AN EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN CROSS RIVER STATE OF NIGERIA

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that this work is original. References made to other works, published or unpublished have been duly acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

Development Administration as a system of government and strategy for development was concieved in the continuous search for the best possible system of public administration that could lead to the solution of the problem of underdevelopment. Being dynamic, innovative, and achievement-oriented, development administration is considered a suitable system for the developing countries where every programme is development-oriented.

This system of administration was adopted in Cross River State in the belief that it would help to mobilise the natural and material resources in the state and harness them for its economic, political and socio-cultural development.

The interest in this study was aroused by the persistent state of poor development in the state inspite of the adoption and operation of this development-oriented system for some eight years, a period considered sufficient to have given the state a head start.

From the findings in the study, there had been relative improvement in private and communal life of the people within those years. This improvement was," as it were, a stop-gap as the pendulum appeared to have swung back. A close look at the development pattern

suggested that certain factors other than development administration were responsible for the relative development in the state. A further look was taken of all the variables necessary for the successful implementation of development projects.

The result appears to indict administration, which is the most vital input in development administration, as not being capable of making administration fulfil its dreams. Development administration, with all it stands for, in any case, cannot lead to development in the developing countries until development becomes man-centred and what is being preached is practised, that is, making the rural areas centres of development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Title Page		i
Declaration		ii
Acknwledgements		iii
Abstract		iv
Table of Contents		vi
List of Tables		viii
List of Figures		ix
CHAPTER ONE		
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Statement of Problem	4
1.3	Aim of Study	6
1.4	Significance and Justification of Study	6
1.5	Scope of Study	8
1.6	Basic Assumptions	8
1.7	Hypotheses	9
1.8	Methodology	9
1.8.1	Questionnaires	9
1.8.2	Population and Sample Size	10
1.8.3	Interview	11
1.8.4	Documentary Evidence	11
1.8.5	Administration of questionnaire and Interview	11
1.8.6	Analysis of Date	12
1.9	Approach adopted in the study ...	13
1.10	Definition of terms and Operationalization of concepts	14
1.11	Organisation of the study	17
CHAPTER TWO		
	Literature Review	19
CHAPTER THREE		
	Operation of Development Administration In Cross River State	
3.1	The State and its people	38
3.2	Structural and Institutional Aspects of Development Administration in Cross River State	41
3.2.1	Development Administration Department	41

		Page
3.2.2	County and Urban Development Area	43
3.2.3	Development Area	45
3.2.4	The Village	45
3.3	Organs of Development Administration	46
3.3.1	Central Development Committee ...	46
3.3.2	Divisional Project Committee ...	48
3.3.3	County Development Council ...	49
3.3.4	Urban Development Council ...	50
3.3.5	Area Development Committee ...	51
3.3.6	The Village Authority ...	53
3.4	Field officers and their functions	54
3.4.1	The Development Executive ...	55
3.4.2	The Development Officer and Asst. Development Officer ...	57
3.4.3	The Development Organiser ...	59
3.4.4	Staff of Executive and Technical Ministries	60
3.4.5	Councillors and Committeemen ...	60
3.5	Targets of Development ...	64
3.6	Operation of the system ...	65
CHAPTER FOUR		
	Presentation and Analysis of Data	76
CHAPTER FIVE		
	Summary and Conclusion	
5.1	Summary of study	105
5.2	Summary of Findings	107
5.3	Conclusion	111
5.4	Recommendation	114
	References	120
	Appendix A	124
	Appendix B	128

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
3.1	Pattern of Staffing: Headquarters Vs Field Administration.	70
3.2	Courses run at the Civil Service Training Centre, Calabar	71
3.3	Expenditure on Projects 1971-1974 ...	72
3.4	Expenditure on Projects October 1973-March 1974	73
4.1	Sample Popuation	74
4.2	Distribution of Respondents by Professional Categories	75
4.3	Decision Makers before and during Development Administration	76
4.4	Correlation of Views - Decision Makers	78
4.5	Participation and Awareness	79
4.6	Cooperation between Government and the People	79
4.7	Arrangement for take-off	80
4.8	Strenghening of Administration	81
4.9	Headquarters Control	84
4.10	Causes of failure to achieve Objectives	84
4.11	Development in Education and Health Facilities	97
4.12	Measurement of Achievement	99
4.13	Impact of System on the People	100
4.14	Greatest Achievement of the System ...	101
4.15	Choice between Local Government and Development Administration	102
4.16	Re-introduction of Development Administration	103

LIST OF FIGURES

		Page
3.1	Map of Cross River State showing Local Government Areas	39
3.2	Structure of Development Administration in Cross River State	44
3.3	Organs of Development Administration in Cross River State	47
3.4	Structure, Organs and Role Incumbents of Development Administration in Cross River State	63
5.1	Suggested structure for Organisation of the people	116

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

After attaining political independence, the developing countries came face to face with the enormous problems of nation building. Prominent among these included the development of basic infrastructural facilities, the provision of social services to the people, national security, economic and social development and national integration of the citizens. To further compound the problems for the leaders of these 'new nations' the prospects of independence had raised the hopes of many citizens and made their expectation high.

Government was the only institution that could handle these problems. It accepted the responsibility of finding solutions to them. This step was a clear and radical departure from the colonial administration which was mainly set up to provide law and order, collect revenue from the colonised people and provide such services that were necessary for the upkeep of the administration.

It became clear that the traditional public administration could not cope with the new role and increased activities of government. To handle this enormous task of political, economic, and socio-cultural development therefore called for the adoption of a system of governmental administration which was dynamic, forward looking and development oriented. The system thought to be able to cope with these problems was development administration. The system had been applied with remarkable success in the mass rehabilitation of the war ravaged economies of the West and Japan after the second world war.[1] The experience gained by some western countries

in the administration of foreign aid programmes in the developing countries also proved that the machinery of government could be employed in the promotion and management of socio-economic programmes.

Development administration, according to Gant (1979) "is the administration of policies, programmes and projects to serve development purposes."[2] The system has been said to be capable of fostering development if well-administered. The essential features in development administration are that it is "dynamic, innovative and development oriented".

This system was adopted in Cross River State. Development administration in the state was essentially a decentralised system of government having local administrations representing "one (central) unified and indivisible government serving the people at the local levels".[3] The cornerstone of the system was community development and to achieve this, emphasis was on "partnership between government and the people."[4]

The former system of local government in the state allowed "local autonomy to a minor government subordinate to a major government".[5] Local governments in the state had their own separate government machinery from the central (state) government. This system was abolished in the state in the belief that it could no longer serve the objectives of government.

In the view of the then military Governor, "confusion, inefficiency, waste, corruption and partisanship"[6] constituted

the major ills of the local government system. According to him, confusion arose because local autonomy granted to local governments led to divided loyalty of the people to the central government and the local government. Inefficiency and waste were caused by lack of qualified staff for the local governments because they employed their staff instead of using civil servants. Partisanship arose because councillors were elected on political party basis and they more often than not owe allegiance to party authorities outside the state.

Councillors and committee men in the new system represented members of the community and not political parties. The local administrations were staffed by civil servants and everybody in the state owe their loyalty to the central government.

Apart from the inadequacies of the local government system, it became necessary to adopt a system of administration that could respond to the initiative of government and the people to face both the challenge and the opportunity for separate development in the new state created. Thirdly, the civil war left the state in ruins and the government had to look for a more responsive and dynamic system that could accelerate the pace of development in the war torn state.

The experiment in development administration started in September 1968 when the local government system was

abolished.[7] The formal launching of the new system, as it were, came in 1970 following the promulgation of the 'South-Eastern State Development Administration Edict.'[8]

This study intends to assess the success or otherwise of this new system of administration and how its dreams of development were fulfilled.

1.2 Statement of Problem

When states were created in the country in May 1967,[9] many Nigerians saw the exercise as a political masterstroke employed by Gowon's regime to score a decisive point in the civil strife between the federal authorities and the government of Eastern Region. Others viewed the state creation as a solution to the minority politics in the country. According to St Jorre (1972), "it (state creation) reduced the monolithic power of the majority tribes, gave the minorities a place in the sun at last...[10] More importantly, many people saw the new states as providing the nucleus for the dispersion of development to all nooks and corners of the country. States creation therefore, among other things provided the opportunity for each state to identify its problems, work out strategies to their solutions and enhance the pace of socio-economic development.

This was an opportunity for the new state to reorder its priorities and decide on its development strategy. Cross River, then South Eastern State, had been known to have great potentials in natural resources for development. It was

likely that the state had no effective means of tapping the available potentials to achieve the desired development. Development administration was considered a suitable system which could provide the needed means of effecting development.

The system was officially adopted by the Cross River State government in 1970. After watching the activities of government and the people under this system, many thought that the government had discovered a vehicle for pooling the resources of the state together for the benefit of all.

The new system was however abolished in July 1976. The abolition was sequel to the federal government decision to reorganise and recognise the local government system as a third tier of government with uniform operation throughout the country. Therefore the abolition was in compliance with the directives of the federal government and may rightly be said that it might not have been the wish of the state government to do so.

Opinion is however divided today as to whether or not this system has had any significant impact on the life of the people in the state before it was abolished. Some people argued that the perioc of the operation of the system was too short to have enabled it to take roots and make substantial changes in the society. Others maintain that inspite of the short duration, it did actually achieve a lot. The system might or might not have achieved a lot in terms of its contribution to the development of the state.

This raises the problem whether or not development administration system led to the development of Cross River State. Did it contribute to or wholly lead to the development in the state? Did the system provide the means by which the people tapped the resources in the state for its development? Did it enable the government and the people to move closer together to work for a common goal? To what extent did the development administration succeed or fail to achieve its set out objectives of development in the state?

1.3 Aim of Study

This study is undertaken as a consequence of the continuous search for ways and means of achieving accelerated development in our communities. The study aims at establishing whether or not the adoption of development administration system has brought about the anticipated development and the extent to which the system has brought any changes in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the people of the state.

In evaluating the system, this study will examine factors responsible for the success or failure of the system.

1.4 Significance and Justification of Study

The system of development administration was adopted by the government of Cross River State in 1970 but before it could take strong roots, it was abolished. From existing literature the system is said to be perhaps the most suitable for the development of the developing countries in view of

their peculiar characteristics.

Since the system was abolished about ten years ago, there has been no attempt to critically examine it as it operated in the State with a view to establishing whether or not it was suitable for our development. Such a study could provide a feedback from which the government could benefit in its continuous efforts to develop the State. Studies on the introduction of new ideas to rural communities have however been done in Peru, Brazil and India among many other places. These studies are significantly different from the present one because none involved the employment of the entire government machinery to propagate new ideas.

This study could provide a spark for further critical examination of the system by other researchers especially by its many critics who may disagree with the conclusions in the study. It may also lead the government to re-examine its present and past strategies for development in the state.

An evaluation of the development administration system is advantageous in itself. An evaluation per se involves a process of determining the value or amount of success in achieving a predetermined objective. It is a logical follow-up of an action which is necessary to complete the cycle in any project. It usually provides the necessary feedback, points to the pitfalls in the implementation and through such assessment improvements could be brought about. If the evaluation succeeds to influence the decision maker in selecting the best possible method in tackling the mammoth

problem of development, then the time, energy, and resources expended in the study would have been justified.

1.5 Scope of Study

The concept of development is continuous; there is usually no end to the process. But a study on a definite issue of development like development administration system in a specific context needs certain confinement in time and space to make the study conclusive. Thus, this study covers the period from 1968, when the idea of development administration was first mooted by the state government, through 1970, when the first edict that brought the system into being was promulgated, to 1976 when the system was abolished by another edict. This spans an eight-year period. In terms of geographical and administrative area, the study covers all parts of the present Cross River State.

1.6 Basic Assumptions

The basic assumptions which underly this study are that:

1. Administration is the most vital input in development administration so that if the system is properly administered, it is capable of achieving its objectives.
2. The system is capable of mobilising human and material resources to achieve the set out objectives of government.
3. The development administration system is an effective strategy that a government in the developing world can adopt to accelerate development.

1.7 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be tested in this study.

1. Development administration as operated in the Cross River State led to a significant level of economic, political, and socio-cultural development of the state.
2. Administration being the most vital input in the system contributed most to the achievement of the development administration.

1.8 Methodology

Given the scope and objective of this study, it was necessary to carry out specific surveys in many communities in the geographical area covered by the study. The rationale was to ascertain the amount of development that could be attributed to the development administration system which is the subject for evaluation.

The main approaches in collecting the data needed for the study were to administer questionnaires, conduct interviews. Secondary sources were also extensively used.

1.8.1 Questionnaires

Two sets of structured questionnaires were designed for the research. One set was administered direct to the people at the local level in ten of the seventeen local government areas of the state. It consisted of twenty questions designed to bring out specific information about the

system as the people experienced it.

The other set of questionnaires were administered to the officials of development administration department and other senior government officials. Among the many officials interviewed, many had already retired from public service.

1.8.2 Population and sample size

In the first set of questionnaires, the people at the grassroots constituted the sample population. Stratified sampling method was used. The stratification of the state for this purpose followed the natural division of the northern part of the state and the southern part otherwise known as the Mainland. Within these areas, the local government areas formed other strata. In the different local government areas the choice of individual respondents was random; there were two biases in that preference was given to persons who were fairly literate and above the age of thirty. The sample size remained fairly small since the population in the local government areas are highly homogenous. The distribution of the sample size of people at the local level is shown in table 4.1 page 77.

In the second set of questionnaires, people who worked in the Development Administration department and other senior government officials constituted the population. The sample size in the case of the local population is 150. This represents 25 respondents in every one million population. In the second category, the sample size is 18. Each is in relation to the overall population of each group. (See Appendix

for reproduction of the questionnaires).

1.8.3 Interview

Few interviews were conducted with the key actors in the development administration system. Although some of those interviewed had completed the questionnaires, the interview was to find out additional information which were not likely to come out from the questionnaires and which could only be known by only few of them. The interview conducted on this group of persons provided useful and inside information. Also interviewed were some experts in the field of public administration mostly from the universities.

1.8.4 Documentary Evidence

Documents provided an indispensable secondary source of data. Such handy and useful documents like Development Administration in South Eastern State, and Development Administration Edicts were constant companion and references during the research. Other documents include unpublished seminar papers, articles in Public Administration journals, records of the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development, government gazettes, newspaper publications and Statistical Digest published by the Statistical Division in the Ministry of Economic Planning.

1.8.5 Administration of Questionnaire and Interview

The questionnaires in both cases were administered face to face. This method presented a lot of problems. Some respondents were not prepared to be hurried and even after

going through the questions had to fix another date for its collection. In many cases they were not completed until the arrival of the researcher. Such hazards made the cost of administering the questionnaires in time, energy and finance very high.

Within each of the ten local government areas chosen, a number of villages were selected. There was no special reason for the choice of any village. Local assistants were engaged by the researcher in many of the local government areas.

Many respondents were very enthusiastic and in many cases they volunteered additional information. The highest co-operation was received during the interviews. There were no formal questions, all the interviews were informal with the researcher providing the lead. All those interviewed were extremely co-operative. Many among the experts in the field of public administration willingly offered to make available to the researcher materials in the subject. Notes taking was usually done after the interview so that in each case, the flow of discussion was not interrupted.

1.8.6 Analysis of data

The analysis of the raw data was the next stage. The presentation and analysis are shown in chapter four of this study. The analysis of most of the answers given by the respondents are given in tabular forms to give the reader a quick and general picture of what the researcher later described in words.

1.9 Theoretical Framework ~~Approach adopted in the Study~~

The system approach will be adopted in this study. According to Bennett and Weisinger (1975), the system approach seeks to evaluate a programme by describing the organisational structure of a programme, the stated functions and the process by which that organisational structure with those functions accomplish the programme objectives.

This is the model that will be adopted in this study. The institutional and organisational structure, the functions and the operation of the development administration system will be examined in chapter three. In this process, reference will be made to the review of the literature in development administration which will be delt with in chapter two to see how the system in Cross River State fitted into the concepts, structures etc of development administration which the writers put forward as a model of the system.

