

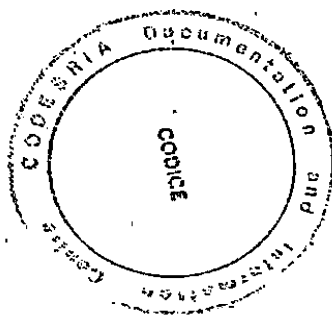


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**THE ROLE OF OF GOEMAIUNITY AND
DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION
MWAGHAVUL UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT
ORGANIZATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT
IN PLATEAU STATE OF NIGERIA.**

JULY, 1997



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DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION AND
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DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION IN RURAL
DEVELOPMENT
IN PLATEAU STATE OF NIGERIA.**

BY

CASMIR T. KURUNGTIEM
M.Sc. / 02265 / 1993

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
POST-GRADUATE SCHOOL,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA,
NIGERIA.**

JULY, 1997

06/08/1998

(ii)

DEDICATION

**THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO MY BELOVED
LATE FATHER MR. VINCENT YENWUL KURUNGTIEM
WHO WAS SNATCHED BY THE BRUTAL HANDS
OF DEATH ON 29TH MARCH 1997.
DAD, YOU HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF REAPING
THE SWEET FRUITS OF WHAT YOU SOWED.
GOD KNOWS BETTER, MAY YOUR SOUL
REST IN PERFECT PEACE, AMEN.**

(iii)

DECLARATION

I AM DECLARING TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY THAT THIS THESIS HAS BEEN CONCEIVED AND DELIVERED BY MYSELF. IT HAS NEVER BEEN A PREVIOUS RESEARCH WORK. ALL USED WORKS HAVE BEEN ADEQUATELY ACKNOWLEDGED BY PROPER REFERENCING.

CASMIR T. KURUNGTIEM

(iv)

CERTIFICATION

THIS THESIS TITLED THE ROLE OF GUDO AND MDA IN
PLATEAU STATE HAVE BEEN READ AND CERTIFIED TO
HAVE MET THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF
M.Sc. POLITICAL SCIENCE OF AHMADU BELLO
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ACRONYMS

DIFFRI	-	Directorate for food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure
OFN	-	Operation Feed the Nation.
GUDDO	-	Goemai Unity and Development Organisation
MDA	-	Mwaghavul Development Association
NGO's	-	Non Governmental Organization
LGC's	-	Local Government Councils.
LGA	-	Local Government Areas.
PADP	-	Plateau Agricultural Development Programme
Ph.D	-	Doctor
Col.	-	Colonel
SDDA	-	Shendam District Development Association
ECWA	-	Evangelical Church of West Africa
POD	-	Peoples Oriented Development
CHAN	-	Christian Health Association of Nigeria
GYM	-	Goemai Youth Movement
PHC	-	Primary Health Care
D.G's	-	Director Generals

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ABSTRACT

The research, "The Role of GUDO and MDA in rural development in Plateau state of Nigeria", attempts a cursory assessment of the roles of these organisations in rural development, with specific reference to GUDO and MDA in Plateau state of Nigeria.

The emphasis is on exploring the positive traditions of the people towards utilizing them for developmental purpose. It recognises the negative roles played by Western values on the major positive culture of the rural societies. Thus incapacitating genuine rural development from below.

This research project therefore gives an insight into the roles of these positive cultures and traditional organisations in rural development considering the dismal performance of government structures and institutions in that respect of recent. It has therefore been discovered that most state programmes demoralise and alienate the beneficiaries of the programmes thereby having no relevance to the increasing impoverishment of the people. It investigates the practical relevance of NGO's in rural development by examining two case studies (GUDO and MDA). In accomplishing this, questionnaires were administered on a randomly and clustered samples of the two communities, their responses from 540 administered questionnaires were subsequently analysed based on the research proposition and problematic to determine the extent to which the organisations have done well in rural developments or not.

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It was However discovered that State structures have derailed rural development because of the non involvement of the people and the corrupt practices of government functionaries. It is in view of this that the research established that the organisations are in a better place to enhance rural development provided their members are well mobilized, structured and committed to its ordeal. It has also discovered that the incessant organisational conflict that have bedevilled the organisations particularly (GUDO), is capable of inhibiting the achievement of its objective. So that it invariably becomes necessary to:-

- a) Democratize the structure of the organisation .
- b) It also becomes necessary for the organisation to venture into revenue yeilding activities to enable them have funds for their developmental programmes.
- c) It is also discovered that there is the need to extensively mobilize members of these organisation to participate in the activities of the organisations.
- d) Finally it is necessary to integrate all governmental rural development activities to those of Community based Development Organisation. If genuine development is to be achieved. Leadership of the organizations are suppose to be dynamic and visionary, otherwise the organisation will be like blindmen moving on a rocky path in the night.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION.

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM.

Several factors could be adduced for the renewed interest by national governments and international agencies in the contributions of non-governmental Organisations to rural development. Some of these reasons include the crisis of development especially the socio-economic draw backs such as poverty, disease, depression, indebtedness, hunger, etc, which have glaringly manifested themselves in our rural areas.

This has compelled most governments to reassess the efficacy of their contributions to rural development efforts. In Nigeria this became necessary to improve the living conditions of over 70% of the population who live in the rural areas, and engage in agricultural activities. In fact, at one time agriculture was the major foreign exchange earner for the country. Faced with this reality the government embarked on policies and programmes to cushion the scourges of underdevelopment in our rural areas. It has embarked on such policies as Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), the Green Revolution, Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DFRFRI) among others, with the sole aim of improving the productivity of small scale farmers, and providing the requisite rural infrastructures and institutional framework that will enhance the achievement of this purpose.

In spite of these laudable efforts, however the programmes have clearly not achieved much during their life-span. Instead, the implementation of these government sponsored policies and programmes have tended to inflict more deprivation on the rural

Communities¹. Igbeunam² lamented that "Most of the directorate roads and boreholes were abandoned". Similarly, Olu falae attributed the failure to over involvement of government³.

Equally central to the dismal performance of these programmes is the extensive reliance on foreign loans and technologies that had very little direct relevance to the real needs of the rural dwellers. The combine effects of poorly implemented government programmes and over - reliance on Foreign loans and technologies have served to further marginalize small peasant farmers. and conversely strengthen Economically and politically powerful groups in the society.

The overall failure of these programmes in bringing about a virile rural development regime have necessitated a renewed interest in such Community - based organisations as Goemai Unity and Development Organisation (GUDO) and Mwaghavul Development Association (MDA), which serve as more viable, alternative means to grassroots development. Since these organizations are closer to these roots, they have

¹ See Gefu J.O. 1987 "Livestock Development paradox in Nigeria: Insights from some development perspective" paper presented at the fourth National Conference of Nigerian Rural Sociological association held at ABU Zaria P83-84.

² See KATCHI O. V. 1992 "Rural poverty and Government Programmes from 1985-1991: A Case study of Jos North local government area of Plateau State-Nigeria", B.Sc thesis Department of Political Science Unijos p.21.

³ Ade A.J. (1987) "Essentials of rural development policy in Nigeria" paper presented at National Conference of NQSA held at ABU Zaria P.37.

much greater potentials to enhance participatory rural development than government - sponsored organs and their associated policies and programmes.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM.

The focus of the study is the role of non-governmental organisations (NGO'S) especially GUDO and MDA in the transformation of the rural Communities in Nigeria in general and Plateau State in particular.

GUDO and MDA are focused upon in order to determine their potentials as people oriented development associations involved in the rural development process, especially, as it relates to the provision of such amenities as rural water supply, roads, housing, electricity supply and education, and the enhancement of political mobilization, agricultural output, commercial and industrial activities, etc.

To this end, the following research questions are posed to guide the study.

- a) Can Community based Non-governmental Organisation provide viable alternative means for the development of rural Communities in Nigeria?
- b) What is the role of GUDO and MDA in development of the rural Communities of Shendam, Mangu and Qua'an-Pan local government Areas of Plateau State?
- c) How can MDA and GUDO effectively enhance the provision of rural infrastructures and Social Services in the rural Communities?
- d) What are the problems that can hinder GUDO and MDA from providing these rural infrastructures and Services and

- e) what are the solutions to these problem?

Our main concern in this study is to find answers to the research questions posed above.

1.2 **RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS.**

- a) It has been proposed for the research that the involvement of State Structures in rural development has negatively affected the performance of rural development programmes in Nigeria.
- b) Effective rural development is predicated on efficient human and material resource mobilization, development and utilization.
- c) Such community development organisations as GUDO and MDA that have been formed through the initiative of rural people themselves generally have much better prospects of enhancing rural development than bureaucratic organs created and run by governments at various levels.
- d) GUDO and MDA, as Community-based development associations can thus enhance rural development, provided they are properly structured and organized to enhance socio-economic and political development, through the provision of genuine people - oriented programmes and infrastructures relating to roads development, housing, education, health, transportation, agriculture, etc.

1.3 **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.**

The objectives of the study are:

- a. To ascertain the strengths and weaknesses of local Community and ethnically-based development Organisations such as **GUDO** and **MDA** in rural development.
- b. To asses the successes and failures of these Organisations in the provision of services and infrastructures, and to identify the reasons for such.

1.4 **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.**

The work is significant to the local people because it will demonstrate their ability in self development provided they are well organized. This will go a very long way in eliminating the doubt often cast upon the ability of local peoples to develop themselves through self-help efforts.

Given the necessity for the overall development of our rural areas, particularly in terms of agricultural production, roads development, health services, etc, the findings of this study will be useful to both national governments and international donor agencies in providing the requisite institutional and infrastructural framework that will enhance rapid rural transformation.

Further more, since the study draws attention to the important roles, which Community-based development associations can play in the rural development process, it will help to reduce the extensive reliance by many rural communities on government for the provision of services in the face of dwindling financial resources. It is equally

hoped that the work will help to overcome the apathy often exhibited by different communities towards government programmes, and to encourage participatory contribution of community members for the provision and protection of social services and amenities.

Finally, the study hopes to advocate that the beneficiaries of rural development, especially the rural dwellers, must participate at all levels of such development if it is to be viable and sustainable. This is necessary because development is a product of the peoples' aspirations of what the people feel, and of how they attempt to bring about change in their own mode of existence. It is, according to Cernea⁴, "putting the people first", so that their support can be elicited. Nyerere further emphasizes the importance of this development strategy when he noted that, rural development can only come about when the rural poor organize a society based on their hopes and aspiration. This is sharply opposed to the top-down strategy which tends to reduce local initiation, undermine popular support and consequently lead to rural underdevelopment.

⁴ Ibid, pg. 37

1.5 **METHODOLOGY.**

Data for the research came from primary and Secondary Sources.

a. **PRIMARY SOURCES.**

i. **Technique**

Close and open ended questions were administered on a randomly selected and sampled members of the rural Communities of Mangu, Shendam/Qua'an-Pan local government areas of Plateau State. The purpose is to ascertain the impact of these Community-based organisations in the overall development of their rural areas.

ii. **SAMPLING METHODS:-**

Simple random and clustered sampling techniques were adopted for the study. Those randomized categories are the rural dwellers, who are members of these organizations. As indicated above a total of six hundred sample have been randomized, three hundred each from the two ethnic groups. By means of clustered sampling, ten districts and thirty villages have been clustered for the two organizations and administered with questionnaires.

iii. **POPULATION:-**

The sampled population for the research covered members of the Goemai and Mwaghavul ethnic groups in Mangu, Shendam and Qua'an-Pan local government councils of Plateau State, Nigeria.

iv. **SAMPLE SIZE.**

The table below indicates Sample Size for the research.

1.1 **SAMPLED DISTRICTS AND QUESTIONNAIRES DISTRIBUTED.**

DISTRICTS SAMPLED	Questionnaires administered	Questionnaires Returned	not returned	wronglyfilled.
Mangun	60	57	2	1
Ampangwest	60	54	3	3
Pushit	60	60	-	-
Kerang	60	50	4	6
Mangu	60	49	7	4
Shendam	60	60	-	-
Derteng	60	50	6	4
Dorok	60	55	2	3
Kwande	60	49	8	3
Kwalla (moeda)	60	56	3	1
Total	600	540	35	25

The Table above shows that the Sample Size for the research was drawn from a total of ten district areas of Shendam, Qua'an-Pan and Mangu L.G.A's of Plateau State. Five districts, (Mangu, Mangun, Ampangwest, Pushit, Kerang) were clustered from Mangu LGA, while five districts [Shendam, Derteng, Dorok, Kwande, Kwalla (Moeda)] were clustered from Shendam and Qua'an-Pan LGAs. All together, a total of six hundred Questionnaires were administered in these ten districts, with Sixty administered in each district.

In each of the ten districts covered, three villages were clustered, with twenty questionnaires administered in each village (i.e. $20 \times 3 = 60$).

The choice of this Sample is necessitated by the need to get to the heart of the research problem, which predominantly is the ruralites. This has been accomplished in the research by sampling ten districts and thirty villages, in Mangu, Shendam and Qua'an Pan put together. This sampled areas are predominantly the areas occupied by the Goemai and Mwaghavul ethnic groups whose organizations form the case study of the research ('MDA' and 'GUDO').

2. SECONDARY SOURCES.

The research also relied on Secondary Sources such as the Organization reports, Constitutions, Speeches, Seminar proceedings and other published as well as unpublished documents on the activities of community development organizations in Nigeria.

3) DATA ANALYSIS:-

Simple percentages and tables were used to compare and analyze the roles of these organization in the provision of rural infrastructures in their areas of coverage.

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY.

i. Scope

In terms of geographical spread and coverage, the study was limited to ten districts containing Mwaghavul speaking and Goemai speaking ethnic groups within Mangu, Shendam, and Qua'an Pan, local government areas of Plateau State Nigeria. The basic reason for limiting the study to these areas was to ensure that the current researcher effectively covered the variety of activities undertaken by GUDO and MDA from 1990 to 1997. As have been mentioned elsewhere in the study, such non-governmental organizations as GUDO and MDA, which are Community based, have a positive role to play in rural development, since previous governmental initiations have tended to fail largely due to the non-effective mobilization and community members in rural development programme situated in their areas.

It is anticipated that the scope of the study would also provide the basis for a better grasp of the rural development problematique, which is at the centre of the discussion in our study. Most attempts to treat issues of rural development, without emphasizing the central role of community participation, have in the past proved to be unsatisfactory. In Nigeria, for instance, this has been demonstrated by widespread failures of government - sponsored rural development projects and programmes which lack substantial local community input.

ii. **Limitation**

The scope of the current study has been constrained by a lot of factors such as the non-availability of comprehensive literatures on the roles of community-based Organizations in rural development. Added to this are also constraints of time, resources, and often uncooperative attitude of some community members. For instance, in spite of sustained efforts and numerous trips to the sampled areas, some of the research questionnaires earlier administered were either not returned or improperly filled. This is indicated in Table 1. Out of a total of 600 questionnaires administered, 540 were retrieved, with 35 not returned and 25 wrongly filled. Equally important and pathetic is the experience among the Goemai ethnic groups which apart from its low returns, their biases became glaring in some questions. This is validated by an attempt to visit some project areas purported to be undertaken by "GUDO", just to discover their non existence.

Furthermore, generally speaking, since the study needed intensive work and contacts with mostly rural dwellers, it became necessary to engage in extensive interpretation of the questionnaires to the respondents. This only served to make the research more tedious and demanding. Finally, the internal conflicts and personal wranglings in the organizations further imposed constraints on the research.

1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS USED IN THE STUDY:-

A. ROLE:

As conceptualised in this research, role is a job description which is often more important than the person who fills it. It is a regular or patterned way of behaviour associated with a status or Social position. Role has been used in this context to mean the patterned behaviours expected to be performed by "GUDO" and "MDA" to enhance socio-economic and political development efforts in their respective areas of operation.

Roles to this research are therefore summed up to mean pattern of behaviours played or assumed by these organization as a response to genuine expectation and problems of infrastructural developments in the rural areas.

B Non-Governmental Organizations:-

In generic terms, non-governmental organizations refer to all organizations that are independent of overt government control. They are, in a general sense, organizations created on the basis of peoples' voluntary initiatives and deal with issues that concern development through participation. According to Frank Hicks⁵ they support developmental initiatives in such areas as Economy, Culture, Education, Health, Agriculture, Housing, Political mobilization, etc.

⁵ Hicks F. 1993 NGO's and Development A UNICEF Production Inter Printers Ibadan P. 57.

As defined and operationalized in this research, non-governmental Organizations, especially those studied here, are associations typically composed of disadvantaged rural people who come together to address problems of common concern⁶ as these relate to the development of their Communities, particularly with regards to the provision of health, education, portable water, roads, etc to their members⁷. According to Peter Wilher⁸, they provide services to a group that are in need through the voluntary human and financial response of their members. Being highly structured, such Organizations have elected officials, written rules, and hold regular meetings. Their federated and integrated structures also enables them enjoy economies of scale and great impact by pooling the large potentialities of its members together⁹. According to Gamuco¹⁰, they are the hub of development since they respect the positive traditions and culture of the people, "GUDO" and "MDA" are typical examples.

