the criteria; fairly clean when there are three. But low and very low means availability of two and one of the criteria (FME/UNICEF, 1998: 61).

Teachers' morale was found very high in nine community schools, high in three and fairly high in one. But two and one community recorded low and very low morale of Teachers. Morale of Teachers were assessed in terms of

i) punctuality to their classes

ii) taking of roll call in the morning

iii) preparation of lesson notes

iv) actual teaching, asking and answering questions from pupils

v) and making of pupils' assignments, class tests and examinations.

A Teacher who does all these is considered as having a very high morale. A Teacher with four is having high morale while any Teacher with three of the criteria is said to have a fairly high morale. But Teachers having

low and or very low morale are those fulfilling only two or one of the criteria.

Participation of Parents-Teachers Association in the maintenance of schools was found to be “very high” in six communities, “high” in five and “fairly high” in two.

But this was “low” and “very low” in one and two communities respectively. Participation in school maintenance is assessed in terms of:

i) Financial contribution

ii) Material contribution (such as building material(s)

iii) Attendance at PTA meetings

iv) Physical presence to work in the school premises

v) Contribution of ideas either through memoranda/letters to Head-Teachers at PTA meetings (FEM/UNICEF, Ibid:63).

A school that has these five elements of participation is assessed as very high. Any school having four of them is considered high while three is recorded fairly high. But schools with two or one of the elements are assessed as “low” and “very low”.

### 5.3.3 Water and Sanitation

One of the fundamental problems affecting millions of Nigerians is lack of access to safe sources of water supply and adequate means of disposing human waste, as well as adequate refuse and drainage facilities.

Furthermore, unhygienic behaviour, resulting from inadequate awareness of health problems results in the transmission of diseases. For example, the habit of defalcating and urinating in the bush, close to homes or near water sources such as rivers, the infrequent washing of hands and the indiscriminate disposal of waste and domestic water are among the most significant factors causing diarrhea disease in Nigerian communities. Likewise, the use of a single source of water such as well, stream, pond or river for multiple purposes like drinking, washing and cattle drinking results in contamination of water. This practice is prevalent in many communities and has contributed to high incidence of water-borne diseases.

Apart from the health consequences of water and sanitation related diseases, the fetching of water inflicts a heavy burden, in terms of time and effort on women and children. Women and children in rural communities have to walk long distances to water sources and then wait in queues to fill their buckets. This is part of a daily routine for millions of women and children in our rural and some urban communities. The involvement of children in this daily routine deprives them of time to attend school

punctually. It is for these and other equally serious problems that the UNICEF-assisted local and State governments to improve the number and quality of water supply sources in some rural and semi-urban communities between 1991 and 1995.

Like we reported earlier in this chapter, the UNICEF engaged in the following activities to provide safe water and sanitation facilities in the pilot-project communities between 1991 and 1995.

i) repair of existing boreholes
ii) maintenance of existing local wells
iii) provision of diesel to operate pumping machines/engines
iv) provision of hand-pumps attached to boreholes
v) sinking of new boreholes
vi) supply and installation of pumping machines
vii) construction of houses for pumping machines
viii) training of technical staff of local governments on maintenance of water facilities
ix) training of community volunteers to participate in maintaining the water facilities

x) sensitization of benefiting communities to keep the surroundings of the water facilities clean and safe (UNICEF Field Officers, Bauchi and Kaduna, 1996).

For sanitation of the communities, the UNICEF assisted in:

i) construction of ventilated improved pit latrines (VIP)

ii) supply of building materials for repair of existing public latrines

iii) enlightenment campaign through local government officials on change of attitude and behaviour toward new methods of human waste disposal, defalcation and urinating

iv) training of local government health workers to inspect and ensure that toilet were well maintained (cleanliness) and repaired (UNICEF Field Offices, Bauchi and Kaduna, 1996).

The benefits of these water and sanitation facilities/services to the pilot-project communities were:

i) availability and accessibility of safe water (increase in quantity and quality)

ii) reduction in cases of water-borne diseases

iii) reduction in the time and efforts of women and children to fetch water

iv) availability and accessibility of public latrines for defalcation

v) change of attitude toward modern facilities for disposal of human waste (UNICEF Field Offices, Bauchi and Kaduna, 1996).

Table 5.9 below presents a general picture of water and sanitation activities/benefits to the sixteen pilot-project communities after UNICEF assistance.

Table 5.9 Benefits of water & sanitation activities in the 16 benefiting communities (1998)

| S/N | SERVICES PROVIDED IN CLINICS | ASSESSMENT OF SERVICES IN THE 16 PILOT-PROJECT COMMUNITIES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Very Satisfactory | Satisfactory | Fairly Satisfactory | Poor | Very Poor | Total |
| 1 | Availability of safe water | 6 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 16 |
| 2 | Reduction in cases of water borne-diseases | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 16 |
| 3 | Reduction in time & efforts of women & children fetching water | 4 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 16 |
| 4 | Availability of public latrine for defalcation | 5 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 16 |
| 5 | Change of attitude towards modern toilet facilities. | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 16 |

Source: UNICEF: Experiences on Water and Sanitation Programme in Nigeria" in proceedings of the Governors seminar and Donors pg. ccliv

Conference on Strategies for Attracting Investment to Water Supply and Sanitation Sector. Abuja February 2000, (UNICEF Country Office, Abuja, 2000).

The situation presented in table 5.9 above is that the sixteen pilot-project communities benefited from the UNICEF activities in Water and Sanitation Programme in varying degrees as in other programmes. For instance, the table shows that water was very much available in six communities, much in two and fairly available in three, but five communities had little or very little water as at the time of assessment (2000).

As a result of available water in majority of the communities, cases of water borne diseases reduced very much in five communities, much in four communities and fairly in three. It is only in four communities that such cases reduced a little and very little as shown by table 5.9.

Efforts and time spent by women and children to fetch water reduced very much in four communities, much in six and fair in four. It was only in two communities that the efforts and time taken to fetch water did not reduce, or reduced a little. The situation is quite different in the area of sanitation where public latrines were available in five out of the sixteen communities. The remaining eleven either had very few or none at all.

The most impressive gain of UNICEF intervention in the Water and Sanitation Programme is in the change of attitude toward modern toilet facilities. The table shows that even though the facilities were not available in majority of communities, people had accepted the idea by their change of attitude in twelve of the sixteen communities due perhaps to intensive enlightenment campaign sponsored by the UNICEF and carried out by local government staff.

### 5.3.4 Food Security Programme

For the purpose of UNICEF-assisted Food Programme, food security is defined in its most basic form as “access by all people of a given territory or community at all time to the quantity and quality of food needed for a healthy living” (UNICEF, 1991”68).

Thus, at the household level, food security is the ability of the household to have or possess enough food to ensure an adequate dietary intake for all its members. Availability of food and access to food are the two most essential determinants of food security. The first does not necessarily ensure the second, since food may be available but a household or an individual may not have access to it due to lack of purchasing power. Food insecurity exists as a big problem in Nigeria since early seventies when

oil became the mainstay of our economy. Since then, majority of Nigerians do not have the purchasing power to access food that is adequate (quantitative and qualitative) for healthy living. Food insecurity in Nigeria is also caused by inadequate production as a result of draught, pest, flood and other factors affecting agricultural productivity and preservation. As a programme, the UNICEF engaged in food security through:

i) financial assistance to small-scale farmers in rural areas to hire tractors for land clearing and ridge making;
ii) supply of fertilizers at highly subsidized rate to poor farmers;
iii) supply of specific grains such as wheat and soya beans for planting;
iv) promotion of agro-allied industries to process foodstuffs for preservation.

The benefits of these activities to the pilot-project communities include:

i) increase in food production to ensure food availability to households
ii) increase in per capita items that would guarantee a healthy living
iii) improvement in. the nutritional value of food taken by children and women, especially nursing mothers

iv) improvement in the weight and height of malnourished children whose parents had access to more qualitative food.

A study conducted by the Field Offices of the UNICEF in partnership with State Ministries of Agriculture in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger in 1997 revealed that the above-mentioned benefits of the Food Security Programme were not the same in the pilot-project communities. While some communities had cause to rejoice others derived very marginal benefits as shown in table 5.10 below.

Table 5.10 Benefits of Food Security Programme to the 16 Pilot-Project Communities (1997)

| S/N | BENEFITS OF THE PROGRAMME | ASSESSMENT OF SERVICES IN THE 16 PILOT-PROJECT COMMUNITIES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Very Large | Large | Fairly Large | Small | Very Small | Total |
| 1 | Increase in food production | 2 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 16 |
| 2 | Increase in per capita income of farmers | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 16 |
| 3 | Improvement in nutritional value of food taken | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 16 |
| 4 | Improvement in the weight & height of children | 4 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 16 |

Source: UNICEF: Filed Offices, Bauchi & Kaduna 1997.

Table 5.10 above shows a graphic picture of the food security benefits to the benefiting or target communities. First, it shows that the increase in food production is very large in only two communities, large in three and fairly large in six. Three communities experienced small increase while two recorded very small increase in food production. “Very large” increase here means more than 5Q% increase in food production over and above production in the previous years that is before the UNICEF-assisted activities in 1991-1995. “Large” increase is between 40 - 40%; “Fairly large” is between 31% while “very small” is below 20% increase (UNICEF Nigeria, 1997: 186).

The second benefit assessed was the increase in per capita income of farmers in the target communities. The table shows that farmers in three communities said they experienced a “Very Large” increase in their income, four communities had “large” increase while two communities said their per capita income was “fairly large”. But for and three communities had “small” and “very small’ increase in per capita income means more than 6O% increase in income above previous years (1991-1995). “Large increase is from 40% to 59%, “fairly large” is from 30% to 39%, “small” increase is between 20% and 29% while “very small” increase is any income below 20% (UNICEF/state Governments, 1997: 75-93).

The third benefit of the programme is “improvement in the nutritional value of food taken”. This was determined by the variety of food items or foodstuffs like soya beans, wheat, millet, red beans taken instead of starchy food previously consumed due to unavailability and inaccessibility to the new foodstuff which have higher nutrient. As shown in table 5.11, that study revealed that five communities reported that the nutritional value of the foodstuffs they consumed had either “very large”, “large” or “fairly large” increase, meaning that they had access to more nutritious foodstuffs like soya beans, red beans, wheat and millet rather than things like maize, cassava, yams, rice and guinea corn.

The fourth benefit of the Food Security Programme is “improvement in the weight and height of children after children intervention”. Scientific instruments like scale and tapes were used in measuring the weight and height of children, by local government health workers sponsored by UNICEF in the target communities. From such routine exercise, it was easy to assess the impact of more nutritious food taken on the weight of children in particular. It must be noted here that weighing and measuring of children to assess the impact of good food on their weight and height can be very problematic. This is because children with stunted growth due to poor food intake may not grow any taller after taking more nutritious food. The second

problem is related to time of growth. How long does a child take to grow tall or gain additional weight after taking more nutritious food? At what interval of time can the weighing and measuring of children be to assess the impact of good food after poor food? Thus, to assess the improvement in the weight and height of children as shown in table 5.11 above becomes a problem, and so, the figures shown in the table must be taken with a pinch of salt. One thing that cannot be disputed is that nutritious food intake leads to improvement in the health of children or any person for that matter, all things being equal.