This model appears to be the most convenient and most suitable in this study. The objectives of development administration in the state had been stated and so have been the functions. The originators of the system had also determined set of structures they considered suitable to lead to the achievement of the objectives. The study in the tasks of evaluation will empirically see how the practice conform to the ideals.

1.10 Defination of Terms And Operationalisation of Concepts

One basic problem of research is to clearly define the terms used by the author. Such clear definition is necessary because different people employ the same terms to mean different things in different contexts. The operationalisation of certain concepts may be difficult; in cases where these concepts cannot be operationalised, definition of such concepts will be the best approach.

Terms to be defined include the following that will in this study have the meaning assigned to them; development administration, development, developing countries, developed countries, evaluation, impact, local communities, and project.

1. Development administration:

This is the form of public administration which involves a partnership between the central (state) government and the people at the local community levels whose main purpose is for the former to mobilise the energies of the latter and the available resources for the sole objective of carrying out economic, political and socio-cultural development of the society for the benefit of all its members. It is a decentralised system of administration i.e. a system with a local administration instead of having autonomous local government. The officials that operate the local administration are employees of the central government. It is a system of one unified and indivisible administration and its main object is grassroot development.

2. Development:

Development implies a change or movment from one stage of being to another considered superior and preferable. Development involves the end products of those actions deliberately taken to change the peoples' concept of living, raise their standard of living and ease their problems in living. Development can be political, economic, social or cultural. Development involves changes in the creative energies of the people and changes in the environment. Development occurs when people use their creative energies to transform their environment and in the process they are themselves changed. Development may manifest in physical changes though not all results of development manifest physically.

3. Developing Countries:

This phrase refers to most countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America which are underdeveloped. Many were colonised by European powers. Many of them still remain poor. Their per capita income is low. They are engaged in perpetual struggle against poverty, disease, ignorance and hunger. Underdeveloped is used interchangeably with developing country in this study.

4. Developed Countries:

It is used as the opposite of developing countries. Their per capita income and standard of living are high. They have high rate of literacy, they have stable and developed political and economic institutions. Most of them are in

Europe and America.

5. Evaluation:

The process of determining the amount of success (or failure) in achieving an objective. To know what to evaluate, the objective must be predetermined. The purpose of evaluation in this study is to discover whether and how well the objectives of development administration have been achieved; to uncover the principles underlying the achievement and define the means to be used in attaining the objectives.

6. Impact:

An impact refers to the impression left behind in a situation or on the life of someone or people after an action has taken place. Those affected may be active or passive participants or spectators. An impact may be positive or negative.

7. Local communities:

They refer to population at the grassroot, at the village levels. They are in many cases homogenous in population and bound together in common usually ancestral ties. They are communities where almost everybody knows everybody else. In this study, they refer to the basic units for community development projects. They will be used interchangeably with communities at the grassroots.

8. Project:

Project refers to a scheme or part of a scheme in which an investment in time, labour or money has been made and can reasonably be evaluated as an independent unit. One project

Footnotes

1. The adoption of the Marshall Plan masterminded by the United States of America to rehabilitate the economies of Western Europe and Japan after the second world war was based on the use of government machinery for mass rehabilitation programmes.

2. G.F. Gant, Development Administration, Concepts Goals, Methods. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin. 1979 p.20

3. Akpan, N.U., "How and Why it Must Work" Development Administration in South-Eastern State of Nigeria Government Printer, Calabar 1973 p.15

4. Ibid p.16

5. Ibid p.15

6. U.J. Esuene, "Grounds and Goals" Development Administration in South Eastern State. Government Printer, Calabar 1973 p.10

7. Edict NO.6 of 1970 Section 69 Repeal Cap. 50 and 79 of 1963. Government Printer, Calabar, 1970.

8. South Eastern State Development Administration Edict NO.6 of 1970. Government Printer, Calabar 1970. This Edict took effect from 1 July 1969.

9. The federal government created 12 states in May 1967 out of the existing four regions in the country. Following another major restructuring of the administration in 1976, the 12 states were broken into 19.

10. J. de St. Jorre, The Nigerian Civil War. Hodder and Houghton, London, 1972. p.122

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Development administration as a field of study is comparatively new; according to Gant, (1979), the term development administration was coined either in 1955 or 1956. Many writers appear to agree on what development administration is, its concepts and its structure. Noted authors in this field include Fred W. Riggs, Irving Swerdlow and George F. Gant. Others are Merle Fainsod, Saul M. Satz, and Edward Weidner.

Balogun (1983) expressed the changing mood when he said,

> In view of the increasing concern for efficiency and productivity in the allocation of resources, the public sector is now required more than ever before to exhibit managerial traits i.e. to be innovative, entrepreneurial and to be results-and achievement-oriented. In other words, administration in today's public sector also means management, especially at the top levels where strategic catalytic decisions are to be taken. It is for this reason that, particularly in the technological less developed societies, the term 'development administration' is now being used synonymously with, if not in place of, public administration.1

Development administration is equated with business management. It is result-and achievement-oriented, innovative and dynamic, resourceful and imaginative.

Swerdlow (1963), one of the early writers on development administration defines it as "the management of change".[2] He explains that "poor countries have special characteristics that tend to create a different role for government. These characteristics and this expanded or emphasized role of

government as it affects economic growth, tend to make the operations of the public administrator significantly different. Where such differences exists, public administration can be usefully called development administration."[3] Both Balogun and Swerdlow have given the same picture of development administration.

Development administration, according to Riggs, (1971) is "organised efforts to carry out programmes or projects thought by those concerned to serve development objectives".[4] He further adds that "development administration refers to the administration of development programmes to the methods used by large-scale organisations notably governments to implement policies and plans designed to meet their development objectives."[5] He also says that "development administration refers to both the government's efforts to carry out programmes designed to reshape its physical, human and cultural environment as well as the struggle to enlarge the governments capacity to engage in these programmes."[6]

In a more recent publication, Gant (1979) says that "development administration is a term used to denote the complex of agencies, management systems and process a government establishes to achieve its development goals."[7] Development administration, Gant also says, is the administration of policies, programmes and projects to serve development purposes.

Akpan defines development administration in the context of its application in Cross River State. He begins by drawing the difference between 'local government' and 'government at the local levels'. The former, he says implied "local autonomy enjoyed by a **minor** government subordinate to a major government" while the latter referred to 'activities of one unified and indivisible government serving the people at the local levels'. "It is this latter that we call in South-Eastern State 'Development Administration'"[8]. He added that the keynote of development administration in the state was decentralisation.

In his contribution to development administration theory, Meadows (1963) says that "it can be regarded as the public management of economic and social change in terms of deliberate public policy"[9]. Weidner, (1964), one of the pioneers in this field says that development administration is "an administration of planned change"[10]. And Fainsod conceives development administration to involve "the establishment of a machinery for planning economic development, mobilising and allocating resources to expand national income"[11].

Most of the authors define development administration in either functional or structural terms. Irving Swerdlow, Edward Weidner, Meadows, and Balogun give development administration a functional definition. They all lay their emphasis on the functions they consider development administration to perform that is the management or

administration of change. All of them except Weidner prefer to use the word management which according to Balogun makes development administration look more businesslike.

Of the other writers, Merle Fainsod and Akpan define development administration in structural terms while Fred Riggs and George Gant define it in both functional and structural terms. Gant in particular lays emphasis on both functions performed by and the structure of development administration. He says that development administration is both the administration of development and the development of administration.

The writers 'naturally' agree that development administration involves efforts to carry out developments. Naturally, because development administration was born out of attempts to evolve a system that would accelerate development especially in the developing countries. Although only few of the writers notably, Swerdlow, Weidner, Meadows emphasize change, the definition of development in itself implies change.

Development administration seems to be concerned only with the implementation of development programmes already decided upon. All the writers appear to support this view. Gant (1979) particularly states that the focus of development administration is the execution of definite programmes and specified projects planned to achieve identified targets of social, political and economic development and that the essence of development administration is its concern with how to

accomplish what development plans have been decided. But Fainsod (1963) seems to bring in a policy issue into development administration when he talks of "allocating resources to expand national income". Allocation of resources belongs to the realm of policy formulation and not policy implementation. His definition suggests that development administration is also concerned with policy making. In Cross River State, however, the entire government system was development administration therefore the term covered policy formulation as well as policy implementation.

Most of the authors agree in substance what development administration is although there may be some divergence in their conception. Development administration as a strategy for development finds itsapplication in the developing countries. Both Riggs and Swerdlow have expressed this fact more vigorously than others. Riggs says that development administration could be naturally applied to the administration of governments in developing countries because "all governmental programmes in these countries have acquired a developmental thrust"[12]. Swerdlow emphasises that "there are or should be many important, clearly recognisable differences between public administration in a poor country striving to attain self-generated economic growth and public administration in high income countries"[13]. Development administration, he concludes is the system meant for the developing countries.

Balogun (1983) supports the view that public administration in the "technologically less developed societies" should bear

the name development administration. Hoyle (1973) also says that public administration in developing countries merits the term development administration because of their peculiar characteristics. According to him, "problems of public administration in developing countries are sufficiently discrete from those of developed countries to merit a new approach which justifies the term development administration"[14].

All the exponents of development administration conceptualise it as being innovative, dynamic and development-oriented. Development administration calls for directional change, mobilisation of natural resources, their rational allocation and utilization in a great variety of competing ends. Balogun adds that development administration has to be entrepreneurial and achievement-oriented. The system is meant to respond to demands in the environment. They all agree that government alone may be able to adopt this system. As Katz puts it "government is usually the only acceptable agent of change capable of activating in a coherent manner the many economic, political and social changes involved in development. Also the massive input required can only be mobilised and allocated by government"[15].

The authors also agree that these functions and characteristics make development administration different from the orthodox public administration. The latter was concerned with the maintenance of law and order and keeping the colonial masters in power. Change was anathema to that system and since it was meant to maintain the status quo, it had no mechanism

to absorb any change.

The role of the environment in the determination of the system of government is supported by Swerdlow, (1963) Riggs (1964) and Dimock and Dimock (1969). According to Swerdlow, the role the government is expected to play, the structure of the society, the standard of development and culture of the people are few factors that may determine the types of administration to be adopted in a society. For these reasons, Swerdlow advocated the adoption of development administration in developing countries. Dimock and Dimock (1969) quoting Riggs in his Ecology of Development argue that "the connection between ecology and national development should be the ability of the people to understand their environment and behave in new ways instead of reinforcing old ones to frustrate development"[16].

In his own concept of development administration, Gant (1979) says that the system is positive rather than negative and persuasive rather than restrictive. It encourages innovation and change where desirable or necessary to accomplish purposes and discourages adherence to traditional norms and forms for its own sake. He concieves development administration as outward reaching, not inward looking and designed to respond to demands for political, economic and socio-cultural development.

Gant's conception of development administration as a dynamic process places people as the target of development process. The purpose of development, he says, is the well-being

of the people. People are also the instruments of development; they make up human resources. Development is to improve people's lot through assurance of sustenance acceptable to them and by increasing the choices they have to live their own life to the maximum expression. He considers that the quality of human resources applied to development has a direct relationship to the pace and level of the development. This quality, Gant concludes, is dependent on education, health and the supporting environment. Gant's conception of development administration is the most far reaching.

Fainsod (1963) whose main contribution to the literature of development administration is on its structure says that development administration involves the establishment of a machinery for planning economic development, mobilising and allocating resources to expand national income. He emphasises that organisation charts and policies are meaningless unless there are trained administrators to translate them into accomplishments. He points out that "planners talk eloquently of goals and objectives but administrative implementation seems to be neglected in favour of resounding policy directives which carry no executive bite"[17]. Fainsod suggests that support from those that wield political power is needed to accomplish objectives. But the long-term strategy to accomplish policies is to increase administrative capability through education.

Riggs (1971) and Gant (1979) also support this view. Riggs says that the success any oommunity expects to attain in development programmes is contingent on the level of

administrative capacity achieved in the community. Riggs argues that since development administration involves the strengthening of administrative capabilities, any successful implementation of projects will cause changes in the polity's environment which may enhance administrative capabilities.

In the same way, Gant (1979) argues that since development administration is not only administration of development but also development of administration, development administration should include innovation to strengthen administrative capacity. To do this, he contends that development administration needs its own supporting institutions in the form of training, research or consulting agencies. In order to develop responsibilities, Gant also suggests that the capabilities needed include planning competence, staff analysis capability and expert specialised personnel. Others are managerial skills, field organisation and effective organisation.

Gant (1979) says that the major expression of development administration in the field is decentralisation, delegation of authority to a larger number of agencies and to a larger number of places in rural areas. Decentralisation is made possible by the creation of new management agencies and system. Akpan (1973) in his support of decentralisation as the main structure in the field went further to say that development administration in Cross River State was decentralisation of government activities.

Structural arrangements, Fainsod (1971) says, serve

to allocate authority. Authorities vary with tasks to be performed, new problems that arise, or pressures that face administrators. Development administration should carry innovating values, developing and expanding new sources to embrace all functions of government assumed by developing countries. Such rapid multiplication of new administrative units and organisation to cater for expansion makes co-ordination essential in development administration.

Many other writers have dealt with other aspects of development administration. Among these are Agehananda Bharati (1963) and J. LaPalombara (1971) who deal mainly with the cultural aspects of development administration. Arthur H. Neihoff gives some time to the concept of innovation.

Development administration is innovative. Development brings innovation. This may come in new ideas, new attitudes in society, new ways of doing the same things or new things that development brings into the community. An innovation is a process that begins with an idea on the part of the change agent and ends with the adoption or rejection of the idea by the potential recipients. Since development administration involves induced change, in order to succeed the agent must evolve ways to make the change lasting. This is what Niehoff (1967) discusses in what he calls "innovation characteristics".

Among these characteristics are communication, committed participation, motivation and timing of the innovation.

Communication, he says,is vital in development administration. Communication involves firstly, the deliberate efforts by the innovator to transfer the idea of change to the recipients and secondly communication among the recipients concerning the innovation. This latter is always spontaneous. In order to make it effective, communication must be simple and understandable. In local communities information is transmitted in village gatherings, group meetings or council and committee meetings. According to Carl Taylor (1958), "A community development programme attempts to join the contributions of the leaders and servants of government and the contributions of energised, organised local groups"[18]. Effective communication becomes an instrument to join the three groups and make their development efforts successful.

The importance of motivation in development administration is as important as communication. According to Niehoff, motivation stems from two sources namely how the idea is presented by the agent and how it fulfills the felt needs in the society. Felt needs are needs recognised by the community as consequences of their wants and values and not those of the innovator. Felt needs are recognised needs of the people, not those of the government but where the two meet, motivation is high.

For successful community development which is the pillar of development administration, a committed participation by the people is most essential. Development involves people either as beneficiaries of development efforts or as instruments.

Their participation is therefore necessary. In the local communities, some people have to give their time, some their money, some their ideas and many of them give all of these.

Timing in the introduction of a new idea into the society is very important. Many bright ideas are often rejected because they are introduced at wrong moments. The inculcation of some rules of personal hygiene is likely to go down better at the time of an epidemic than at ordinary times. Nationalism is at its peak in a nation at a period of a national disaster. As would be seen in subsequent chapters development administration was introduced in Cross River at a most opportune time. Most causes of failure of projects are wrongly blamed on other factors whereas unbiased analysis would show that failure is most of the time due to faulty innovation techniques particularly poor communication, lack of motivation and failure to involve the potential recipients in committed participation.

In their contribution to the literature of development administration, Bharati (1963) and LaPalambara (1971) look at culture as a factor that could inhibit development. Culture is a type of civilization peculiar to a race or nation and the customs associated with it. Development administration is a movement of change. But many cultures and traditions frown at change and so inhibit progress and development. Where this contradiction exists, like in India according to Bharati, planned change usually meet with stiff resistance.

Culture and tradition need not become obstructive to development. They could be modified and adapted to become an

ally. The system after all also aims at cultural development. However as LaPolambara himself has demonstrated, it is not all tradition or culture that is incompatible with change. He says that in Turkey and Japan, economic and political development have occured within a framework in which tradition plays a prominent role. Bennette and McKnight admitted that they were struck by "the durability of the cultural base and the ability of the conservative (Japanese) leaders to make cultural ends compatible with a variety of new techniques, ideas and world views"[19].