⁶ Ibid, p. 57

⁷ Ibid, p.57

⁸ See Kaslong J. (1995) "The roles of development Association in the Development of Rural areas: A Case study of Shendam L.G.A.," ADPA project Dept. of Pol. Sc. Unijos 1995 p. 30.

⁹ Hicks F. 1993 "NGO's and Development" Op. Cit p. 58.

¹⁰ Gamuco D. 1993 "NGO's and Development" Op. Cit p. 21.

(C) **RURAL**

Alot of disparities exist as to what constitutes rural areas in different countries, as a result of differences in administrative arrangement and outlook. While economic, racial, geographical indices are used by some people, ethnic and sociological determinants are emphasize by other people.

To Sorka'a, Elekwe, and Ega¹¹, such indicators as administrative status of the population, size, availability of amenities, economic activities, etc are used to define what constitutes a rural area. Thus in their view, a settlement of about 20,000 persons or less than where the main occupation is agriculture and which lacks such basic infrastructures such as pipe borne water, electricity, hospitals, roads, industrial establishments, telephone, banking and recreational services neatly fits into the definition of rural settlement.

While the above characterization has its own attractions, the current study prefers to uphold the position of Oni and Ohiani¹² which describes a rural area in terms of the following features-

- * A relatively small size and low density of population spread all over a large or small geographical area.
- * More than 70% of the population are agrarian and engage in a variety of activities

¹¹ Ibid, p. 34.

¹² See Sanusi H. 1992 "Rural Poverty and Government development programmes from 1985-1991: A case study of Jos local government Area of Plateau State Nigeria".

like hunting, fishing poultry piggery, food processing at subsistence level.

- * There is also the non-availability of modern infrastructure, like good roads pipe borne water, electricity, health centres, educational institutions etc.
- * The inhabitants also have little or no influence on government policies and programmes thereby compelling them to form development associations.
- * There is a low per capital income, general poverty, and alienation of the entire population.

In addition, rural areas are repositories of all that is stable, immemorial, harmonious, pleasant, and reassuring in modern societies. They are characterised by very poor households producing mostly for subsistence by using crude implements and family labour. They are also very vulnerable to scourges of diseases and innumerable disadvantages¹³. Their weaknesses, in relation to exercising political power, often expose them to the exploitative tendencies of the state institutions, the elite political class, and the domesticated bourgeoisie class. In spite of this apparent vulnerability however rural community often exhibit attributes of emotional Cohesiveness, continuity and fulfillment which enables them to develop themselves by forming local community-based development associations.

¹³ See Noah Danlami "1995" "The rural development Question in the contemporary third world, ideologies and approaches". Seminar paper (MSC) Development administration ABU Zaria.

(D) DEVELOPMENT

Development, as a concept, has been tied to the ideological disposition of scholars. The current study conceptualizes it in terms of socio-economic and political transformation, which encompasses the Social relations of the people in the exercise of power and determination of issues that are of paramount necessity to their existence. It is an overall process that depends upon man's inherent efforts to conquer his natural environment by transforming it to his desirable form¹⁴.

It is further noted by Rodney¹⁵ as a qualitative process of change plus growth whose critical determinants are the modes and relations of productions interacting to either suppress or enhance developments and underdevelopment.

Development, in the context of this research, is therefore the crucial activities and abilities of Non-governmental bodies to enhance the transformations of their productive forces. It is the provision of maximum satisfaction for human life in the rural areas by way of provision of good foods, water, health, education, decent accommodation and increase in production to cope with the human wants of the rural people consistent with the policy of equity between the urban and rural dwellers¹⁶.

¹⁴ Kurungtiem C.T. (1995) "Critique of underdevelopment Theory," Seminar paper (MSC) Development Administration p. 4.

¹⁵ Walter Rodney (1992) " How Europe underdevelopment Africa:" Boble - L'ouverture publication London 1972).

¹⁶ Noah Danlami OP. Cit P. 7.

E. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural development means many things to different people however, in this study, rural development is the totality of strategies designed to improve the socio-economic conditions of a specific group of people. It is a process of extending the benefits of development to the poorest amongst those who seek livelihood in the rural areas. Such benefits include the provision of rural roads, housing, water, education, health services, agricultural services, etc.

In line with the World Banks¹⁷ conception of the term, rural development is:

..."a strategy designed to improve the Economic and Social life of a specific group of people, the rural poor".

This definition operationalizes rural development in terms of the whole gamut of socio-economic activities aimed at transforming the rural areas. It is a very relevant and apt view because it does not limit rural development to agricultural production alone, but sees it as an all round form of development dependent on mass political mobilization. To therefore effectively grasp what rural development is, we have to understand what Rural and Development mean separately.

¹⁷ See Sorka'a, A.P. 1992 "Local Non-governmental Organizations and the politics of rural development in Benue State of Nigeria" Ph. D dissertation, Dept of Pol.Sc ABU Zaria P. 4 Unpublished.

(F) **GOEMAI UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (GUDO) AND MWAGAHAVUL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (MDA)**

These are self-help ethnic development organizations found in Shendam, Qua'an-Pan and Mangu local government areas of Plateau State Nigeria. According to Wilher¹⁸, Such bodies are primarily concerned to help and support their members in the provision of services they consider basic to their existence.

These organizations often find affinity in ethnicity since they often embrace a single ethnically homogeneous Community. The development embarked upon by such bodies usually attempts to transform socio-political and economic milieu of the people. The current researcher therefore sees such bodies as motivators of development and categorizes them under the non-governmental, Community based development associations.

1.8 **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS.**

Of relevance to this research is the underdevelopment and dependency theory. This theory opposes the argument by modernization proponents such as Huntington¹⁹ who see modernization as a multifaceted process involving changes in all areas of human

¹⁸ Kaslong Op. Cit. p.30.

¹⁹ Benedict Naanen 1984 "Theories of development: How relevant to Africa" in (PASSR) Pan African Social Science (review No.1 October, 1994. Journal of the Department of Sociology University of Port Harcourt Published in Co-operation with Victor Manfredi Harvard University P.6.

thought and activity. Webber²⁰ on the other hand sees it as a change from a state of irrationality to rationality. Modernization is characterised by a transition to contractual, individualistic, achievement oriented, economizing, scientific, rational values, whereas the non-modern or underdeveloped world is characterised by traditional Kinship ties, Communal loyalty, ascriptive status, non-maximizing economic behaviour where social ends takes precedence over accumulation²¹. The abandonment of these values is seen as basis for achieving development by the modernist.

Apart from the aforementioned basis for modernization, modernization is also seen as evolution. Rostows²² argument brings to bare the stages of this evolutionary paradigm. This process is characterised by the aforementioned credentials so that modernists tend to see the present predicament of underdeveloped societies as the past of modernized ones. Rostow describes these stages as the traditional, through the various preconditions for development to the point of take off, hence to maturity and mass consumption.

Importantly, also is the dual paradigm of modernization theories which is characterised by parallel sectors not yet integrated and characterised by different operations. These descriptions varies between rural /urban, agricultural/industrial or

²⁰ Ibid, p. 6 - 8.

²¹ Ibid, p. 6 - 8.

²² Ibid, p 6 - 8.

traditional/modern which imply a combination of capital accumulation and Western technology which in Africa implies export trade and capital importation²³.

In spite of the religious application of modernization theory to African societies, nothing successful has been achieved in solving African economic problems. This is because of the subjectivity, false and sham assumptions of the theory. Its unilinear procession, for instance, is false because history has demonstrated that not even France, Britain, America or Japan has followed the same path to development. This has been doubted and expunged by underdevelopment and dependency theory propositions, such as Wallerstein's "world system", Frank's "Centre periphery", Amin's "unequal exchange" by hinging their explanations on a global division of labour which are not mutually beneficial.

Dependency theory ushered in arguments of underdevelopment which doubts and falsifies the prophecies of modernization. It seeks to antithetically explain underdevelopment drawing impetus from Marxist analysis. Hopkins²⁴ noted that:

whereas modernization attributed Economic backwardness to internal constraints of traditional societies, and presumed that external contacts would be instrumental to removing them. The dependency theory argues that it is the external links which have created Economic backwardness by forgoing chains of dependence and inequality between a privileged Core and an exploited periphery.... underdevelopment can only be understood as a historical process.

²³ Ibid, p. 7.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 11.

Though the dependency argument purges the fallacies of modernization, its adverse analytic premise has made it eclectic. With an origin linked to the intellectual soils of Latin America, and pioneered and popularised by such scholars as Prebisch, Cardoso, Sunkel, Dos Santos, Samir Amin, Rodney etc., the dependency theory rejects the basic arguments of modernization, by situating underdevelopment in terms of the process of incorporation of Africa into global capitalism through Colonialism, imperialism and trade.

To Paul Baran,²⁵ this was achieved by the destruction and halting of development in the peripheries for development in the Core. The plunderous accumulation of surplus in underdeveloped societies stagnates their development at the expense of developing the Core. Similarly, taking inferences from Baran, Amin²⁶ perceives development and underdevelopment as two sides of the same coin, tied to the incorporation of precapitalist societies into the world capitalist societies, albeit to serve as outlets for raw materials, investment and Capital accumulation. Amin argues further that this relationship is chain - like, thus causing the exploitation of the remotest village from the rural areas to New York. This is often accomplished with the exploitation of the small landowner, exploiting the landless labourers as agents of national and international Capital. Thus culminating in the underdevelopment of our rural areas.

²⁵ Magnus Blomstron (eds) 1984 "Development theory in Transition"The Dependency debate and Beyond third world responses, Zed books Ltd London pg. 56 - 73.

²⁶ Ibid, pg.56 - 73.

To Sunkel²⁷, underdevelopment is a normal result of the functioning of a specific system, and is indicated by such factors as low income, low rate of growth, regional imbalance, inequality, unemployment, dependency, monoculture, cultural, economic, social and political marginalization etc. Sunkel does not doubt the existence of ties such as the internal relationship between nations, regions, states, with a developed structure dominating an underdeveloped one. This is evident in the relationship between our urban and rural areas, with the urban centres using the state apparatus to dominate the underprivileged rural sectors. The arguments of Dos Santos, Leys, Wallerstein Cardoso, and Franks do not differ either. They all situate underdevelopment as a receptive consequences of development. This is perpetrated both externally and by domesticated structures using state apparatuses to enhance primitive accumulation.

To Bernstein²⁸

This is an alliance between state which organizes the political Ideological and administrative conditions of this form of Capital penetration in peasant agriculture and the provision of technical and financial means of this penetration by either private Capital or the particular form of finance Capital represented by the world bank and other and agencies.

Underdevelopment and dependency theory becomes very relevant to the current study, because it interestingly situates the inability of underdeveloped societies to develop on the triple alliance between elites, local capital and international capital. The Kenyan

²⁷ Ibid, Pg. 56 - 73.

²⁸ Gerome O. Getu "Livestock development Paradox in Nigeria" A sight from some developed perspective" proceeding of NRSA ABU Zaria 1987 pg. 83.

dependency debate has further reinforced the roles of the national bourgeoisie and the state, in the baggages of underdevelopment of Africa. Osoba²⁹ describes them as imperialist lackeys who connive with their Euro - American mentors, and serve as Compradors and Commission agents to exploit the rural areas in conjunction with the state, thus causing underdevelopment as a theoretical framework of analysis, underdeveloped and dependency theory becomes very relevant to this study because of its descriptive and analytic strength, it exposes the causes of underdevelopment of a peripheral rural society and the development of a developed urban society, by mutually linking them as two sides of the same coin. It also exposes the roles of an internal domestic class of bourgeoisie who, using the state apparatus, embarks on policies capable of resulting in rural underdevelopment. This, at best, is referred to "development of underdevelopment" by Frank.

The Significance of underdeveloped and dependency theory to this study is further strengthened because it exposes the ability of the underdeveloped areas to be developed, provided they delink from this exploitative structures and embark on a participative and inward development which is people-oriented. It not only exposes the structural weaknesses of modernization theory but describes how best rural development can be enhanced, by categorically propounding a break in exploitative relationship between the core and periphery. This is significant for our study because it sees the state and its apparatus as a capitalist institution capable of exploiting the rural areas thus causing underdevelopment. Thus, GUDO and MDA as people oriented institutions can therefore enhance rural development provided they are able to delink from capitalist exploitation

²⁹ Pan African Social Science Review (PASSR) Op Cit.

through the state apparatus, and western ideological prescription alike.

Dependency and underdevelopment theory is focussed here because it ushers in a dialectical explanation laying credence to marxism in Africa underdevelopment crisis. It not only attempts to apply marxist thinking to Africa because of the peculiarity of its class dimension not adequately explained in the writings of classical marxist, but also lays its weight on explaining the roles of state, indigenous and dependent capitalist in perpetrating underdevelopment. It therefore contributes a great deal in exposing the causes of rural underdevelopment in peripheral societies. As a theory of development therefore, the study feels strongly obliged, to adopt it, because of its emphasis on the roles of non state structures in rural development.

Conclusively, while Dependency and Underdeveloped theory does not believe in the modernization of rural development, it sees the exploitation of the rural areas as a collaborative tendency between a domesticated bourgeoisie, the state and foreign Capital, which is capable of causing underdevelopment. These have caused the sapping of resources from the rural areas for the development of the Centre leaving them as hewers of hay with the total absence of infrastructures and facilities such as good roads, water, health, education etc. These have enabled a helpless rural society to form associations that can provide the needed services for them. This is because of the vast developmental potentials of the ruralists, described by Ake³⁰ as follows.

The idea that a people or their culture and social institution can be an obstacle to their development is one of the major confusions of current developmental thinking and one of expensive errors... all peoples actively will and pursue the betterment of their own lives within the context of their understanding and value.

³⁰ Soroka'a A P. Op Cit Pg. 60.

1.9 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY:

The study is organised into five chapters.

Chapter one contains the basic information about the research. This include such information as the background to the study, Statement of the problem, research proposition theoretical framework, Scope and limitation, methodology etc.

Chapter Two, on the other hand, is the review of literature. This encompasses past programmes of rural development in Nigeria, and non- governmental orgnizations.

Chapter Three describes the State and dwells on rural development efforts of Plateau State Governments.

Chapter Four looks at the origins and roles of MDA and GUDO in rural development. It is the result of the findings of the field work which assesses GUDO and MDA in the provisions of rural infrastructures and facilities such as roads, water, electricity, health, education etc. The data are tabulated and presented. Simple percentages of the results have been worked and presented to determine the extent of the involvement of these organizations in rural development.

Chapter five is summary and conclusions of major findings. Policy recommendations have also been advanced within the chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN NIGERIA:

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This aspect of the research is a review of literature on rural development and Non-governmental Institutions. The emphasis is on a cursory review of past programmes of rural development in Nigeria and the reasons for the failure of such programmes which ushered in the renewed vigor in non-governmental organizations.

The concept of rural development is extensively reviewed below with the intention of ascertaining its content within the context of participatory rural development.

2.1 RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

According to the World Bank, rural development is:

A strategy designed to improve the Economic and Social life of a specific group of people the rural poor, it involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest who seek livelihood in the rural areas.... Those groups include Small Scale farmers, tenants, and the landless women¹

¹ See ITYO Omo L. (1991) "Theoretical and Empirical implications of local government and Community participation in Rural development with particular

This conception, highlights rural development as efforts to improve the life of the rural dweller by its agencies. It underestimates the efforts of the people and instead sees rural development as strategy designed by World Bank institutions to improve the conditions of the rural poor. This position is capable of leading to underdevelopment because it makes the people passive recipients, with no roles to play in improving their own social condition a tendency which usually ties the rural areas to the apron string of capitalist underdevelopment and its state institutions. The UN, on the other hand, recognizing the efforts of the people in rural development defines rural development as;

The process by which the efforts of the People themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the Economic, Social and Cultural conditions of the Communities.²

While this description highlights the peoples' efforts in rural development, it also equally recognizes the efforts of government as to the same process. Stevens further upholds this contention and defines rural development as

The whole range of technical, Economic, Political and Social changes related to private and governmental efforts to increase the well being of the rural citizen.³

reference to Gboko L.G.A. of Benue State". MSc
Department of Political Science Unijos P.20

² Ibid, P. 20.

³ SORKA'A A.P. (1992) "Local Non-governmental Organization and the Politics of rural development in Benue state of Nigeria." Unpub. Ph.D Thesis department of Political Science ABU Zaria P. 37.

The various aspect of rural development highlighted above are very vital to our study because rural development should be about the development of individual both economically and socio-culturally. It percieved as a total, multifactoral, and multisectoral process depending on the articulation of the peoples' felt needs by themselves.

A number of authors have tended to equate rural development to agricultural development, because of the fact that most of the population in the rural areas are agrarian. Agricultural development in the past has been a key component in rural development drive. In Nigeria, for instance, this is evidenced by the colossal amount of over ₦3.06b invested between 1960 and 1980, and about ₦13.6b sunk between 1981 and 1985⁴ in agriculture and Rural development alone, with very little positive results except for rather impoverished rural areas.