This assessment we have done so far is to show what the UNICEF did in the sixteen pilot-project communities between 1991 and 1995 as well as the benefits of its activities thereafter as revealed by data from secondary sources. Our next task is to show what the eight local governments did after taking over the programmes (Primary Health Care, Basic Education, Water and Sanitation and Food Security) in the 16 pilot-project communities. In other words, we want to see how and whether the programmes were sustained in those communities by the local governments.

# CHAPTER SIX

# PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

## 6.1 Introduction

Having shown the implementation of the UNICEF-assisted programmes in the last chapter, we now present, analyze and discuss data on why the eight focus local governments in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States, failed to sustain the programmes after taking them over in January 1996. By implication, we will also show why local governments in Nigeria always fail to perform their development-oriented functions inspite of reforms and administrative changes over the years. In doing these, attempts are made to test three hypotheses as they relate to:

- the executive capacity of local governments and sustainability of programmes,
- the State government control of local governments and their executive capacity;
- the self-serving interest of State government officials.

Primary and secondary data are presented and analyzed around these hypotheses one after the other. The chapter ends with discussion of our findings.

## 6.2 Types and Sources of Data

### 6.2.1 Primary Data

As earlier discussed in chapter three, data for this work were generated from:

- the UNICEF Zonal Offices in Bauchi and Kaduna;
- relevant ministries (Ministry for Local Governemtn and Local Government Service Commission in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States;
- the eight focus local governments in the four States;
- the sixteen pilot-project communities where the UNICEF-assisted projects are located.

Questionnaires were administered to the sampled respondents from these places as shown in table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Questionnaire administered and returned

| S/N | CATEGORIES RESPONDENTS | QUESTIONNAIRES ADMINISTERED | QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Community members | 385 | 371 | 90.16 |
| 2 | L.G. Officials | 65 | 59 | |
| 3 | State Govt. Officials | 25 | 20 | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | UNICEF Officials | 6 | 5 | |
| | TOTAL | 481 | 455 | |

Source: Field Survey (May, 2006).

This table shows that a very high percentage of respondents filled and returned their questionnaires. This was due perhaps to the insistence of Research Assistants to retrieve the questionnaires immediately after filling them. At community level, the questionnaires were filled by the Research Assistants after obtaining answers from respondents. At State and local government levels, respondents were allowed to fill the questionnaires themselves due to their levels of education.

### 6.2.2 Data from Secondary Sources

Data from secondary sources were generated through careful extraction from existing records in the UNICEF Zonal Offices, relevant ministries, the focus local governments and the pilot-project communities as shown in tables 6.2 below.

Table 6.2 Sources and types of secondary data from records

| S/N | Locations of the | Types of Records | Types of Data |
|---|---|---|---|

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Records | | |
| 1. | UNICEF Zonal Offices (Bauchi & Kaduna) | a) Master Plan of Operation (MPO). | i) Programmes and Projects<br>ii) Estimated Costs of projects and sources of funding |
| | | b) Files & Reports | i) Activities carried out in LGAs and communities<br>ii) The cost of such activities<br>iii) Output of Monitoring & Evaluation |
| | | c) Joint Research Reports and Govt. reactions | i) Output and Outcome of UNICEF-activities in States, LGAs and Communities<br>ii) The cost of such activities<br>iii)Joint activities carried out with UNICEF staff |
| 2. | Relevant State Ministries | a) Files & Reports | i) UNICEF-assisted Project Team members<br>ii) Specific jobs assigned to each Team member<br>iii) Joint activities carried out with UNICEF staff |
| | | b) Research works | i) Output & outcome of projects executed<br>ii) Cost of projects executed<br>iii) Counterpart funding |
| 3. | The Focus Local Government | a) Files & Reports | i) Projects and their locations<br>ii) List of Project Team members<br>iii) Activities of the Pilot-Project communities in relation to UNICEF-assisted projects. |
| | | b) Development Plans and Annual Budgets | i) Estimated cost of maintaining projects in Pilot-Project communities<br>ii) Expected contribution from outside. |
| 4. | Pilot-Project Communities | a)Community Development | i) Community Development Projects or activities before and after 1991-1995 period. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Associations Development Plans) and Minute Books | ii) Specific activities to sustain UNICEF- assisted projects |
| | | b) Files | i) Circulars from the LGAs and UNICEF offices<br>ii) Letters of invitation by LGs, State ministries and UNICEF offices. |
| | | c) Financial Reports | i) Actual cost of projects carried out by CBAS<br>ii) Financial contributions from various sources<br>iii) Revenue and Expenditure Accounts |

Source: Field Survey (May, 2006)

These sources of secondary data were heavily relied upon and employed largely in writing chapters four and five of this work. They also assisted in testing our propositions/hypotheses in this chapter.

## 6.3 Testing of Hypotheses

### 6.3.1 First Hypotheses

The first hypothesis says:

That the weak executive capacity of the focus local governments, in terms of technical manpower, finance and managerial skill, made programme sustainability very difficult.

The other way of putting it is that it is the strength of the executive capacity of the local governments that determines the level of programme

sustainability. In other words, the stronger the executive capacity of a local government, the higher the level of programme sustainability.

The other way of putting it is that it is the strength of the executive capacity of the local governments that determines the level of programme sustainability. In other words, the stronger the executive capacity of a local government, the higher the level of programme-sustainability or the weaker the executive capacity of the local governments, the lower the level of programme sustainability; all things being equal.

To test this hypothesis putting it is we shall look at:

- the number of skilled manpower required and the number available in each local government to sustain each of the UNICEF-assisted programmes in the pilot-project communities between January 1996 and December 2004;
- the funds required and funds available for programme-sustainability during the period under investigation;
- the types and number of equipment required and those available to the local governments;
- the managerial skill required as against the type available.

We also look at the activities each local government was expected to engage in as against what it actually did to sustain the programmes.

To sustain each of the programmes, a local government was expected to:

i) provide materials for maintenance or repairs of facilities like health clinics for health care services, primary school buildings for basic education, boreholes, pumping machines and wells for potable water etc.;

iii) train or employ skilled (technical) staff to operate and repair the facilities;

iv) monitor and evaluate the use and maintenance of facilities;

v) sensitize and encourage the pilot-project communities to participate in the maintenance and monitoring of facilities.

To succeed in doing all these, a local government must engage in planning, budgeting and management of funds, materials and personnel.

**6.3(a) Sustainability of Primary Health Care Services**

To assess this, we will look at the capacity of the eight local governments and the specific activities they carried out between 1996 and 2004. We will also look at the conditions of the health facilities before and after efforts were made by the local governments to maintain them.

The first thing we looked at is the staffing position of the Health and Medical Department of each local government. Table 6.3 below shows the picture.

Table 6.3 Staffing situation of Health and Medical Departments in the focus local governments (1996 — 2005).

| STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS | DOCTORS | | NURSES | | PHARMACIESTS | | CHEMS | | ATTENDANTS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NR | NA | NR | NA | NR | NA | NR | NA | NR | NA |
| ADAMAWA | | | | | | | | | | |
| i) Gombi LG | 5 | 2 | 13 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 15 | 6 | 16 | 6 |
| ii) Mayo Belwa | 4 | 1 | 18 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 18 | 8 | 18 | 18 |
| TOTAL (i-ii) | 9 | 3 | 31 | 12 | 13 | 5 | 31 | 14 | 34 | 16 |
| BAUCHI: | | | | | | | | | | |
| i) Darazo | 6 | 1 | 15 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 20 | 11 | 15 | 11 |
| ii) Katagum | 10 | 4 | 25 | 15 | 10 | 3 | 30 | 16 | 18 | 5 |
| TOTAL (i-ii) | 16 | 5 | 40 | 23 | 15 | 4 | 50 | 27 | 43 | 16 |
| KADUNA: | | | | | | | | | | |
| i) Birnin Gwari | 3 | - | 10 | 6 | 10 | 2 | 15 | 11 | 18 | 11 |
| ii) Ikara | 6 | 3 | 23 | 7 | 5 | - | 18 | 7 | 15 | 5 |
| TOTAL (i-ii) | 9 | 3 | 22 | 13 | 15 | 2 | 43 | 18 | 33 | 16 |
| NIGER: | | | | | | | | | | |
| i) Agaie | 6 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 15 | 12 | 20 | 18 |
| ii) Kagara | 5 | 1 | 13 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 16 | 10 | 18 | 8 |
| TOTAL (i-ii) | 11 | 3 | 23 | 11 | 11 | 3 | 31 | 22 | 38 | 24 |

Source: Health & Medical Departments of the Focus Local Governments (May 2006)

KEY: NR = Number Required NAV = Number Available

Table 6.3 above shows the gap between the required and available staff of Health and Medical Departments of the focus local governments. It is clear from the table that the staff strength was far from adequate for any meaningful maintenance of facilities. The situation looks more hopeless when we look at the number of health institutions in each LGA as shown in table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4 Primary Health Care Institutions in the Focus Local Governments (1996-2004)

| States and Local Government | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Health Centres | Clinics | Dispensaries | Total |
| ADAMAWA | | | | |
| i) Gombi LG | 6 | 8 | 9 | 23 |
| ii) Mayo Belwa | 9 | 5 | 11 | 25 |
| BAUCHI: | | | | |
| i) Darazo | 11 | 8 | 13 | 32 |
| ii) Katagum | 16 | 13 | 10 | 39 |
| KADUNA: | | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i) Birnin Gwari<br>ii) Ikara | 7<br>13 | 9<br>10 | 11<br>15 | 27<br>28 |
| NIGER:<br>i) Agaie<br>ii) Kagara | <br>6<br>8 | <br>15<br>9 | <br>16<br>13 | <br>37<br>30 |
| **TOTAL** | **76** | **77** | **98** | **251** |

Source: Health & Medical Departments o Focus Local Governments (May, 2007).

When we look at table 6.3 side by side with table 6.4, the picture of the Medical and Health Department becomes clearer. For example, Gombi Local Government in Adamawa State has 25 medical and health workers serving 23 health institutions, that is, an average of approximately one health worker per institution. Mayo Belwa also in Adamawa State has 29 medical and health workers serving 25 health institutions, that is an average of just one health worker per institution.

In Bauchi State, Darazo has 33 medical and health workers serving 32 institutions giving an average of one worker per institution. In Kaduna State, Birnin Gwari Local Government has 30 medical and health workers serving 27 institutions; again giving us an average of one medical and health workers per institution. Same for the two focus local governments in Niger

State. These figures confirm our speculation about an aspect of the local governments' weak executive capacity not only to sustain primary health care services but also to render the services with or without UNICEF intervention.

Other aspects of executive capacity of the local governments to render and sustain primary health care services are availability of drugs and equipment. The responses we got from questions in our questionnaires to community respondents show clearly that drugs were always out-of-stock while hospital equipment were either grossly inadequate or not available at all. Table 6.5 below presents a graphic picture of the situation. In our questionnaire to health workers resident in the sixteen Pilot-Project Communities, we asked them to assess the level of availability of drugs and equipment in their health institutions. Their responses are shown in table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5 Level of drugs and equipment-availability in the pilot-project communities (1996 — 2004)

| ITEMS | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Very High | High | Fair | Low | Zero | TOTAL |
| Drugs | -- | -- | -- | 46 | 12 | 58 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Equipments | -- | -- | 10 | 38 | 10 | 58 |

Source: Field Survey (May, 2006).