In the Cross River "our system of Development Administration recognises the value and usefulness of traditional authorities and institutions. That is why every recognised clan head is appointed President of Development Councils"[20]. Traditional rulers the custodians of culture and traditionswere encouraged to uphold those cultures and tradition that aided development and discard those that were inimical to it.

Katz (1971) says that development administration should be viewed as a system concerned with a large number of complex inter-dependencies - economic, political, socio-cultural that are in complex inter-relationship. Therefore any action designed to change one should lead to relative action to change the others. He identified six inputs which he says make up the contents of development action in development administration. They are skilled manpower, finance, logistics and information. Others are participation and legitimate power.

They are all required to contribute to the proper functioning of the system and the success in any development action.

Manpower refers to aggregate labour force in the society. Successful development administration depends on the availability of skilled manpower in the right quantity and quality and at where it is needed. Finance is a key requirement in any development action. Sources of finance needed for any project must be ascertained. Available finance must be efficiently controlled judiciously utilised and released when it is needed. Good logistics contribute to successful implementation of planned projects. Logistics ensure that men and materials are stored and moved to where they are needed at the time they are needed.

Information is needed for decision-making, control and co-ordination of efforts in development. Mass mobilisation of the people for participation in development projects ensures success. Participation means active involvement in a course of action. It may be physical, psychological or emotional. Legitimisation involves support and understanding by the population which are very essential in development administration.

There have been few places where the concepts of development administration have been applied. The community development programme among the Vicos in Peru[21] for instance was based on the propagation of new ideas and mass participation in the development of the land. In His report on this programme,

John Lear (1962) said "But we didn't set out to change these people outside. We weren't putting on a show. We wanted to change the inside where it matters..."[22].

A similar community project as that in Peru was carried on in Brazil. The Community Centre in Chomin,[23] which started in 1951 with techniques in modern sanitation, and use of modern medical facilities grew to incorporate economic and political activities. In india, the Barpali project[24] aimed at improving the economic condition and living standard in the area by organising the people to work for the development of the community.

Also in Tanzania, Ujamaa[25] which was adopted by the country after independence in 1960 falls in line with the concepts of development administration. Ujamaa is a socialist idealogy which involved the reorganisation of the entire country into productive units. The family forms the nucleus of these grassroot units. They form the base for political and socio-economic actions in the country.

Development administration as was practised in Cross River State was different from the few cited above in one thing except in the case of Tanzania. In Cross River the entire government machinery was used to propagate the new system.

On the overall, there appears to be a concensus in what constitute the basic elements and the focus of development administration. It is a generic term which can be applied to

all publicly induced and purposeful change in all societies. But in this study, it is particularly relevant to the current problems of the developing countries. Many theorists and practitioners agree that it is one system best suited in the administration of development programmes in the developing countries where government is the chief agent of innovation and change, where the government has not only the means to mobilise natural and material resources and allocate them to needed areas but also has the monopoly of the instrument to command compliance, if need be, to achieve the needed accelerated economic, political and socio-cultural development.

Fainsod (1963) sums up the views of many others that the objectives of development administration are best achieved when there is willingness on the part of the people to participate in development programmes. It is the duty of the government however, to create incentives and means of mobilising the people to harness their resources and help themselves.

Public bureaucracy is the main instrument of development administration. The effectiveness of development administration ultimately depends on the quality and training of civil servants who man it and on the social and political environment which liberate their energies. Development takes place where commitment supports skill and the existence of human and material resources help to translate dreams into reality.

How the operation of the development administration in Cross River State fitted into the concepts and pattern of the system as described above will be discussed in chapter three.

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25. Ujamaa is interpreted as familyhood or socialism. The philosophy is expounded in Essays by Julius K. Nyerere.

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CHAPTER THREE

OPERATION OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN CROSS RIVER STATE

The previous chapter reviewed some of the existing literature in development administration. The present chapter will examine the set up and operation of the system in Cross River State in order to relate them to the general concepts. Before then, the chapter will take a brief look at the geographical and administrative entity known as Cross River State.

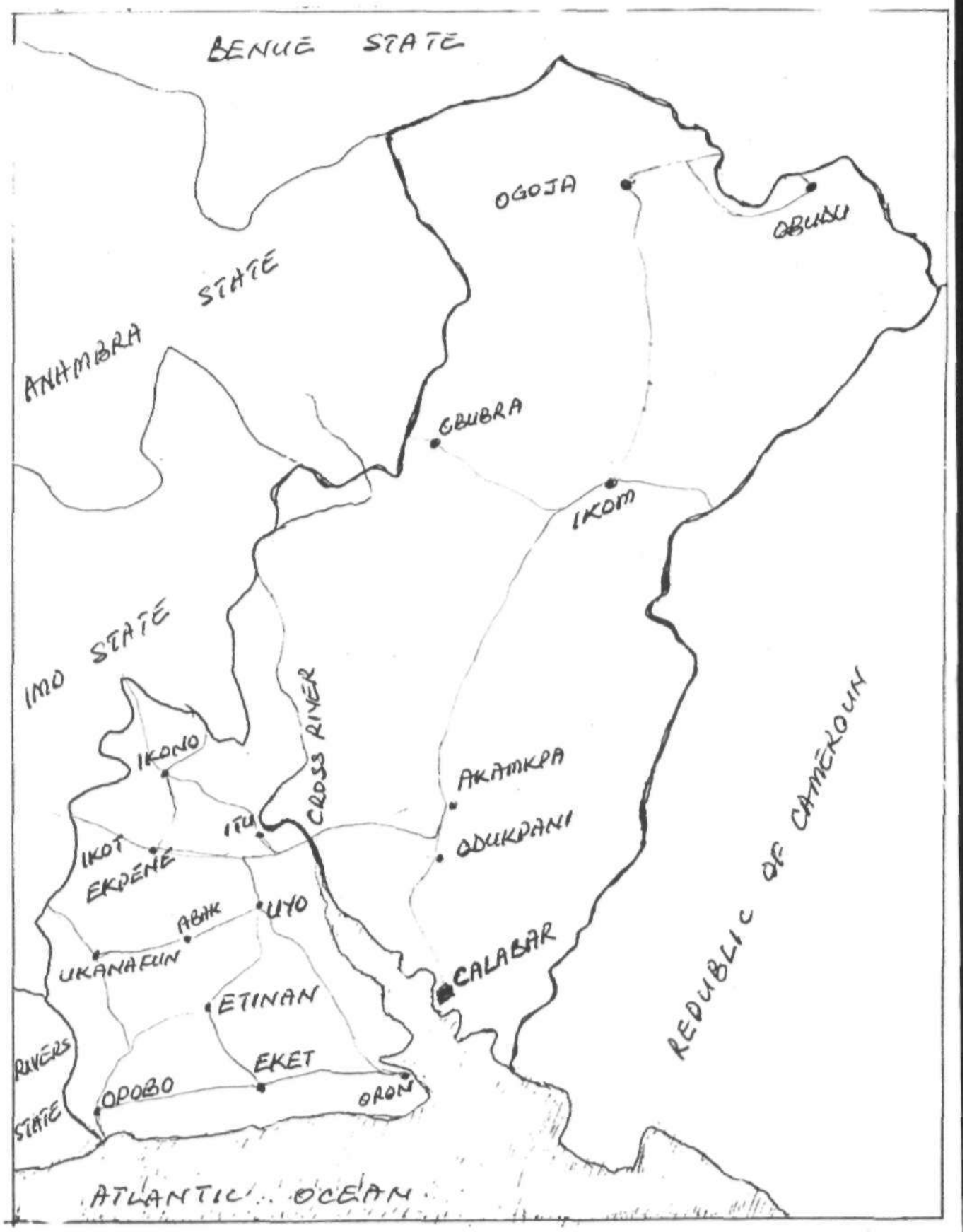
3.1 The State and its People

The geographical and administrative area covered by this study is the Cross River State. The state has over the decades, like other parts of Nigeria, undergone some political and economic evolution. Calabar, the present state capital played host to the early European missionaries and traders and later the colonial rulers who designated it the capital of Nigeria. But those were the yester-years whose glory hardly bear witness to the present situation.

What is known as Cross River State today is the same geographical area covered by Calabar and Ogoja provinces in the colonial and early days of independence. Later in its political evolution, the government of Eastern Nigeria broke up the same area into four provinces namely, Annang, Calabar, Ogoja and Uyo. This set up ended with the Nigerian crises.

In the wake of the twelve-state structure, in Nigeria in 1967, the area became known as South Eastern State. The

Figure 3.1 Cross River State Showing Local Government Areas



name was later changed to Cross River with the emergence of the nineteen states in 1976. For the state, it was a mere change of name; the territorial unit still remained the same.

For administrative purposes the state was divided into fourteen divisions. But in the government today, administrative units are the local government areas. They are seventeen in the state now[1]. See map on page 39. Each has a council headed by a Chairman. Constant references would be made to the local government areas. They however do not coincide strictly with the Development Council areas used during the era of development administration.

The Cross River State covers a total land area of 28,620.33 sq. kilometres. It is situated at the south eastern flank of Nigeria and shares a common border with the Republic of Camerouns on the east. In the south, it is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean. Benue state forms its northern boundary while its neighbours to the west are Anambra, Imo and Rivers State. By the 1963 census, the population of the state was 3,500,200[2]. The projected population for 1985 was 6,046,958[3].

The majority of the state's population is made up of peasant farmers, traders and craftsmen. Many varieties of food crops including cassava, yams, plantain, rice, vegetables are produced in abundance. The state is also noted for wood carving, raffia works and other like crafts. The people of the state are both culturally and linguistically hecterogenous.

3.2 Structural and Institutional Aspects of Development Administration in Cross River State

The development administration system required some framework both institutional and administrative to function effectively. The framework made for the effective functioning of the system will be discussed under the term structure in this chapter. Riggs (1964) defines structure as "any pattern of behaviour which has become a standard of a social system. Thus a government bureau is a structure or rather the whole set of structure consisting of the many things the officials in the bureau do regularly, the decisions they make, the people they see, the papers they sign... those actions that relate to the goals and work of the bureau..."[4].

Thus, the structure is not limited to the edifice but includes the actions of the officials which relate to the achievement of the objectives of the system. The structure created consisted of the following units which are shown in figure 3.2 on page 44.

i) Development Administration Department.
ii) County and Urban development areas.
iii) Development areas.
iv) The village authority.

3.2.1 Development Administration Department

The entire government system in the state was development administration. The idea of designating one Ministry, later on one department 'development administration', was misleading and

amounted to taking a part for a whole. Nevertheless, this department was created to co-ordinate all development functions in the state. This unit was a full-fledged government Ministry until 1972 when it became a department in the Cabinet Office following an administrative restructuring.

A Co-ordinator was appointed to head the department. He was, by that appointment, an officer equivalent to a Permanent Secretary in rank. He was directly responsible to the military Governor and not to the Secretary to Government as was the case of other Permanent Secretaries. All the officers of the department serving in the field were responsible to the Co-ordinator in the day-to-day performance of their duties.

The 1972 Edict delegated most of the powers invested in the Military Governor vis-a-vis development administration to the Co-ordinator. Such powers ranged from the power to establish the organs of the development administration, the appointment of Presidents of Development Councils, deployment and direction of officers in the department to power to adopt, approve, amend or disapprove bye-laws made by Development Councils and Committees[5].

As part of the entire government system the department relied heavily on the other departments of government to carry out its functions effectively. The establishment of the Central Development Committee provided one of such vital links with other government departments. This organ of development

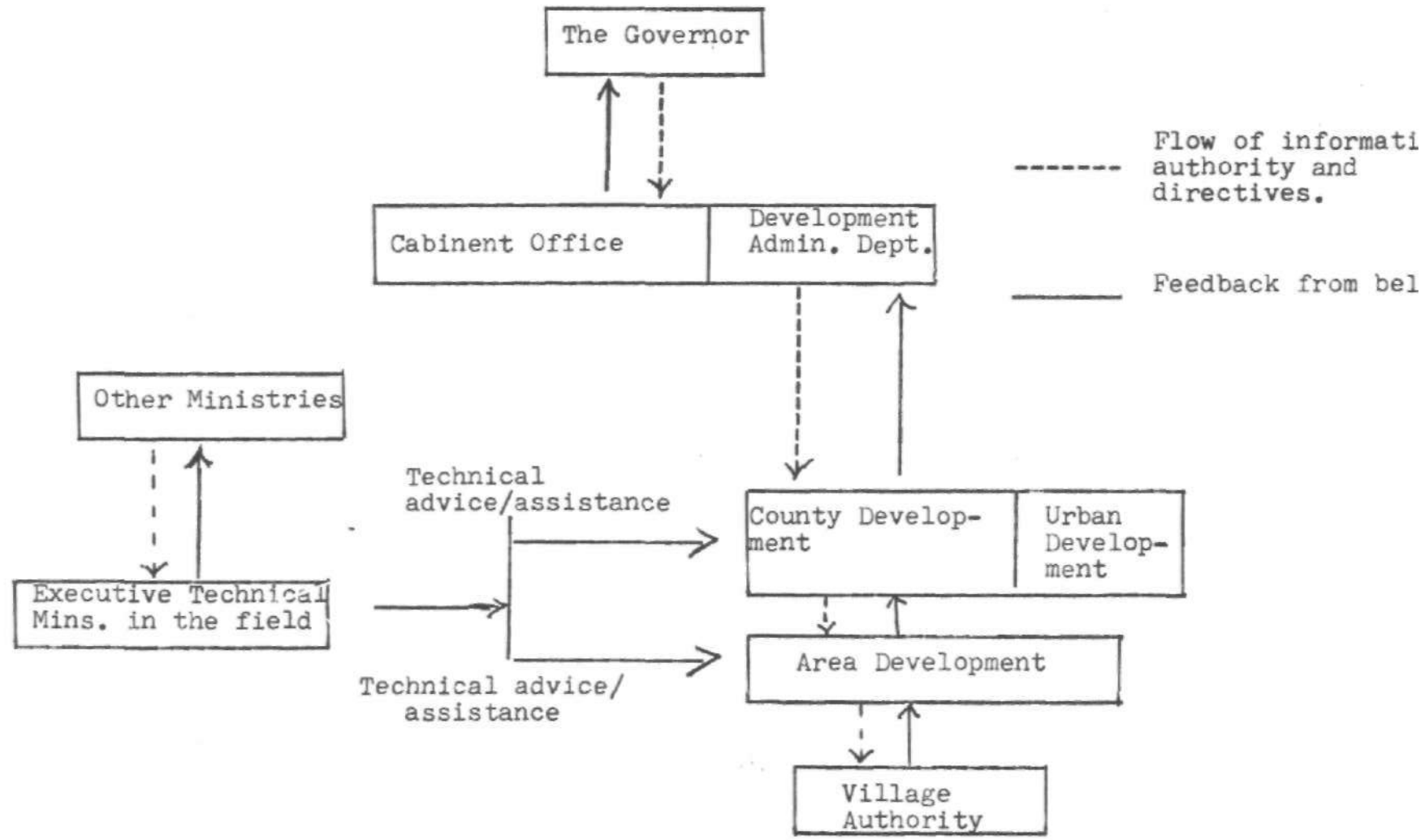
administration drew its membership from the top echelon of the other ministries. Besides this, the functions of the field technical staff to the Development areas also showed the working of all the units as integral parts of the system.

3.2.2 The County and Urban Development Area

The County Development Area which comprised of many Development Areas was infact the biggest umbrella in the structure in the field. The 1970 Edict called it Divisional Development. There were eleven of such Divisions in the State. The 1971 Edict made structural changes and divided the state into 40 County Development and 16 Urban Development Areas. In 1972, the number of County Development Areas was further increased from 40 to 42.