However, arguing for agricultural development as a catalyst for rural development, Lewis⁵ advised Ghana to pay more attention to agricultural development. Similarly Ebong⁶ noted that;

⁴ KATCHI O.V. (1992) "Rural poverty and Government development programmes from 1985-1991. A case study of Jos local Government area of Plateau State - Nigeria" Unpublished B.Sc. Thesis, Department of Political Science, Unijos. P.5.

⁵ EBONG M.O. (1992) "The Role of Agriculture in the modernization of Rural Economies: the cross River Experience." Proceeding of 6th Annual Conference of Nigerian Rural Sociological Association. Published by the NRSA Ibadan P. 45.

⁶ Ibid, P.45.

when students of a generation seek to understand phenomena of Urbanisation in this part of Africa, they will be well advised to begin their studies with the causes of Events in the agrarian sector.

Helleiner⁷ equally consents to this position and identified four ways through which agriculture contributes to rural development. These are:-

- i) its role to the growing population which live in Urban areas.
- ii) its labour for other modern sectors,
- iii) its linkages with domestic manufacturing and .
- iv) Its provision of market for developing industries.

While this position may sound quite convincing, because agricultural development raises per capita income which inturn leads to the development of the rural sector, it does not adequately treat rural development as an integrated process, complemented by such other factors as health, education, political mobilization etc. Nyerere⁸ captures succinctly the limitation of the agrarian view of rural development when he notes that:

Rural development is more than just agricultural development Soil Conservation... to include self pride and opportunity for Self Fulfillment, it is about Sports and Culture, for it's difficult to keep Young people in the village if there is no football, dancing and recreation.....

Rural development is best regarded as the totality of efforts at providing not only tangible attributes like good roads, water, transportation, decent accommodation, but also intangible attributes like democratic values and representativeness. It is a process not

⁷ Ibid, P. 46.

⁸ OYAIDE O.F.J. (1993) "Rural Development: The Neglected Sector." Paper presented at the Conference of Nigerian rural Sociology association, Ife.

only initiated and controlled by the government but also actively pursued by the people as well, - all aimed at reducing elements of poverty, diseases, illiteracy, malnutrition, etc.

The involvement of the people in rural development drive becomes important because, according to Ogunleye⁹,

Development cannot be successful without taking into consideration the Tradition, Culture and communal interest of the people and their environment.

Taking into cognisance the interest of the people, therefore entails the propagation of such ideals as equitable accessibility to public goods, and services etc. It also does not confine the propagation of rural development activities to only the state, but also involves the complementary efforts of Non-governmental bodies.

Be that as it may, while the state has played a central role in the rural development of Nigeria, such a role often undermines the inherent self-help abilities of rural dwellers. Today, the dismal performance of the state, with regards to rural development has necessitated a renewed interest in non-governmental bodies. However, while we attest to these bodies as potentially important motivators of rural development, the role of the State in the process cannot be totally neglected because, in many cases, the state remains the major motivator of programmes aimed at rural development. However, the poser still remains, can the state entirely dictate and control the pace of rural development? An attempt is made to answer this question in the section.

⁹ OGUNLEYE B. 1993 "Development of Grassroots people"
Political Sc Vol 4 No. 5 Sept - Oct 3 P. 35.

2.2 ROLES OF THE STATE IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

A cursory review of this topic may help to determine whether non-governmental institutions can enhance rural development or not. It may also enable us to discover the reasons for the continuous dominance of the state in the rural development drive in general.

Hunter, Bunting, Bottrall, Wedner, and Isman¹⁰ all attribute the responsibility for the development of our rural areas to the state. Their argument is predicated on the fact that, development can only be achieved if the administrative machinery of the State is strengthened. They essentially see the state as a neutral arbiter standing above any singular interest and as such can enhance the rational allocation of resources.

This argument was advanced by the modernization School of thought typified by such Scholars as Rostow, McClelland, Almond¹¹ among others, who specifically argue that the Capitalist state is the only engine of development, in view of the pre-capitalist and highly traditional nature of the rural areas in underdeveloped societies. This position conceives underdevelopment as the absence of technology, capital, initiative, hardwork, etc, which can only be overcome if western ideas and institutions are diffused in the

¹⁰ SORKA'A P. OP.CIT P33, FOR WEDNER AND ESMAN'S POSITION SEE T.B. IDODO (1989) Rural Development and Bureaucracy in Nigeria, Longman P.19.

¹¹ For these position see DANIEL OFFIONG (1980) Imperialism and dependency, Fourth Dimension publishing Co. Ltd. Enugu P. 27.

provision of rural infrastructure, through the benevolent state. Wilbert Moore¹² justifies this western euphoria when he noted that:-

Development is a total transformation of traditional or premodern Societies into the types....that characterised the stable nation of the west.

But this assertion over the years has been put to test and debunked because of the inability of State structures, particularly in Africa, to enhance rural development inspite of the colossal amounts of money and attention accorded that sector by the state. The state is gradually becoming irrelevant to rural development because it decries the roles of indigenous assets in that regards, an asset affirmed by Levine¹³ as

pragmatic... responding to challenges of intertribal wars and slave trade.

Similarly Kamark¹⁴ a former Director of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has observed that:

African show exceptional willingness to adapt and change their institutions to the requirements of economic development. Indeed Africans openness to innovation is comparable to or even greater than that of the Japanese and Americans in the past.

Apart from these interesting revelations, Marxist theorists have debunked the ability of the state to modernize the rural areas because in their view, the executive of the modern state is a committee for managing the affairs of the bourgeoisie. They see

¹² Ibid, P. 27.

¹³ Ibid, P.27.

¹⁴ Ibid, P.27.

the policies of the state as a reflection of the class interest of the state bureaucrats; Shivji, Leys¹⁵, Williams¹⁶ attempt an application of the Marxist paradigm to Africa and conclude that, the class that control the state apparatus unwittingly are the class that determine in their favour developmental strategies. As products of Colonialism, members of such a class are involved in resource allocation, drawing up of development plans, and invariably determining rural development policies, which must unequivocally reflect their interest to the detriment of the rural folk. Alavi¹⁷ further explores this contention when he describes the post colonial State as overdeveloped, because the state directly appropriates large part of economic surplus and deploy it in the name of promoting economic development.

The implication of this argument, which sees the State as playing a Central role in rural development, is the hollow it creates in the rural development bid of any society. This is because it ties our rural areas as appendages of global capitalism, and it does not recognise the ability of the people themselves in rural development. In such Socialist States as China and Tanzania, the involvement of the State became necessary because the interests of the rural folks are given prominent consideration in evolving just rural development policies. Rural development becomes the responsibility of all and sundry

¹⁵ SHIVJI I. (1974) "Class Struggles in Tanzania" New York Monthly Review.

¹⁶ GAVIN W. (1980) State and Society in Nigeria, Afrogratika publishers Ibadan.

¹⁷ ALAVI H. (1972) The State in Post colonial Societies, Pakistan and Bangladesh, New left review Pg. 58-92.

right from the identification of the policies to be implemented to its logical implementation.

But in countries like Nigeria, colonialism had created the conditions for the continued dominance of the state in rural development. This has incapacitated our development to such an extent that the roles of non state structures becomes vital in rural development; because these structures are in a better position to enhance participatory development, which will be inward and indigenous. This is oppose to state programmes which are outward and western. A grasp of these literatures will be necessary.

2.3 PAST RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN NIGERIA.

Nigeria has, over the years, adopted measures aimed at alleviating rural underdevelopment. Though predicated on the State ideological desire, which confines rural development to activities of the State, aimed at enhancing agricultural development; precolonial efforts cannot be under estimated.

2.3.1 RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PRECOLONIAL ERA

The attempts at the development of rural areas in Nigeria is not a recent phenomenon. Right from time immemorial, most communities engaged in some form of activities that can enhance the development of their areas. In Nigeria, this flourishing heritage was tied to the communal efforts of the people, where resources were

communally pooled for the fortification of ancient walls, ramparts, moats, and trenches round their settlements, etc.

This spirit was inculcated in the community members through various forms of traditional education such as during moonlight stories, and the age grades system. Gofwene¹⁸ extolls the precolonial virtues of community development and its significance in the provision of rural infrastructures, such as the building of roads, bridges, town halls etc. Similarly Tokanya¹⁹ describes this precolonial instincts as a prototype of present Community development efforts, exploited even by the Colonialists. He noted that:-

Community Development has inadvertently come to be equated with the external manifestations of development in form of major land mark projects such as schools, clinics or dispensaries, rural roads, bridges and Electricity.

These virtues have today been found to be very instrumental to development because, inspite of the attention given rural development by the State, nothing tangible has been achieved. Communal instincts which were harnessed by colonial agents in the provision of cash crops and other Colonial infrastructures are today being invoked and upheld by such non governmental organisations as "GUDO" and "MDA" in rural development. Colonialism had created many state rural development programmes, which were deliberately geared towards the propagation of capitalist individualistic ideals which

¹⁸ See SANUSI H. (1992) National Process and Rural development a case of DIFPRI in ANKPA local government area of Kogi State. Unpublished B.Sc Thesis Department of Political Science University of Jos P.35.

¹⁹ Ibid, P.35.

were eventually channeled predominantly towards cash crop production. The basic belief during the colonial era was that indigenous institutions were unable to develop themselves because they were archaic, traditional, and tribalistic. But Smock, echoed by Aka'ase and Hyden²⁰ disagree with this position when they highlight the significant role which ethnic value and practices can play in the rural development process. To them, the cohesive instincts of various ethnic groups, enables them to engage in collective efforts to develop themselves.

But while we argue that these communities, inspite of their ethnic inclination, have the tendency to enhance development, the experience in Africa where ethnicity have taken a dysfunctional dimension, seems to bemuse development. For ethnicity and Communalism to serve this purpose therefore, accomodation of ethnic virtues, not its destruction, needs to be highlighted. This is because since the government's current initiatives have failed to enhance the development of our rural areas, the most feasible alternative is to fall back on Non-governmental structures, particularly local community development organisations in the provision of rural infrastructures.

2.3.2 RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN COLONIAL NIGERIA.

During the colonial era, precolonial societies and their artifacts were forcefully subjugated by Colonialism. Rural development policies were predicated primarily on the

²⁰ SORKA' A P. 62.

development of Agriculture for the provision of Cash Crop and other necessities for Colonialism.

The Colonial State, having directly assumed the initiative for rural development, enunciated policies which were aimed at incorporating the economy of Nigeria into the larger world capitalist system. Precolonial production method and practices were eventually substituted by Colonial institutions and practices related to taxation, money, forced labour, the provision of infrastructures such as roads, railways, education, health etc, all aimed at effective exploitation of economic resources. To William²¹.

The forces of production have been developed, but only in ways which meet the requirements of Capitalism...

He continued that "To secure their profits, Colonial interest blocked the development of indigenous capitalism and limited the development of the peasantry.

Rural development during this era became synonymous with only agricultural development by the Colonial state, neglecting Socio-Political and Economic processes. The introduction of such agencies like the marketing boards further worsened the condition of the rural dwellers. Igbozuike²² has noted that

...Marketing boards have now become an instrument for widening the gap between the rich and poor farmers, for appropriating the product of the farmer by the Upper Class and for taxing farmers and therefore causing dis-incentives to productivity.

²¹ See G. Williams Op. Cit.

²² See Idodo J. Op. Cit Pg. 38.

In its bid to boost agricultural and cash crop production, the state forcefully relied on rural labour. To Gushop²³, the Colonial system, in a desperate need to harness both human and material resources, organised forced labour.

This labour was very instrumental to agricultural and mineral production, which were the basis for the colonial rural development policy. Interestingly, by 1910, a department of agriculture was established in the South and, by 1917, the same department was established in the North, particularly, to generate revenue and to service European Economies devastated by the acute shortage of industrial raw materials and the subsequent World War that followed.

The rural economy in Nigeria during this era was left at the mercy of the invisible hands of market forces in the course of the production of palm oil, cocoa, rubber, groundnuts, tobacco, etc. Mixed farming and extension services were encouraged, farm inputs and machineries were also imported and subsidized for the farmers. Holmes²⁴ noted that the Emirs and Native Authorities were the main beneficiaries of these services, at the expense of the majority of deprived rural dwellers.

After World War II, there was renewed vigor in the role of the state in rural development because it was believed that only the State could engineer the change that

²³ GUSHOP S.A. (1995) Economic Crisis, Debt Management and Democracy in Nigeria (unpublished B.Sc thesis, Political Science Dept. University of Jos).

²⁴ UTT. J.F. (1995) Agricultural Development and Rural Transformation: A Case Study of PADP (unpublished M.Sc. thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Jos P.27.)

were then desirable. Plans and national accounts became part of the apparatus of economic thought. Development Boards and a variety of State schemes were, therefore, justifiably introduced, with main aim of transforming peasant agriculture and introducing mechanized agriculture. Forrest²⁵ described this period as a period of total commitment on the part of the State to mechanized agriculture with a massive in-flux of foreign experts for Nigeria's agricultural development. A number of farm centers and regional workshops were sited at Samaru, Ibadan, and Abakaliki as part of measures to enhance agricultural production.

During this era also, rural development witnessed massive transfer of resources from rural to urban centres. This development not only enhanced cosmopolitan development and the subsequent rural-urban bias, but also increased the impoverishment of the rural areas, and led to food shortages, resulting from rural-urban drift. The priority given to cash crop production by the state further compounded this menace and traditionalised its production. The East was to produce palm oil, the North cotton and groundnut, and the West Cocoa amongst others. On the Jos Plateau, apart from the beautiful climate which encouraged Colonial settlement, Tin was mined in commercial quantity.

This type of development denied the rural areas, not only of their productive abilities, but more importantly entrenched capitalist planning by the State on issues of rural development, thereby setting the pace for subsequent rural development policies to

²⁵ Ibid, P. 27.

emerge in Nigeria. Predicated on this past, rural development became the prerogative of the state, with indigenous bureaucrats perpetrating the underdevelopment of the rural areas, and confining rural development to the development of an effective state agricultural policy.

2.3.3 **RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN POST COLONIAL NIGERIA.**

With independence in 1960, Nigerians assumed formal control of state machinery. Rural development, however, still remained the prerogative of the state, and was essentially still confined to agricultural development. And the people still remained passive recipient of development programmes.

In pursuance of its rural development programmes entirely based on agricultural development, the post-colonial State, embarked on many programmes, one of these earlier programmes included the rural farm settlements, and school leavers' farms established by the various regional governments to encourage young schools leavers and citizens to embrace farming . In spite of this laudable policy objective, however, not much tangible results were achieved. SORKAA²⁶ has noted this failure was largely due to the inability of the planners and policy makers to acquire adequate knowledge of the problems of the rural areas. Consequently, the success of many government-sponsored programmes could not therefore be sustained.

²⁶ SORKAA P. 104

During the early independence era, community development programmes were also encouraged by the state, and placed under the direct supervision of State ministries and traditional institutions. Yet not much positive results were achieved. SORKAA²⁷ again noted that these also failed because the programmes could not carry the people along. Most of the bureaucrats who were saddled with the responsibility of supervising rural development projects naturally saw it as yet another opportunity to brutally exploit their community members this is, of course, a legacy inherited from Colonialism. Quoting Holdcroff, Sorkaa²⁸ noted that:-

Development programmes were not intended to nor did they effect the basic structural barriers to equity and growth in rural Communities... Community development village workers aligned themselves with traditional village Elite, thus strengthening the Economic and Social position of the Elites. There was little attention given to assuming that benefits from Community development programmes accrued to the rural poor.

2.3.4 RURAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1966-1979.

During the first military inter-regnum, rural development was still confined to agricultural development by the State; the establishment of a ministry for agriculture and rural development with the sole aim of boosting agricultural production was testimony to this.

²⁷ Ibid, pg. 27.

²⁸ Ibid, pg.27.

This development came, at a time food production was at its lowest ebb, as a result of the combined effects of the civil war and the oil boom of the early and mid-1970s. The civil war (1967-1970) shifted attention from agricultural production to the oil sector, which gave rise to industrial production and armament. Apart from the shift of attention to these sector, the dislocation to agriculture, during this time, could be attributed to a reduction in population, mass inter-regional movements and the diversion of able bodied men to fighting the civil war. Added to the oil boom phenomenon, is the virtual neglect of agriculture, and preference for crude oil production which brought in easy money. The government neglected internal agricultural production in preference for the massive importation of food "since money was not the problem but how to spend it." For example, in 1978, about ₦1004.2 was estimated to have been spent on food importation alone. This figure skyrocketed to about ₦1040.1m 1979²⁹. Sensitive to the ill-effects of this development, the government had in 1971, organized a national seminar to seek remedies. The outcome of the seminar eventually provided the basis for the emergence of the programme, 'Operation Feed the Nation' in Nigeria.