Table 6.5 above shows clearly that drugs and hospital equipment were either grossly inadequate or out-of-stock. Out of 58 respondents, 46 said availability of drugs was low, while 12 said there was none. Out of the 58 respondents, 10 said availability of hospital equipment was fair; 38 said the situation was low while another 10 said there was none.

To provide and or sustain health care services in any community or health institution, personnel, drugs and hospital equipment are key elements that must be available. If these elements are not available or grossly inadequate, as shown in tables 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 above, it is obvious that the services could not be sustained by the focus local governments between 1996 and 2004.

**6.3(b) Sustainability of Basic Education Programme**

To sustain the Basic Education Programme in the sixteen pilot-project communities, each of the focus local governments was expected to:

- provide Teachers (through the Local Government Education Authority, LGEA);

- provide chairs and tables for pupils;
- maintain/repair school buildings through Works Departmental staff i.e. direct labour or through award of contract.

To carry out these activities, a local government must have the required workforce, finance and materials. But going round the school for physical observation we saw shortage of Teachers, poor furnishing of classrooms and very poor maintenance of school buildings, indicating lack of executive capacity to sustain Basic Education Programme by the focus local governments.

Table 6.6 below illustrates the situation more clearly.

Table 6.6 Number of Teachers for primary schools in the pilot-project communities (1996 — 2004)

| States and Local Government | Types and Number of PHC Institutions | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Health Centres | Clinics | Dispensaries | Total |
| ADAMAWA | | | | |
| i) Gombi LG | | | | |
| a) Dzangola | 21 | 12 | 1,053 | 1:38 |
| b) Ga'anda | 28 | 16 | 1,684 | 1:105 |
| ii) Mayo Belwa | | | | |
| a) Mayo Farrang | 19 | 12 | 912 | 1:76 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| b) Sindigawo | 23 | 10 | 1,196 | 1:119 |
| BAUCHI: | | | | |
| i) Darazo | | | | |
| a) Lanzai | 31 | 21 | 1,445 | 1:80 |
| b) Yautare | 29 | 18 | 1,018 | 1:57 |
| ii) Katagum | | | | |
| a) Chinade | 41 | 21 | 1,763 | 1:84 |
| b) Madara | 36 | 18 | 1,476 | 1:82 |
| KADUNA: | | | | |
| i) Birnin Gwari | | | | |
| a) Randagi | 29 | 15 | 996 | 1:64 |
| b) Tabani | 24 | 15 | 1,128 | 1:75 |
| ii) Ikara | | | | |
| a) Ungwan Doya | 20 | 13 | 863 | 1:66 |
| b) Old Ikara | 31 | 14 | 1,388 | 1:99 |
| NIGER: | | | | |
| i) Agaie | | | | |
| a) Eyye | 15 | 9 | 680 | 1:76 |
| b) Shaba Woshi | 18 | 8 | 784 | 1:98 |
| ii) Kagara | | | | |
| a) Pandogari | 29 | 17 | 1,305 | 1:77 |
| b) Tegina | 31 | 20 | 1,426 | 1:73 |

Source: Local Government Education Authorities of the eight focus local governments (May 2006)

If the figures in table 6.6 above are anything to go by, they show very clearly that the Teachers were not enough for the pupils in the pilot-project communities between 1996 and 2004. According to the Education Authorities, each Teacher is required to handle a maximum of 40 pupils for effective teaching to take place. But table 6.6 above, shows the Teacher-pupils ratio of between a minimum of 1:57 (as in Yautarein Darazo LGA of Bauchi State) and a maximum of 1:119 (as in Sindigawo of Mayo Belwa LGA of Adamawa State). The table also shows the gap between the Teachers required and those available in the community primary schools. Our investigation reveals that the discrepancy or difference is due to some reasons such as:

a) resignation of some Teachers to take up more lucrative jobs;
b) retirement of old Teachers;
c) refusal of some Teachers to reside in rural communities;
d) non-replacement of retired Teachers and those who left (resigned) voluntarily (interview with Headmasters, May 2006).

The other important aspect of Teachers' capacity is their educational qualification. The higher their level of education, the better their performance in of teaching, child care and school administration, all things

being equal. Our investigation shows that majority of Teachers available in the pilot-project communities fall short of the minimum Teachers' qualification (Nigerian of Education). Table 6.7 below presents the situation as it was between 1996 and 2004.

Table 6.7: School Teachers by Qualifications

| States LGA and communities | Teachers Educational Qualifications | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First Degree | NCE | Teachers Grd II | Grade II Referred | SSCE/GCE | OND/HND | Others | Total |
| ADAMAWA | | | | | | | | |
| Gombi | | | | | | | | |
| i) Dzangola | -- | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | -- | -- | 12 |
| ii) Ga'anda | -- | 6 | 3 | -- | 5 | 2 | -- | 16 |
| Total (Ii-ii) | -- | 8 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 2 | -- | 28 |
| Mayo Belwa | | | | | | | | |
| i) Mayo Farrang | -- | 3 | 7 | 2 | 2 | -- | -- | 12 |
| ii) Sandigawo | 1 | 4 | 4 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 10 |
| Total (Ii-ii) | 1 | 7 | 10 | 2 | 2 | -- | -- | 22 |
| BAUCHI | | | | | | | | |
| Darazo | | | | | | | | |
| i) Lanzai | -- | 5 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | -- | 18 |
| ii) Yautare | 1 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 2 | -- | -- | 18 |
| Total (Ii-ii) | 1 | 11 | 15 | 5 | 2 | | -- | 36 |
| Katagum | | | | | | | | |
| i) Chinade | 2 | 10 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -- | 21 |
| ii) Madara | 1 | 9 | 8 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 18 |
| Total (Ii-ii) | 3 | 19 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -- | 39 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KADUNA | | | | | | | | |
| Birnin Gwari | | | | | | | | |
| i) Randagi | -- | 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | -- | -- | 15 |
| ii) Tabani | -- | 4 | 6 | -- | 3 | 2 | -- | 15 |
| Total (i-ii) | -- | 10 | 10 | 3 | 5 | 2 | -- | 30 |
| Ikara | | | | | | | | |
| i) Ungwan Doya | - | 8 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -- | 13 |
| ii) Old Ikara | 1 | 6 | 4 | 2 | -- | 1 | -- | 14 |
| Total (i-ii) | 1 | 14 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 2 | -- | 27 |
| NIGER | | | | | | | | |
| Agaie | | | | | | | | |
| i) Eyye | -- | 3 | 5 | -- | 1 | - | -- | 9 |
| ii) Indigawo | -- | 3 | 2 | 2 | -- | 1 | -- | 8 |
| Total (i-ii) | -- | 6 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 1 | -- | 17 |
| Kagara | | | | | | | | |
| i) Pandogan | 2 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 1 | -- | -- | 17 |
| ii) Tegina | 2 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 2 | -- | -- | 20 |
| Total (i-ii) | 4 | 9 | 9 | 3 | 3 | -- | -- | 37 |

Source:

If NCE is the minimum qualification required for teaching at primary school level, it means that the situation in the communities we visited (for this study) is far from satisfactory. Out of 236 Teachers available in the community primary schools, only 103 have NC and above, that is ..% only. But if we add those having the Teachers' Grade II Certificate, the situation

will improve to 182 qualified Teachers, that is **. .%** of the total Teachers in the primary schools.

Maintenance of school buildings is another important component of sustainability of Basic Education Programme by local governments. For this to take place, the local government, through the Local Education Authority is expected to provide materials and technical .staff (masons) or award petty contract as and when the need arises.

Our investigation (through physical observation and interview) shows that majority of the community school buildings were not maintained for more than four years. Furthermore, there were no seats in the classrooms for pupils. Reasons advanced for the poor maintenance of structures and lack of seats for pupils include:

a) lack of funds from the LGEA
b) poor/shoddy job by previous contractors who were given the structures to main
c) neglect of the schools by the LGEA and the State Prirnary Education Board. (Interview with Headmasters and Teachers of the Community Schools, May 2006).

It is clear from the foregoing that the poor sustainability of Basic Education programme in the pilot-project communities by the focus local

governments was due to weak executive capacity in terms of manpower, finance and materials, that is, shortage of Teachers, poor maintenance of structures and lack of seats for pupils.

### 6.3(c) Sustainability of Water and Sanitation Programme

Water and Sanitation Programme in the pilot-project communities was composed of:

- rehabilitation of boreholes and hand-pumps;
- digging of walling of new deep wells;
- rehabilitation of public toilet facilities.

These activities were supported by the UNICEF between 1991 and 1995. Thereafter, the focus local governments took over for continuation. They (the activities) did not take place in some of the communities we visited. According to our local governments respondents in Darazo, Bauchi State, in Birnin Gwari, Kaduna State and in kagara and Agaie, Niger State;

a) provision was not always made for these activities in the local government annual budgets (Darazo Local Government, May 2006);
b) shortage of artisans and masons to maintain the facilities in rural communities (Birnin Gwari Local Government, May 2006);

c) lack of spare parts to repair boreholes and hand-pumps (Agaie Local Government, May 2006);

d) frequent vandalization of hand-pumps and toilet facilities by members of the public (Kagara Local Government in May 2006). The pilot-project communities did not help matters, by failing to maintain

The water and sanitation facilities either on their own or in partnership with any outsider. Instead, some of the communities dug their own wells for water supply. The habit of defalcating in nearby bushes and at the back of their houses is still part of their way of life. Therefore, maintenance of toilet facilities like latrines would not mean anything to the people. They are also used to fetching water from any source, and so, would not be bothered when boreholes and hand-pumps break down and are not repaired.

**6.3(d) Sustainability of Food Security Programme**

Food security as defined by UNICEF (1990) is the "access to the quantity and quality of food needed at all times for a healthy living". At the household level, food security is the ability of a household to have enough food to ensure an adequate dietary intake for all its members at all times.

Food security takes place when people have access to available food through purchasing power or direct production by themselves.

Food insecurity exists as a big problem in Nigeria due to inadequate production and high level of poverty. Inadequate production is caused sometimes by draught, flood, pests and other factors affecting agricultural productivity and food preservation.

As a UNICEF-assisted, the agency expected the focus local governments to continue what it engaged in between 1991 and 1995. The food security activities to be sustained are:

a) financial assistance to peasant farmers in the pilot-project communities to hire tractors for land clearing and ridge making;
b) supply of fertilizers at subsidized prices to poor farmers;
c) supply of specific grains like soya beans and wheat for planting by demonstration farmers;
d) promotion of agro-allied industries to process some foodstuffs (for preservation.

It was expected that the continuation of these activities by the focus local governments as from 1996 would yield the following results in the pilot-project communities and perhaps beyond:

a) increase in food production to make food available;

b) increase in per capita income of farmers to make other foodstuffs (which they did not grow) accessible;

c) improvement in the nutritional value of food taken by children and mothers;

d) increase in the weight of malnourished children whose parents would have access to qualitative foodstuffs.