County and Urban Development Areas were analoguous except that the former comprised of villages in the rural areas while the latter comprised of wards and villages in the urban areas. The difference in nomenclature was a reflection of the composition of the people in each area and the functions that each performed. The needs of the urban and rural district dwellers dictate the functions of each unit.

Figure 3.2 The Structure of Development Administration in Cross River State



Source: Constructed by the Researcher.

3.2.3 The Development Area

The Development Area was the territorial unit of the Development Administration. A development area consisted of a "number of villages which have a natural social nexus and occupy contiguous territories"[6] which could effectively be developed as a unit. Its existence facilitated the administration of many villages grouped under one authority. It also eased the problem of handling unduly large units. A development area had a nominated committee to look after the affairs of the unit.

The state was divided into 140 Development Areas in 1970 when the first Development Administration Edict was promulgated. The 1971 Edict created 22 more of such areas. The 1972 Edict increased the number of development areas in the state from 162 to 167.

3.2.4 The Village

The Village was not created by the legal instrument that established the other units of development administration. The Village had always existed as the traditional and cultural foundation of the society. It had always been the traditional seat of government of the people at the grassroots.

The edict however established that "the village authority may operate community development schemes within the village" if it was not in an urban area, provided that there was "no inconsistency or duplication of the development

programme of a County development area or an area development Committee having an effect within the village"[7].

3.3 The Organs of Development Administration

The establishment of the units described above led to the creation of some organs of administration to foster the achievement of the objectives of the system. The following administrative organs were set up.

i) Central Development Committee
ii) Divisional Project Committee
iii) County Development Council
iv) The Urban Development Council
v) Area Development Committee
vi) The Village Authority

These organs are show in figure 3.3 on page 47

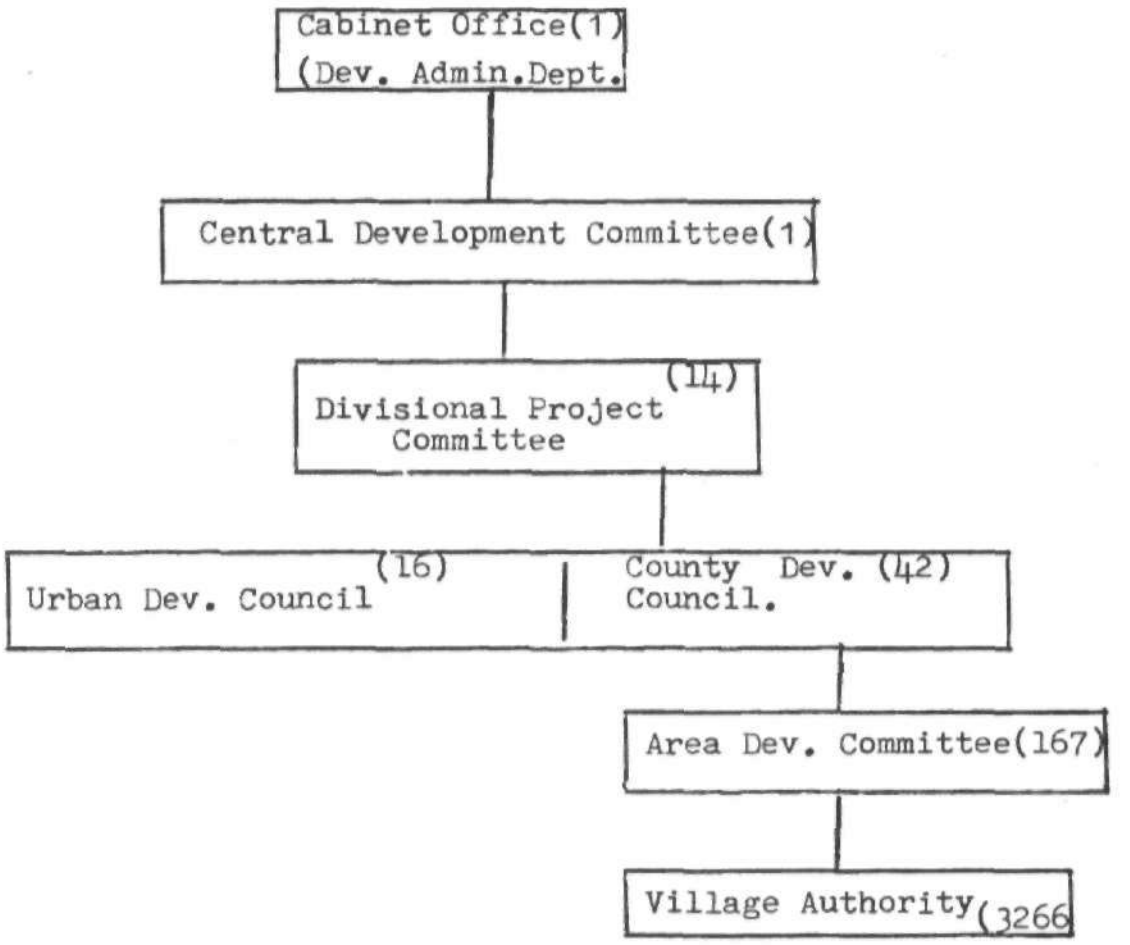
3.3.1 The Central Development Committee

The Central Development Committee (CDC) was established at the headquarters to co-ordinate policies and activities of all ministries. This committee was located at the State Headquarters with the Co-ordinator of Development Administration as its Chairman. The Secretary to Government could also preside over a meeting of the committee. Membership of this committee comprised all Permanent Secretaries of ministries and Heads of Extra-ministerial Departments.

The functions of the CDC included the review of progress made in development activities all over the state

and the setting of priorities based on such review. Other functions were the resolution of the problems which arose from the execution of development projects. The committee also served as a forum for discussing the activities of the administration and exchange of experience among participants. It also discussed existing policies and made new ones in accordance with any changes in the situation in the field or in government.

Figure 3.3 The Organs of Development Administration in Cross River State



The village Authority, although not established by the legal instrument, in recognised as the traditional seat of government of the people.

*The figures in parenthesis indicate the total number of such organs in the state by 1972.

- Source: Constructed by the Researcher.

The need for the Central Development Committee arose from the fact that each government ministry had its staff and areas of responsibility in all the divisions of the state. Outside the headquarters of the state, all the ministries were expected to work in co-operation with each other to foster and promote community development.

Meetings of the committee were held as often as the chairman considered them necessary but usually it was not less frequent than once in every two months.

3.3.2 Divisional Project Committee

This committee was established in each administrative division. There were 14 such committees in the state. The chairman of the committee was the Development Executive. Its membership was made up of chairmen of County and Urban Development Councils, Chairmen of Area Development Committees within the division. Other members were all heads of government departments within the division. The Development Executive had the power to co-opt officers from any government department as members of the committee if and when the need arose.

The committee served as forum for discusssing government policies as they affected the division in relation to development activities. Members exchanged views on development activities in their respective areas and departments. The committee advised the Development Executive on the execution of a project which involved more than one Development Council.

Meetings were held as frequently as the Chairman saw the need for them but not less frequent than two times in the year.

3.3.3 County Development Council

A County Development Council was established in every county development area. As indicated earlier the state was for this purpose constituted into 42 areas in 1972[8]. A County Development Council was composed of Councillors selected one from each village or a combination of villages in the area.

In pursuance of its functions a county development council appointed a Standing Committee in each area of development. The Standing Committees included those for agricultural development, industrial development, trade development, and transport development. Others were health committee, education committee, public relations and cultural affairs committee and social welfare committee. The council was also empowered to appoint any special committee, if in its view a subject needed to be better handled by a committee.

The Council performed a wide range of functions in the area of community development. It provided services for the improvement of agriculture, approved plans and laid down the regulations for the construction of buildings. It also built, equiped and maintained social and communal centres, public libraries and other facilities for the use of the public.

In the area of public health, the Development Council built and maintained hospitals, maternity homes, dispensaries and clinics. It carried out sanitary services, controlled drains, provided public lavatories and other services for the cleanliness of public places. In the economic field, the Council built and maintained markets, let out lock-up shops to traders and controlled trading activities.

The Development Council had powers to make bye-laws for the "regulation of community action". It levied rates on the people as the sole rating authority in the system. It could also borrow money within the state for the execution of approved community projects. The council prepared the annual estimate of revenue and expenditure which it submitted to the Development Executive. The expenditures of Development Councils were strictly controlled from headquarters and usually by the approval of the Military Governor.

3.3.4 The Urban Development Council

The Urban Development Council was established and charged with the responsibility for the activities in the urban area. It comprised the wards and villages in and around the divisional administrative headquarters. The establishment of Urban Development Council was necessary because of the special development problems of the hecterogenous population of urban centres.

The functions of the urban council were similar to those of the County Development Council. It however paid more

attention to health functions, sanitation and provision of recreational facilities. It provided and maintained public libraries, street lighting, public transport and other public utilities.

The Urban Council imposed annual rates on tenements within its area of authority. It also raised money by granting permits, issue of licences, and tax on entertainment.

The development administration created 16 Urban Development Councils in the state. The members of the council were Councillors selected one from every ward, village or a combination of villages within the urban development area. Its membership also included non-indigenes. The number of such non-indegenes was however limited to a maximum of 25% of the total number of councillors.

3.3.5 Area Development Committee

An Area Development Committee was the organ of government in a Development Area. It was the territorial unit of the development administration. It was composed of committee-men who were selected by the Area Committee Selection meeting. The meeting was open to all persons normally resident in the area. The committee-men were selected one from each village or a combination of villages. Membership of the committee was also drawn from the councillors of the County Development Council from the area. They were ex-officio committee-men in the Area Development Committee.

This organ had no Standing Committee like the County Development Council but the whole house could sit as a Committee. It carried out social and economic functions. They included building and maintenance of markets, construction and maintenance of roads, maternity homes, dispensaries and clinics. It also provided facilities for recreation.

The committee made bye-laws for the regulation of community action and for the maintenance of peace and order. It also had powers to order communal labour for community project and impose penalties on persons who were unwilling to give their labour.

The committee raised money through voluntary contributions, income from trade and economic projects. It also received commission on account of revenue collected by it on behalf of the central government. It had power to raise loans for approved community projects. Such loans which could be from the bank or other financial institutions had to be approved by the Military Governor.

The committee prepared detailed annual estimates of revenue and expenditure which it submitted to the County Development Council.

The committee performed a co-ordinating role in development projects which involved more than two villages like the siting of a market or school. The Area Development Committee was a flexible organ of government with great value in the task of the development of the rural areas of the state.

Its success or failure depended on the initiative shown by the committee-men and the constituent villages.

There were 140 Area Development Committees in the state in 1970. The number was increased to 162 in 1971 and further increased to 167 in 1972.

3.3.6 The Village Authority

The Edict which established the Development Administration defined Village Authority as "a person or group of persons so recognised by the people of a village as the cultural, social and traditional authority in the village"[9].

The structure of the Development Administration had its foundation in the village. The village is where the grassroots of the community dwell; it is the traditional seat of government. The importance of the village in the Development Administration system was demonstrated by the fact that the Development Areas which constituted the territorial unit of the system were made up of villages. Groups of villages constituted Area Development Committees and County Development Councils.

The importance of the village authority was further demonstrated by the fact that the members of Development Committees and Development Councils were selected direct from the villages. The villages therefore participated fully in the decision making functions of these bodies. The village is the foundation of community life. The tax payers lived there, the traditional and cultural values reside there. It was

therefore necessary and important to properly organise the village to enforce community efforts.

The Development Administration Edict authorised the village Authority to operate community development schemes to the extent that they were "not inconsistent with or duplicated the development projects of the Area Development Committee or County Development Council". The village authority was fundamental to the success of Development Administration. It was at the village level that the felt need of the people were known. It was at that level that socially desirable community projects were initiated. The building of schools, the construction of village roads, markets and dispensaries had the initiation in the villages.

The village authority maintained law and order through the traditional authority. It raised local contributions for the execution of projects and provided communal labour. It helped the government in the preparation of the nominal roll for taxation and assisted in its collection.

The village had its own chief, selected the community leaders and provided other organs for the running of the village as the foundation of the Development Administration system. It was the last in the hierarchy but the most important in determining the success or failure of the system. There were 3,266 village authorities in the state.

3.4 The Field Officers and their Functions

Development Administration system was essentially

a decentralised form of local administration. In such a system, great importance is usually attached to the field administration. The level of effectiveness and efficiency of a field administration could spell the success or failure of the system. This section will focus on the officers that carried out the field administration. In the context of this discussion Councillors and Committee-men will be treated as field officers. The functions of the following field officers will be discussed:

i) The Development Executive
ii) The Development officer and the Assistant Development Officer
iii) The Development Organiser
iv) Staff of Executive and Technical Ministries
v) The Councillors
vi) The Committeemen

3.4.1 The Development Executive

The Development Executive was the highest ranking officer of the development administration in the field. He had the same status as the former administrative officer incharge of a division generally referred to as a Divisional Officer. The 1970 and 1971 Edicts referred to him as "Development Advisor for the Development Councils and Area Development Committees within the Division. It was the 1972 Edict that designated him the Development Executive.

As the chief administrative officer in the division the edict empowered him to "be responsible for supervising and

co-ordinating all activities of the Development Administration within the Administrative Division of which he was in charge"[10]. The success or failure of the system in the division, therefore depended to a large extent on the ability of this officer to perform his functions. In all his functions, he was responsible to the co-ordinator of Development Administration and through him to the Military Governor. When Development Administration was a Ministry he was responsible to the Commissioner.

The Development Executive was the Accounting Officer in his area of authority. He controlled and disbursed all monies standing in the name and for the development purposes of a Development Council or Area Development Committee. The procedure was for him to deposit all revenue in the Government Treasury before disbursement.

He was also responsible for the preparation and submission to the Military Governor through the Co-ordinator the annual report showing the development activities in his division in the preceding year. His report also included the statement of the audited accounts of the Development Council and the Area Development Committees in the division. This function gave him the effective control of the division.

As an accounting officer, the Development Executive prepared the annual estimates of expenditure for the division. He held consultations with the Development Council from whom most of the proposals came. These proposals however, had to be approved by him before inclusion in the estimates.

The Development Executive had access to all meetings of Development Councils and Area Committees within his division. He also had access to the records and accounts of the two bodies at any time as the representative of the Cabinet Office. As he also represented the Co-ordinator of Development Administration his duty was to co-ordinate at the local level all development activities of government in the division.

3.4.2 The Development Officer and the Assistant Development Officer

The Development Officer was the field officer assigned to a Development Council. In this capacity, he was the principal executive official of the Development Council.

His first function was to act as the Secretary of the Council. He kept the records of procedings of meetings, directed such procedings and handled all the correspondence of the Council. He advised the Council on government policy matters and guided the Council decisions so that they did not run counter to government policies on development. He prepared the detailed annual estimates of revenue and expenditure in consulation with the Area Development Committee. The estimates were submitted to the Development Council which in turn submitted same to the Development Executive.

The Development Officer assisted the communities to identity their development potentials and needs. He helped them to draw up development plans and organise what contributions the local people could make from the available local resources.

He assisted the Development Council in identifying and removing those factors considered to be obstacles to the development efforts of the people.

In the area of project implementation, the Development Officer had to liaise with the officials of the executive and technical ministries. He was to ensure that their advice and assistance was given by the time each was needed. As the development administration depended on other ministries for special services, this liaison function was very important in order to avoid bottlenecks in the execution of projects. The construction of a building without the technical advice, assistance and approval from the Ministry of Works for instance could be disastrous. As the researcher found out in one instance, a Community Hall built without such assistance has now become a problem in the community and represented a collosal waste of effort and resources. The foundation of the building was too weak to carry it.

The Development officer had a duty to identify and encourage local leadership. He also arranged training courses for them. He had to educate the community on government policies and the importance of self-help within the context of the overall government development plan. Within his training function, he also trained his subordinate officers and staff such as the Development Organiser.

It was the duty of the Development Officer to assist the Council in negotiating for loans for purpose of approved

community projects. The loans had to be raised within the state and the Military Governor had to approve the manner and conditions for the raising of such loans. It was his duty to assist in the negotiation for the acquisition of land for community project and thereafter secure the services of the Ministries of Surveys, Town Planning and Justice for the preparation of the instrument of transfer of ownership of such land.

