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THE UNIVERSAL FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION  
SCHEME IN BENUE STATE OF  
NIGERIA: PROGRAM  
IMPLEMENTATION  
AND POLITICS

By

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Zaria, Nigeria, 1979

Presented in partial fulfillment of the  
requirement of the degree of

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June 5, 1984  
Date

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#### DEDICATION

To my dear wife, Bosede, and our children Jane, Kate, Joan and Joyce for their love and presence throughout the duration of the MPA program. I also dedicate this paper to our parents.



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I wish to acknowledge the tremendous advice and guidance I received from Dr. Peter Koehn who served as my adviser for the MPA program and also the chairman of Board of Examiners for my professional paper. Special thanks of appreciation to Dr. Jon Tompkins without whom I could not have accomplished the successful completion of this research work and, indeed, the entire MPA program. I am also grateful to Dr. Tom Payne of the Political Science Department, and Dr. Reed of the Department of Sociology who served as members of my oral comprehensive examination committee and the board of examiners for my professional paper respectively. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Jim Lopach, Chairman of the Political Science Department and Dr. Don Spencer, Associate Dean of the Graduate School both of whom contributed in no small way to my success in the MPA program.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The advantages of education are well known to both the advanced and developing nations of the world. Primary education is the basis of all types of education and it is a process of enlightenment in the continent of Africa. It is no wonder, then, that most African nations in their various development programs have geared their efforts towards making primary education "partly or wholly free and universal by the mid 1980's."<sup>1</sup>

When the then Federal Military Government launched the Universal Free Primary Education, otherwise known as the UPE, in September of 1976, many people in Nigeria hoped that the scheme would give mass education to children up to primary school level as a stepping-stone to higher educational qualifications. However, after about seven years of implementation of the program in Benue State, its impact has not been sufficiently felt. An indication of this lies in the fact that the Government has not been able to meet the projected figures for those who graduate from primary schools since the inception of the UPE scheme. It is, therefore, important to study the scheme in order to know some of the causes of its failure so far. The purpose of this paper is to assess the effects of political and administrative actions on the implementation of the UPE and morale of teachers in Benue State.

Stated formally, the central hypothesis of this study

is that the funding of the UPE in each local government area between October of 1979 and August 1983 is related to the degree of electoral support for the ruling party in the 1979 gubernatorial election. This is one of the ways through which the government is compensating those local government areas that voted it into power and have continued to support it politically. Chapter two of this work will test the validity of the first hypothesis with reference to the degree of support the former civilian administration in the State received from the people of two selected local governments. The two local governments selected are Konshisha and Ofu (see map of Benue State in Appendix I).

Chapter three focuses on the issue of administrative discretion and analyzes its impact on the implementation of the UPE scheme. The exercise of administrative discretion is discussed in four contexts: political pressures from above, favoritism related to where the administrator comes from, lack of personal commitment by administrators to programs they are charged with implementing, and making decisions based on what is simplest or most expedient. Each of these forms of administrative discretion may prevent the proper administration of the UPE.

Chapter four focuses on the other problems affecting the implementation of the UPE. These include inadequate planning, contract improprieties, low teacher morale, and inadequate recruitment of teachers.

Historical Review of Educational Development and  
Background to UPE in Nigeria

Both the colonial and Nigerian administrators expressed firm commitment to the development of education throughout the country. However the southern part of Nigeria was visibly ahead of the North in educational development at the time the country obtained independence in October of 1960. This situation arose due to the easy adaptation and assimilation of the people living in that area to western education. The early missionaries who came to Nigeria in the last 19th century did so by sea. They settled in the southern part of the country because of its nearness to the coast. As they preached religion, they also established primary and post primary schools. However, the story was different in the Northern Region, which included the area known today as Benue State - the focus of this research work. The North had been hampered in educational development by strong affiliation to its Islamic culture and heritage. Parents and guardians were so committed to providing their children with Islamic education that western education was not considered by them to be of great significance.

The difference in attitude toward education between the North and the South resulted in a wide gap in educational development, with the former being in an inferior position. This trend has continued until the present. E.A. Akiga notes that:

For so wide is the gap that, roughly speaking, for every child in the primary school in the Northern States, there are four in the Southern States; for every boy or girl in a Secondary School in the North, there are five in the South; and for every student in a post-secondary institution in the North, there are six in the South.<sup>2</sup>

However, successive federal administrations have been determined to correct this imbalance by embarking on free primary education throughout the country. Parents and guardians in the Northern States have come to realize the importance of western education as a result of a series of public enlightenment campaigns embarked upon by the federal and state governments. Moreover, the parents and guardians have themselves discovered the benefits derivable from formal education in terms of competition for office appointments.