What did the focus local governments do between 1996 and 2004? Our survey shows different performance in different places visited, as presented in table 6.8. We requested our respondents (household heads) to assess the performance of local governments in sustaining food security programme as described above. The assessment is at four levels, very satisfactory, satisfactory, poor and very poor.

Table 6.8 Level of local government performance in sustaining food security programme (1996 — 2004)

| State & Local Communities | Activities and level of local government performance (1996-2004) | | | | Total Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | |
| ADAMAWA<br>i) Gombi LG | S(98) | VP(110) | P(78) | VP(103) | 120 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ii) Mayo Belwa | S(108) | S(98) | S(65) | P(75) | 89 |
| BAUCHI:<br>i) Darazo<br>ii) Katagum | <br>S(113)<br>S(108) | <br>P(101)<br>S(98) | <br>P(101)<br>P(99) | <br>S(96)<br>S(89) | <br>156<br>178 |
| KADUNA:<br>i) Birnin Gwari<br>ii) Ikara | <br>P(95)<br>S(130) | <br>S(131)<br>P(131) | <br>P(101)<br>P(99) | <br>S(96)<br>P(135) | <br>141<br>145 |
| NIGER:<br>i) Agaie<br>ii) Kagara | <br>P(73)<br>S(111) | <br>P(88)<br>S(101) | <br>S(63)<br>P(95) | <br>VP(108)<br>S(130) | <br>118<br>178 |

Source: Field Survey (June, 2006).

**KEY:**

A = Financial assistance to farmers

B = Supply of fertilizers

C = Supply of specific grains (soya beans & wheat)

D = Promotion of agro-allied industries

VS = Very satisfactory

S = Satisfactory

P = Poor

VP = Very poor.

Our respondents for this performance assessment are the household heads in the pilot-project communities of the focus local governments. Their major occupation is farming and are the supposed beneficiaries of the Food Security Programme. In our questionnaire, we requested them to assess the level of local government performance in assisting them in the four (ABCD) activities mentioned above. Table 6.8 above summarizes the responses.

In Gombi Local Government Area of Ada mawa State, the responses are:

a) that financial assistance to poor farmers was satisfactory as 98 out of 120 respondents said so in their response to our questionnaire;
b) that supply of fertilizers to farmers was very poor as 110 and 120 respondents said so;
c) that supply of specific grains for planting was also poor;
d) that promotion of agro-allied industries for processing of foodstuff was very poor according to 103 out of 120 respondents.

In Mayo Belwa Local Government Area, assessment of the local government performance has nothing to write home about. This is because:

a) financial assistance to farmers was poor;
b) supply of fertilizers to farmers was equally poor;

c) same for the promotion of agro-allied industries for processing of foodstuffs!

The only satisfactory activity was the supply of specific grains for planting by demonstration farmers.

When we look at the table critically, we will see that the activities were either poor or very poor in majority of the local government areas. As in other programmes, the main reasons for the poor sustainability of the Food Security Programme by the focus local governments include:

a) inadequate fund;

b) lack of political will by the Policy Actors in the local governments to promote agriculture;

c) corrupt practices by the local government officers responsible for fertilizer procurement and distribution. (Interview with State officials in the Ministry of Agriculture, Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger, May 2006).

### 6.3(e) Community-Empowerment for Participation in Programme Sustainability

The principle of community participation in programme/project sustainability is derived from the acceptance that people are at the heart of

any development activity. They are not only the ultimate beneficiaries of development projects but also participants in bringing about development. They act as groups or as individuals to participate at all the stages of a project cycle. Community participation in project life cycle helps beneficiaries to tap their resources and provides them with the tools to takeover and sustain programmes.

To attain the laudable goals of community participation in programme sustainability, the focus local governments (like the UNICEF did) were expected to:

a) sensitize the pilot-project communities on the goals and benefits of the UNICEF-assisted programmes. Sensitization of communities involves focus-group discussions and community dialogue;
b) train volunteers from the communities to participate in maintaining facilities;
c) invite suggestions as inputs from the communities into local government planning and budgeting.

We asked our respondents to assess the level of local government performance in the area of community sensitization.

The respondents for this question are the sampled representatives of the pilot-project communities as shown in table 3.4 of chapter 3. They are

the household heads, leaders of Community Development Associations, leaders of Women Associations, Headmasters, Teachers, health workers and Agric. Extension Workers. Tables 6.9 — 6.10 below present their assessment of the focus local government efforts. For table 6.9, the local government efforts involve two activities, Focus Group Discussions and Community Dialogue.

Table 6.9 Level of efforts by local governments to sensitize communities 1996-2004.

| States of Local Governments | Focus-Group Discussions | | | | | Community Dialogue | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | V.H | H. | Low | V. Low | Total | V.H | H. | Low | V. Low | Total |
| ADAMAWA | | | | | | | | | | |
| i) Gombi LG | 13 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 24 | 138 | 41 | 16 | 14 | 209 |
| ii) Mayo Belwa | 19 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 30 | 83 | 20 | 29 | 19 | 142 |
| BAUCHI: | | | | | | | | | | |
| i) Darazo | 20 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 36 | 66 | 113 | 36 | 20 | 235 |
| ii) Katagum | 17 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 33 | 130 | 86 | 36 | 16 | 247 |
| KADUNA: | | | | | | | | | | |
| i) Birnin Gwari | 7 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 27 | 103 | 61 | 8 | 10 | 182 |
| ii) Ikara | 16 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 30 | 79 | 96 | 14 | 13 | 201 |
| NIGER: | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i) Agaie | 11 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 24 | 60 | 83 | 10 | 9 | 162 |
| ii) Kagara | 18 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 45 | 117 | 59 | 40 | 33 | 249 |

Source: Field Survey (May, 2006).

Note:

a) The Focus-Group Discussions were held with leaders of Community Development Associations and leaders of Women Associations by the Focus Local Government officials (Information Officers and Women Development Officers) between 1996 and 2004 on the need to participate

in sustaining the UNICEF-assisted programmes/activities.

b) V.H. means “Very High”.

H. means “High”

V. Low means “Very Low”

c) Community Dialogue took place with the entire representatives of the people during the same period (1996 — 2004) by the same local government officials.

From table 6.9 above, it is quite clear that the focus local governments succeeded in sensitizing the communities to participate in sustaining the UNICEF-assisted activities and facilities. This is shown by the number of respondents who said Focus-Group Discussions and Community Dialogues were either very high or high.

Part of the community empowerment for participation in programme sustainability is the training of community volunteers for the operation and maintenance of facilities. Such volunteers were trained to work hand in hand with local government officials or other external agencies to maintain health facilities, school buildings, hand pumps, boreholes and public latrines. Data available to us from the communities show that the focus local governments made some remarkable progress in this regard. Table 6.10 below presents the picture.

Table 6.10 Community volunteers trained by local governments for programme sustainability (1996-2004)

| States of Local Governments | Community Volunteers Trained | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Masons & Artisans | Well Diggers | Traditional Birth Attendants | Total |
| i) Gombi<br>ii) Mayo Belwa | 45<br>48 | 56<br>62 | 66<br>49 | 167<br>159 |
| Sub-Total (a-b) | 93 | 118 | 115 | 326 |
| i) Darazo<br>ii) Katagum | 66<br>78 | 73<br>90 | 61<br>53 | 200<br>221 |
| Sub-Total (a-b) | 144 | 163 | 114 | 421 |
| i) Birnin Gwari | 39 | 40 | 69 | 148 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ii) Ikara | 56 | 53 | 70 | 179 |
| Sub Total (a-b) | 94 | 93 | 139 | 327 |
| i) Agaie<br>ii) Kagara | 46<br>63 | 69<br>73 | 75<br>80 | 190<br>216 |
| Sub Total (a-b) | 109 | 142 | 155 | 406 |

Source: The eight focus local governments, (May, 2006).

Table 6.10 above shows the efforts of the'eight local governments to train community volunteers for programme sustainability in the pilot-project communities between 1995 and 2004. According to leaders of Community Development Associations and Women Groups in the communities, the success achieved in this area of capacity-building was due largely to the cooperation received from the associations which were highly mobilized by the UNICEF long before handing over its assisted programmes to the focus local governments (Interview with leaders of CDAs and Women Associations, May 2006).

One of the prequrequisites of community participation in programme sustainability is the involvement of beneficiaries in planning and budgeting at the initial stage of any programme. Such involvement of beneficiaries will prepare them for participation in the other stages of a project life cycle, namely, resource generation, project execution, monitoring, evaluation,

utilization and sustainability, community participation in the planning for the UNICEF-assisted programme was completely absent. Even at the level of execution, there was no community participation. It is interesting to note that the focus local governments too, did not deem it fit to involve the benefiting communities in planning for the maintenance of the UNICEF-assisted programmes. If there was anything done by the pilot-project communities to the UNICEF-assisted programmes, it was from the initiative taken by the communities themselves. No input was invited from the communities as to how and when to maintain the programmes (interview with leaders of CDAs, May 2006).

We can deduce from the analysis of data so far that the focus local governments failed to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes/projects due to weak executive capacity. We have seen that the local governments did not have enough medical staff to run their health institutions; there were inadequate Teachers to cope with the number of pupils in the primary schools; there was no revenue to purchase materials and to hire technical staff to repair school buildings, boreholes, hand pumps and toilet facilities. Above all, the focus local governments did not have the political will to involve the benefiting communities in planning for the sustainability of the UNICEF-assisted programmes. This takes us to the next question: Why was

the executive capacity of the local government weak? Answers to this question are provided or attempted by the second proposition.

### 6.3.2 Second Hypothesis

Our second hypothesis says:

> The overbearing control of local governments by State governments is a major factor responsible for the weak executive capacity of the focus local governments.

The origin of control over local governments by State governments is the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, which states very clearly that "the system of local government council is under the Constitution guaranteed". In addition, the Constitution stipulates in a succinct manner, the role of State governments "to ensure the existence of local governments under a law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils". (FGN 1999: Section 7(1). Impliedly, this provision gives power to State governments to control local governments through:

a) disbursement of funds to local governments;

b) determination of spending limits for local government functionaries (Council, Chairman, Secretary and Heads of Departments);

c) approval of Local Government Annual Budgets;

d) employment and deployment of local government staff by Local Government Service Commissions or Boards;

e) appointment and transfer of Secretaries to Local Governments (SLG) and professional heads of Departments;

f) approval of major policy-decisions taken by local governments.

In addition to these, the Constitution assigns certain functions to local governments which State governments and or any other tier of government can perform. These are called concurrent functions such as:

- Agricultural Extension Services,
- Primary, Adult and Vocational Education,
- Primary Health Care Services,
- Construction and maintenance of feeder roads.