However, before "Operation Feed the Nation" was launched in 1976, the third National Development Plan which came about in the mid- 70's, allocated substantial resources to agricultural production. Within this period, the Chad Basin, Hadejia-Jamaare valley, and Sokoto-Rima valley Agricultural Projects were launched, all relying

²⁹ CHALLY R.G. (1995) Food Crisis in Nigeria (unpublished B.Sc thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Jos P. 36.)

on imported sophisticated machineries to transform agriculture and thereby making it an elitist venture. Although these projects succeeded in displacing the subsistence peasant and his traditional agricultural tools and practices, in creating a band of so-called elitist farmers with modern tools and technology; but ironically these elite could not embark on real agricultural development but only use the programme to better their material condition at the detriment of the subsistence and traditional farmer. This extensive capitalisation of agriculture further compounded the situation. Not much success was recorded by such and similarly conceived projects. So that even the decision by government to enhance agricultural lending schemes by establishing an Agricultural Development Bank and asking other banks to embark on rural banking could not help to save the situation, as agricultural loans were diverted into 'petit bourgeoisie' aggradizement. The government, in yet another desperate move to save the situation, launched "Operation Feed the Nation" Scheme in 1976.

2.3.5 OPERATION FEED THE NATION (OFN):-

Launched by the Obasanjo administration in 1976, the scheme had the broad goal of mobilising the Nation towards self-sufficiency and self-reliance in food production, and supplying subsidized inputs such as fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, chicks and fishing materials³⁰.

³⁰ UTII Op. Cit P.31.

In order to achieve its goal, OFN campaign and propaganda was intensified by advising Nigerians to embark on backyard gardens and poultry. Uzo attest to a growth in crop production and puts it at 6.2% between 1976 and 1980.

While it is not easy to assess the longterm success of OFN, it was clear that the programme was a hurried political initiative, launched in the height of the farming season, by a military regime that was anxious to secure support from urban groups and students. Equally of importance to the longtime dismal performance of the programme was the complete alienation of the people in rural communities in the implementation of the scheme by top government functionaries and traditional rulers, who diverted to their own personal use farm inputs which were meant for the scheme. The colossal amount spent on student allowances, without concomitant results, also devalued the programme. However, be that as it may, while the establishment of OFN school farms was achieved, the farms became irrelevant in the face of double-digit inflationary trends in food prices. With a change of government in 1979, there was the need to change the philosophy and design of OFN. In place of OFN, the civilian administration of Shehu Shagari launched the "Green Revolution."

2.3.6 THE GREEN REVOLUTION PROGRAMME.

The concept of 'green revolution' was originally developed in Mexico by Rockefeller Scientists around, in collaboration with the Mexican government. In the Mexican case, the emphasis was placed on the development of very high-yielding

varieties of wheat and maize. It was also aimed at revolutionising the traditional varieties of these crops.

This development was so impressive that, developing countries saw the need to emulate it. In Nigeria, the programme, which formed a key component in the third National Plan, emphasized the need to reactivate the entire agricultural system, by mechanizing agriculture and encouraging co-operatives. Apart from the need to boost agricultural savings, every Nigerian was encouraged to farm. This saw army officers, bureaucrats and other well-to-do individuals venturing into large-scale farming, in most cases, displacing countless peasant farmers.

In terms of the structural orientation of the programme, it favoured the disparity in income between small and large scale farmers. According to Oculi³¹...

It was aimed at squeezing out the peasantry And Razaq and Abdullahi³², on the other hand, noted that:

the green revolution strategy was based on the erroneous notion that development is a function of massive increase in productivity growth indices....

In their view, the programme tends to confuse agricultural development with agricultural productivity and growth and hence seeks for the solution to agricultural development in techno-centric realism.

³¹ Chally Op. Cit P. 69.

³² Chally Ibid P. 32.

Because of this belief the revolutionizing of agricultural technology is often seen as the only way agricultural development and rural development can be achieved. But Oculi³³ points to the fact that this cannot enhance any development because any of such efforts needs to take into consideration the ecology and traditional practices of that society. He noted that:-

Food policy in Nigeria has so far gone along the line that would create an intense dependence between Nigerian agriculture and the agricultural products and technology of external capitalist Economies.

Similarly, apart from the fact that it has demonstrated the inefficiency of western developmental models to underdeveloped societies, it has also failed to take into consideration the socio-cultural and economic conditions existing in the country. Attesting to this failure, McNamara³⁴ noted that contrary to the World Banks belief that the strategy will lead to development, it ended up in making the rich richer and the poor, poorer. NEWSWATCH equally ³⁵ noted that the programme achieved virtually nothing despite the millions of Naira spent on it.

From whatever perspective one tries to assess the "green revolution" as a strategy for agricultural production and rural development, fundamental to the failure was the marginalization of the small peasant producer, who is today responsible for the bulk of

³³ SORKAA Op. Cit p. 114.

³⁴ UTTI Op. Cit. P.35

³⁵ CHALLY Op. Cit p. 75

food produced, using simple farming technologies. This might have explained the philosophy to centre on the rural farmer by DFRRRI.

2.3.7 THE DIRECTORATE OF FOOD, ROADS AND RURAL INFRASTRUCTURES (DFRRI)

Launched, in 1986, by the Babangida administration, DFRRI came into being as a component of the more global Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) recommended to Nigeria by the World Bank. According to SORKAA³⁶, the aim was to prepare the rural areas to cope with the scourging effects of structural economic adjustment, and to fill the vacuum that might be left from state withdrawal from agriculture and rural development.

Comprehensively, the aims of the Directorate as enunciated by Decree No.4 of 1986³⁷ which gave legal backing to the directorate are as follows.

- i. Improving the quality of life and living standards of the rural communities by substantially improving their qualities of life in the provision of rural infrastructures such as roads, water, agriculture etc.
- ii. Improving the health condition of the rural dwellers.
- iii. Ensure the involvement of the rural communities in the production of goods and services for themselves.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 75

³⁷ SORKAA Op. Cit. P. 121

- iv. Using the vast potentials of rural societies to enhance the socio-cultural and political developments of the country.

Emphasizing the provision of rural infrastructure such as roads, water, electricity, etc, the programme departs from the traditional practice of boosting or confining rural development to agricultural production alone. It also upholds the involvement of rural communities in rural development because it does not share the belief that the State structure alone can enhance rural development. It emphasizes privatization as an ethic of the World Bank's structural adjustment programme, hinging the responsibility for rural development on private and communal initiative, whereby rural communities are actively involved in the provision of goods and services for their own use.

While the role of DFFRI in the provision of rural infrastructures was laudable, the programme, however, soon became infested by the fraudulent practices of government officials and emergency contractors. The astonishing report of the monitoring panel in Benue and Anambra States points to such corrupt practices.

According to SORKAA³⁸

The team was told by DFFRI officials in Enugu that 260 communities have been supplied with potable water at a cost of ₦5,322m, but after a 10 days fair of the 14 local government areas, the team discovered that 64 of the communities listed as beneficiaries were non-existence and 152, had no functioning water as claimed.

³⁸ LAR S.Z. (1992 Achievements, Obstacles and Solutions of Rural development: A Case Study of DFFRI in Plateau State (unpublished B.Sc. thesis, Department of Political Science, Unijos.) pg.22

Like in other states, in Plateau State, very little impact was felt in the areas of provisions of roads, electricity, water, etc, This is typified by the long abandoned rural electricity, road, and water projects in many villages of Plateau state, this is because of the fraudulent activities of people administering state structures and their nonchalant attitude towards the rural areas because of naked selfish, greed and unconcern for rural dwellers plight.

The role of the state in Africa and in Nigeria are typified by its continued involvement in development programmes which perpetrate the exploitation and underdevelopment of our rural areas. Ake³⁹ captures this point succinctly when he notes that:-

In Africa much of the exploitation is done not by individual capitalist but by the State acting as a powerful entrepreneur.

The state has not only failed to address the real causes of poverty but has strangled any attempt by the people to pull themselves out of the vicious cycle of poverty which characterize their lives. Akeredolu⁴⁰ has noted that for any theory of development to be successful...

It must concern itself with identifying the forces which govern and determine the pattern which in turn determines the structure of interpersonal and intergroup differentials... it must explain the emergence, distribution and persistence of those specified deprivation which characterizes the situation of the poor in the society... it must account for the escalation of poverty in a situation of noticeable aggregate material and resource abundance.

³⁹ SORKAA Op. Cit P. 104

⁴⁰ Ibid, P. 104

Since most rural development policies have continue to be predicated on the dictates of the state, taking little cognisance of the people, their material conditions and traditional practices, Akinola opines that they cannot achieve anything. Ekejiuba⁴¹, also believes that

the programmes had little or no dialogue with the rural population in the identification of local values, aspirations or needs and were not assimilated with the planning and execution process of the project

The tradition of non-involvement of the people is a legacy of colonialism, predicated on the western liberal schools, of thought which cast considerable amount of doubt on the abilities of the people to develop themselves, except through the aid of western ideas and customs. The best institution for this, to them, is the state, because they see the state as a neutral arbiter standing above any single interest.

Rather than basing development on the fallacious assumptions of this school of thought, efforts need to be made to develop the rural people by encouraging their full participation in programmes which affect their lives. Anyatommu, Okeke, Usman⁴², among others, all espoused this argument. Usman particularly noted that

the problem are caused neither by lack of appropriate technology nor resources scarcity, but the manner in which production is socially organised.

⁴¹ Katchi O.V Opcit P.52

⁴² KATCHI O.V. Ibid p. 52.

In agreement, Oculi⁴³ has attributed the failure of Bakolori project to this kind of tendency. Similarly, Olatobosun⁴⁴ questions the success of DFFRI because of this phenomena.

Usman⁴⁵ conclusively opines that;

Any of such programmes should take into cognisance the interest of the rural mass...

otherwise rural development will elude us. It is in recognition of this that the activities of Non-governmental organisations, particularly community based development organisations, need to be encouraged, if rural development is to be achieved.

2.4 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT. (CBO's)

Because of the renewed interest in rural development, necessitated by the continuous failure of governmental institutions to enhance concrete, quantitatively and qualitatively real rural development, non-governmental institutions have to, a great extent, been discovered to have the potentiality of contributing to the development of the people. This is because these organisations are close to the people, and more so their socio-cultural and political environment accords them much better opportunities to solve

⁴³ Ibid, p.52

⁴⁴ SIMAN M.E. (1995) An Evaluation of Agricultural policies and food production in Nigeria: A case study of PADP in Plateau State (Unpublished BSc. thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Jos) P. 31

⁴⁵ Ibid, P. 31

the problems of poverty which has for long bedevilled the rural areas.

This belief debunks the argument that the people's cultural practices hinders rather than promotes development - thus development can only make meaning, if it is situated within the context of the peoples socio-cultural practices. Scholars who subscribe to this tradition all argue that the local communities have attributes which, if well exploited, would provide the prerequisites for sustainable rural development, inspite of the negative cultures which could also affect development.

Central to the arguments of proponents of community involvement in development is the fact that past State developmental initiatives have failed because it makes people only passive recipients, not active participators in the entire development process. Sustainable development, to such scholars, is thus a product of local community participation in overall development process. According to Ake⁴⁶

The community and the primary groups have displaced the state in Africa one of the most striking paradoxes of the African Situation is that the state is at once inordinately powerful and pitifully irrelevant.

Non-governmental organisations, in their generic definition, are organisations that are independent from the control of government or its agencies. They are according to Argbede⁴⁷, the widest and most disparate variety of organisations based on peoples' voluntary initiative. However, while this description may sound very exhaustive, the most acceptable definition, for the purposes of the current study, is that non-

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 37

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.43

governmental organisations are those organisation that deal with issues that concern development through participation independent of the government.

Since many types of non-governmental organisations exist, it is necessary to take a closer look at such organizations if we are to make any progress.

2.4.1 TYPES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

Obviously, categorization is necessary here because, one is apt to be frustrated by a lack of uniformity and perhaps a dearth of established facts on the nature and functions of such organizations.

2.4.2 COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS

These are organizations typically composed of disadvantaged rural or urban people who come together to address common concerns. They constitute a form of organized response by rural dwellers to the challenges of their livelihood. According to Frank Hicks⁴⁸, they are more transparent and accountable to local people than other development agencies, and therefore, tend to be more trusted and respected. The objectives mostly revolve around the development of their communities, particularly in the provision of farm credit facilities, health Care, portable water, etc. to members of their communities. Such organisations often grow out of traditional communal structures

⁴⁸ SORKAA Op. Cit P. 42.

or activities and tend to rely on the voluntary human and financial contribution of members.

They have elected officials for specific periods and hold regular meetings with written rules and regulations. Examples of such organisation are Mwaghavul Development Organisation (MDA) and Goemai Unity and Development Organisation (GUDO) as found in Plateau State.

2.4.3 SERVICE PROVIDERS TO COMMUNITY BASED ORGANISATIONS.

These are usually highly educated or experienced groups and organizations who seek to provide technical or managerial advise to local organizations. Such groups and organizations often have specific thematic focus, e.g. health care, credit management, environment, technology, agriculture, etc. Examples of such organisations include ECWA, 'POD' (people oriented Development) CHAN, (Christian Health Association of Nigeria) etc. Agency for Health Management and Development Research (AHMADR).

2.4.4 NON-PROFIT MAKING/CONSULTANCY AGENCIES.

These non-governmental organizations have professional and well paid staff (often former senior government or University staff) that seek among other things, to conduct research on various developmental issues, to promote and to communicate development concepts to the general public, or to specific audience, in addition to implementing, monitoring and evaluating development projects directly using external funds or doing

so on behalf of donors for a fee. They also organize workshops on various development themes, prepare inhouse documents or conduct internal programmes.

2.4.5 UMBRELLA OR NETWORK ORGANIZATIONS

These are loose conglomerates of like minded people who meet to share experience and information and in turn protect the interest of its members with government and other agencies. Many of such networks operate at the regional and/or national levels and they have elected officials and paid staff, e.g Rotary Club.

When we look closely at non-governmental organizations in the last two categories, we realize that they can only enhance participatory development, if their community-based partners are, themselves, involved in genuine participatory development. Since these categories of NGOs often rely on donor agencies in providing support for grassroots development, it sometimes become very difficult to achieve their stated objectives because of the negative consequences of inappropriate form and levels of assistance. Santho⁴⁹ cautions on such assistance and believes that non governmental organizations should rather emphasize development from below. Similarly, Aronson⁵⁰ cautions that such assistance by external NGOs should not necessarily lead to the imposition of their own models of civil society on local NGOs.

⁴⁹ ARIGBEDE S. (1992) IS THERE AN NGO CULTURE IN NIGERIA - NGO PUZZLE UNICEF PRODUCTION IBADAN P.84.

⁵⁰ FRANK HICKS Ibid P.49

The emphasis on the last two types of NGO's contain the inherent dangers of having community development efforts being dictated by people who may not necessarily be community members in the development of their specific local areas. Rather, they may be outsiders engaged in other activities not directly relevant to the needs of the Community.

For purpose of the current study, emphasis would be placed on the activities of community based organisations which fall in the first two categories. They are of concern to our analysis because they represent the organised response of the grassroots dwellers, entirely on their own initiative, to the challenges of their lives. Because they are closely related to the peoples culture, such organizations represent peoples self-reliance efforts geared towards solving common developmental problems.

2.5 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS(CBO's) AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA.

Community development organizations, because they respect the positive tradition of the people, are better suited today to enhance development. According to Smock

Each local community is unique in its way and given the complexity of development as a process, these community development associations... capture fully the dynamics of development.⁵¹

In Nigeria, the origin of these organisations can be traced to the peoples long history of voluntary self-help activities in vitually all spheres of life, especially in

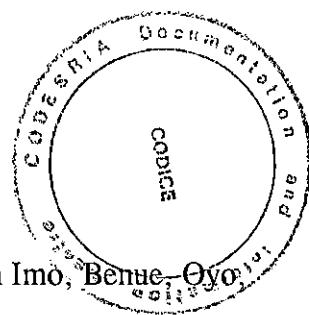
⁵¹ SEE AFRICAN FARMER OCTOBER 1993 NEW YORK P. 37.

carrying out such duties as construction and fortification of ancient walls, rampants, moats and trenches round their walls.

With the emergence of colonialism, this ingrained habit was gradually eclipsed to the extent that such habits have virtually disappeared into the dialectics of material production for capital accumulation by individuals, who either as capitalist or bureaucratic bourgeois have continued to exploit rural resources, thus causing rural undevelopment. Happily however, the rural peoples' affection for communal self-help activities has ensured that they are still able to mobilize themselves into community development associations to meet their yearnings and aspirations. Wapmuk,⁵² writing on "the role of voluntary organisations in rural development", has explored the parts played by such an organisation as GUDO in rural development efforts. He however regrets that sectional differences, leadership and, financial crises have tended to undermine the successes which may have been made by such an organisation. Similarly, in a research conducted by a local research group, in collaboration with Obafemi Awolowo University, on the relationship between local institutions and national development⁵³, the Abaro, Okpoji, and Igieduma community development projects in Bendel have been identified to be afflicted by similar problems as those associated with

⁵² Wapmuk L.S (1994) Paper presented during GYM Symposium at Shendam Youth Centre.