In the Federal Civil Service, there are more Southerners than Northerners in both senior and junior posts. The ratio in 1980 was 15 to 1. This is in spite of the fact that "the North is more populated than the South by a ratio of 7 to 5."<sup>3</sup> While political leaders from the North have constantly called on the Federal Government to rectify this imbalance, it is true that a large number of people in the North are reluctant to accept federal appointments, especially if such appointments are in Lagos and other Southern Cities. Political leaders from the Northern States have constantly called on the Federal Government to rectify this imbalance. The 1979 Constitution stated that all appointments should reflect the "federal

character" of the country. However, the key factor for non-political appointments is still the individual's educational qualifications.

Nigeria participated in a Conference of African Ministers of Education which was jointly convened in May of 1961 by UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa at Addis Ababa to deliberate on the development of education in Africa. One of the decisions taken at that conference dealt with primary education. The participating countries agreed that:

... by 1980, primary education shall be universal, compulsory and free. That wastage during the six years of primary cycle should not exceed 10 percent in total and that the average teacher-pupil ratio should be 3.5. <sup>4</sup>

The next step taken by the Government towards the introduction of the UPE scheme was in 1969 when the Somade Committee was set up to examine, among other things, "the feasibility, social, financial and otherwise, of introducing free primary education throughout the Federation."<sup>5</sup> Acting on the recommendation of this Committee, the then Head of the Federal Military Government, General Yakubu Gowon, while giving the general framework of the country's Third National Development Plan, announced his administration's plan to introduce universal free primary education throughout the country. By that announcement, the Federal Government accepted the responsibility of providing free education to all pupils in primary school. It was in pursuance of this goal that Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo,

who later became Head of State, launched the UPE program on Wednesday, September 6th, 1976 at a ceremony at the Oke Suna Municipal Primary School, Lagos. He declared that "from this date, primary education will be free and universal throughout the country while from 1979 on, it will become compulsory."<sup>6</sup>

In July of 1970, representatives from the Federal and State Ministries of Education met in Lagos and deliberations at that meeting focused on how the governments could effectively embark on free primary education immediately. A.O. Lewis expounded the case made for the introduction on the following points:

- (a) education is a human right and should be provided free to all;
- (b) free education at all levels is essential for the rapid economic development in Nigeria;
- (c) free education is an effective way of bridging the gap between the North and the South of Nigeria.<sup>7</sup>

Many prominent Nigerians had advocated free education throughout the country. In 1952, while calling for the introduction of the UPE into the then Western Region, Chief S.O. Awokoya who was the region's education Minister noted that:

Educational development is imperative and urgent. It must be treated as a national emergency second only to war. It must move with the momentum of a revolution.<sup>8</sup>

#### Free Primary Education in the Northern Region

The history of free primary education in Benue State



has not been an impressive one. During the colonial era, control of education here rested largely with the Christian missionaries. The ratio of missionary primary schools to those belonging to the government stood at "4 to 1."<sup>9</sup> All the primary schools owned by the government and supervised by their Native Authorities charged no fees at all. However, those owned by the missionaries charged fees considered too high by a majority of the parents and guardians, who were mainly poor subsistent farmers compared with their counterparts in the West and East who made fairly good earnings from cocoa and palm oil farming, respectively. This then brings us to the effect this educational system had on the Kabba and Benue Provinces of the Northern Region, which now form the present Benue State.

The Islamic religion embraced by a majority of people in the North is less popular among the people living in the two provinces, most of whom are Christian. Their adoption of the Christian religion is linked to the easy accessibility of the area to the early missionaries. As the missionaries preached religion, they also established primary and post-primary schools. However, payment of fees in these schools placed a heavy constraint on the parents and guardians willing to send their children to school.

It is important to note that the people of Kabba and Benue Provinces occupied a minority position in the political spheres of the Northern Region. Their call on the

Regional Government to emulate the Western and Eastern Regions, where the UPE had already been introduced, had not received positive response because most of the regional leaders favored expansion of Islamic teaching. It is against this background that one can more clearly appreciate the joy with which the people of Benue State received the introduction of the UPE scheme in September of 1976. They viewed it as a realization of a long struggle to be able to educate their children without a financial burden which, in any case, most of them could not bear. However, this author notes that if the government and the parents had realized the huge expenses involved in a program like the UPE, it would have been clear to them that the government could not bear the costs alone.