Steps taken by State governments to exercise their control over local governments in Nigeria over the years include:

a) establishment of Ministry for Local Government to oversee the affairs of local governments through:

i) issuance. of call circular to focal governments annually for preparation of budgets;

ii) consideration, defence any recommendation of local government budgets to the State Executive Council for approval;

iii) inspection of local government projects, Books of Account and Minutes to enforce compliance with State government policies;

iv) consideration and recommendation of local government bye-laws to the State Ministry of Justice for approval;

b) establishment of the Office of Auditor-General for Local Governments to carry out annual auditing of Local Government Accounts and other records of financial transactions and to ensure that local government functionaries answer all Audit Queries or that all genuine cases of misappropriation are recommended for necessary sanctions;

c) setting up of Special Duties Committee in the Office of the Governor to enter into agreement with the Federal Government of Nigeria or its agencies and International Development Agencies on all development programmes for local governments. It is this committee that:

i) decides the location of projects in local government areas, jj the local governments themselves;

ii) handles the issue of counterpart funding for any development project in LGAs being assisted by Donor Agencies;

iii) inspects the implementation of development projects carried out by Donor/Development Agencies;

iv) decides which State ministries and or agencies should participate in Donor Agency Programmes.

With the above examples, it is very clear that local governments in Nigeria in general, and in the four States studied (Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States) in particular have no autonomy to determine their executive capacity for programme execution.

Let us turn to specific cases of State control over local governments to test our second proposition. We would look at inadequacy of skilled manpower at local government' level to sustain health and educational institutions at primary level. We saw in the testing of the first hypothesis that the focus local governments did not have enough medical staff to sustain their health institutions in the communities and that they also had the same problem in sustaining their primary education in the pilot project communities.

The power to employ medical staff like Doctors, Nurses, Pharmacists, Laboratory Technologists etc. for local governments is that of the State local

Government Service Commissions/Boards LIQ the individual local government. If the Local Government Service Boards fail to employ senior staff for local governments, the other options are to rely on Donor Agencies or to make special appeal to the State Civil Service Commission for secondmant of such staff to them.

For the shortage of medical staff in the focus local governments to operate their primary health care institutions, we asked our respondents (local government officials) to score the following reasons as they thought most appropriate:

a) Failure by the Local Government Service Commission to employ and or deploy them.
b) Refusal of that category of staff to work and stay in rural societies.
c) Lack of incentives to attract and retain that level of professionals in the local governments.
d) Inadequate revenue/fund to pay the professionals, especially Doctors and Pharmacists by local governments.

The rating of these reasons by the local government officials (the sampled local government respondents) is shown in table 6.11 below. The highest score is 4 while the least is 1.

Table 6.1 Assessment of Local Government Executive capacity to sustain Programme

| Local Governments' Reasons | Rating of Reasons | | | | Total Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | |
| a) Gombi L.G. | 6(4) | 5(3) | 5(2) | -- | 15 |
| b) Mayo Belwa L.G. | 5(5) | 3(3) | 6(2) | -- | 15 |
| c) Darazo L.G. | 7(4) | 4(3) | 2(2) | 2(1) | 15 |
| d) Katagum L.G. | 3(4) | 8(3) | 2(2) | 2(1) | 15 |
| e) Birnin Gwari | 4(4) | 4(3) | 4(2) | 3(1) | 15 |
| f) Ikara | 3(4) | 5(3) | 3(2) | 4(1) | 15 |
| g) Agaie | 8(4) | 3(3) | 3(2) | 1(1) | 15 |
| h) Kagara | 4(4) | 6(3) | 2(2) | 3(1) | 15 |
| Total | 40 | 38 | 27 | 15 | 120 |

Source: Field survey, May 2006.

KEY: A, B, C, D are the four options (reasons) for the shortage of medical staff in the local government health institutions as stated above.

The summary of table 6.11 is that 40 out of the 120 respondents said the shortage of medical staff in the local government health institutions was

due to the “failure of the Local Government Service Boards to employ them (the staff)”. The 40 respondents rated this reason as the highest out of the 4 reasons. Thirty-eight respondents rated “Refusal of that category of staff to work and stay in rural societies” as the next most important reasons for the shortage of medical staff in the local government health institutions. This is followed by 27 respondents who opined that “lack of incentives to attract and retain that level of professionals in the local governments”, was responsible for the shortage of staff in the local government health institutions.

Finally, 15 respondents were of the view that “inadequate fund to pay the professionals by local governments” was responsible for the shortage of staff in the local government health institutions. Important as the other three reasons are, it is the “failure of the Local Government Service Board to employ the staff” that tops the list, which goes to show the relationship between the Weak executive capacity of local governments and the control of local governments by State governments.

The other aspect of executive capacity of local governments being influenced by the overbearing control of the third tier of government by State governments in Nigeria is finance, which is the life-wire of any organization. For quite sometimes now, local governments in Nigeria have

become “beggar institutions” in the hands of State governments inspite of constitutional provisions that allocate certain percentage of the Federation Account to the third tier of government. The Babangida Administration in 1992 increased local government share of the Federation Account from l5% to 2O%. However, studies have shown that local governments in majority of States in Nigeria do not receive up to 30% of the 20% share of the Statutory Allocation (FGN 2003).

For this study, we inquired from our local government respondents why there were no materials to maintain health, educational, water and sanitation facilities in the pilot-project communities and why financial assistance and fertilizers were not supplied to farmers to promote food security in the communities. The simple answer was lack of funds.

Asked further to elaborate or give reasons why there was no fund, the responses we got (in interviews) were:

i) poor revenue base from internal sources (which was not up to 10% of the total revenue needed by any local government in the States visited;

ii) corrupt practices that led to leakage of internal revenue;

iii) mismanagement of funds by top functionaries of local governments through misplaced priorities;

iv) over deduction from the Statutory Allocations of local governments by State governments. The deductions were and still are made for things like:

- Common services (whatever that means)
- Purchase of tractors imposed on local governments by State Governors
- Purchase of expensive vehicles for local government chairmen
- Maintenance of Traditional Rulers and their palaces
- Payment of Teachers' salaries
- Payment for rural electrification projects. (Interviews with top functionaries of local governments, May 2006).

In addition to these reasons, local government top functionaries like chairmen, secretaries and heads of departments have spending limits imposed by State governments. For instance, local government chairmen in Adamawa and Bauchi States could not spend beyond N500,000.00 (five hundred thousand Naira) on any capital project without clearance from or approval of the State Governors. Such clearance could sometimes take sometime before it is given by the Governor. (Interview with the focus local government chairmen, May 2006). These are clear cases of overbearing control by State governments that weaken the executive capacity of local

governments not only to sustain programmes but also to render services in general.

Budgetary process at local government level is another area where State governments exercise overbearing control to whittle down the capacity of the third tier of government in Nigeria. The State government sends out call circular to all local governments for the preparation of the annual budget. The circular spells out areas of priority for the year; the percentage of financial allocation to capital and recurrent expenditure; the percentage of financial allocation to personnel emolument and overhead cost and the percentage of financial allocation to specific programmes to be assisted by Donor Agencies. The State government, through its Ministry for Local Government must always call all local government chairmen for the defence of their budgets before approving them. The implication of all these stages of the local government budgetary process is that local governments have very little input in the determination of what projects to execute and what services to provide in response to community needs or demands.

To certify this assertion we asked our local government respondents (Chairmen, Secretaries, Councillors, Heads of Departments and some senior

professionals) to tell us their level of input in local government budgetary process, in terms of debate, consideration and approval. Their responses were shown in table 6.12 below.

Table 6.12 Level of local government input in the budgetary process (1996 - 2004)

| Stages in Budgetary Process | Level of Local Government Input | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Very High | High | Low | Very Low | Zero | Total |
| 1. Preparation of call circulars | -- | -- | -- | -- | 120 | 120 |
| 2. Preparation of Draft Estimates | 120 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 120 |
| 3. Debating of Draft Estimates | 120 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 120 |
| 4. Defence of Draft Estimates | 120 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 120 |
| 5. Final approval of Budget | -- | -- | -- | -- | 120 | 120 |

Source: Field Survey (May, 2006).

It is clear from table 6.12 above that local governments have no input in the first and last stages of local government budget process; and these are the most important stages which determine resource allocation to various sectors and programmes. Any deviation from the approved budget by any local government must be reported to the State government. A case in point

reported to us by Mayo Belwa Local Government Chairman in Adamawa State was the decision of the Local Government Council to buy tractors for hiring to farmers in 1998 but turned down by the State government because the Governor had already awarded contract for the supply of tractors to all local governments in the State, (Interview with the Local Government Chairman in May 2006). This is just one of many cases of State government control over local governments in Nigeria, thereby rendering their executive capacity to provide basic services very weak.

From the analysis of data so far, it is proved that the overbearing control of local governments by State governments is a great contributory factor to the weak executive capacity of the third tier of government. This is to say that lack of local government autonomy makes sustainable development at grassroots very difficult to achieve.

### 6.3.3 Third Hypothesis

The third hypothesis tested says:

> the self-serving interests of State government top functionaries (in term of financial gains and political power) are the main motive behind the control of local governments.

In spite of the claim by the authors and architects of the 1976 Reform that “local governments would remain as the third tier of government in Nigeria with their structures, powers, functions and relative autonomy to make and implement their policies” ( ) the opposite has always been the case since that great reform. In practice, local governments in Nigeria have been subjected to the control of either the Federal or State governments as earlier discussed.

Under Military Rule, Nigeria was more or less a unitary government with a powerful Federal Military Government dishing out orders from the center to all States and local governments in the areas of policies and programmes tagged “National Programmes and Policies”. The Federal Military Government had power to create and dissolve local governments; it had the power to disburse funds to local governments using a nationally worked out Revenue Allocation Formula; it could impose any national programme on States and local governments and it could carry out any reform that affected local governments directly.

Under civil rule, the powers of the federal government over local governments in Nigeria is transferred to State governments by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1979, 1995 and 1999), as earlier discussed. Even the power to create local governments in Nigeria is

still being contested by the federal government. What all these point to is the unwillingness of political elites at federal and State levels to give autonomy to local governments. This is because these elites at the center would want to penetrate the grassroots as their power base. And so, all forms of State government control over local governments is an expression of the motive to maintain political power over the people at the grassroots level.

To pursue this argument further, and to establish its reality as of today (2006) we requested our local government respondents (key officials) to tell us why the State governments exercise so much control over them (local governments). Their answers vary from person to person as shown in table 6.13 below. We gave five reasons (options) why States control local governments in Nigeria and asked our respondents to select the option or reason that most appropriately describes the reality in their local governments.

Table 6.13 Reasons why States control local governments in Nigeria

| States and Local Governments | Responses | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | Total |
| ADAMAWA<br>i) Gombi Local Government<br>ii) Mayo Belwa Local Government | 5 | 6 | 3 | 1 | -- | 15 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 6 | 5 | 1 | 3 | -- | 15 |
| BAUCHI:<br>i) Darazo Local Government<br>ii) Katagum Local Government | <br>8<br>7 | <br>4<br>3 | <br>2<br>2 | <br>1<br>3 | <br>--<br>-- | <br>15<br>15 |
| KADUNA:<br>i) Birnin Gwari Local Government<br>ii) Ikara Local Government | <br>5<br>9 | <br>8<br>3 | <br>2<br>1 | <br>--<br>2 | <br>--<br>-- | <br>15<br>15 |
| NIGER:<br>i) Agaie Local Government<br>ii) Kagara Local Government | <br>6<br>7 | <br>6<br>6 | <br>2<br>1 | <br>1<br>1 | <br>--<br>-- | <br>15<br>15 |
| TOTAL | 53 | 41 | 14 | 12 | -- | 120 |

Source: Field survey (May, 2006).