⁵³ SORKAA Op. Cit p. 132.



GUDO. Similar problems are also known to confront communities in Imo, Benue, Oyo, Ondo states.

Even though problems such as identified above do exist in various communities spread across Nigeria, developmental potentials of rural peoples still need to be recognised and encouraged at all expenses. Ake, Esman, Uphoff,⁵⁴ among others, appreciate these problems, but believe that local community institutions have critical roles to play in development. Hyden has noted that because NGO's are closer to the people than the government, they should be supported to enhance overall rural development.

Similarly, Nuama⁵⁵ has noted that:-

we do not need others to push technology on us, we are at a point of our development where we also have to raise the living standard of our people.

All the scholars reviewed above clearly appreciate the important role of these associations in developments and assert that ethnicity should be treated as a useful ingredient to development because, according to Smock, it creates a basis for traditional cohesion and continuity in a community.

This is at variance with the modernization postulation which doubts the ability of the people to develop themselves. Smock's argument is supported by the position of an ex-

⁵⁴ L.S. WAPMUK (1994) Roles of Voluntary Association in the development of Goemai land. A case study of GUDO GYM. Proceedings of a symposium Organised by Goemai Youth movement in Shendam July, 1995.

⁵⁵ DELE OLOWU (eds) 1991 Local institutions and National Development in Nigeria. Obafemi Awolowo Press Ile-Ife.

Colonial Officer in Eastern Nigeria when he extolled the virtue of Community development associations in socio-economic development. He noted that

By the 1960, the more progressive unions had become the de facto government of their communities. It assessed all the financial duties of government planning, the towns budget, deciding how the money was to be raised, apportioning it between the contributing units, baking it and controlling its expenditure.⁵⁶

Citing relevant instances, Odenigwe⁵⁷ posits that all these associations have taken over the establishment and maintenance of basic needs of the people in Igboland after the civil war. Elsewhere in Asia and in Africa, Holdcroft⁵⁸ explains how the 1950's saw the emergence of community development organizations as motivators of rural development. In Kenya specifically, the Harambee projects have become important instruments in rural development, with regards to activities in education, health, agriculture etc.

Community development associations are tools of development because they serve to overcome the alienation of the people who are the supposed beneficiaries of rural development. To Hobhouse⁵⁹

Within any peaceful order there is room for many good things to flourish. But the full fruit of a social programme only reaped by a society in which the generality of men and women are only passive recipients but practical contributors

⁵⁶ SORKAA P. 60

⁵⁷ AFRICAN FARMER Op. Cit.

⁵⁸ SORKAA P. 62

⁵⁹ Ibid P. 63

Non-governmental organisations stand to enhance development, provided the excessive exertion of bureaucratic restrictions on them are relaxed. They are necessary because the state has failed to deliver the goodies for the rural folk. According to Smock⁶⁰ to "fully understand the socio economic development problems of African societies, the only way out is to have a thorough knowledge of local communities". To Nuama⁶¹...

They are really in touch with the community they are in touch with more people than any government organ can hope to reach, we think they will be very effective in educating and organizing the communities.

Having reviewed the role of community development associations, and state structures in rural development, it is imperative to note that, the respective role of GUDO and MDA can be better appreciated if past mistakes that have led to the failure of similar associations are identified and remedied promptly. Of course, central to whatever solutions may be evolved, is the full involvement of the people in the solution of problems of rural development. This is necessary because they are often directly affected by the problems and so are better placed to participate in finding lasting solutions. This point is eloquently encapsulated by AKE's contention below -

⁶⁰ KORTEN D. (1980) Community organization and Rural development: A learning process Approach Ford Foundation Washington

⁶¹ SEE WAPMUK L.S. Op. Cit. P.62

The idea that a people and their culture and social institution can be an obstacle to their development is one of the major obstacle confusion of current development thinking and one of most expensive errors.... far from being obstacles to their own development all, peoples actually will and pursue the betterment of their own lives within the context of their own understanding and values.⁶²

This will go a long way in erasing the impact of our negative cultures on the positive ones on issues of rural development. It will equally reduce the negative tendencies of state structures on rural development bid in Nigeria; which have either narrowed the scope of rural Development to agricultural development neglecting the other aspects of roads, water, health, housing etc, or which have tended to modernize both agriculture and the rural societies according to the dictate of capitalist modernization, akin to western societies, but ineffective in societies like Nigeria.

This tendency have been projected in post-colonial era from colonialism, whose mission was to explore, plunderously, the rural areas of Nigeria, without addressing the basic rudiments and structures of social relation of production. To achieve this, state policies of rural development as earlier mentioned, became avenue for primitive accumulation of wealth by state agents, capitalist and their imperial lords. This converted and traditionalised the rural areas with the functions of producing urban necessities of raw materials and food using the most dehumanising means and processes, thus the rural imbalance. It created not only serious class differentials between the

⁶² SORKAA Op. Cit P. 62

"urbanites" and their imperial lords but impoverished primitively rural economy and dwellers; This could be amply deduced from the activities of such programmes mentioned as OFN, Green Revolution, DFFRI, etc, whereby in spite of the colossal amount spent on them, nothing tangible have been achieved, except for the embourgeoisement of some groups of absentee and emergency farmers, contractors and state bureaucrats alike.

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CHAPTER THREE

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PLATEAU STATE, NIGERIA.

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The understanding of rural development in Nigeria can, at best, be meaningful only, if it is situated within the context of a configuration of micro societies. This is necessary because it will accord us the advantages of making a coherent analysis of the whole from the subsectors. While many policies have been evolved by the Federal government with the aim of improving supposedly the condition of the rural areas, these policies were also reflected at the various states levels. Apart from the projection of these policies to our rural areas, the various states government and local councils have equally budgeted substantial portions of their financial resources to rural development. Plateau state is, of course, no exception to this practice.

3.1 JOS PLATEAU- A DESCRIPTIVE CONSPECTUS:-

Plateau state is a pearshaped and isolated upland surrounded by Kaduna, Bauchi, and Benue plains. It has an average height of about 2,000m¹ above sea level, with peaks such as Shere Hills, rising to over 3,000 metres. The climatic condition is determined

¹ JULIE E. AJAKPO (ed) (1984) The Jos Plateau and the adjoining Lowlands: A Field Study Guide, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Jos P.11

by its altitude, and its position across the seasonal migration of the inter-tropical convergence zone.

The geology of the area is underlain by rocks of basement complex, with a highly undulating surface sloping down towards the North-east, where it merges into the Bauchi Plains, it is equally an erosion follic. The intensity of Tin mining activities and their after-effects have equally inflicted considerable destruction of the environment. This has greatly hampered rural activities. It has also made it difficult for the government to transform these societies, since it will require a lot of resources for reclamation and road construction.

The Jos Plateau is dominated by rock formations and its soils are patchy in many parts and the vegetation today is mostly grass savannah. The area has a total population of about 2,026,657² according to 1963 census and 3,283,704 according to 1991 census (Nassarawa state inclusive). It has a total of seventeen local governments. The total population of Shendam LGA has been put at about 214,280³, while Mangu LGA is 149,599 according to 1963 census. These figures have increased to about 217, 170 for Shendam, and 273, 121 and 141,739 for Mangu and Quan Pan LGC's respectively in the 1991 census.

The most important occupation in these areas is agriculture, as demonstrated by the cultivation in commercial quantity of crops such as irish potatoes, vegetables, yams,

² Ibid, p. 26

³ Ibid, p.31

rice, beans, maize, guinea corn, etc. However, because of the nature of the state's ecology: its rocky nature, the devastation caused to its soil by tin mining, the patchy nature of this soil, this important activity, agriculture, of the people have been greatly hampered and weakened. While past governments have realised the need to improve the overall quality of life of communities in the Jos Plateau area, such communities have equally evolve measures that will ensure that they are not only passive recipients of government efforts but active contributors.

3.2 RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN PLATEAU STATE.

Following the examples in policies set by the Federal government since 1960 and which were aimed at rural transformation, the Plateau State government has also embarked on similar programmes with the aim of rural transformation. Some of these programmes and policies included:

A. PLATEAU STATE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (PADP)

This programme started in November 1977 as an integrated rural development programme funded by the Federal government, the World Bank and the state government. The counterpart funding was supposed to be 43% from Plateau State government, 25% Federal government and 32% World Bank⁴. The initial cost of the

⁴ UTTI J.F. (1996) Agricultural Development and Rural Transformation: A case study of Plateau Agricultural Development programme PADP. (MSc. Thesis Department of Political science, University of Jos. P. 50.

programme was ₦52m, but between 1977-1984 over ₦64m⁵ had been spent on the project.

The successful implementation of this programme, principally in Lafia, led to the four year phased Plateau Agricultural Development Programme. The activities of the project is estimated to cover an area of 54000 km with a population target of about 3.28m and an estimated 365,584⁶ farming facilities.

The overall objectives of the programme are as follows:

- (a) To increase food production and income of small scale farmers.
- (b) To develop a flexible phased approach to development with initial emphasis on implementation of well proven components geared to the agricultural potential and within the financing and managerial capacity of the state.
- (c) to assist the state in rationalising current agricultural activities through a more recognised and commercialize inputs distribution and develop a small but more effective extension services.
- (d) To prepare for the transfer of responsibility of project appraisal and supervision to state.

To accomplish these objectives, the state established four zonal offices across the state. These zones are;

⁵ Ibid, p.50

⁶ Ibid, p.50

- i) Northern zone, comprising Jos North and South, Bassa, B/Ladi, Mangu, Bokkos and Pankshin, with Mangu as its headquarters.
 - ii) Eastern zone, has Shendam, Quan Pan, Langtang North, Langtang South, Kanam and Wase with Shendam as its headquarters.
 - iii) Southern zone comprises of Lafia, Awe, Obi, Doma and Akwanga, with Lafia as its headquarters;
 - iv) Western zone is made up of Keffi, Nassarawa, Karu and Toto, with Keffi as its headquarters;
- (iii) and (iv) are all now located in Nasarawa state created from former Plateau state.

Total funding for the programme from 1987 to 1992 stands at about ₦91,534,000 with ₦118,53 from World Bank, ₦20,552 from the Federal government and ₦52,451⁷ from the state government.

In recognition of the importance of this project to the development of rural areas, the state government in its 1993 fiscal year budgeted ₦34,480,000, which gradually increased to ₦35,000,000 in 1994 but fell back to ₦30,000,000 in 1995⁸. This large volume of government spending have strengthened the activities of Plateau Agricultural Development Programme. With the small scale farmers as its target, the programme has

⁷ Ibid, p. 58

⁸ Plateau State, Recurrent and Capital Estimates of the Government of Plateau State for 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996 fiscal year.

tried to evolve and embarked on aggressive policies to strengthen their literacy level through various agricultural extension training programmes and farm visits. A total of about 313, 584 of such visits were made. The use of sponsored Television and Radio programmes have also been increased, totalling 315 Radio and 260 Television programmes⁹. Within the period (1987 - 1992) the programme report indicated an increase in farming family size from 365, to 584 in 1987, back to 401,197 in 1993 representing 9.7%¹⁰. The project is still working with a total of 28,600 contact farmers all over the state. (Present Nassarawa state inclusive).

Bulls and Bull-driven implements were also encouraged for land preparation and accepted by the farmers as an alternative to tractors. The Programme also provided high yielding crop varieties, which were first tried on small pilot plots, before being recommended to farmers. This was accomplished by the establishment of about 657.7 hectares foundation seed farms and about 2,748.20¹¹ hectares certified seed farms to ensure adequate availability of improved planting materials. The programme also attest to have distributed over 4,778.154 metric tones of assorted seeds and 21,204¹² seedling.

Apart from the aforementioned, the programme also indicated that it has procured herbicides, insecticides, and other chemicals and distributed same to farmers.

⁹ UTTI Op. Cit p. 62

¹⁰ Ibid, p.62

¹¹ Ibid, p 63

¹² Ibid, p. 63

The problems of access roads to the farms have been looked into with the opening and maintenance of rural roads. It is reported to have opened about 677km and maintained 959.3km¹³ of roads respectively. It has also constructed and sunk hand-dug wells, fitted with hand pumps, and tube wells for both human and livestock consumption.

While these achievements are far more than real, the conditions of many rural communities in Plateau State still remains precarious. The disbursement of fertilizer decreased from 6850.243 to 1794.014¹⁴ respectively. Similarly¹⁵, Siman noted that farmers have not felt the impact of PADP farm inputs. Although some roads have been constructed and reactivated, this activity was however reduced from a total of 121.2km in 1992 to 116.5km in 1993. In the case of water supply, the total number of wells dug reduced from 74 in 1992 to 54 in 1993¹⁶.

While this programme was initially designed to benefit small farmers, technocrats and bureaucrats have ended up the real beneficiaries. The extensive reliance on foreign funding has also served to minimize the overall effectiveness of the programme. This is glaringly manifested in its counterpart funding which rose from \$3361 in 1987 to

¹³ Ibid, p.63

¹⁴ SIMAN M.E. (1995) An Evaluation of Agricultural Policies and Food Production in Nigeria: A case study of PADP in Plateau State - Nigeria, (unpublished B.Sc Thesis, Dept. of Pol. Sc., Unijos) PP. 71-77

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 75

¹⁶ Ibid, p.75

\$62431 in 1993¹⁷, with no much effect. Similarly Plateau government funding was reduced to 30,000,000 in 1995 from 35,000,000 in 1994.

In spite of the introduction of improved farming technology, simple farm implements have continued to be used by most farmers. This is because of the expensive nature of these modern technical tools and machineries. According to Siman¹⁸, about 95% of farmers still use crude implements and animal dung as manures. In fact, the increased use of foreign farm technology in rural farming have become a function of what is dictated to rural societies by the developed nations and their farming agencies.

According to Usman¹⁹ this over reliance on foreign tools and technologies has not benefited the poor farmers. The elitist nature of the programme, coupled with the non-involvement of the rural populace in the planning and execution of such programmes as PADP, all contribute to its low-level of performance and effectiveness.

(B) DIRECTORATE OF FOOD ROADS AND RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE (DFRRI) IN PLATEAU STATE.

Apart from the Plateau Agricultural Development Programme, the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DFRRI) was also established in the state in 1986 as part of the Federal government guidelines on the establishment of the Directorate. The aim of the Directorate was to open up the rural areas and energise the productive

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 70

¹⁸ Ibid, p.70

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 75

capacities of the rural populace and make them socially confident, and self-reliant.

The objectives of DFFRI were to be achieved through the provision of feeder roads, rural water supply, rural electrification, rural housing, and the boosting of agricultural productions etc.

The sources of the directorate funds was the Federal government contributing 75%, State government 15%, local governments and communities 10%.²⁰

During Phase 1 of the programme in the state, a total of 1,409km of rural feeder roads were to be constructed; and in phase II, a total of 1,739 km roads were to be constructed. Under this arrangement, Shendam enjoyed 160.9 km, and Mangu 121.4 km in phase I. In Phase II, this was reduced to 70.6 km in Shendam, 132.7 for Mangu and 108.7 km for Quan Pan²¹ respectively.

Bore holes, wells, mini-water schemes were also constructed to ease the water problems of selected rural areas. This has manifested itself in the construction of bore holes at Pushit, Daffo, Ampang, (in Mangu LGA) and Lalin, Zomo, Lunuwang Moekat (in Shendam LGA) and Kwande (in Quan Pan LGA). This has not only improved the water condition of the rural areas but has also improved their health condition. It has equally boosted agricultural developments, since such water schemes could become sources of water for dry season farming.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 75

²¹ Ibid, p. 45

The Directorate have also embarked on the mobilisation of the people for self help and other socio-economic and political activities.

Although the Directorate have done well in ensuring the development of rural areas, the ecology of the State, especially its rocky nature), inadequate funds, excessive government intervention and bureaucratic mismanagement has, however, served to undermine the overall impact of the directorate. According to Dele Giwa²², the directorate has not been able to achieve much because.

The most populous black nation on Earth, blessed by God with Good weather, fertile soil, mineral and material, Nigeria, at 26 is still a nation at the crossroads and bewilderment.

This position is hinged on the continued alienation of the rural areas from the locus of power. The corrupt practices involved in rural development programmes is evidenced in the activities of DFRRRI in Plateau state, where by out of a total of 1,276.7 km of roads constructed in phase I, only 1,239 km were accepted. In phase II only 1,595.6 were accepted out of 2,165 km, while in phase III, only 1595 km was accepted out of 2,165.7 km²³. But perhaps more central to the problem of the directorate is the non-involvement of the people in the organization, implementation and identification of projects undertaken under the auspices of the directorate. This fact has served to lessen the enthusiasm for the projects by the people, who would have been central to there successes.