The Development officer prepared and submitted to Development Executive regular reports of development activities in the area of jurisdiction. In all, the Development officer had an enormous responsibility to the community he served. Most of his functions were to advise and guide the local people in the community development projects that they decided for themselves. The Assistant Development officer also performed all the functions described above. He could also take charge of a Development Area.

3.4.3 The Development Organiser

A Development Organiser was an official generally assigned to an Area Development Committee. He could also "be assigned to a group of Development Areas within a Division or to a number of villages within a Development Area..." The Edict provided that "the Development Organiser shall whenever practicable, assist the Development officer and Assistant Development officer in their duties"[11].

3.4.4 The Staff of Executive and Technical Ministries

The Technical staff included, engineers, architects, Medical personnel and town planners. They were drawn from such ministries as Works and Housing, Lands and Survey, Town Planning, Agriculture and Health. They are staff with specialised and professional knowledge in their various fields.

The functions of this category of staff included technical assistance or advice to other ministries in the field for the proper performance of their duties. For instance, in the construction of a community centre, some technical assistance would be needed from the building engineer, an architect etc from the Ministry of Works or a surveyor from Lands and Survey. These staff were however responsible to their ministries usually referred to as the executive ministries. For the success of these liaison functions in the field, there must be efficient planning, co-operation at the headquarters which must be extended to the field.

Much delay was caused in the execution of projects that needed the advice of these technical staff because of lapses in planning ahead. The officers served all government departments working in the field, therefore planning, co-operation and adequate notice in securing their services were always necessary.

3.4.5 The Councillors and Committeemen

Councillors and Committeemen were to be public spirited persons and of proven integrity. They represented the people,

their kith and kin, and not political parties. The objective was to de-emphasise politics and emphasise development at the grassroots.

In the Urban Development Council, Councillors were to be selected one from each ward or village or one from a combination of wards or villages. Chiefs who were not clan heads could be selected as Councillors. The edict provided for the selection of non-indigenes as Councillors to the Urban Development Council. Their number was not to exceed 25% of the total number of Councillors.

The selection of Councillors to the County Development Council followed similar lines. One Councillor was selected from each village or a combination of villages. The combination was determined by the total number of councillors required. All the chairmen of Area Development Committee were also members of the Council. Chiefs, except clan Heads, who belonged to the area and normally resident there were qualified for selection as Councillors.

In the Area Development Committee, Committeemen were selected one from each village or a combination of villages. Chiefs other than clan heads who belonged to the area and normally resident there could also be selected as committeemen. Councillors in the County Development Council of the area were admitted to the Area Development Committee as ex-officio members. The total number of committeemen excluding the ex-officio members was 25.

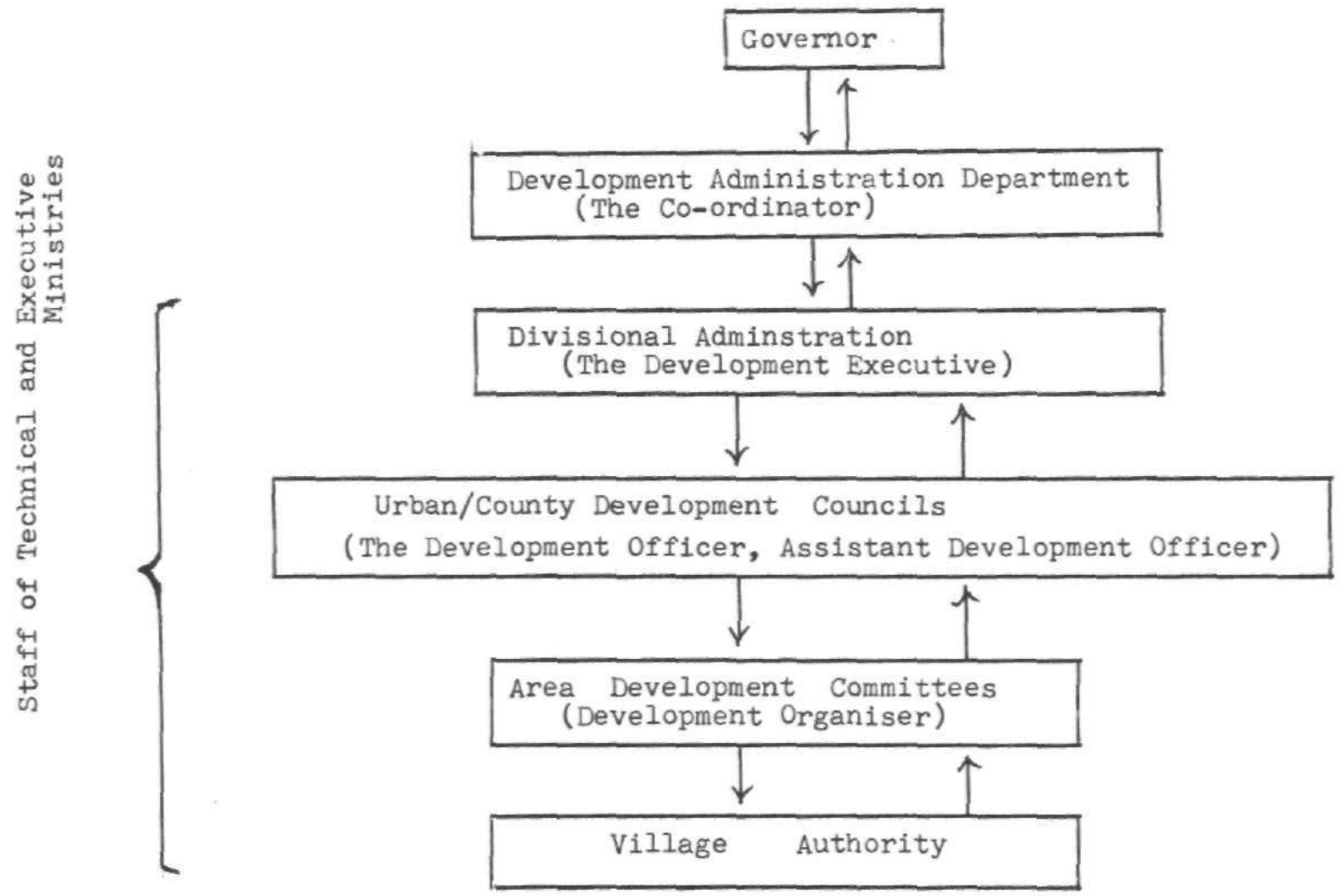
The method of selection of Councillors or Committeemen was "by popular selection by the villages or wards constituting an Urban Development Council area and by the villages and combination of villages constituting a County. Development Council area and a Development Area"[12]. Persons who normally resided in the area could be selected Councillors or Committeemen provided that they were not less than 21 years of age, have not been convicted of any criminal offence and were of sound mind. Each councillor or committeeman held office for three years.

The Chairman of a Council or Committee was selected among the members subject to his consent. Clan Heads were made Presidents of both Urban and Country Development Councils. Where there were several clan heads, the Presidency was to be rotated among them for an equal duration each.

This 'democratic' way of selecting Councillors and Committeemen was introduced in 1972. Prior to the 1973 Edict, the appointment of a person as a Councillor or a Committeeman was "made by instrument under the hand of the Commissioner from among members of the respective Development Areas, wards or villages or sets of villages..."[13] The appointment was subject to approval by the Military government. The 1972 Edict also gave the Councillors and Committeemen power to select their Chairman "annually among their own number".

Figure 3.4 on page 63 shows the framework, organs and the officials that made development administration what it was in Cross River State.

Figure 3.4 Structure, Organs and Role Incumbents of Development Administration In Cross River State



An Assistant Development Officer or a Development Organiser could be assigned to a group of villages.

3.5 Targets of Development

Development in this study has been defined as comprehensive changes or transformation in the economic, political, and socio-cultural fields through the interaction of the people with the environment. There are however the physical things people can point to or behaviour people can allude to as constituting development. The development administration system set for itself such targets of development as improved education, health services, provision of infrastructure like roads, bridges, water, electricity and other economic and social services.

Traditionally the people have attached much importance to the education of their children. There have been community schools operating side by side with government schools or voluntary agency schools. Indeed, most of the voluntary agency schools in the state started as community schools. The system identified education, building and maintenance of schools and award of scholarships as an area of focus of development.

Good health was as important as education in the pursuit of economic affairs and "happiness". Modern health facilities gained ascendency over traditional medicines. The provision of hospitals, dispensaries, maternity homes, health clinics became identifiable targets of development by the system.

The economic well-being of the people was equally important. To pursue economic activities, the people needed

good roads, markets, good transport system, power and water supply. The people, above all needed to be able to feed themselves.

All these targets of development could make life attractive and rewarding, it could create the conditions to bring in industries and other means of gainful employment especially in the rural areas. Development administration set out to promote and harness the people's initiative along those lines. How far those targets were met was however another thing.

3.6 Operation of the System

Development administration in Cross River State was tried as a new idea. Indeed, in the words of the Military Governor, "we decided on the system as a new idea which at first caused some consternation in many quarters. There are the conservatives who did not believe that an old order should give way to new..."[14].

The most striking feature of development administration in the state was the partnership between the government and the people. While the community leaders, councillors and committeemen were the agents of development in the communities, Development Organisers, Development officers, Development Executive and other ministerial staff became agents of government. These two groups pooled together the available material and human resources to take advantage of the policies and arrangement the new system of administration offered.

Project funds were launched in the various communities, levies were imposed, donations were made. The money raised was used to execute projects already decided on in the communities. Government provided technical assistance, advice and supervision through the field officers.

Administration has been recognised as the most vital variable in development administration. Riggs (1971) has also noted that, "Not all governments have (the) same capacity to carry out programmes designed to change its environment. For successful implementation of planned projects, the ability of government to govern has to be simultaneously increased. Therefore political development is a necessary condition for success in administration of development project"[15]. Katz (1971) Fainsod (1973) Gant (1979) and a host of experts in the administration of development programmes also recognise administration as the most vital input in development administration.

Inspite of all the expressed intention of government and its awareness of the place of administration, the administrative capacity of government did not increase. Government itself noted in the Third National Development Plan 1978-80, that,

> The success of any development plan depends largely on the efficiency of administration to formulate and implement the policies, programmes and projects of the plan... During the 1970-74 plan period, the South Eastern State administration did a lot to provide infrastructural facilities to enhance efficiency. It has not however been possible to provide all the facilities necessary

> for effective and efficient administration for development programmes. Accommodation, manpower information, communication and equipment are inadequate both qualitatively and quantitatively...[16]

This is an admission of failure by government. In 1975 when that statement was written, development administration was supposed to be at its peak.

It is also necessary to note that the Committee on Decentralisation of South-Eastern State Governmental Functions was set up in October 1972 after the development administration system had already come into existence. The expanded terms of reference of this committee included the following:

> To examine the present set-up for Divisonal Administration and to recommend, its context, ways by which adequate decentralisation can be achieved in order to step up efficiency and effectiveness in governmental operations in the division taking into consideration especially the need for:
>
> a) the division to become firm basis for government administrative machinery in the field throughout the state;
>
> b) governmental functions to be decentralised to divisions for effective administration and management of local affairs;
>
> c) a realistic financial and administrative autonomy for the division to enable them feel involved and committed to generating a sound partnership between the people and the state government...17

The above amplifies the unfortunate situation. Development administration which in essence implies decentralisation of government functions had existed for more than three years without a clear direction. The

constant amendments in the edict that established the system also indicated that the administration of the system was ill-defined. Between June 1970 and June 1972, four edicts has been promulgated, the succeeding one repealing the previous one. Each edict brought major changes e.g. changes in the administrative organs and in the territorial units.

Inspite of the emphasis on the development of rural areas, the development process was still in favour of the urban centres. For instance, as at 1973, out of the total projected population of 4,611,000 in the state, about 4,211,000 were poorly housed. Of this number, 4,111,000 i.e. 97.6% lived in rural areas. When the state Housing Corporation proposed to build 1,500 units of houses, all of them were to be cited in the urban areas. No part of the rural areas was included in planning itself but the Third National Development Plan 1975-80 has this to say

> It is intended to extend the planning exercise to the rural areas. The intention is to make rural life more interesting and attractive so as to help in reducing the exodus of rural population into the towns. The project is intended to cover all the Development Council Headquarters and will involve restructuring of individual villages or groups of villages to provide the necessary infrastructure and facilities. Its implementation will be closely related to the activities of the Department of Development Administration and the Ministry of Works and Housing...18

This declaration was an intention, it remained so throughout the development plan period and up to the time of this study has not gone beyond that stage.

It appears that the government did not make sufficient pre-take off arrangements for the new system. The 'structural' adjustments made ended with the changes in nomenclatures. The staff had no orientation for the new system. What the government of the state did was the change of names of structures and designations of officers without corresponding changes in functions. The 'new' structures did not respond to development needs. There was a growing imbalance between aspiration and performance, between the needs to be met and the adequacy of the administrative machinery to carry them out. The duties performed by the Development Executives did not differ from the duties performed by the Divisonal Officers. In many cases, it was the same person whose designation was changed to correspond with the 'new' system. He had no additional training, no new orientation to match the new "functions".

The same Civil Service structure continued. The pattern of staffing continued to weigh heavily in favour of the headquarters. In many ministries, fewer and relatively junior officers worked in the fields as shown in table 3.1. While the headquarters staff enjoyed facilities like transport, good housing and communication, the field administration had few of such facilities to carry out its functions.

Table 3.1 Pattern of Staff: Headquarters Vs. Field

Ministry	Headquarters Staff	Field Staff	Total
Administration	1965	610	2585
Rural Development & Cooperative	321	505	830
Trade & Industries	678	205	833
Works	812	3078	3885
Agriculture	1542	698	2240
Economic Planning	385	187	572

Source: Cross River State Approved Recurrent and capital estimate, 1982.

The Civil Service Training Centre in Calabar opened in 1969 provided a place for the training of the lower and middle-level manpower. Unfortunately table 3.2 (page 71) does not include figures for the years 1970-1975 (because they were not available at the centre!) which are vital to this study. Nevertheless, the table shows the pattern of training at the centre which was inadequate for an administration with development orientation.

There was also inadequate and insufficient trained personnel to man the field services. Most of the field offices were headed by low-calibre staff, generally in the supervisory grade. This made the amount of decision-making power delegated less than what it should have been in the new system. In the report of the Committee on Decentralisation, "the degree of decentralisation is positively correlated with the calibre of staff available in the field"[18]. The administrative capacity of government did not make decentralisation effective and successful.

Table 3.2: Courses run at the Civil Service Training Centre, Calabar 1969-1978

Year	Courses	No. of Students enrolled	No. of Students qualified
1969	Telephone Operators	26	26
1964	Assistant Store Officers	32	23
1976	Assistant Store Officers	17	12
	AEO (Accounts)	46	39
	Confidential Secretary III	35	16
	Confidential Secretary III	19	14
1977	Confidential Secretary II	32	21
	Confidential Secretary II	31	16
	AEO (Accounts)	53	47
1978	Confidential Secretary III	67	35
	AEO (Accounts)	44	35

Source: Civil Service Training Centre, Calabar.

Apart from the shortage of trained personnel to match the expanding role of the administration, most of the development projects were initiated and financed by the people. As it happened later during the period, even the idea of 'matching grant' that the government started to encourage local development was stopped. Table 3.3 and table 3.4 show the expenditure on projects in 1971-74 and between October 1974 and March 1975 respectively. Both tables show the disparity between what the people spent on development projects and what the government contributed. For instance in 1973/74, of the ₦1,182,357 spent on 479 projects, government contributed just ₦180,575 i.e. 15% of the total (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Expenditure on Projects 1971-1974

Year	No. of Projects	Expenditure in Naire		
		By Communities	By Government	Total
1971/72	273	269,145	160,000	429,145
1972/73	515	678,944	241,427	920,371
1973/74	479	1,001,782	180,575	1,182,375
Total	1,267	1,949,871	582,002	2,531,873

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Community Development Calabar.