KEY:

a) Financial gain through contracts and disbursement of funds to local governments.

b) Political power to be able to penetrate the people at grassroots level.

c) Supervision of local government functionaries/projects to enforce standard.

d) Assistance to local governments in terms of technical staff.

e) Partnership with local governments for grassroots development.

Table 6.13 above shows the opinion of local government officials about the reasons for the control of local governments by State Policy Actors such as the Governors, Commissioners, Permanent Secretaries, Directors and Chairmen of Local Government Service Boards. According to the answers given to our question, financial gains through contracts and disbursement of funds to local governments is the greatest of all reasons for the State control over local governments. The table shows 53 out of 120 respondents selecting this reason as the most appropriate option describing the reality of the situation. This opinion is followed by the 41 respondents who opined that political power to penetrate people at the grassroots level is the main reason for the State government control over local governments.

Other options like supervision of local government projects to enforce standard and technical assistance to local governments took the third and forth positions respectively. The last option (partnership with local governments for grassroots development) carried no weight at all. One is not surprised at the responses we got. The issue of financial gains by state government policy actors is very clear when we look at the firm control they exercise over local government finance as earlier discussed, ranging from deductions from local government Statutory Allocation to fixing of spending limits imposed on top functionaries of local governments. For this reason,

the 8 local government chairmen we interviewed suggested the expunging of the State Local Government Joint Account from the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, (Interview with Local Government Chairmen, May 2006). They would like direct payment of their local government Statutory Allocation to their Bank Accounts to avoid the State government deductions. These arguments by local government Chief Executive show that the financial gain (self-serving interest of State political elites) of the policy actors have negative effects on local government capacity to perform their functions. And so, the failure of local governments to deliver services or to sustain programmes can be traced directly to the extent to which the self-serving interests of the State policy actors are being pursued. The higher the pursuit of such interests, the weaker the capacity of local governments. The lower the pursuit of the interests, the stronger the capacity of local governments, all things being equal.

The same argument holds for the pursuance of political power by the State policy actors who have refused autonomy to local governments. When local governments are denied the autonomy to initiate programmes and implement them through budgetary process, how will they have control over the people at grassroots level. If local governments cannot provide basic services or maintain facilities at grassroots level, how will the top

functionaries create any good image in the opinion of people to. be able to win their votes or political support. If State policy actors are able to provide basic services through seizure of local government powers and hijacking of their resources, how won't they attract the political support of the people at grassroots level. And so, the higher the pursuit of political interest by State policy actors, the weaker the capacity of local governments for service delivery and sustainable development.

## 6.4 Discussion

So far in this chapter, attempts have been made to test three propositions in relation to the failure of local governments to sustain UNICEF-assisted programmes in particular and to deliver services in general. The summary of our findings is that the failure of local governments to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes was due to their weak executive capacity, caused by the overbearing control of the local governments by .State governments which was and still being motivated by the self-serving interests of State policy actors. In other words, the self-serving interests of State policy actors are the remote causes of the failure of local governments not only to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes but

also to perform their development functions while the weak executive capacity of the local governments is the immediate cause.

There is no doubt that local governments can serve as channels through which the State and federal governments can reach the people at grassroots level to make their presence felt. Local governments also serve as channels for grassroots participation in local government and in initiating programmes that affect their lives. But the problem is the extent to which local governments are given the autonomy to fulfill these roles by the State governments in Nigeria.

Thus, there is the dilemma between participation and control. According to Isawa Elaigwu (1980).

> In many third world countries, one of the greatest problems of Statehood is centralization of authority by political elites. In some cases like Nigeria, sub-national power had built up such strong power bases that elites at the center found it difficult to penetrate and rally people to a national cause after independence. Often, these elites at the center become so suspicious of local elites as alternative political leaders that devolution of power was made impossible.

This view is relevant today as it was in 1980. under the military before 1979, the Federal Military Government had absolute control over local and State governments. Between 1980 and 1983 under civil rule, the federal government did not allow creation of new local governments nor election of local government chairmen and councilors. The same history is repeating itself today (2006). The federal government under President Olusegun Obasanjo went to court to contest the powers of State governments to create new local governments in Nigeria. Not only that, the federal government withheld the Statutory Allocation of local government in States where new local governments were created. It is clear from this that political elites at the center do not permit any substantial devolution of power which will make local government meaningful. As opined by Orewa (1995:118), “elites at federal and State levels would want to feel secure before they allow local governments to operate effectively”.

From the analysis of data so far as responses to our questionnaires and interviews (to test our second hypothesis) it is clear that the so-called supervisory role of state government agencies (Ministry for Local Government, Local Government Service Commission, Office of the Auditor-General for Local Government and the Governor’s Office) have created an interventionist stance in State-local government relations. In

principle, these agencies are supposed to monitor the activities of local governments so as to ensure minimum standard in service delivery, to ensure prudent management of financial and human resources and to ensure that local governments do not operate beyond their legal limits. But in practice, the supervisory role by the agencies have changed to control of local governments or master-servant relationship as earlier shown.

It is along this line that Odoh (2002) argued that "local governments in Nigeria need guidance and supervision from State government agencies but in a situation where one controls the other, it is no longer a situation of partners in progress; rather, it is reflective of master-servant relationship in practice". Inspite of the so-called elected chairmen and councilors between 1998 and 2004 under democratic dispensation, local government in Nigeria still remain as local administration used by State governments to satisfy their whims and caprices such as award of contracts for financial gains, and citing of projects in favoured communities to gain political control of people at grassroots level.

In Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States the Ministry for Local Government sends out Inspectors to scrutinize the minutes of each local government council, to ensure that their decisions do not contradict any State government policy. The Inspectors have powers to attend all Council

meetings and have access to all books, accounts and records of local government councils.

The Ministry in each of these States has power to reject any local government budget that fails to comply with State call circular and or any policy decision of the State government (Chairmen of Local Governments, May 2006).

Furthermore, Permanent Secretaries, Commissioners and Governors of the four states are said to have interfered in the affairs of local governments in their personal capacities in the areas of appointment of Secretaries to Local Governments, transfer of Departmental Heads, award of local government contracts, and citing of important projects like primary schools, health facilities and boreholes. These key functionaries also have personal interest in citing Donor Agency projects in favoured communities, in the local government areas. Payment of counterpart funds to Donor Agencies for programmes/projects being assisted is highly influenced by the same top officials of the State governments, (Chairmen of the focus local governments in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States, May 2006).

With all these ways of tight control over local governments by State functionaries it is obvious that service delivery by grassroots government is at the mercy of State governments. Therefore, the failure of the eight focus

local governments to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes is a function of State- local government relationship. It is a master-servant relationship where the master dictates the pace at which the servant can move.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

# SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 7.1 Summary of Findings

This study is an attempt to show the expected role and actual efforts of local governments to sustain UNICEF-assisted programmes in selected pilot- project communities in Adamawa, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States between 1996 and year 2004. It shows the specific activities sponsored and carried out by the UNICEF between 1991 and 1995 before handing them (the programme) over to the focus local governments in January 1996. The study has also shown that the eight focus local governments visited had failed to sustain the UNICEF- assisted programmes handed over to them in January 1996. Among other factors, we have seen that the failure of the local government to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes and activities in the pilot-project communities is due to the following:

- the weak executive capacity of the focus local governments in terms of skilled manpower and poor funding;
- the overbearing control of local governments by the state governments;

- the self-serving interests of State government policy actors in terms of financial gains and political control of people at grassroots level.

The concept and practice of project sustainability as discussed in this work, go beyond maintenance or repair of structures and facilities. We have seen that sustainability includes the ability of an organization and or a community or a group of people to imbibe new values, new methods and new habits produced or brought about by the projects or programmes in such a way that the benefits of the programmes/projects would continue long after the projects are physically put up and the provider(s) must have withdrawn their supports. These are the main components of programme/project sustainability we have pursued in this work. We saw that the eight focus local governments had failed to achieve these.

Before we discovered the main factors responsible for the failure of local governments to sustain not only the UNICEF-assisted programmes in the pilot- project communities, but also previous rural development programmes initiated by the federal government of Nigeria, we saw that local governments in Nigeria generally were handicapped by series of control measures from the federal and State governments whether military or civilian. We showed and discussed this issue extensively in chapter two of

this study. The control measures are not necessarily to enhance efficiency in service delivery nor in resource-management but for self-serving interest of the power-elites at State and sometimes at federal level.

We saw that the only time some attempts were made to reduce the State governments control over local governments in Nigeria was during the Administration of General Ibrahim Babangida. He introduced a number of measures to grant local governments a high level of autonomy to make their, policies, prepare and approve their budgets and to manage their financial resources with little or no reference to State governments. Still, there was very little change in local government performance in terms of service delivery and resource management. The reason was the pursuance of self-serving interest of State government officials, (Permanent Secretaries, Commissioners and Governors).

This goes to show that the pursuance of self-serving interests is not limited to local government officials alone. It has become a nationwide cankerworm eating deep into the fabric of the Nigerian public service.

In chapter four, we saw and showed the pursuance of self-serving interests being manifested in the lope-sided provision of basic socio-economic facilities in favour of local government headquarters at the expense of rural communities. The three tiers of government in Nigeria

concentrated more than 70% of good roads, health institutions, primary schools, sources of water supply and markets just to mention a few in local government headquarters. The implication of this is that rural areas are neglected leading to a number of negative effects such as:

- inability to transport goods and human beings from rural areas to the local government headquarters;
- rural-urban drift by able bodied young men and ladies in search of employment and means of living comfortable life;
- inability of rural areas to produce and earn enough income to maintain or provide basic social services, meaning the deepening of rural poverty;
- refusal of local government staff to stay and work in the rural areas.

Inspite of these consequences of self-serving interests of power-elites at the three levels of government, we saw and discussed the efforts of the sixteen rural communities, to improve their standard of living through self-help activities otherwise known as community development. They, the communities, did not resign to fate nor wait for governments to wake them up. With the little resources available to them and with self-confidence in their organizational capacity, they were able to carry out simple structures

for their health care services, basic education, water supply, environmental sanitation and roads before the UNICEF intervention between 1991 and 1995.

Between 1991 and 1995 the UNICEF carried out its activities in primary health care, basic education, water and sanitation and food security programmes in the pilot-project communities. The communities showed evidence of readiness to cooperate with the Donor Agency. The communities provided volunteers to be trained along with some local government staff for participation maintaining that facilities when the agency withdraw its assistance in January 1996. We saw too that the UNICEF did all it could to empower the communities for the sustenance of the four programmes. This was done through involvement of the communities in monitoring and evaluation of these activities it assisted local governments to carry out and sensitization of the communities to develop new attitude toward public facilities, that is that they, should look at the facilities as theirs rather than UNICEF's or government projects. We saw the positive response of the communities to the UNICEF empowerment efforts through the formation of Community Monitoring and Supervision Committee for the four programmes in each of the sixteen pilot project communities.

The implication of the community empowerment efforts by the UNICEF is that eventually or in the long run, the benefiting communities would take over and sustain the programmes in place of local governments. But before this happens, the focus local governments should first takeover and sustain the programmes in collaboration or in partnership with the benefiting communities.