²² Ibid, p. 45

²³ Ibid, p. 45

On the basis of what has so far been attained, with regards to improvement and provision of services for the rural poor, DFFRI in Plateau State cannot be glorified. The Directorate has, in the past, mostly concentrated on the award of contracts for the provision of infrastructures which, in the end, cannot stand the test of time. Wells dug soon get dried up and roads soon become unmotorable, compounding further the problems of the rural poor.

3.3 PLATEAU STATE GOVERNMENT DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN RURAL TRANSFORMATION.

Taking cognisance of the importance of the rural areas to the strategic development of the state, the Plateau state government, apart from going into counterpart - funding with international agencies (as demonstrated in DFFRI and PADP), has equally committed large amounts of money to the provision of rural infrastructure directly.

This strategy was well enunciated in the budget address of the states' Military Administrator in 1994. The Administrator reiterated government's commitment and resolve to the provision of rural infrastructures. He, particularly, emphasized the resolve by government to complete such development projects as Keffi/Akwanga and Doma water projects, Obi/Awe, (Now in Nassarawa state) Yelwa/Mabudi/Sabongida roads, Gana Ropp - Bokkos bridge, several rural electrification projects and renovation of Jos township roads. The improvement of educational infrastructure, procurement and distribution of fertilizer all featured prominently in the government is budgetary address.²⁴

²⁴ Plateau State Budgets Op. Cit. 1994, '95 '96.

The government in 1993 had budgeted ₦28,500,000 for education. This increased to ₦83,000,000 in 1994, but was reduced to 70,000,000 in 1995 and 10,000,000 in 1996 respectively. Similarly, in 1994, the health sector received 35,000,000, 40,000,000 in 1995 and 80,000,000 in 1996. While Rural electrification in 1994 received 10,000,000, Agriculture 55,550,000, 52,000,000 in 1995 and 40,000,000 in 1996. Water supply received 820,000,00m in 1996.

While this expenditure may look commendable; indeed, the question is, are these expenditures matched by concrete development on the ground? Visits to some of the rural areas would surely demonstrate the poor social conditions of such areas. For instance the rural electrification by government in Shendam local government has since been abandoned, Similarly while the Keffi/Doma/Akwanga water project (Now situated in Nassarawa state) have since been commissioned, there is still need to further extend supply to cover more rural areas instead of only Satellite towns.

Furthermore, the severe shortages of fertilizer, farm inputs and other equipment routinely threaten the rural economy. Even when the health sector has been provided with vaccines and drugs, their impact is yet to be adequately felt. Finally, severe shortages of water are still experienced in many rural areas in spite of substantial government expenditure on provision of portable water supplies.

In fact, the problems of development in the rural areas, as seen in the prevalence of poverty, disease, illiteracy, etc. clearly shows that rural development can better be achieved if the monopoly of programmes of rural development by the state is considerably relaxed in favour of a people-oriented approach to development. This will,

no doubt, accord the vast majority of rural dwellers a say in the solution of developmental problems which plague them. This development will not only make the people passive recipients but active contributors as well. According to Hobhouse.

Within any peaceful order there is room for many good things to flourish. But the fruits of social progress can only be reaped by a society in which the generality of men and women are not only passive recipients but practical contributors²⁵.

While the efforts of the state are to be applauded, it is important to note that undue state monopoly and dictation to rural communities seriously undermine their own inherent developmental abilities. This type of patronizing attitude on the part of government instill in the people a feeling of alienation and government exploitation which is capable of derailing all rural development efforts.

According to Smock²⁶

To be able to understand fully the Socio-economic development problem of African Societies the only way is to have a thorough knowledge of community.

Similarly, Hyden noted that;

Development can only be sustained if it is people centred...

Being people centred entails emphasizing community development activities as carried out by such Non - governmental organizations, as GUDO and MDA.

²⁵ LEONARD T. HOBHOUSE In L.S WAPMUK Op Cit

²⁶ SORKA'A A.P Op Cit P. 60.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF GOEMAI UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (GUDO) AND MWAGHAVUL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (MDA) IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

4.0 INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF GUDO AND MDA

Having outlined the potentially useful roles which non-governmental organisation can play in rural development, it becomes necessary to now narrow our discussion to an understanding of the internal dynamics of 'GUDO' and 'MDA'. "GUDO" and "MDA", as pointed out earlier, emerged as community based development organisations to provide a participatory solution to the problem of rural development in their respective areas of operation.

GUDO is one of many ethnic development organizations spread all over Plateau State, with the ultimate aim of addressing the problems of rural underdevelopment, after the repeated failures of government dictated approaches to the same problems.

Historically, the emergence of GUDO could be traced back to the Colonial era, particularly in the 1940's when some notable Goemai sons and daughters saw the need to form a progressive union to curtail the vagaries of colonial plunder and piracy on Goemai land, which they perceived as capable of causing underdevelopment. These initial efforts at community development could not, however, be sustained for long. It was not until 1981 that the need for another union was articulated, eventually leading to the inauguration of the Goemai Youth movement which eventually metamorphosed into GUDO in 1990. This new union had the following aims and objectives:

- (a) To unite all Goemai sons and daughters.
- (b) To revive, promote and sustain the culture of the Goemai people
- (c) To foster the spirit of community development and awareness among the Goemai.
- (d) To harness and effectively utilise both the human and material resources of the Goemai for their socio economic and cultural development.
- (e) To protect the interest of Goemai, membership of "GUDO" is open to all Goemai people, with the longGoemai as its Grand patron and all graded Goemai chiefs and district heads, patrons.

The organization, at present, has crop of officers who are usually elected for a period of two years, these include the President, Vice President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Legal Adviser, Financial Secretary, Public Relations Officer, Treasure, Cultural Officers.

GUDO, as a development organization, has been concerned with the problem of participatory development with solid grassroots foundation. Its democratic nature is supposed to give it the support it requires, with a registration fee of ₦60 and a monthly subscription of ₦30 and an annual endowment fund launching. Using these sources of funding (and any other additional ones) GUDO is expected to meet the yearning of the teeming rural population in its area of operation.

Mwaghavul Development Association (MDA), on the other hand, came into existence in 1989, with similar objectives as that of (GUDO) but with a focus on the Mwaghavul ethnic group. The main objectives of MDA are as follows.

- (a) To foster unity, love progress and understanding amongst the Mwaghavul and other members of the society.

- (b) To promote educational development within the Mwaghavul territory in particular and Mangu LGA in general by;
- i. Building schools through communal labour or through funds raised from charitable organisations, aids and contribution.
 - ii. providing facilities for adult education classes
 - iii. Setting up libraries anywhere within the Mwaghavul territory
 - iv. providing facilities or forum for research into the history, culture and customs of the Mwaghavul people.
 - v. providing facilities for research and investigation into the educational problems of the Mwaghavul people.
 - vi. To encourage and prompts the cultural heritage of the Mwaghavul people and;
 - vii. To promote the growth of economic activities in Mwaghavul land and on such business activities as the association may deem fit.
- (c) To do all such other things as the association may deem beneficial to the interest and general purpose of the association.

Mwaghavul Development Association encompasses all Mwaghavul men and women above 18 years who can trace their origin to any of the nine Mwaghavul district (Chakfem, Jipal, Kerang, Kombun, Mangu, Mangun Ampang, Panyam, Pushit).

As is found in GUDO, MDA has elective posts which include President, Vice-President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, Financial Secretary, Director of Socials, Public Relations Officer, Legal adviser. Similarly, executives exist in all the districts of Mwaghavul land. Elective positions are tenured for three years. Sources of funds for the organization

include donations, endowment funds, levies, membership registration fee of five naira ₦5 and ₦1.00 (one) naira for membership card. The grand patron of the association is the Mishkaham Mwaghavul, (the paramount ruler in Mwaghavul land) and all the district heads and members who have been identified to have made enormous contributions to the development of Mwaghavul land are also assigned roles as patrons in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

Conclusively, with the formation and subsequent consolidation of these associations as development associations; and with their relative advantages in rural development, it becomes imperative to investigate into their specific roles in that respect.

4.1. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This aspects presents the result of the field work carried out on the roles of "GUDO" and "MDA" in rural development in Plateau state. Specific attention is paid to the part played by these associations in the provision of educational facilities and of such infrastructures as roads, water supply, housing, electricity supply, health services, political mobilization, agricultural output, etc in their areas.

To this end, questions were asked covering the aforementioned in remote rural areas. Respondents were asked to assess and rationalize the roles of their organization in the provision of basic rural infrastructure and facilities. Because of the enormity of the rural development question, it became pertinent that only selected questions were asked and responses were subsequently analysed based on the research proposition and problematic mentioned earlier in chapter I. The various responses were compared and contrasted with the role of organisation on information derived from secondary literature on rural development.

In assessing the roles of GUDO and MDA in rural development, a total of 600 questionnaires were administered, but only 540 were retrieved, and thus used for analyses. 540 therefore became the basis of our analysis, with 270 for each of the two ethnic groups covered.

The questionnaires were randomly administered on the rural dwellers, with their responses becoming the data to be presented and analyzed. The results presented and subsequently analysed are meant to either verify or invalidate our research propositions casted as follows:-

- a) The involvement of state structures in rural development has negatively affected the performance of rural development programmes in Nigeria.
- b) Effective rural development is predicated on an efficient human and material resource mobilization.
- c) Community-based associations such as "GUDO" and "MDA" have been formed through the initiative of rural people themselves and have a better prospects of enhancing rural development than bureaucratic organs created and run by the government.
- d) "GUDO" and "MDA", as community based development associations, can enhance rural development, provided they are properly structured and organized to enhance socio - economic and political development.

DATA PRESENTATION4.0 **Table 4.0. Contributions of GUDO and MDA to educational facilities and infrastructure.**

	Infrastructures	Facilities	MDA	%	GUDO	%
Pre-primary	-	-	30	11.1	12	4.5
Primary	-	-	60	22.2	0	0
T.C. Technical, Secondary	classrooms accommodation, offices, Toilets	books, Teaching staff, and aid	150	55.6	30	11.1
Polytechnics, University	-	-	0	0	0	0
Adult and literacy classes	-	-	30	11.1	18	6.7
None			0	0	210	77.7
TOTAL			270	100	270	100

Table 4.0 above represents contributions of MDA and GUDO in the provision of educational facilities and infrastructures at various levels of education. 30(or 11.1 %) and 60 (or 22.2 %) of the total responses from Mwaghavul land indicate that MDA have not contributed any infrastructure or facility to pre-primary and primary levels of education; 12(or 4.5 %) and 0% of the same responses from GUDO area indicate that GUDO has not made any appreciable impact.

150 or 55.6% of the responses from MDA area indicate that the bulk of the contribution of MDA to educational development is to the post-primary level of education. This is further proved by the establishment and ownership of MDA secondary schools at Mararaba Pushit established in 1979, Kerang in 1983, Ampang 1984.¹ The donation of books by Dr. Ibrahim Bulus, one time MDA

¹ An overview of MDA activities: Report of a preliminary filed study conducted by C.T Kurungtiem 1995.

official, represents concrete example of how MDA contribute to educational development in Mwachavul land. MDA have also spent about ₦6,000² on MDA teachers and made several donations to MDA schools between 1979 and 1996.

While such efforts on the part of MDA are laudable, GUDO have not done much about providing facilities at the post-primary level of education, except for the construction and establishment of a community secondary school project by GYM at Duankwan and another community secondary school at Doka, handed over to the Plateau state government, recently, mainly because of the organization's inability to effectively manage them. This development is an indication that GUDO has not enthusiastically pursued educational development programmes. This is further proved by 210 (77.7%) of the responses which state that GUDO has not done anything much to the various levels of education.

4.1 SOURCES OF WATER SUPPLY

	Responses From "MDA" Areas	%	Responses From GUDO Areas	%
Pipe borne water	18	6.6	12	4.4
Boreholes	42	15.5	12	4.4
Dams		0	18	6.7
Hand dug wells	40	14.8	54	20
Springs and Streams	98	36.3	72	26.7
Rivers and lakes	72	26.7	102	37.7
Total	270	100	270	100

² MDA Details of income and Expenditure 1995/96.

Table 4.1 above provides responses related to the provision of water supply. This is important because it gives us an insight into the dominant source of water supply in the areas. 18 (or 6.7%) of the responses indicate that their source of water is pipe borne water for "MDA" areas, while 42 (or 15.6%) of the responses indicate that their source is borehole. No response was received from the area as to whether their water source is dam, whereas 40 (or 14.8%) of the responses indicate that their water source is well. 98 (or 36.3%) responded that their water sources are springs and streams while 72 or 26.7% of the responses show that their sources are rivers and lakes. For GUDO areas, the various responses stands at 12 (or 4.4%), 12 (or 4.4%), 18 (or 6.7%), 54 (or 20%), 72 or (26.7%) 102 (or 37.7%) respectively.

The implication of this is that springs and rivers are the major sources water in the rural area of Mangu and Shendam L.G.A's. These sources pose a great threat to the health of the rural people since they are often highly contaminated. The continuous dependence on this sources is as a result of the non-existence of portable sources of water supply in the area.

4.2 OWNERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF GUDO AND MDA TO WATER SOURCES

	Responses From "MDA" Areas	%	Responses From "GUDO" Areas	%
Individuals	72	26.7	108	40
Communities	90	33.3	78	28.9
Government	108	40	84	31.1
Ethnic Dev. "Asso"	0	0	0	0
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.2 above provides responses for ownership of sources of water. The responses from MDA ethnic areas show that 72 representing (r) (26.7%) of the responses are of the view that

individuals own their sources of water supply while 90 (or 33.3%) show that their sources are owned by the Community. 108 (or 40%) show that government owned their sources, while no responses were recorded as to whether MDA owns any of these sources. In GUDO areas, the aforementioned responses stand at 108 (or 40%), 78 (or 28.9%) 84 (or 31.1%) with no response to the contribution of GUDO respectively. The various responses provided clear indications that the two organisations have not achieved much with regards to the ownership of sources of water supply. This is because colonialism have strongly implanted individualism and state influence on the sectoral life of the rural dwellers. So that attempt by these organisation to be involved in this sector requires more effort and commitment by these organisation to pull themselves outside the danger of state control.

Table 4.3 **OWNERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE HEALTH SECTOR**

	FACILITIES	MDA Area	%	GUDO Area	%
Individuals	Dispensaries, Clinics, Hospitals	138	51.1	102	37.8
Government	PHC, Family Planning, Immunization	132	48.9	168	62.2
Community	-	0	0	0	0
Development Association (GUDO and MDA)	-	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		270	100	270	100

Table 4.3, above provides responses on the ownership and contributions to health facilities and services in MDA and GUDO areas. The table show clearly that only private individuals and governments are involved in the provision of these services.

This is indicated by 138 (or 51.1%) of the responses from Mwaghavul land responding to question on ownership of clinics, and hospitals located all over the area, while 132 (or 48.9%) of the responses from the same area are of the opinion that governments are involved in providing health services and facilities to the area, particularly in such areas as primary health care, (PHC) immunization, family planning, among others. In GUDO areas, these responses stand at 102 (or 37.8%) and 168 (or 62.2%) respectively.

GUDO and MDA contributions to this vital sector of human existence has been very discouraging, thus leaving their members at the mercy of government health institutions. These are often run ineffectively as a result of the corrupt and non-challant attitudes of their employees, who are mostly non-natives to the rural areas in question. The end-result of such non-chalant attitudes is shown, for example, by the high death toll recorded during an outbreak of Cholera in 1996 in Goemai land.

Seemingly devastating on the rural society is the exploitative tendencies of private health institutions, which have continued to impoverish rural dwellers and worsen their already poor livelihood. Thus, the proliferation of quacks as private medical personnel, who are out to make money by all means, has further left these poor, illiterate and unperceptive rural dwellers at great dangers. This dominant capitalist values have estranged the people further thus their non-involvement.

The dangerously relatively poor performance and involvement of GUDO and MDA in provision of facilities in the health sector as indicated in Table 4.2. led to the rural dwellers

continuance to rely on traditional forms of treatment, which are often hazardous to their health³ and to rural existence as a whole.

4.4 TYPES OF HOUSING

	Res- ponses from "MDA" Areas	%	Res- ponses from "GUDO" Areas	%
Huts, bamboo and grass	168	62.2	228	84.4
Bungalow/duplex	70	26	12	4.4
Lowcost/Reserve areas	30	11.1	30	11.1
Community Centre	02	0.7	0	0
Total	270	100	270	100

The above Table provides responses on the types of houses in the rural areas of "MDA" and "GUDO". 168 (or 62.2%) of the responses from "MDA" areas indicate that their houses are huts constructed of bamboo, mud and grasses while 70 (or 25.9%) of the responses from the same area indicate that the nature of their houses are bungalows and duplex. 0.7 or 2.6% of the responses indicate that their houses are lowcost and situated at reserved areas while 5 or 1.9% of the responses indicate the existence of community Centres in Mwaghavul land. As for the same responses in "GUDO" speaking areas, the various responses stands at 228 or 84.4% for huts, constructed of bamboo, mud, and grasses while 12 or 4.4% and 30 or 11.1% responses are bungalow/duplex, and lowcost type houses respectively.