Table 3.4 Expenditure on projects October, 1974-March, 1975

Type of Project	Number	Expenditure in Naira ₦		
		By Communities	By Government	Total
Health Institution	53	182,673	87,200	269,873
School	23	816,129	129,000	945,129
Markets	15	408,894	61,000	469,894
Roads/Bridges	39	54,160	45,800	99,960
Councils Hall and Offices	9	27,472	34,800	62,272
Water Supply	4	25,000	24,000	49,000
Community Farm	1	12,000	1,000	13,000
Village/Town Hall	1	1,000	1,000	2,000
Staff Quarters	2	-	9,000	9,000
Anti-erosion	1	-	3,000	3,000
Housing Scheme and new layout	1	640	5,000	5,640
Total	149	1,527,968	400,000	1,927,968

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Community Development, Calabar.

What further evidence there is to show how government used the development administration system to cause the development of the state will be seen in chapter four after the data collected in the field is presented and analysed.

Footnotes

1. The local government areas in the state are Abak, Akamkpa, Calabar, Eket, Etinan, Ikom and Ikono. Others are Ikot Ekpene, Itu, Obubra, Obudu, Odukpani, Ogoja, Opobo, Oron, Ukanafun and Uyo.

2. Statistical Digest, Ministry of Economic Planning, Statistic Division, Calabar, 1980.

3. The 1985 figure is based on an annual growth rate of 2.5%

4. Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countties The Theory of Prismatic Society. Houghton Mifflin Co. Boston. 1964 p.20

5. South Eastern State, Development Administration Edict NO.7 of 1972. Development Administration Delegation of Power Order. Government Printer Calabar, 1972. pages 103-106.

6. Ibid Section 5(a) and (b) page 5.

7. Ibid. Section 4 page 5.

8. The number of Country Development Councils change yearly in 1970, 1971, and 1972.

9. South Eastern State, Development Administration Edict No.7 of 1972. Government Printer, Calabar. 1972. page 42.

10. Ibid. Section 99 (1) page 32.

11. South Eastern State, Development Administration Edict NO 18 of 1971. Government Printer, Calabar. 1971 Section 50 (2) page 15.

12. South Eastern State Development Administration Edict NO.7 of 1972. Government Printer. Calabar 1972 Section 12(i) p.8

13. South Eastern State Development Administration Edict No.18 of 1971. Government Printer, Calabar. 1971 Section 13(i) p.6

14. U.J. Esuene, "Grounds and Goals" Development Administration in South Eastern State. Government Printer, Calabar. 1973. p.5

15. F. W. Riggs, "The Contents of Development Administration" In: Riggs F.W. (Ed) Frontiers of Development Administration, Duke University Press, New York. 1971. page 75.

16. South Eastern State Third National Development Plan Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction. Government Printer, Calabar, 1975. p.213

17. South Eastern State Report of the Committee on Decentralisation of South Eastern State Governmental Functions. Government Printer, Calabar. 1973. p.22

18. Ibid p.22.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of the data collected in the field. The field work was conducted in ten local government council areas out of the total number of 17 in the state. Four local government areas were chosen from the northern part of the state and six from the southern part, sometimes referred to as the Mainland. The choice was deliberate and the purpose was to reflect the distribution of population in the state and make the survey representative.

In the northern part of the state, the local government areas chosen were Ikom, Obubra, Odukpani and Ogoja. In the mainland part of the state the local government areas chosen were Eket, Etinan and Ikot Ekpene. Others were Opobo, Ukanafun, and Uyo. Figure 3.1, page 39 shows the map of the state and the local government areas. The pattern of population dispersal was the major guide in the choice. Table 4.1 shows the sample population.

Two sets of structured questionnaires were designed for use (see appendix A and B). One set was administered to the people at the grassroots. The other was administered to the officials of the development administration department and other senior civil servants. The questionnaires were administered face to face.

The primary function of the questionnaires was to obtain the opinion of a cross section of the people in the state. The answers were based largely on their experiences of the system when it was in operation.

Table 4.1 Sample Population

Local Government Areas	Population		Sample Size (Respondents)
	1963	1985[1]	
Eket	336891	579607	21
Etinan	275005	473262	17
Ikom	116125	199842	9
Ikot Ekpene	254592	438133	16
Obubra	244176	420208	15
Odukpani	129219	222376	9
Ogoja	304779	312398	11
Opobo	234613	419238	15
Ukanafun	221998	382041	14
Uyo	352532	606371	23

Source: Statistical Digest. Ministry of Economic Development.

The sample size (Table 4.1) for each of the ten chosen local council areas was in proportion to the population and represented an even pattern of dispersion. The highest number of respondents (23) came from Uyo local government area while the lowest number came from Odukpani and Ikom (9 each). The ten local government areas chosen had a total projected population of 4,053,478 out of the total 6,046,958 in the state i.e. 67% of the people in the state had a chance

to be picked for the questionnaires. Except for the limitation in age and degree of literacy, the choice of respondence was random.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Respondents by Professional Categories

Profession	No of Respondents	%
Councillors	16	10.7
Civil Servants	27	18.0
Teachers	69	46.0
Businessmen	14	9.3
Farmers	13	8.7
Students (University)	9	6.0
Clergy	2	1.3
Total	150	100%

Source: Analysis by the Researcher.

The sample size was further analysed to show reflection of the various perceptions in society based on professions.

Table 4.2 shows this breakdown by professional categories. It was obtained from the returns of the questionnaires. Teachers constituted the largest single group. This is 46.0% of the total number. The second largest group was civil servants that made up 18.0% of the total. The smallest group was the clergy that constituted 1.3% of the total number.

In the second set of questionnaires, the respondents were chosen especially for their experience at work and because

of where they worked. In that case, the sample size was 18. This was considered sufficient in relation to the number of officials in the category.

Development Administration, as has been seen, is that form of administration which involves a partnership between the government and the people at the local levels. A true partnership ensures participation by all concerned. Table 4.3 shows the extent of involvement of the people at the local communities through the decision making machinery and participation in the issues that affected them. Such issues included choice of projects for the community and method of raising funds.

Table 4.3 Structure of Decision Making

Decision maker	Before dev. admin.		During dev. admin.	
	Respondents	%	Respondents	%
People in community	19	12.7	79	52.7
Community Leaders	68	45.3	38	25.3
D.O/Dev. Executive[3]	35	23.3	27	18.0
The Chief[4]	28	18.7	6	4.0
Total	150	100	150	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher.

Table 4.3 shows the major decision makers on issues affecting each community. It also shows the shift in the

influence on decision makers, before and during the development administration period. Prior to the introduction of the development administration system, community leaders which included elected councillors formed a single dominent group that either influenced decision making or took decisions concerning the community. About 45.3% of the respondents believed that decisions were taken by the community leaders only on behalf of the community before the introduction of development administration. During the period of the development administration their influencial position reduced greatly almost by half to 25.3%. This is also the case with the Divisional Officer who as the representative of the central government administration played a leading role in decision making or influencing it. Before development administration his influence in decision making was 23.3% but was reduced to 18.0% after the introduction of the new system.

By far the one single institution that lost a great deal of its influence in decision making was the chief or the local community head. He was no longer a decision maker, not even an opinion leader when the development administration system was in operation. As shown in the table 4.3, his prominence was reduced from 18.7% to 4.0% with the introduction of development administration. The community as a unit, played an appreciable active role in decision making. The increased role of the community was however at the expense of the other groups. Only 12.7% of the respondents admitted that the people played any active role in decision making in

the pre-development administration days as against 52.7% who agreed that the people decided on what they wanted during the period of development administration.

The analysis of the responses to the questionnaire administered on government officials on the possible decision maker shows close correlation to answers given by people at the grassroots. As shown in table 4.4 the government officials who admitted that the people made decisions concerning their affairs form 55.6% of the total number of respondents as against 52.7% in the case of people at the local level. About 33.3% of the officials and 25.3% of the people at the local level respectively agreed that community leaders made the decision on issues concerning the communities. No official admitted that the chief made decisions on behalf of the community. Only 4.0% of the people at the grassroot showed the chief as a decision maker. About 11.1% government officials as against 18.0% people at the local level said that the Development Executive took decisions on issues concerning the community.

Table 4.4 Correlation of views on Decision Makers

Government	People at the local level % of respondent	Government officials. % of respondents
The Community	52.7	55.6
Community leaders	25.7	33.3
Dev. Executive	18.0	11.1
The Chief	4.0	-
Total	100	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher.

Still on who took decisions, 66.7% of the officials interviewed agreed that most of the projects selected for implementation were what the people wanted. Only 11.1% of them said that the projects were what the government believed that the people needed. None of them thought that the projects were what the government could finance. Both the officials and the local people agreed that the decision makers were people in the community and the projects executed reflected their felt needs.

Participation is a very good index of involvement. Table 4.5 shows the extent to which the people participated in community activities. It also shows general awareness of the people at the grassroots. Of the 150 respondents that were asked if they preferred the government to make decisions on their behalf without their views, 128 of them (that is 85%) said they would prefer to take part in deciding issues affecting their community or in the choice of projects for the community. Only 15% indicated that they did not mind if decision on issues affecting them were made by other people or the government.

Table 4.5 Participation and General Awareness

Participation	Respondents	%	Awareness	Respondents	%
Yes	128	85	Yes	105	70
No	22	15	No	45	30
Total	150	100	Total	150	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher.

On general awareness, 70% of the respondents claimed to know what happened in the community even before they became agenda issues. It was 30.0% of the respondents who admitted that they did not know many of the things that happened in the community before they were publicly discussed.

The level of civil responsibility was high among the people. The response obtained in each community work, willingness to give up one's time, to contribute money, were all indices of the level of civil responsibility. Ordinarily, political gains sometimes motivated people in community work but during this period partisan politics was not an issue.

Table 4.6 Cooperation between Government and the People

Form of Cooperation	Respondents			
	Government Officials		People at the local level	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Willingly	10	55.6	95	63.3
By Persuasion	8	44.4	51	34.0
Extraction by force	0	0	4	2.7
Total	18	100	150	100.0

Source: Analysis by the Researcher

Cooperation between the government and the people was essential to the success of the administration. According to Table 4.6, 55.6% of government officials said that cooperation between the government and people at the local level was willingly obtained, 63.3% of the people admitted the same thing. On whether or not the people were persuaded to cooperate, 44.4% of the officials thought so while 34.0% of the local people said that the government had to persuade them to cooperate. Only 2.7% of the local people said that force of law was used to extract cooperation from them. No government official admitted that force was ever used to make the people offer their services.

Experts in administration maintain that administration cannot be separated from development programmes because it is at the heart of every activity. Riggs (1971) for instance emphasised that "the success any community expects to attain in development programmes is contingent with the level of administrative capacity achieved in the community". Since administration is very important in the implementation of development programmes, what did the government do to improve the quality of civil servants and strengthen the administration. Tables 4.7, 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10 supply part of the answer.

Table 4.7 Arrangement for Take-Off

Arrangement	Respondents	%
Sufficient	0	0
Just adequate	7	38.9
Not adequate	11	61.1
Total	18	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher

As shown in table 4.7 the arrangement for the take off of the system was inadequate. About 61.1% of government officials thought the arrangements were inadequate while 39.9% considered them just adequate. Nobody admitted that the arrangements were sufficiently adequate. There ought to have been seminars, workshops, orientation courses for all grades of workers and new staff postings before the system took off. Although the seminar organised by the university of of Nigeria with the Development Administration Department for senior officials in 1973 recommended a wide range of things including employment of project analysts, orientation courses, workshops, these and more things should have been done before the system started operation.

Table 4.8 Strengthening of Administration

Method	Respondents	%
Specialised training	12	66.7
Recruitment of experts	2	11.1
Combination of both	4	22.2
Total	18	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher

A combination of both specialised training to the staff and the employment of staff with expert knowledge in certain needed fields was used to strengthen the administration. From the figures in table 4.8, 66.7% of the officials thought the government sent the staff for specialised training, 11.1% thought that experts were recruited from outside while 22.2% said that government employed both systems.

Table 4.9 Headquarters Control

Level of Control	Respondent	%
Too much	12	66.7
Adequate	2	11.1
Too little	4	22.2
Total	18	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher.

As seen in Table 4.9, it appears there was too tight control from the headquarters. Of the officials that were interviewed, 66.7% said that the control by headquarters was too much. They spoke specifically of the financial control which they claimed slowed down the implementation of most projects. Only 11.1% said that the control from the headquarters was just sufficient, while 22.2% thought that headquarters had too little control over the administration in the field.

Table 4.10 Causes of Failure to achieve objectives

Reason	Respondents	%
Administrative incapability/ Inefficiency	9	50.0
Lack of material resources	5	27.8
Failure to mobilize the people	2	11.1
Other reasons	2	11.1
Total	18	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher.

It is the function of administration to bring all parts of the system together to work harmoniously for the success of the whole. Officials in the system were asked if they felt the system achieved its objectives. Many of the officials interviewed said that the system did not fully achieve its

objectives. Table 4.10 shows that 27.8% attributed it to insufficient material resources. About 50.0% attributed its failure to administrative incapability and inefficiency. About 11.1% said that the system failed to achieve its objectives because the government failed to mobilise the local population. About 11.1% also gave other reasons for the failure. Such reasons included insufficient manpower in the field, too tight financial control by headquarters, and inconsistent government policies.

There are some elements of development that can neither be felt nor seen physically nor can they be quantified. Most of these occured in the state mainly in the socio-cultural fields.

There was the revival of the various cultures of the peoples of the state. The songs, the dances that depicted the way of life of people of the state that were almost unknown to the youths were revived and codefied, cultural centres built in the various parts of the state rose from 30 to 178[5] between 1970 and 1979. With the modern technology of recording, cultural songs and dances of many groups in the state have been permanently preserved. Owing to the interest so ignited in the people and encouraged by the government, some groups in the state have taken cultural dances and songs beyond the stage of moonlight pastimes to the stage of professionalism.

Culture does not begin and end in singing and dancing. It embraces the crafts of the people, the language, dresses

and other forms of indigenous expressions. There are many of these in the state. The development of various local crafts, the writing of local languages, the use of local costumes were all part of the cultural development that had occured in the state.

Civic responsibility might have resulted in the physical increase in the number of town halls constructed by the people. A town hall provided a place for the meeting of the people. A town or village hall is to the town or village what a parliament is for the nation. The town hall provided a political symbol of the people in each community. Fund raising for village projects which has become a permanent feature in the state took place in village halls. Between 1971 and 1977, the number of town/village halls on record in the state role from 51 to 331[6]. At the time of this study, the number has risen to as many as there are villages in the state.

Developments were shown in other areas like education, health and medical services, recreational facilities and infrastructures. The number of community built schools increased with a corresponding increase in the number of enrolment. According to available statistics, the number of primary schools in the state increased from 1446 in 1972 to 1507 in 1976. During the same period the number of pupils that enrolled in the primary schools rose from over 430,000 to 600,000.

There were similar increases in the number of secondary schools and students, teacher training colleges and the number of teachers trained. For instance the number of secondary schools in the state rose from 46 in 1972 to 70 in 1976, an increase of 52%. The number of students increased in almost the same proportion. There was also a remarkable increase in the number of secondary school teachers in the same period. In 1972, 702 teachers were employed in 46 secondary schools, by 1976 the number employed had risen to 1106 in 70 schools. Adult education also received attention.

Before going too far, it is necessary to note that several other factors could have accounted for the amount of development recorded in the state at that time. These include the reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation contributions from the federal government and other agencies, the introduction of the Universal Primary Education Scheme, the fact of the civil war itself and the existence of the new state.

Development in the health sector was also noticeable. The number of medical facilities and personnel increased because of the awareness to use modern medical facilities. The number of hospitals in the state increased from 26 in 1970 to 37 in 1975 while the number of doctors employed increased from 46 in 1971 to 110 in 1976. The number of maternity hospitals increased from 61 in 1972 to 81 in 1976 while health centres almost doubled from 34 to 65 between 1970 and 1976.