Our investigation reveals that the pilot-project communities were satisfied with the UNICEF assistance, as discussed in chapter five. They were satisfied with improvement in the primary health care services provided; in the improvement in the learning and teaching environment of their primary schools; cleanliness and in their methods oi12g foodstuffs they produced, all as a result of UNICEF intervention before between January 1991 and December 1995. However, the level of satisfaction with the UNICEF activities varied from one community to another. Above all, the benefiting communities were well mobilized and fairly well empowered to collaborate with the focus local governments to sustain the activities, the programmes and the benefits.

The situation changed when the focus local governments took over the UNICEF-assisted activities relating to the four programmes.

As shown in chapter six, indicators of poor maintenance of the facilities in the pilot-project communities began to show as from 1998, that was two years after handing over to the local governments. For instance, we saw that building materials to repair physical structures in primary schools and health clinics were no longer forthcoming and so, the facilities gradually returned to their pire-1991 poor situation, except in very few communities.

Drugs were no longer available in health centers or clinics and so patients resorted to patronizing of chemists/patent medicine stores in majority of the sixteen communities. Training of local government medical staff and community volunteers to work together in operating the health clinics was no longer taken seriously by many of the eight local governments.

The only except was the sensitization of the benefiting communities to participate in sustaining the UNICEF-assisted activities. The local governments did fairly well in this activity (community sensitization). This was due perhaps to the smalls size of financial resources required to carry out the activity in the communities or due to willingness of the communities to cooperate with the local governments to sustain programmes.

In the other programmes like basic education and water supply, the situation was the same, that is non-sustainability of facilities, shortage of

staff to operate the facilities and ineffective sensitization of communities to participate in local government activities. Under water supply programme, we saw that many boreholes and hand pumps had broken down between 1996 and 2004, so much so that people resorted to their traditional sources of water (streams, ponds and shallow wells leading to rampant cases of water-borne diseases in the communities).

Facilities for disposal of human waste had been abandoned. Public toilets provided by the UNICEF in the benefiting communities were no longer functional nor maintained. In fact, they had become sources of health hazards to the community. Children and women went back to either the back of their houses or nearby bushes to defalcate.

Food security programme suffered the same fate (lack of sustainability) by the focus local governments. We have known that storage facilities were not increased for food items produced by farmers, fertilizer and agro-chemicals were in short supply except the personal efforts of the farmers themselves that made some of these items (fertilizer and agro-chemicals) available.

In testing the three propositions of this work, we tried to find out why the focus local governments failed to sustain the UNICEF-assisted

programmes and the facilities. Among other reasons, we discovered that the following were responsible:

a) Weak executive capacity of the focus local governments as shown by:
    i) shortage of skilled manpower and materials to operate and repair health institutions; primary school buildings, boreholes, hand-pumps and public toilets,
    ii) shortage of funds to assist farmers to procure adequate fertilizers for distribution and to promote agro-allied industries for food processing.

b) Overbearing control of local governments by State governments as exhibited through:
    i) the powers to employ and transfer senior staff to local governments by the Local Government Service Boards,
    ii) powers to amend and approval local government budgets,
    iii) manipulation of Statutory Allocations accruing to local governments,
    iv) imposition of projects on local governments,
    v) appointment and posting of key Administrative Officers to local governments by Governors themselves.

c) Self-serving interests (financial gains and political control of the people at grassroots level) of State policy actors through:

i) citing of projects in favour communities,

ii) award of contract by the Policy actors themselves,

iii) imposition of spending limits on local government key functionaries.

## 7.2 Conclusions

We have seen from this study that inspite of several reforms of local government system in Nigeria, the country is having local administration (deconcentration of governmental functions) instead of devolution of powers and functions. We have seen that local governments considered as the third tier of government by the 1979, 1995 and 1999 Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, have legal existence as corporate bodies that can sue and be sued but have no political powers to make and implement their policies, to generate and control their human and financial resources and to deliver services as a tier of government with their identity. Local governments in Nigeria have lost their political powers to State governments due to the contradiction inherent in Military Decrees and the three Constitutions (1979, 1995 and 1999) which provide for “a system of local

government by elected councils under a State law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils". This is the foundation of local government problems in Nigeria. Since 1976, State governments have not been able to establish (create) local governments. That is not our concern in this study. State governments, in accordance with the Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, have ensured the structure, composition, finance and functions of local governments through tight control as shown in this study.

We have also seen that the focus local governments (selected for this study) did not participate in initiating, planning and implementing the UNICEF assisted programmes which they were asked to sustain after the withdrawal of assistance in December 1995. State governments participated in citing the communities to benefit from the programme; it contributed funds to the implementation of the programmes called counterpart funding, State civil servants took part in implementing and monitoring the programmes. It is strange to ask local governments instead of State governments to sustain the programmes. The only reason for that decision is because the Primary Health Care Services, Primary Education, Rural Water Supply, Environmental Sanitation and Food security Programmes are parts of 'the concurrent functions of local governments in Nigeria. It is important

to note that other Donor Agencies and the United Nations Development Agencies have programmes in the same LGAs to be sustained by the grassroots governments which are always sidelined by State governments at the initial stages of project-life cycle (initiation, planning and execution). When such Donor Agency Programmes are more than the capacity of local governments, one wonders how they (the programmes) can be successfully sustained. Therefore, the failure of the focus local governments to sustain the Donor Agency programmes is partly due to their non-participation in planning and implementation of the programme, during which there could have been adequate assessment of the local government capacity to sustain them after the withdrawal of assistance from outside.

As earlier discussed in this study under literature review, capacity building is an essential prerequisite of programme/project sustainability. The UNICEF made some efforts in building the capacity of some local government staff and community volunteers between 1991 and 1995. This was done through short courses, workshops• and conferences for local government officials and community representation. State government civil servants were also brought in either as trainers or trainees. We saw in our investigation that some of the local government officials who attended the short courses had been transferred from the focus local governments to other

local governments, thereby making the capacity building efforts of the UNICEF an end in itself, instead of a means to an end. This situation further weakened the capacity of the focus local governments to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes/projects.

One of the major objectives of the 1976 Local •Government Reform was to ensure community participation through policy making, planning and budgeting at local government level. Unfortunately over the years, this objective has been reduced to:

- participation of councilors in policy making and budgeting
- community development or self-help efforts.

Community participation is much more than these activities. It involves opportunities given to interest and pressure groups to air their views as inputs into policy making process and output; suggestion of alternative steps toward solving community problems; criticism of bad or unworkable local government policies and demand for financial accountability by local government. These elements of participation in development and in governance are usually ignored by local government top officials like chairmen, councilors and heads of departments. We did not see these elements of community participation being exhibited in any of the focus local governments. This shows that the pilot- project communities are not

effectively empowered to take over eventually. Training of some community volunteers and representatives is not enough to prepare the community for the task ahead.

## 7.3 Recommendations

On the basis of our findings and conclusions so far, we recommend the following measures to make local governments in Nigeria a meaningful tier of government for sustainable development and an institution for further investigation. To make local governments in Nigeria a meaningful tier of government, we recommend that:

1) Section 7 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria be amended to give local governments more autonomy to control their human and financial resources and to initiate, make and implement their own policies. State government powers should be limited to establishment (creation) of local governments only. Local governments should be allowed to make their mistakes and correct them as the states do. Nigeria has come of age in terms of skilled manpower and finance to be able to feed local governments.

It is the State and federal government control over local governments in Nigeria that makes the latter look like they are incapable of performing

their statutory functions. If given political and fiscal autonomy, local governments will be able to employ enough skilled manpower from the labour market, they will be able to retain those that are trainable and will be able to provide adequate incentive to attract and retain skilled manpower like the states can.

Fiscal autonomy will enable local governments to meet their financial obligations including service delivery and sustainability of programmes. Local governments in advanced societies like the United States of America and Great Britain and a third world society Uke India are good examples of the lowest tier of government that are functional due to high degree of political and fiscal autonomy.

2) Local governments must participate in planning and implementation of Donor Agency programmes instead of the present situation where they (local governments) are passive recipients of programmes/projects donated by outsiders. Local government participation in planning and implementation of Donor Agency programmes prepares them (local governments) for sustainability through integration of the programmes in their development plans and annual budgets. Local government participation in the stages of Project Life Cycte also enables them to go into partnership with either the Donor Agencies or other

development organizations to prepare for sustainability if their executive capacity is inadequate for the task.

3) Closely related to the second recommendation is the issue of community participation in planning and implementation of donor agency programmes. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasized. Of central concern in any discussion of programme/project sustainability in wider human terms is the issue of community participation. It is a pretence to think that sustainable development can take place without the participation of the people.

Community participation in Project Life Cycle is not limited to contribution of money and materials toward project implementation alone. Much more than that, it involves:

i) participatory research or diagnostic survey to identify community needs, resources, strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats,
ii) mobilization of human, financial and material resources from within and from outside,
iii) generation, utilization and accountability of financial and material resources,
iv) accessibility to and change of leadership connected with progamme management,

v) accessibility to programme-benefits as incentives for takeover and sustainability.

All these cannot take place with individual or personal efforts. There must be groups or associations, usually referred to as community-based associations to sensitize and move people into action to achieve the above-mentioned elements of community participation in programmes initiated by outsiders.

4) As a field of study, we recommend that local government in Nigeria require more critical investigation in terms of intergovernmental relations which determine the extent of its viability, functionality, and capability to serve as instrument of sustainable development at grassroots level. The main focus of such (further) investigation is local government autonomy. The main focus of autonomy most local governments in Nigeria have to be able to perform their statutory functions such as service delivery, resource control/management and community mobilization for participation in development?

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A) TEXTBOOKS:

Aiyar, S.P. (1995) Studies in Indian Democracy (Allied Publishers, New Delhi).

Alderfer, H.P. (1981) American Local Government and Administration (Macmillan Company, New York).

Blair, S.G. (1985) American Local Government (Harper and Row, New York).

Chaudry, Y.K. 92003) The Challenges of Socio-Economic Development in Less Developed Countries (McMillan Company, New York).

Cusworth, J. and Frank, T. (1993) Managing Projects in Developing Countries (Longman Group, UK Ltd.).

Dahl R. (1977) Modern Political Analysis, Englewood Cliffs, New York. Egwurube, J. (1980 in A.Y. Aliu) The Role of Local Government in

Political, Social and Economic Development (Dept. of Local Government studies, A.B.U. Zaria).

Elaigwu, I. (1980) in A.Y. Aliu, ibid.

Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999), The Constitution of the Federal Reiublic of Nigeria 1999 (Government Printer, Abuja).

Federal Ministry of Health/UNICEF (1988), Health Sector Reform: Mid-Term Plan of Action, (Federal Ministry of Health, Abuja).

Federal of Ministry of Health/UNICEF (1988), Situation and Policy Analysis of Basic Education in Nigeria, (Federal Ministry of Education, Abuja).

Fredrick, C. (1963), Man and His Government (McGraw Hill Books Company, New York).

Friedman, K. and Amassari Y. (1991), Community Participation and Empowerment: The Millenium Challenge for the UNICEF and its Partners (UNICEF Programme Division, New York).

Groves, C.B. (1991), Building Sustainability with Communities (Royal Society of South Africa).