³ C.T. Kurungtiem (1991) Impact of Colonilism on the Goemai Land (B.Sc. thesis, Dept. of Pol. Sci. Unijos.

Table 4.5 **OWNERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTION OF GUDO AND MDA TO HOUSING.**

	Responses from "MDA" Areas	%	Reponses from "GUDO" Areas	%
Individuals	220	81.5	230	85.2
Government	32	11.9	40	14.8
Community	18	6.6	0	0
Development Association	0	0	0	0
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.5 above provides responses in respect of the ownership and contribution of GUDO and MDA to housing. Out of a total responses of 270 for each of the areas 220 (or 81.5%) of the responses from MDA and 220 (or 85.2%) from GUDO areas indicate that individuals own their houses. The types of the houses as reflected in Table 4.4 - are mainly Huts, made out of bamboo, mud, and grasses, except for a few bungalows and duplexes built in the rural areas by individuals who are predominantly Urban dwellers, as indicated by (26.7%) and 4.4% of the responses respectively on Table 4.4.

Apart from individual ownership, government lowcost houses can also be found in these areas as depicted on the two tables, but these houses are not adequate and are often located at the headquarters of the various rural communities i.e. Mangu for Mwaghavul communities and Shendam for GUDO Communities.

The two organisations have not done appreciably much in improving the housing needs of their people. This explains the very low responses in Table 4.4 for Community Centres and ownership of housing by the organization in Table 4.5 The only exception being the contribution of Mwaghavul communities in the ownership of few community centres. The implication of this is that

individuals are forced to build their own type of houses, since they can not take part in building community centres with all the facilities they require such as toilets, kitchen etc. The few bungalows which exist in such areas can only be admired and eventually destroyed by rural dwellers during conflicts. More so when these are rented, they are rented to the people at cut throat price. This is another and indication to the enormity of individualism and capitalist disparity, introduced and institutionalised to the rural areas by colonialism.

4.6 GUDO AND MDA'S CONTRIBUTION TO ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT.

		MD A	%	GUD O	%
a	Grading and levelling	54	20	0	0
b	Building materials for construction (Cement, concrete, sand)	66	24	0	0
c	Labour	120	44.4	36	13.3
d	Clearing and filling of potholes	30	11.1	0	0
e	Not at all	0	0	234	86.7
	Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.6 presents responses, in respect of the contributions of the two organizations, to road development in their areas. The various responses for Mwaghavul Development Association indicate that 54 (or 20%) and 66 (or 24%) are of the view that the organization have contributed to the grading, levelling and supply of materials for road construction; in comparison, the table shows that GUDO has not contributed anything in that regard. 120 (or 44.4%) and 30 (or 11.1%) of the responses for MDA also indicate that the association has supplied labour for road development and

it has also cleared and filled potholes respectively. In contrast, only 36 (or 13.3) of the responses for GUDO indicate that the organization has supplied labour for road development, with no role played in the area of clearing and filling of potholes on their roads.

These various responses are pointers to the substantial contributions of Mwaghavul Development Association to road development in its area of operation. It has, for instance, graded and leveled the road from Daika to Jing, it has also supplied materials for the building of the bridge linking Daika and Jing. Similar contribution has been made by MDA towards the roads from Mangu to Bwai⁴ Chakfem, and Kombun, amounting to several thousands of Naira. Even MDA has made these egalitarian efforts. Thus improving the socio economic life of its people, it is sad to note that the condition of roads still remain bad. Col. Gumut⁵ has noted that;

The roads are bad and operated only during dry season particularly the Mangu - Jipal road.

GUDO's contribution has been very poor as indicated by a total responses of 234 (or 86.7%) indicating that GUDO has not done anything, at all, in the area of road construction and development, in spite of the poor state of most roads in the area, especially the Biemiem, Kalong, Kurwat - roads, etc. The implication of this development on the Goemai land is so adverse to the extent of halting socio-political and economic activities thus causing underdevelopment.

⁴ Comment by MDA member 1996.

⁵ Mwhaghavul Development Association (MDA) programme of 10th Puuska'at 1996 hudat Mangu.

Table 4.7 **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND MOBILIZATION**

	Responses from "MDA" Areas	%	Responses from "GUDO" Areas	%
Political Education	30	11.1	30	11.1
Rallies/Campaign	120	44.4	210	77.8
Party Formation	0	0	0	0
Sponsoring Candidates for election contest	120	44.4	30	11.1
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.7 above provides responses in respect of the extent of political mobilization in the two areas. The various responses indicate that 30 (or 11.1%) of the responses from MDA areas shows that they have been politically educated, while 120 (or 44.4%) indicate that they have been mobilised to participate in electoral campaign rallies. Although no responses were recorded as to whether the people themselves have formed or owned any political party in the two areas, 120 (or 44.4%) of the total MDA responses indicate that they have been mobilized to contest elections. These comparative responses from GUDO areas stands at 30 (or 11.1%), 220 (or 77.7%), 30 (or 11.1%) of the 270 responses respectively.

Table 4.8 **ROLES OF MDA AND GUDO IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.**

	MDA	%	GUDO	%
Party formation	0	0	0	0
Political Education/Socialization	102	37.8	168	62.2
Political Rallies and Campaign	60	22.2	42	15.6
mobilizing Candidates for Electoral Contest	108	40	60	22.2
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.8 above presents responses in respect of the contributions of MDA and GUDO to the political development of their areas. This has shed more light on the specific roles played by these organizations in political development, having identified the extent to which the rural communities of the areas have been politically mobilized in Table 4.7.

The table above shows that the organisations have not formed any party for their people to embrace, nor have they officially made any pronouncement aligning them to any political party. This is proved by the negative responses of respondents as seen in both Tables 4.7 and 4.8. However, 102 (or 37.8%) of the responses from MDA indicate that Mwaghavul Development Association has played some role in political education and socialization, 60% (or 22.2%) of the responses indicate the roles of MDA in political rallies and campaigns while 108 (or 40%) of the responses indicate that MDA has played role in mobilizing candidates for electoral contests. Similar responses on the contribution of GUDO stands at 168 (or 62.2%), 42 (15.6%) and 60 (or 22.2%) respectively.

The responses in this table become much more meaningful when it is understood as elaborating on the extent of political mobilization and development (Table 4.7) particularly in such areas as campaign, political education, mobilization of candidates and aspiration for political offices. This has been amply demonstrated over the years by the high mobilizational role of these organizations in the course of partisan political activities. They have, by doing this, contributed in conscientising citizens of their areas towards developing a sense of belonging, since politics, today, is best understood in terms of ones ability to carry his own area along, during political activities.

Although the two organizations have not come out openly to sponsor candidates, their activities attest to their abiding interest in political activism. They have thus become springboards for gaining political favours and positions. This may have explain why important and exalted

members of these associations have, in the course of time, attained certain high political offices at both the State and Federal levels. They have, in turn, welcome and organized reception for these "crowned" sons of their soil⁶. Architect Guyit, one time chairman of Mangu L.G., Sir Fidelis N. Tapgun (KSM), one time Governor of Plateau State, many past Commissioners, D.Gs, board members have all been active members of these associations, and have aspired⁷ and, in some cases, won exalted positions on the platforms of their community - development associations.

Table 4.9 **OWNERSHIP OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT.**

	Responses from "MDA" Areas	%	Responses from "GUDO" Areas	%
Individuals	240	88.9	260	96.2
Government	30	11.1	10	3.7
Community	0	0	0	0
Development Association	0	0	0	0
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.9 indicates responses in respect of the ownership of means of transport. This shows that individual ownership in Mwaghavul land stands at 240, (or 88.9) while government ownership is put at 30 (or 11.9). No response is obtained as to community and MDA ownership. For "GUDO" areas, the responses stand at 260 (or 96.2), 10 (or 3.7%), with no response for community and GUDO ownership. The non-involvement of these organizations in the transport sector, ultimately, implies that rural dwellers are often forced to pay exorbitantly to private transporters in order to get

⁶ MDA handbook and Details of Expenditure 1995/96

⁷ Progress report and handing over notes of GUDO 1990-93

them and their wares moved around. The dominance of private individuals within the sector cannot be divorced from the infiltration of capitalist ideals in these rural areas. It is therefore imperative to note the consequence as amplified by Col. Gumut, one time president of MDA;

It cost ₦300.00 to lift a bag of maize from Jipal to mangu
... a distance of not up to 10 km⁸

Table 4.10 **ORGANIZATION OF SOCIO-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES.**

	Responses from "MDA" Areas	%	Responses from GUDO Areas	%
Individuals	18	6.7	0	0
Government	0	0	0	0
Community	180	66.7	90	33.3
Ethnic Development Association	72	26.6	180	66.7
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.10 above presents the responses in respect of who is responsible for the organisation of Socio-cultural activities, such as festivals, language, religion etc. The responses from Mwaghavul land indicates that 18 (or 6.7%) are of the view that individuals organize these activities, while no responses are recorded as to whether the government is involved in the organization. Responses for community and development associations' involvement stands at 180 (or 66.7%) and 72 (or 26.7%) respectively in MDA areas. For GUDO areas, the responses stand at (0%) for individual roles, and (0%) for government involvement, 90 (or 33.3%), 180 (or 66.7%) respectively for community and developmental association involvement. The annual Puska'at festival in Mwaghavul land and Bit

⁸ MDA programme of events for 10th Puuska'at Op cit.

Goemai in Goemai land attest to this. A total of over ₦98,445 was expended by MDA in 1995⁹ for this festival while GUDO had expended over 20,380 in 1991 and 89,470 in 1992 respectively¹⁰

Table 4.11 **ELECTRICITY AND SOURCES OF POWER SUPPLY.**

	Responses from "MDA" Areas	%	Responses from GUDO Areas	%
National grid	36	13.3	12	4.4
Lanterns	78	28.8	72	26.7
Torch Lights	48	17.8	54	20
Fire wood	78	28.8	96	35.5
Generators	30	11.1	36	13.3
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.11 presents responses on the sources of electricity supply. The various responses from Mwaghavul land indicate that 36 (or 13.3%) of the respondents are of the view that their source is through the national grid, while 30 (or 11.1%) are of the view that their source is from Generators, 78 (or 28.8%) of the responses indicate that their source is Torch lights, while 78 (or 28.8%) indicate that their source is firewood. In Goemai land, responses in respect of the sources stand at 12 (or 4.4%), 72 (or 26.7%), 54 (or 20%), 96 (or 35.5%), 36 (or 13.3%) respectively.

⁹ Details of MDA Expenditure Op.cit.

¹⁰ Progress report on GUDO Op. cit.

Table 4.12 **OWNERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF GUDO AND MDA TO THESE SOURCES (ELECTRICITY/POWER SUPPLY).**

	Responses from "MDA" Areas	%	Responses from GUDO Areas	%
Government	54	20	18	6.7
Individuals	204	75.5	216	80
Communities	0	0	36	13.3
Development Association	12	4.4	0	0
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.12 above indicates responses in respect of the ownership and the contributions of MDA and GUDO to sources of power and electricity supply. The responses from Mwaghavul land indicate that 204 (or 75.6%) are of the view that individuals own their source, while 54 (or 20%) of the responses indicate that government is their source. No response is recorded for community source, while 12 (or 4.4%) of the responses indicate that MDA is their source. For GUDO, the responses stand at 18 (or 6.7%), 216 (or 80%) 36 (or 13.3), with no response for GUDO ownership of any of the sources respectively. Government efforts in electrifying the rural areas of Longvel, Duankwan in Goemai land have not yet borne fruit since the villages still do not have light, in spite of the supply of poles and cables which are now lying waste. This is an indication that both GUDO and MDA have not contributed much towards the provision of electricity/power supply to communities in their area of operation. This have continued to expose rural dwellers to the hazards of collecting firewood in the bush and consequently hazards of snake bites.

Table 4.13 **SOURCES OF AGRICULTURAL INPUT, AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF MDA AND GUDO TO THE SUPPLY OF AGRIC INPUTS.**

	Responses from "MDA" Areas	%	Reponses from GUDO Areas	%
Government	120	44.4	162	60
Individuals	150	55.6	108	40
Communities	0	0	0	0
Development Association	0	0	0	0
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.13 above presents responses in respect of the sources of agricultural input. The responses from Mwaghavul land indicate that 120 (or 44.4%) are of the view that the government is their source, while 150 (or 55.6%) are of the view that individuals are responsible for their source. No response is recorded for the involvement of community and development associations in the provision of agricultural inputs. From Goemai land, the responses in respect of sources of farm input such as fertilizer, insecticides, extension services, Credit, seedlings, storage, land ploughing, stands at 162 (or 60%), 108 (or 40%) respectively with no response as to the involvement of the community and GUDO in the supply of farm inputs. This is an indication that the organizations have not played any serious role in this regard in spite of the agrarian nature of the economy of their area of operation. This has adversely affected the agrarian economy of these rural areas because, since they are subjected to capitalist individualism and the fraudulent activities of government institution, their main occupation has been highly threatened, thereby keeping them out of it, just to become a nuisance and dependent on the society, since they cannot afford the exorbitant rate of capitalist farm input.

Table 4.14 **MDA AND GUDO'S CONTRIBUTION TO COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES**

	Responses from "MDA" Areas	%	Responses from GUDO Areas	%
Cottage industries	30	11.1	10	3.7
Marketing	60	22.2	0	0
Home Economics	40	14.8	0	0
Banking	140	51.9	50	18.5
Not at all	0	0	210	77.8
Total	270	100	270	100

Table 4.14 above presents responses on the contribution of GUDO and MDA to commercial activities in their areas. 30 (or 11.1%) and 60 (or 22.2%) of the responses from Mwaghavul areas indicate that the organisation has contributed to the development of cottage industries and marketing, while similar responses from GUDO areas stands at 10 (or 3.7%) and 0. In the area of Home Economics and Banking, 40 (or 14.8%) and 140 (or 51.9%) of the responses are of the view that MDA has contributed to these sectors. For GUDO, the responses stands at 0% and 50 (or 18.5%) respectively. 210 (or 77.8%) of the responses from GUDO areas indicate that the organization has not contributed at all to this sector of the rural economy.

The contributions of MDA to this sector remains laudable, particularly in the area of banking with the establishment of a Bank at Mangu to improve the credit worthiness of their members who are mainly involved in agriculture and small-scale business activities. This bank has also given employment to the numerous unemployed youths of Mwaghavul land, thereby helping to curb the scourge of unemployment.

The bank's performance has so far been impressive and helpful to rural commercial economy of Mwaghavul land. Below is the financial performance of the bank for two years - 1994/1995.

**4.15 FINANCIAL REPORT IN RESPECT OF
MWAGHAVUL COMMUNITY BANK 1994-95**

	1994	1995
Cross income for the period	1,187,563	148,526
Operating profit (loss) before	375,678	476,704
Tax and provision net profit (loss) for the period	179,404	681,505
Loans and advances	626,051	336,927
Investments	2,188,618	1,383,628
Deposits	4,386,270	3,855,553
Total	8,943,584	6,882,843

Source: (MDA 1995/96 Details of expenditure)

The overall performance of this bank is sound solid and solvent. This is evident in the Gross income of N148,526 in 1994, which increased to N1187,562 in 1995. It has also, during the period under review, given loans and advances to the tune of about N336,927 in 1994; increasing to N626,051 in 1995. The disbursement of these loans is an indication of the enormous assistance by MDA given its members to embark on commercial activities. The bank was able to also provide safety facilities (Cash, grains, fertilizers) to refugees during the 1995 communal clash along with inhabitants in neighbouring Bokkos Local Government¹¹. While MDA has done very well, GUDO has not done anything comparable, except for the recent establishment of the Shendam Community Bank by the Shendam District Development Association (SDDA).

¹¹ Statement by chairman of MDA Bank on the occasion of its combined 3rd and 4th annual general meeting of Mwaghavul community bank. (1996).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Simple percentages have been used based on the responses presented on the various tables. The variable with the highest or lowest percentages was taken as a measure of the extent to which that particular variable influences or is related to the roles of the organizations in rural development.

Table 4.0 indicates the roles of the organization in the provision of educational infrastructures and facilities. This is demonstrated by a total of 55.6% of the respondents from Mwaghavul land indicating the contributions of MDA in terms of facilities and infrastructures to the post primary levels of education in Mwaghavul land. In the case of GUDO, it is shown not to have contributed to any of the levels of education in Goemai land, as is indicated by 57.7% of the responses on the same table. The roles of MDA in the post primary level of education has further been made manifest through the establishment of secondary schools located at Mararaba Pushit, Kerang, Ampang etc. GUDO does not own any single school as, an attempt to establish one at Duankwan was unsuccessful, leaving the entire responsibility for post-primary education in Goemai land to Government-owned schools. Such Schools are widely known to be ineffective in providing the required education for most rural dwellers, including those in Goemai land. This fact is evidenced by the ineffective administration of such Schools as G.S.S Shendam, Kalong, Goepa'al, etc. In contrast, the community-owned Schools established by the MDA have, through the academic performances of their students, placed Mwaghavul land in the fore-front of education in Plateau State.