There was a corresponding rise in the number of personnel. In 1971, the number of medical personnel in the

state was a mere 926. The number rose to 2048 in 1976. Government, local communities and private agencies invested in medical and health development. More use of modern medical facilities meant better health, higher productivity and a fall in infant mortality. Above facts are summarised in table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Development in Education and Health Facilities

Facilities	No. in 1971-1972	No. in 1976
Primary Schools	1446	1507
Enrolment in Primary Schools	430,000	> 600,000
Secondary Schools	46	70
Teachers in Secondary Schools	702	1106
Hospitals	26	37
Doctors	46	110
Maternity hospitals	61	81
Health Centres	34	65
Dispensaries	100	120
Medical Personnel	926	2048

Source: Compiled by the Researcher from Statistical Digest 1981 and Survey of development projects 1981. Ministry of Rural Development and Cooperative. Calabar.

The economy was at a near stand-still at the end of the civil war. Many towns and villages in the state lay in ruins. The first priority was to rehabilitate the people and help them to earn a living. Many people were engaged in reconstruction work; others set up shops to supply materials

and services needed in the reconstruction and rehabitation exercises. Private business started. Most people ran one-man propriator-manager businesses. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry was handy to offer technical assistance.

In rural areas, the people were encouraged to form cooperative societies to pool their resources together for common ventures. Co-operative organisers visited various development areas to organise the people into different kinds of societies such as Thrift and Credit, Consumers, Produce and Marketing. The efforts led to collective and individual economic growth.

The development of markets was one of the responses to economic development, Market in the society perform both social and economic functions. One of the most popular community projects that the people embarked upon was the building of new markets. According to the Ministry of Rural Development and Co-operative development project survey, not less than 400 markets were established by the various communities in the state between 1972 and 1980. There was an increase in the number of daily markets especially in the urban centres to match the stage of economic development. In 1974 alone, ₦12,000 was spent in building three markets in Uyo.

Movement of people and goods between towns and villages demanded the construction of roads and bridges and the maintenance of old ones. The responsibility for these fell as much on the people as on the government. According to a

state-wide survey a total of 247 bridges of concrete and wooden type were built in 1972 and by 1975 the number had risen to 837.

The chronicle of development projects either launched or completed warrnts the assumption that human and material resources may lie dormant in the society because there is no proper system to mobilise them. The urge to embark on community projects was infectious, as it were, as the list on pages 94 to 98 testifies. People's attitude seemed to have changed. The new spirit of development of the communities by their members caught up with everyone. The government information machinery might have contributed a lot to it.

The Nigerian Chronicle of Friday 27 June, 1975,under, "South Eastern State, 7 years of steady progress", said this of the development administration system.

> Within the period of its (development administration) operation, there has been a steady but remarkable increase in the number of completed viable projects within the various communities of the state. The most attractive areas of development the system has achieved a great measure of success has been in education and health. In the field of education, scholarships have been awarded, schools and colleges built and maintained. Indeed in the field of health, communities are now conscious of the need to make use of modern medical facilities rather than resort to primitive methods. Keen interest are also being widely shown in the provision of infrastructures and social amenities such as water, electricity, reads,bridges etc..."7

Below is the record of projects launched or completed in one typical month in 1974 when the operation of the system had gathered great momentum.

Saturday 7 September, 1974: Eket

Onion West Development Area launched a ₦6,000 development plan. The projects were Local Government Secretariat and a Classroom block. Amount collected at the launching was ₦2,400.

Saturday 7 September, 1974: Obubra

Obubra North county Development Area launched a ₦6,000 self-help development project. It comprised eight classrooms block and teachers' quarters.

Tuesday 10 September, 1974: Etinan

Ten-classroom block jointly built by five villages in Eastern Nsit at a cost of ₦14,000 commissioned.

Wednesday 11 September, 1974: Abak

Launching of ₦46,000 development project in Idonni, Obubra South. The Projects listed were roads, bridges, library, elementary school laboratory and health centre.

Saturday 14 September, 1974: Abak

Utu Etim Ekpo Community in Northern Annang County Development Council started construction of a two-classroom school block at a cost of ₦3,000.

Saturday 14 September, 1974: Ikom

The Wala Community collected ₦2000 to start the construction of Customary Court.

Monday 16 September, 1974: Obubra .

The ₦6000 staff quarters built by the Ediba Community completed.

Tuesday 17 September, 1974: Ikom

The people of Southern Etun started the construction of a ₦5,000 teachers' quarters and a ₦6,000 townhall.

Wednesday 18 September 1974: Akamkpa

The Abini Community in Biase area launched a ₦20,000 health centre project.

Wednesday 18 September, 1974: Ikot Ekpene

Communities in Otoro County Development Council in Ikot Ekpene embarked upon project totalling ₦234,500 They included health centre at Obot Akara, postal agency at Nto Edino, a bridge at Ikot Abia, and Cooperative Society building complex.

Friday 20 September, 1974: Ikom

The people of Bateriko area collected ₦4,000 at the first launching of community projects. They included a community market. The state government gave ₦300 and 100 bags of cement.

Saturday 21 September 1974: Abak

Ika community in Northern Annang collected ₦2,000 to start the 5th phase of their water project.

Wednesday 25 September 1974: Abak

A four classroom and an office school block constructed by the community at a cost of ₦4,000 completed.

Thursday 26 September 1974: Oron

Edok Eyuwe-Oruku Community launched a ₦6,000 project which included a town hall, scholarship award and link road between two villages in the locality.

Thursday 26 September 1974: Eket

The people of Okat Nung Idem collected ₦4,207 at the foundation laying ceremony of ₦20,000 civil centre.

Thursday 26 September, 1974: Abak

The people of Nung Ikot Obio Enin in Southern Annang County Development Council completed a ₦3,000 primary school block.

A total of 21 projects were recorded in the above list in one month. Below is the record of publication of the launching or commissioning of new projects in July, 1977, December, 1977 and May 1980 for comparison with the above. The lists show that in July 1977, 8 projects were listed, in December, 1977, there were seven and in December 1980, there were only four.

Saturday 2 July 1977: Ikpe Annang, Ikot Ekpene

₦10,000 project lauched - Livestock project and Marketing.

Thursday 7 July 1977: Eket

First phase of ₦80,000 Commercial Vocational School Scheme launched ₦5000 collected at lauching.

Friday 8 July 1977: Calabar

Usamutong Development Union launched ₦100,000 Usamutong Comprehensive Secondary Schooo project.

Monday 11 July 1977: Obubra

Ofodua Community plans ₦57,000 Commercial School project

Thursday 14 July 1977: Obubra

Mkpani launched 3rd phase of Comprehensive Secondary School project. More than ₦7,000 was collected.

Monday 19 July 1977: Oron

Oron Development Cultural Union launched ₦100,000 Secondary School at Ewang.

Friday 23 July 1977: Itu

Ono Community in Ibiono Ibom launched first phase of ₦20C ,000 Secondary School project.

Tuesday 27 July 1977: Eket

Oniong West Development Union to build ₦700,000 Comprehensive Secondary School.

Monday 5 December 1977: Ikom

Irruan Edan launched 3rd phase of ₦200,000 Secondary School project.

Monday 5 December 1977: Eket

Oniong West - Onna launched Comprehensive Secondary School. More than ₦20,000 was raised.

Tuesday 13 December 1977: Uyo

Mbierebe Akpawat people launched ₦30,000 fund for primary school development in the area.

Friday 16 December 1977: Uyo

Obot Idim Youths to launch ₦30,000 Scheme.

Thursday 22 December 1977 Oron

People of Elei Community to launch first phase of ₦10,000 Osutti bridge.

Tuesday 27 December 1977: Ikot Ekpene

Ikot Ekpene Development Union embarked on ₦1·1m projects. They include civic centre, Orchard, playground.

Saturday 31 December 1977: Ikot Abasi

Edem-Iya launched ₦50,000 Secondary School project. ₦4,000 was raised.

Monday 5 May 1980: Ikot Abasi

Iko people to construct a school and a health centre at the cost of ₦600,000.

Wednesday 14 May 1980: Ikot Abasi

₦30,000 hostel for community Girls Secondary School, Ikot Ebak started.

Wednesday 21 May 1980: Eket

₦60, 000 Youth Centre launched. ₦12,000 collected.

Friday 23 May 1980: Uyo

Second launching of ₦50,000 Northern Uruan Secondary School. Ibiaku Uruan ₦5,000 collected.

News of projects being embarked upon by various communities constituted a common feature in the media. This was peculiar to this period of the development administration. It became competitive among communities to show the others how much money they could raise for the execution of projects in their respective areas.

The above lists show that the momemtum for community development projects was gradually reducing.

Table 4.12 Measurement of Achievement

Achievement Level	Respondents			
	Government officials		People at local level	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
All the Development	1	5.6	15	10
Much of the Development	8	44.4	79	53
Little of the Development	9	50.0	53	35
None of the Development	0	0	3	2
Total	18	100	150	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher

Table 4.12 shows the measurement of the achievement of the system. Among people at the local level 10% attributed all the developments in the state at that time to development administration. Only 5.6% of the officials fell into this category. About 53% of the local people said that the system had achieved much, only 35% said that the system achieved very little, while 2% said that the system achieved nothing in the form of development.

There has been close correlation between the judgement passed on the system by the officials and the local peole, About 44.4% of the official as against 53% of the local people said that much of the developments in the state were due to the system of administration. While 50% said that it led to little development. This is against 35% by people at the local level. No official said tht the system contributed

nothing to the development of the state.

Table 4.13 Impact of the System Of the People

Extent of Impact	Respondents			
	Government Officials		People at local level	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
High	5	27.8	70	46.7
Moderate	9	50.0	60	40.0
Low	4	22.2	12	8.0
None at all	0	0	8	5.3
Total	18	100	150	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher.

Table 4.13 shows the amount of impact the system made on the life of the people of the state. People at the grassroot felt that the system had not made a high impact on their lives. 46.7% agreed that the impact was much while 5.3% of the people felt that the system made no impact at all. Among the government officials 27.8% said that the system made a high impact while none of them admitted that the system made no impact. About 50% of the officials and 40% of the local people thought the system had a moderate impact on the people. On the other hand, 8% of the local people and 22.2% of the officials thought that the system made very little impact on the people.

Table 4.14 Greatest Achievement of the System

Action	Respondents	%
Economic Development only	0	0
Social-Cultural Development only	2	11.1
Political mobilisation only	0	0
Bringing Government close to the people only	4	22.2
A combination of all the above variables	12	66.7
Total	18	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher

Senior government officials were asked to name the greatest achievement of the system. About 66.7% of them said that the system had achieved economic, political and socio-cultural developments and had brought the government close to the people. As table 4.16 shows only 11.1% said that the only achievement was socio-cultural development. But 22.2% of the officials maintained that the greatest achievement in the system was to bring the government close to the people. When they were further asked to say what contributed to the success of the system, 77.8% of them attributed the success to the cooperation between the government and the people, while 22.2% of the respondents attributed the success to the willingness of the people to work.

It is interesting to note that when the local people were asked a similar question, 82.6% of the respondents admitted that the success in the execution of many projects was due to the cooperation between the government and the people.

So far the people of the Cross River State had been exposed to the influence of two administrative systems at the grassroots, the local government and the development administration system. All the respondents had seen the two systems at work. In their choice as reflected in table 4.15, 52% of the local people said they would prefer the development administration system, 46.5% preferred the local governments system, while 1.5% of the respondents did not have any preference at all. Among government officials 55.5% preferred the local government system while 44.5% preferred the development administration system.

Table 4.15 Choice between Local Government and Development Administration

System	Respondents			
	Government Officials		People at the local level	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Local Government	10	55.5	70	46
Development Administration	8	44.5	78	52
No Choice	0	0	2	1
Total	18	100	150	

Source: Analysis by the Researcher

The final question was about the re-introduction of the development administration system. As shown in table 4.16, 66.7% of the respondents among the officials in government would want it re-introduced, while 33.3% did not favour any such re-introduction. Among the local people, the score was high in favour of the system; 74% of the respondents would want it re-introduced while 24.0% did not favour it. About 1.5% had no choice, they were prepared to go along with any system.

Table 4.16 Re-introduction of Development Administration

Re-introduction	People at local level		Govt. Officials	
	Respondents	%	Respondents	%
In favour	111	74.0	12	66.7
Not in favour	37	24.5	6	33.3
No choice	2	1.5	0	0
Total	150	100	18	100

Source: Analysis by the Researcher.

The analysis of the data revealed some inconsistencies in the responces. One of such occured in the preference between the local government and development administration systems on one hand and the reintroduction of development administration on the other hand. The data on table 4.15 and table 4.16 show that the same people who, for instance preferred local government to development administration also wanted the latter to be re-introduced. 55.5% of government officials did

not favour development administration (table 4.15) yet 66.7% wanted it re-introduced (table 4.16). Among the people at the grassroot 46.5% did not favour the development administration yet as much as 74.0% favoured its re-introduction. Those who admitted the high performance of development administration in table 4.13 later on said that they preferred the local government system.

These inconsistencies are likely to arise from a conflict between personal interests and the merits of a system as seen by the respondents. Such inconsistencies do not in any way invalidate the data or its conclusions rather they help to emphasise that fact that one source of data would not form the basis for the conclusions in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary of Study

The difference between development administration and traditional public administration is largely functional. Development administration has four major elements namely change, growth, direction and purposefulness. It is the management of planned change. It involves the propagation of new ideas, mobilisation of natural and material resources and harnessing them for the development of society and man. It is a system that is considered suitable for adoption by large-scale organisations notably the government.

Development administration is a generic term which is implied to all publicly induced and purposeful change in all societies, but owing to the peculiar characteristics of the third world countries, it is especially relevant in these countries as a method for the management of massive changes brought about by the task of nation building. The concept embraces any array of new functions assumed by these developing countries as they strive toward growth, development and modernisation.

In Cross River State, development administration was essentially a decentralised form of administration with one central authority running down the whole system to the grassroots through a field administration. The cornerstone of the system was community development.

The Ministry of Development Administration, later Department of Development Administration in the Cabinet Office was part of the field administration; its main function was to co-ordinate development activities in the state. The territorial unit of the system was the Development Area. County development Councils and area development committees were concerned with rural developments while the urban county councils looked after urban developments. These Councils and Committees along with the Central Development Committee and the Divisional Project Committees were the organs for the administration of development programmes.

As a decentralised form of administration, the field officers were appointed by the Central Government to whom they were responsible. Their functions included advisory, supervision and co-ordination of development projects in the communities in which they were incharge. They directed the people at the local level and educated them on government policies as they affected development programmes. In all, the village authority remained the basis of the grassroot organisation.

Targets of development were education, health facilities, building of infrastructure, developing the economy and reviving the cultures of the people. The core of this new system was partnership between the government and the people. That is "intimate and direct cooperation between the government and the people,... the replacement of government paternalism with a situation in which the initiative must come

as much from the people as from the government"[1].

Community leaders, councillors and committeemen were the agents on the side of the communities while the field officers were the agents for the government. The two teams worked together to mobilise the resources available in the communities for development. Most of the projects executed were initiated by people at the grassroots. A large proportion of the contribution in time and money came from them.

In adopting community development as the cornerstone of the system, the government had in mind "the purposeful removal of obstacles to the national utilization of such national resources of the community as are capable of exploitation by the common efforts of its inhabitants conditioned by the financial resources at its disposal including such government assistance in cash or in kind..."[2]. The overall objective of the system was to mobilise the resources of the state, harness them and bring about economic, political and socio-cultural development for the benefit of all in the state.

5.2 Summary of Findings

From the findings in the study, there have been sufficient evidences to show that there have been economic and socio-cultural developments in the state during the period of development administration that did not occur at any other time in its history. Evidence of such developments has

been recorded in this study especially in chapter four. These include development in education, development in health and medical services and in the culture of the people. Table 4.11 on page 91 shows a summary of the indices of these developments.

It has also been seen that both the people and the resources in the state were mobilised for the purpose of development. The people at the grassroot constituted the main force behind the numerous community development projects in the state. They initiated the projects, and contributed in cash and in kind to execute them. Table 3.3 on page 72 and table 3.4 on page 73 show that about 80% of the cost of community projects were borne by the people at the local level. Such contributions demonstrated an achievement in the mobilisation of resources for development.