Humes S. (1984), The Structure of Local Governments in India (Allied Publishers, New Delhi).

Jackson, W.E. (1993), The Growth and Reform of English Local Government (Sweet & Maxwell, London).

Lasswell, H. (1960), Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inciuiry (Yale University press, New Haver).

Mathur, K. (1983), Decentralization and Development in India (Sage Publishers & Beverly Hills, London).

Orewa, G. and Adewunmi, J. (1983), Local Government in Nigeria: The Changing Scene. (Ethiope Pub. Co. Benin City).

Oyeyipo, E.A. and Odoh, A. (1985) (eds.) Government at Grassroots Level in Nigeria (Dept. of Local Government Studies, A.B.U. Zaria).

Rhyne, E. (2004), Politics: Linking the Local and the Global (Routledge Publishers, London).

Russell, B. (1978), Power: A New Social Analysis (Allen and Unwin, London).

Shivji, S. (1983) Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle in Clif Souls (ed) Socialism in Tanzania [East African Pub. House).

Stevenson, B. (1991) Local and Central Government Relations (Weidenfield & Nicolson, London).

Wallace, S.C. (1988) State Administrative Surervision Over Cities in the United States (Columbia University Press, New York).

Weber, M. (1971) in Reinhard Bendik Intellectual Portrait (Metheun, London).

**B) JOURNALS**

Abubakar, H.I. (1993) "Autonomy and Financial Administration in Nigerian Local Governments". The Nigerian Journal of Public Affairs Vol. XIII No. 1, June 1993 (Institute of Administration, A.B.U. Zaria).

Adejoh, A.I. (1986), "Autonomy of Local Government: Myth or Reality". Nigerian Journal of Public Administration and Local Government Vol. IV, No. 3, March 1986 (University of Nigeria, Nsukka).

Grinkerhoff, D.W. (1992) "Promoting the Sustainability of Development Institutions" Development: June 1992 (Society for International Development.

Gustafson, D.J. (1994), "Developing Sustainable Institutions" Public Administration and Development Vol. 5, No. 14 (Institute of Development Studies, India).

Sharpe, L. J. (1970), "Theories and Values of Local Government", Political Studies Vol. VIII, No. 2, (School of Economics, London).

## C) GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

**Federal Republic of Nigeria:**

Guidelines for the Reform of Local Government 1976 (Government Printer, Lagos.

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 (Government Printer, Kaduna).

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (Government Printer, Kaduna).

Report of the Technical Committee on the Review of Structure of Local Government Councils in Nigeria (The Presidency, Abuja, 2004).

FGN/UNICEF 1991-1995 Cooperation Agreement (National Planning Commission, Lagos, 1991).

FGN/UNICEF Master Plan of Operation for the 1991-1995 Programme Period (National Planning Commission, Lagos, 1991).

A Review of FGN-UNICEF Cooperation Agreement 1975-1980 Period (NPC, Lagos, 1981).

FGN/UNICEF Mid-Term Report on Programme Implementaiton (NPC, Lagos, 1983).

**D) UNICEF PUBLICATIONS:**

Situation Assessment and Analysis: A Study of Programme Implementation in Selected States of the North (UNICEF Zaonal office, Bauchi and Kaduna, 1997).

"UNICEF At a Glance" (UNICEF Country Office, Lagos, 1994). "Mid-Term Report on UNICEF Activities in Nigeria" (UNICEF Country Office, Lagos, 1988).

"Guidelines for Selection of Pilot-Project Communities in Nigeria (UNICEF Country Office, Lagos 1991).

"Master Plan of Operation 1986-1990" (UNICEF Country Office, Lagos, 1986).

**E) UNPUBLISHED WORKS**

1) Department of Local Government Studies, A.B.U. Zaria:

a) Appraisal of Local Government Reforms in Nigeria 1976-1984, 1989 and 1992 (Department of Local Government Studies, A.B.U. Zaria 2001).

b) Appraisal of Local Government Performances in Northern States of Nigeria, (Dept. of Local Governments, A.B.U. Zaria 1992).

c) Odoh, A. (1995) "How Local Governments Operate in Other Countries" (An unpublished Handbook for Postgraduate Students.

d) Odiongenyi, p. (1988) "Local Government Financial Management in Nigeria" (An unpublished MPA Thesis

submitted to the Dept. of Local Government Studies, A.B.U. Zaria.

**ELECTRONIC SOURCES/WEBSITES:**

a. http/www.unicef.or

b. htt/www.sustainablemeasure.com

c. ht/www.unsystem.org/ngls/doc/publicatiOfls.elvoiceS.afriCa/nUmber 5

d. htt/11ww.ndigodev.com(sustain.htlm

e. htt/11www.sfu.cakscd/shat-is-is-sust.common.html

f. htt/11www.subjectmatters.com./indicators/sustainability definitions community html.

g. htt/www.commut.com/sustain-devt.

## APPENDIX I

## QUESTIONNIARE

Department of Political Science,

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Zaria.

Dear Respondents,

## QUESTIONNAIRE TO GENERATE DATA FOR DOCTORAL DEGREE DISSERTATION

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), in partnership with State Governments in Nigeria, assisted local governments to provide, operate and maintain facilities and projects for primary health care, basic education, water and sanitation and food security in selected rural communities between January 1991 and December 1995. Your State/LGA/community was one of the beneficiaries of the UNICEF assistance.

The focus local governments were expected to take over and sustain the facilities since January 1996 many of the local governments have failed to do so.

The purpose of this study is to find out why the focus local governments failed to sustain the UNICEF-assisted projects after December 1995.

The questionnaire herewith attached will assist greatly in providing data to answer the research question.

Your cooperation and honest response will be highly appreciated. Please be rest assured that your response will be treated in strict confidence.

Thanks for your anticipated cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

**BELLO OHIANI**

## APPENDIX II

Questionnaire for local government officials (Chairmen, Secretaries, Councillors, HODs and Sectional Heads).

**a) Personal Data:**

1) State ……

2) Local Government ……

3) Department/Unit ……..

4) Designation ……..

5) Educational Qualification(s) ……

6) How long have you been in the local government? ……

7) How long have you held the position you now occupy? ……..

B) UNICEF-assisted Activities/Programmes in the Local Government Area (1991 — 1995)

1) Are you aware of UNICEF-assisted programmes carried out in your LGA between 1991 and 1995?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

2) If Yes, please mention them and their Departments:

| Departments | Programmes/Activities Since When? |
|---|---|
| | |

3) Did the local government play any role in sustaining the programmes/ Activities between 1996 and 2004?

Yes[ ] No[ ]

4) If Yes, please mention the role in specific terms i.e. what the local government actually did between 1996 and 2004 to sustain the UNICEF- assisted programmes/activities:

……..

…….

……

……

5) How would you assess the efforts of the local government to sustain the programmes in your department between, 1996 and 2004?

| Department | Activities/ Programmes | Assignment | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | V. High | High | Fair | Low | Zero |
| | | | | | | |

6) If, in your assessment, the efforts are generally low or zero, what would you say was or were the reason(s)?

……

……

……

…….

7) With specific reference to maintenance of structural facilities for primary education, water & sanitation and health care services, which of the following reasons would you give for low or zero performance by the local government or your department?

- Lack of funds [ ]
- Lack of technical staff [ ]
- Neglect of the facilities by the local government in its annual budget [ ]
- Shortage of spare parts [ ]
- Frequent vandalization by users []

**C) Local-State Relationship:**

1) What is the nature of relationship between your local and State governments?

a) Master-servant relationship [ ]

b) Partnership [ ]

c) Competition [ ]

d) Cooperation [ ]

2) Give reasons for your answer in ‘C’ (1) above:

a) ……..

b) ……

c) ……..

3) Which one of the following reasons best describes the failure of your local government to provide professional staff to operate your primary health care institutions and primary schools between 1996 and 2004?

a) Refusal of the professionals (Doctors, Nurses, Pharmacists and Teachers) to live and work in rural areas []

b) Failure of the State government, through the Local Government Service Board and State Primary Education Board to employ and deploy the professionals to rural communities []

c) Lack of incentives to attract and retain the professionals in the local government service [ ]

4) Which one of the following reasons best describes the failure of your local government to provide materials, funds and hospital equipment to operate your primary health care institutions and furniture for primary schools between 1996 and 2004?

a) Shortage of funds due to weak. base for internal revenue [ ]

b) Mismanagement of funds by local government top functionaries []

c) Over deduction from local government Statutory Allocation by State governments []

| Very High | High | Low | Very Low | Zero |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |

5) How much input did your Local government have in its budgetary process between 1996 and 2004?

6) If, in your opinion, the relationship between your State and local governments is that of master-servant, which one of the following reasons best describes the motive behind the relationship?

a) Financial gains through contract award and disbursement of funds to local governments []

b) Political power to penetrate the masses []

c) Technical assistance to local governments for development at grassroots level []

7) What would you suggest should be done about the Joint Account as provided in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria?

a) Scrap it []

b) Amend it []

c) Retain it []

## APPENDIX II

Questionnaire for community respondents (Household Heads, Leaders of Community Development Associations, Leaders of Women Groups, Headmasters & Teachers, Village Health Workers and Agricultural Extension Workers).

**A) Personal Data:**

1) State ……

2) Local Government ……

3) Community…… ……..

4) Position in the community e.g. Household Head, Leader of CDA, Leader of Women Group etc.) ..……..

5) How long have you stayed in the community?.....

6) Educational Qualification(s)…….……

**B) UNICEF-assisted Programmes/Activities in the Community:**

Q.1) Are you aware of the UNICEF-assisted programmes/activities carried out between 1991 and 1995 in this community?

Yes[] No[]

Q.2) If Yes, please mention them:

……..

……..

……

Q.3) How would you assess the performance of the local government in sustaining the proqrammes in the community?

| Programmes/Activities | Assessment | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Very Satisfactory | Satisfactory | Fair | Poor | Very Poor |
| a) Supply of materials for repairs of structures | | | | | |
| b) Development of technical staff for maintenance of facilities | | | | | |
| c) Provision of tools and spare parts | | | | | |
| d) Sensitization of community members to participation in programme-sustainability | | | | | |
| e) Training of community volunteers | | | | | |

Q.3) If the activities mentioned above were poorly or very poorly sustained by the local government, what would you say were the reasons?

a) Lack of political will by the top officials of the local government [ ]

b) Inadequate fund [ ]

c) Corrupt practices by local government officials [ ]

Q.4) Were community members involved in planning and budgeting for the sustainability of the UNICEF-assisted activities between 1996 and 2004?

Q.5) If yes, to what extent were they involved?

| Management Process | Extent of Community Involvement | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Very High | High | Fairly High | Low | Very Low | Zero |
| 1. Planning | | | | | | |
| 2. Budgeting | | | | | | |

Q.7) What and what did the community members do on their own to sustain the UNICEF-assisted programmes/activities between 1996 and 2004?

| Programmes/Facilities | Community activities to sustain the facilities |
|---|---|
| a) Health institutions like clinics and health centres | |
| b) Primary schools | |
| c) Boreholes | |
| d) Wells | |
| e) Hand-pumps | |
| f) Public latrines | |
| g) Storage facilities (silos) | |