On the ownership and function of these associations in the provision of water, both associations have defaulted, leaving this to the government and individuals to do. The only attempt

made by MDA (with none by GUDO) was a call by MDA officials on the former administration of Col. M. Mana to do something, during a courtesy visit, also re-echoed during the 10th Puska'at festival (in 1996). But this call might not even help the situation, because Government initiative, without the people's active participation may still not solve the acute water problem in Mwaghavul land. Viewed from any perspective the activities of DFFRI, PADP, Water Board in Plateau State have not managed to enhance the supply of water to rural dwellers, in spite of the enormous resources expended by these government organs. It is therefore necessary for the people to initiate community water schemes, otherwise the communities cannot have sustainable water supply. In Shendam, for instance, in spite of the presence of a big dam, the people still suffer from acute water shortages. This may not have been the case if the scheme was owned by the rural community affected.

With regard to their roles in the provision of rural health facilities, the organizations do not currently own any rural health centre, in spite of the essentially rhetorical pronouncement made by the President of MDA in 1995 during its annual cultural festival, Puskat on this subject matter. Similar rhetorics have also been made by GUDO in the past. Today, the two communities are forced to rely on government "benevolence" and the efforts of private individuals. This tendency has further compounded the health problems of rural dwellers because of the dearth of drugs and equipment hospitals and the exploitative tendencies of private hospitals. Empty beds have become a common sight in government hospitals because of poor medical attention and lack of drugs. This has culminated in the extensive reliance, by the people, on traditional way of medication (known as Kes

Pa'a)¹ to cure ailments. This has led to frequent loss of lives which would have been averted through orthodox medication.

On roads maintenance and development, Mwaghavul Development Association has assisted in developing the road from Daika to Jing and also building a bridge. It has done same to the roads from Mangu to Bwai, to Chakfem, and to Kombun, all of which the state government has since taken over. But more effort is needed on the road from Mangu to Jipal. In contrast, GUDO has not done anything in this regard, in spite of the extremely poor conditions of roads leading to Biem biem, Shimankar, Kalong, Demshin, Kurwat etc.

The organizations have both played roles in political mobilization which are crucial to the democratization processes in their areas of operation. Efforts made in this regard include those involving political socialization, political recruitment, political mobilization etc, all of which enabled several GUDO and MDA members to contest and participate in the democratization processes. It has also heightened the consciousness of their people who have discovered that such organizations, if properly organized and managed, can be spring boards for political achievements and developments.

According to Smock;

Ethnic unions facilitate the accommodation between traditionality and modernity by those elements in the traditional political culture by harnessing them on behalf of the development of primary communities²

¹ Casmir T. Kurungtiem (1991) Impact of Colonialism on the Goemai land, (BSc thesis, University of Jos Department of Political Science.)

² Sorka'a A.D (1992) Local Non-Governmental organisation and the Politics of Rural Development in Benue State Nigeria. (Ph.D thesis, ABU Zaria, Dept. of Political Science).

With respect to the organization of socio-cultural activities, whopping sums of money have been spent by both GUDO and MDA for the organization of the annual Bit Goemai and Puska'at festivals. This has served to enhance the harnessing of the rich cultural endowments of their people, and the promotion of harmony amongst all their component units. It has led to a "we" feeling, not "I" feeling among the people. It has also become an avenue for the raising of funds for developmental programmes of the organization. For instance, in 1991, GUDO realised about ₦56,000, and in 1992, it realised about ₦139,910³, while in 1996, it realised over ₦1m.

In furthering its pursuance of socio-cultural activities MDA has sponsored the training of a news translator on the Plateau Radio Television Corporation in Mwaghavul language, while GUDO has similarly continued to give support to the Goemai news translator and Goemai magazine on the same station. It has also intensified its effort in translating the Bible into Goemai language by establishing a language translation centre at Ajikamai. In its efforts to protect the cultural practices of the Goemai, GUDO's role during the assault on a prominent Goemai masquerade "Muutwap" remains enviable.

Both organizations have, however, not done much in the areas of transportation, electricity supply and the provision of agricultural inputs. This has rendered the highly agrarian economies in GUDO and MDA areas useless. In Mwaghavul land, for instance, fertilizer supply, without which farming activities would suffer, has been left to the dictate of market forces and the corrupt practices of government functionaries, thus alienating the rural farmer, who cannot afford the current market price nor cope with the government distributive machinery for the commodity. In Goemai land, for instance, only 600 bags were allocated to each ward of over 5000 farmers in 1996. In 1997 the

³ Progress report and Handing over notes of GUDO (1990 - 93)

situation became much more pathetic with no fertilizer at all. It becomes very necessary to get the peoples association deeply involved, in order to complement the individual efforts being made by the farmers in the use of traditional manures.

As a corollary to the above, MDA has done very well in the area of boosting commercial and agrarian activities with the establishment of a community bank at Mangu. This laudable effort remains a moving force for the entire Mwaghavul economy. Whereas it is unfortunate, that GUDO has not done anything. The effort of MDA needs to be emulated by GUDO because community banks have a much greater role to play in developing the rural community than conventional banks, since they give loans and advances to the needy rural dwellers. They are invariably the engine of development. According to Ake,

"the idea that a people or their culture and social institution can be an obstacle to their development is one of the major confusion of current development thinking".....⁴

From the foregoing analysis, certain salient points connected to our research proposition need to be made.

First, in spite of the involvement of state structures in rural development, nothing concrete has been achieved because of the corrupt practices of government agencies. The non involvement of the "ruralites" in the identification and execution of these programmes have all denied the ruralites the trickle-down benefits of these programmes. It therefore becomes imperative to invoke the spirit of participation in all programmes of rural development.

On the second and third propositions, it is pertinent to note that the views advanced by most respondents on the problems encountered by their organizations and the likely solutions to these

⁴ Sorka'a A.P Op cit p. 85.

problems in order to enhance rural development, indicated that the organizations can expedite rural development provided the potentials of the ruralites are highly mobilized. These views prove the proposition right. Since MDA possesses well structured and mobilized networks at the village, district, local government and national levels, more than GUDO, they have the required potentials to enhance sustainable rural development. For instance, between 1995/96, district branches of MDA alone donated about ₦99,355.00⁵ to the association in an effort to realise the accomplishment of MDA objectives. Mindful of the need for mobilization, a commentator noted reasons for GUDO's problem as follows;

"The organization has not lived up to its expectation, it needs to do more in the areas of mobilization of human and material resources"⁶

This mobilization is expected to liberate the rural areas from the apron string of capitalist exploitative tendencies, invariably entrenching participation by these NGO's in rural Development. While this remain very positive in Mwaghavul land the highly capitalist and individualistic experience in Goemailand has made it impossible.

Apart from the lack of mobilization, the series of internal conflict bedeviling GUDO have further impaired its achievements, except in the areas of socio-cultural activities and political development which invariably are only relevant for the display of affluence in order to suppress further the psychology of the cohesive rural setting.

On the last proposition, the weak organizational structure of of GUDO has limited its achievements. Apart from the absence of an articulate organizational structure, the perpetual

⁵ Mwaghavul Development Association Details of income and Expenditure 1995/96.

⁶ Comment by a member of GUDO in Kalong (1996)

organizational conflicts which have rocked the organization since inception have further compounded the problem. This is proved by suit No.PLD/S.14/95 motion PLD/10/95 of Shendam High Court of Justice and the report of final handing over by Miskoom Buenyen, and the final invitation for meeting on 21/3/96 by Miskom A.G. Hoomsuk, all past Presidents of the organization. This has limited developmental initiative in Goemailand whereas the highly organized MDA has played important developmental roles as indicated in our findings.

Conclusively, in view of the foregoing, it is pertinent to note that many solutions to rural underdevelopment in Nigeria ~~can~~ can only come from the local organizations, (considering the dismal performance of governmental programmes as a result of corruption, constant changes of economic and political policies and the non involvement of the people in the identification and execution of development programmes). It becomes important that non governmental structures particularly ethnic development organizations be exploited as tools for development. Since they have the participatory backing of their people in the initiation and execution of programmes of rural development. According to Smock.

"each local community is unique in the way and manner it captures the dynamics of development"⁷

It therefore becomes imperative to note that in spite of the enormity of capitalist individualism and government involvement in rural development drive in these two communities as a result of bureaucratic ineptitude and capitalist infiltration, both products of colonialism and neocolonialism, non-governmental organisation still have positive roles to play because of the dismal and exploitative basis of these involvement, which have converted the highly

⁷ Sorka'a Opcit p. 132.

egalitarian and cohesive rural societies into a besieged fortress. The research therefore views these organisations as capable of enhancing rural development as demonstrated in the activities of MDA in such areas as Education, commerce, road, socio cultural and political activities, provided the following solutions and recommendations are adhered to.

It is also believed that these recommendation will further open up more theoretical discussions on the rural problematic.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

To this end, the researcher wishes to make the following recommendations.

- a. There is need for the relaxation of the extensive control on these organizations by government bureaucratic institutions. The intensification of capitalistic and individualistic tendencies implanted in the rural areas by colonialism and neocolonial structures should be rejected and denounced, if participation is to be enhanced by these NGO's.
- b. There is also need for the organizations to be properly structured and organized by the people themselves. This will make them more responsive to the yearnings and aspirations of their people. In addition, is the need for the people to democratise the structures of these organizations, so that leaders can be accountable and responsive instead of being oligarchic and dictatorial, interested only in using the organizations as outlets for politics and other selfish ends. The organizational machinery should run right into the rural areas.
- c) Furthermore, it is also important for these organizations to prioritse issues of rural development. This is necessary because of the manace of underdevelopment in our rural

areas. These organizations could venture into revenue yielding activities such as banking, commerce, etc to enable them make funds available to the rural dwellers to improve their conditions thereby leading to the much desired and sought rural transformation.

- d) There is also the need to integrate all governmental rural development activities to those of community based development organizations like GUDO and MDA. This will go a very long way in enhancing the acceptability of rural development programmes, since most government programmes do not perform very well, because of the non involvement of the beneficiaries in the identification and implementation of those programmes.
- e) In addition, it is also important for these organizations to embark on aggressive mobilization through in-house workshop, campaigns, visits etc among their members, on the need to participate in activities of the organizations. This will give the organizations members a sense of belonging and ensuring their support in its pursuance of rural development policies. As a corollary to this is the need to avert future and settle present conflictual issues amicably, as these are capable of tearing apart the cohesive fabric of the rural societies thereby derailing rural development initiatives.
- f) Finally, apart from the need to embark on the training of leaders of these organizations, there is also need for a dynamic and purposeful leaderships for the organizations. This will give the organizations a sense of direction and vision. Instead of having corrupt leaderships that would only exploit the weaknesses of the organizations for their own selfish ends.

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APPENDIX

DATA

PART A

Age

Occupation

Sex

Religion

Educational Qualification

Annual income in [N]

Village Area

District Area

L.G.A.

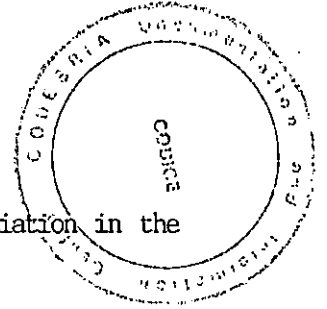
Position held in your community/ethnic development organisation
.....

PART B

- [1] Name of your ethnic development organisation
.....
- [2] What are your contributions to this organisation?
- [3] Which of the undermentioned levels of education have your organisation
contributed to in the area of provision of educational facilities and
infrastructure ..
- a. Pre-Primary
 - b. Primary
 - c. Secondary, T.C., Technical Colleges
 - d. Polytechnics, Colleges of Education, University
 - e. Adult and literacy classes
- [4] Who are the owners of a - e above?
- a. Individuals
 - b. Community
 - c. Government
 - d. Ethnic group development association

- [5] What other encouragement have your organisation given to people in any of the aforementioned levels of education in your rural areas?
- a. Scholarship
 - b. Corporal punishment for refusal to go to school
 - c. Suspension from the association and denial of any advantage
 -
 - d. Mobilization
 - e. Not at all
- [6] What are the sources of water supply in your rural areas
- a. Pipe borne water
 - b. Borehole
 - c. Dams
 - d. Hand dug wells
 - e. Springs and streams
 - f. Rivers and lakes
 - g. Tankers
- [7] Who are the owners of your sources
- 1. Individuals
 - 2. Communities
 - 3. Government
 - 4. Your ethnic development association
8. What is the distance from your source of supply in [km] and miles.
9. Which of these health services do you have in your rural area?
- a. Clinics
 - b. Dispensaries
 - c. Child welfare homes
 - d. Maternal and child welfare homes
 - e. Immunisation and vaccination services

- f. f. Drug revolving scheme
 g. Family planning
 h. Health Education/Disinfection staff
10. Who own these services
 a. Individuals b. Government c. Community
 d. Development Association
11. What are the nature of houses you have in your area?
 a. Huts [bamboo, mud, grass, reeds, palm fronds]
 b. bungalows/duplex
 c. Low-cost houses and reserve areas
 d. Community centres
12. Who are the owners of a - d?
 a. Individuals b. Government c. Community
 d. Ethnic development association
13. What kind of roads do you have in your rural areas?
 a. Feeder roads
 b. Trunk roads A
 c. Trunk roads B
 d. Trunk roads C
 e. Streets
 f. Passages and foot path
14. What is the nature and condition of the roads you have in your rural area?
 a. good b. very good c. bad d. manageable
15. Who owns these roads?
 a. individuals b. Government c. Community
 d. Ethnic development association



16. What is the contribution of your ethnic development association in the provision of above
- Construction
 - Drainages/Culverts
 - Clearing and filling of pot-holes
 - Bridges
17. Have your people been mobilised in your rural areas to
- participate in politics/education
 - participate in rallies/campaign
 - party formation
 - sponsoring candidates for election contest
18. What means have been used for this mobilisation in your rural areas.
- Traditional rulers
 - government agencies like National Orientation agencies/NECON
 - Individual and party members
 - Your community development associations
19. How is this mobilisation carried out in your rural
- Sponsoring candidate
 - enlightening on the right choice
 - voting powers
 - political recruitment by parties.
20. How effective is the mobilisation of a - e in question 27 been achieved in your rural area.
- Effective
 - Very effective
 - Not effective
 - moderately effective.
21. What are the common means of transportation in your rural area.
- Motor vehicle/Truck
 - Motorcycles
 - Bicycles/canoes
 - horses/donkeys
 - foot

22. Are these means always available in your rural area?
- a. partially available
 - b. always available
 - c. not available
 - d. available at intervals
23. How effective are they in your rural area?
- a. very effective
 - b. effective
 - c. not effective
 - d. moderately effective
24. Who owns these means of transport in your rural area?
- a. individual
 - b. Government
 - c. Community
 - d. Ethnic development association
25. Do you have any
- a. Cultural festival/display
 - b. Language
 - c. Religious practice
 - d. Artifacts
26. What are the objectives of a - d if any in question 36
.....
27. Who controls and organises a - d in question 36
- a. Individual
 - b. Government
 - c. Community
 - d. Ethnic development association
28. What are the sources of your electricity and power supply?
- a. National grid
 - b. Generators
 - c. Lanterns
 - d. Torch light
 - e. Firewood
29. Who owns these sources in your rural areas
- a. Individuals
 - b. Government
 - c. Communities
 - d. Ethnic development association

30. Do your people engage in agricultural activities in your rural areas?
- a. Yes b. No
31. What are sources of labour for production?
- a. Individual b. Government c. Community
- d. Ethnic development association
32. What are the sources of land, fertilizer, Insecticides, Agricultural Credit and Extension, Land ploughing, Seedlings, storage, processing, marketing machineries etc.
- a. Individual b. Government c. Community
- d. Ethnic development association
33. What are the nature of aid received by your farmers to enhance agric production in your rural areas?
- [a] Land [b] Fertilizer [c] Insecticides
- [d] Agricultural Credit and Extension [e] Seedlings
- [f] Herbicides [g] Marketing [h] Storage
- [i] Processing [j] Land ploughing
34. Who is responsible for this aid?
- [a] Individual [b] Government [c] Community [d] Ethnic development association
35. Do you embark on any Commercial and Industrial activities in your rural areas? [a] Yes [b] No
36. How successful are the aforementioned services in your rural areas?
- [a] very [b] Not very [c] Partially [d] Not at all
37. If successful what accounted for the successes in the provision of the aforementioned services?
- [a] Govt. Involvement [b] Individual benevolence
- [c] Community efforts [d] Efforts of ethnic development association.

- 38. What accounted for their failure if any
-
- 39. How can your association consolidate its achievement to enhance the provision of rural infrastructures if any?
- 40. Comment truly on the role of your organisation in Rural Development
-

Thank you.

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