There is an evidence of participation by the people in the affairs of the communities. Table 4.3 and table 4.4 on pages 79 and 81 respectively show that more people than ever in each community took part in discussing their affairs and in decision making. Table 4.5 on page 82 also shows that people were generally aware of what happened in their communities.

The high degree of cooperation between government and the people as indicated in table 4.6 on page 83 is an evidence that partnership was fostered between the people and government. It also supports the hypothesis that the

system had brought the people closer to the government. Table 4.12 page 99 shows that the system had achieved much of its objectives and has made some moderate impact in the society. Though there was a divergence of opinion on the impact the system had created, it is safe to conclude that the impact was just moderate to show the passage of the system.

There is also further evidence to show the achievement of the system in table 4.16 on page 103. Both the officials and the people at the grassroots would want to see development administration re-introduced. Though the choice of development administration in table 4.15 page 102 is marginal among the people at the grassroots, and a rejection by government officials, but when taken along with the evidence in table 4.16, the people could be said to be in favour of development administration.

Administration is the most vital input in development administration. Its role is overriding in determining the success or failure of the system. Unfortunately it has not performed well from the findings in the study.

Firstly, the administrative arrangement for the take-off of the system was inadequate. It was not only an inadequate arrangement, the system was ill-defined from the start. The constant amendments in the Development Administration edicts confirms this. The only evidence of what ought to have been the preparation was a two-day seminar held on 17

and 18 April 1973, more than four years after the system had been introduced in the state. The seminar, organised by University of Nigeria and Development Administration department made major recommendations to government on the pre-requisites for a successful implementation of development administration. It also produced 'Handbook on South-Eastern State Development Administration'. All these amounted to closing the staple door after the horse has already bolted out.

Table 4.8 page 86 shows that specialised training was one of the methods used to strengthen the administration. But the number trained was too few to meet the needs of the service or increase its administrative capacity. Even in the middle-level manpower, the advantage of the Civil Service Training Centre was not utilized.

Too rigid control from headquaters did not allow for local discretion in administration. It heightened bureaucratic redtapism and led to, among other thing, waste of valuable time and defeated the very purpose of decentralisation. Local communities, though they were able to tax themselves, had neither power nor responsible to use such money for local projects without approval from headquarters. And approval was not easy to get.

According to table 4.10 page 87 senior government officials attributed the failure of the system to fully achieve its objectives to mainly administrative incapability and inefficiency. All the variables were not properly

co-ordinated for success of the system. This sums up the problem of development administration in the state.

5.3 Conclusion

There was a considerable amount of development in the state in the period covered in this study. So far it appears that administration which is the most vital input in development administration was incapable of supporting the system to produce the development seen and felt in the state. It can then be concluded that it was not development administration as it operated in Cross River State that led to the development in the state. What then was responsible for the development that occured in the state?

It should however be recalled that there were three assumed premises for the adoption of the new system. These were the dissatisfaction with the existing local government system, the quest for a means of rapid development to recover from the ruins of the civil war and the need to meet the challenges presented by the creation of the state. All these were enough reasons to bring into operation the new system of administration. They could also have been the reasons to propel the people of the state into actions that led to the development of the state.

After a period of crisis like the civil war which occured in 1967-1970, people tend to come together in an effort to recover from past losses. The rugged determination of the citizens of the state to rebuild the ruined villages

more than any other thing might have caused the great upsurge in development efforts at the period. At the end of the war thousands of people became homeless, had neither money nor property and had to rely on their resourcefulness for a new beginning. People organised themselves into groups to reconstruct their homes. Communities embarked on communal projects like opening up abandoned markets, clearing overgrown and unused roads. Donated reconstruction and rehabilitation materials were used to rebuild schools, broken down bridges, hospitals etc.

Government was brought closer to the people. The reason for this is likely to be found more in the creation of the state than in the adoption of development administration. Government was no longer seen as being distant, operating from Enugu a place where not up to 10% of the population knew. One hour could take most people in the state to the nerve centre of the government. The civil servant was no longer a "stranger". He was either from the next family or the next village. Problems which needed government intervention could easily be presented. The government official could speak to the people without an interpreter. The emotional and psychological factors and the commitment to develop a state identified as one's own fostered co-operation and brought the people closer to the government

People had to work and make the state survive It was likely that without the introduction of development administratio development could have occured in the state under these

circumstances. Without the new system, the government could have mobilised the people and resources for the development of the state because there was sufficient motivation.

Motivation was high because the idea of development fulfilled the recognised needs of the people. These were felt needs because they were the consequences of the people's wants and values. It was not coincidental that development administration was introduced at this opportune time. To the extent the system contributed to the motivation of the people, to that extent it contributed to the development of the state politically, economically and socio-culturally.

To a casual observer however, everything positive that happened in the state at that time was as a result of development administration. The government information machinery has extolled the system as the best thing that ever happened in the state. People mistook the shadow for the substance. The contention is that the determination to recover from the effect of the civil war and the need to build a new state led to the development of the state. To collaborate this, 67% of the officials interviewed during the field work said that development administration was introduced to speed up recovery from the civil war.

5.4 Recommendations

One basic assumption in this study was that development administration is a development strategy which if properly administered could lead to the achievement of development objectives. Pajot (1969) reminds us that "economic and social underdevelopment is often accompanied by deficient administration"[3]. The establishment of an effective and efficient administration is therefore an essential stage on the road to development.

Development involves people. It is one thing to plan to increase agricultural output, it is a different thing to make farmers adopt modern farming techniques. A government may decide that better health would make village farmers more productive but it is quite another thing to convince them to build and use latrines. Development should be concerned with the second part of these problems.

Planning for development should be people-centred. They are the targets of development process. They are more than resources to be used in productive processes. Education, mass mobilisation and popular participation will develop their productive capacity. They must be educated, organised, and mobilised to participate in the development process.

About 80% of our population live in rural areas. The basic problem is that more than 60% of them are

poorly fed, badly housed, conservative, basically illiterate and relatively unproductive. When these people become well-fed, properly housed, interested in change, literate and productive, most of the problems we have would be a thing of the past. Development must start from the rural areas. The present system must be reversed. The basic unit of organisation must be the village.

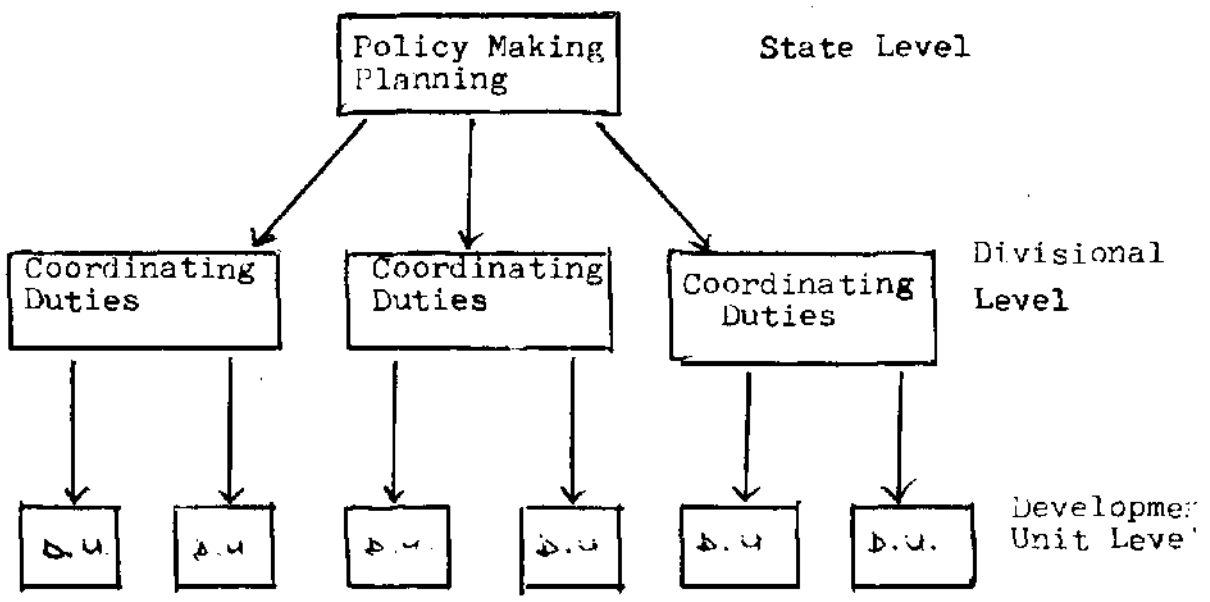
Grassroot Organisation

Our communities should be organised into productive units. Villages should be grouped together into development units. This would be equivalent to what Anam-Ndu (1985) calls 'development communes'[4]. New development units could be established to absorb dispersed villages. Such grouping would make development economical. Each unit would be organised to become a nucleus of a larger development area.

Each development unit would have an administration of its own. It will have power and responsibility to raise money through taxation, levy and other means and spend it on approved projects. Allocations from the central government should be given direct to each development unit. There would be a council in each unit to run its affairs. Membership will comprise people selected from the community. The council will have committees such as, Market, Hospital, Road or Water Committee that will direct the various activities

connected with each committee.

Figure 5.1 Suggested Structure for Organisation of the People



Execution of Development Plans At the Development Units.

Figure 5.1 shows the suggested organisational structure for development. At the state level, the headquarter staff should concern itself with the broad policy formulation, planning, and research. At the divisional level the main function will be to co-ordinate the development plan of the development units. The execution of all development plans should start at the level of the development units.

Government and the Public Service

Government still remains the most suitable agency to undertake the functions of development. Its main functions should be to mobilise and organise the people, mobilise resources, provide suitable conditions, incentives and motivate people to work. The government must make meaningful and realistic short-and long-term planning. It must be consistent in its policies and inject orderliness in its development.

Public servants will continue to bear the responsibility of carrying out government policies. They need a new orientation that regards public duty as more important than personal duty. Technical and administrative personnel will be deployed to all the development units. They should be residents in the units and become part of them. They can however be moved to other units to work. They should be responsible to the council in their development units although regular reports will have to go to the headquarters.

Hard work and maintenance Culture

Hard work should be the ideology. For it to succeed, a system of rewarding hard work and, if possible, punishing idleness must be devised. Success should not be measured in the amout of material wealth acquired by an individual but by the individual's contribution to

community wealth. Hard work should be made the watchword in schools, factories, in the farms and at home. Development is a continuous process. The process is easier when past efforts form the foundation for future ones. This calls for a deliberate cultivation of a culture that emphasises the maintenance of existing standards, gains and structures. It avoids the tendency of wastefulness in providing new inventories when old ones should serve the same purpose.

Neither the development administration as it operated in Cross River State nor the present local government system can lead to development. A system in which human beings are not regarded as mere resources and their creativity being destroyed is needed, a system that is dynamic and can adapt to the changes it is responsible and a system that takes the rural areas as the centres where development activities should rightly start is the one that is needed to solve our problem of underdevelopment.

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Appendix A

AN EVALUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM IN THE CROSS RIVER STATE OF NIGERIA

QUESTIONNAIRES ADMINISTERED TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

- Respondent No:
- Local Government Area:
- Occupation:
- Age:
- Level of Education

Please tick (✓) the most appropriate answer.

1. The Development Administration System (give full explanation) was introduced in Cross River State in early 1970s. Were you aware of that system of government?

   Yes No

2. How was the system publicised?
   - Through the radio
   - Through the newspaper
   - Through government officials
   - Through community leaders
   - Other means (specify)

3. The objective of that system was to mobilise the people and resources for the purpose of development through government cooperation with the local people.
   - Very accurate
   - Not very accurate
   - Not true.

4. Before the system was introduced, how were decisions affecting the community taken?

- By the Community
- By the community leaders
- By Divisional Officers (government)
- By the Chief

5. During the operation of development administration, who decided on the projects to handle?

- People in the community
- Community leaders
- Development Executive
- The Chief

6. No project was executed until the Development Executive approved it.

- most accurate
- fairly correct
- Not true at all

7. How often did the local people meet to discuss community affairs?

- very often
- sometimes
- seldom
- never

8. Did you know about decisions taken in the community before they were implemented?

Yes No

9. Would you have preferred that the decision for a project be taken by the government or other people without your involvement?

Yes No

10 How were your coooperation and contribution obtained?

- willingly
- through persuasion
- by use of force of law

11 What would you say contributed to the success of development programmes?

- coopdration between people and government
- provision of funds
- willingness of the people to work
- administrative capability.

12 What type of projects were most favoured in your community?

- road construction
- market
- medical/health facilitids
- educational projects
- agriculture projdcts.

13 How free were people in the community to do what they decided to do?

- too much control
- little control
- total freedom to act.

14 How did government supervision help in community project achievements?

- very much
- much
- just a little
- not at all

15 Do you think that the projects would have been executed successfully without the cooperation between the government and the people.

Yes No.

16 How much of the development in your locality today can be attributed to the development adiinistration system?

- all of the development
- much of the development
- little of the development
- none at all

17 How did the system affect your life in the community?

- very much
- much
- little
- no impact at all

18 Which system of administration would your prefere - the development administration system or the present local government administration?

19 Why?

20 Would you want the development administration system to be re-introduced in the state?

Appendix B

AN EVALUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM IN THE CROSS RIVER STATE OF NIGERIA

QUESTIONNAIRES - ADMINISTERED TO OFFICER OF DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS

PART I

1. How long have you served in the public service of the state? .....

2. What was your official position at the inception of the Development Administration System in Cross River State?.....

3. What is your position now? .....

4. To waht extent were you involved in designing and introducing the Development Administration System?

   - very much
   - much
   - just a little
   - not at all

5. How long were you involved in administration before your appointment to the Development Administration Department?

PART II

Please tick (✓) the most appropriate response.

1. Why was the Development Administration System introduced in the state at that time?

   - because of failure of the local government system
   - to speed up recovery after the civil war
   - to tap existing human and material resources in the state
   - to try something new.

2. How were the objdctives of this system going to be achieved?
   - direct government intervention
   - use of the local people to do things for themselves
   - counselling
   - other methods (specify)

3. At the time of the inception of the system, would you say that arrangments made e.g. by way of administrative re-organisation, publicity, logistics for its take off were:
   - sufficient
   - just adequate
   - not adequate

4. Each community's cooperation and contributions were needed for the success of the system. How were these obtained?
   - willingly
   - through persuasion
   - by use of force of law

5. In what kind of projects were the people mostly interested?
   - agricultural projects
   - industrial/economic projects
   - social projdcts
   - others (specify)

6. What were the guidelines in selecting the projects that were executed?
   - what the people wanted
   - What the government believed the people wanted

- what the government could finance
- projects whose executed were considered feasible
- others (specify)

7. Who decided on the projdcts?
   - Each community as a body
   - community leaders
   - the development executives
   - the Chief.

8. How much control did headquarters have on field administration?
   - too much
   - just sufficient
   - too little

9. The success of development administration depends largely on an effective and efficient bureaucracy. What steps were taken to strengthen the bureaucracy for the effective implementation of the system.

10 How were the officials in the Development Administration Department selected?
   - in consideration of expertise
   - normal civil service postings
   - on basis of experience
   - no special consideration
   - other criteria (specify)

11 What is your view was the greatest achievement of the system?
   - economic development of the state
   - socio-cultural development
   - political mobilisation

12 How much do you think the system achieved?

- very much
- just enough
- not much
- nothing

13 What would you say contributed to the success?

- cooperation between people and government
- provision of funds
- willingness of the people to work
- administrative capability
- other reasons (specify)

14 How would you assess the impact of the system on the people of the state.

- very much
- much
- little
- no impact at all.

15 With the benefit of hindsight, what would you say were the factors that militated against full realisation of the goals of the system or its failure

- Administrative inneffeciency/incapability
- lack of material resources
- failure to mobilise the people
- other reasons (specify)

16 Would you recommend the re-introduced of this system in the state?

17 Why was the development administration system phased out?