National Policy on Education as  
Basis for the UPE Scheme

In Nigeria today, education at all levels (primary, secondary and university) is a subject of major concern to the central and state governments as well as to parents and guardians. Some sociologists contend that education has five social functions in a society. These are the transmission of the culture of the society; the provision of innovations; the political function of providing leaders and making citizens; the selection of the more able out of the population as a whole; and the economic function of providing the labor force with the quantity and quality of educated manpower that matches the needs of the economy.

It is clear that the last three functions have economic ramifications apart from providing the basis for obtaining knowledge and skills. Nigeria is in a period of rapid transition. Therefore, access to quality education for all her citizens is critical. In this respect, this author totally agrees with Representative Pat Williams of the United States House of Representatives when he said that:

As quality education has been responsible for developing and helping to build America's industrial economy, we must continue to rely on quality education as we make the transition for tomorrow's technology-based economy.<sup>10</sup>

This relates to the Nigerian situation. The country is now going through the process of industrial and technological development. Proof of this trend is in the establishment by the Federal Government of iron and steel industries in Ajaokuta in Kwara State, Oshogbo in Oyo State, Jos in Plateau State, Katsina in Kaduna State and Aladja in Bendel State. The federal and some state governments have geared their efforts toward the improvement of technological education by establishing polytechnics and universities of technology. At present, there are four such universities in the country.

It must be stressed that education in Nigeria as a whole is no longer a private enterprise. The federal and state governments have adopted education as an instrument "par excellence" for effective national development. They are determined "that all existing contradictions, ambiguities and lack of uniformity in educational practices in different parts of the country should be removed."<sup>11</sup>

This is aimed at ensuring that there exists an even and orderly development of the country. For the benefit of all its citizens, the country's educational goals, in terms of relevance to the needs of the individual and also the kind of society desired in relation to the environment and realities of modern world and rapid social changes, should be clearly set out.

The country's second National Development Plan defined five main objectives to provide the necessary foundation for the National Policy on Education. These are:

- (a) a free and democratic society;
- (b) a just and egalitarian society;
- (c) a united, strong and self-reliant nation;
- (d) a great and dynamic economy;
- (e) a land of bright and full opportunities for all its citizens.<sup>12</sup>

It is clear that Nigeria's educational philosophy is based on the integration of the individual as a sound and effective citizen and equal educational opportunities for all the citizens. This aim cannot be achieved unless all the citizens are educated through a scheme like the UPE.

#### UPE and Funding

The issue of funding the UPE is a crucial one to the entire research work and it is going to feature prominently in the chapters dealing with the research hypotheses. However, it is pertinent to note at this juncture that many people believed initially that the UPE is a Federal

Military Government program and it is supposed to be wholly supported financially by this level of government.

A major constraint that hindered the introduction of the UPE program before 1976 or even its trial at all before this time was the financial limitations of the Federal Government. Experience, it is said, is a better teacher. If the trial of the UPE project already existing in the Western Region and imitated in the East should serve as a basis, then the Federal Administration had no justification to follow suit. The West and East introduced the scheme in 1955 and 1958 respectively. However, it failed because the regions lacked sufficient financial resources. The decision to embark upon the scheme in those regions "was taken in the face of party politics, hot election campaigns and gullible election promises."<sup>3</sup> The two governments did not make adequate preparations in terms of planning. For example, the West had proposed to spend £3,121,000.00 in the first year of the birth of UPE scheme (1955) based on an expected enrollment figure of 170,000. However, the Government ended up spending £5,358,720 because the actual number of pupils registered stood at about 394,000. Realizing that they did not have enough money to execute the program, the two regional governments turned to the federal administration for assistance. However, not much help could be given as it was not until the middle of the 1970's that the country's economy became bouyant as a result of the oil revenue.

The government had a long list of associated problems ranging from lack of trained teachers and equipment to what to do with the graduating pupils.

The introduction of the UPE scheme by the then Federal Military Government in 1976 became possible because the revenue accruing from oil sales reached its peak during that period. The public, therefore, viewed and accepted the UPE as a Federal Government educational program to be wholly supported financially by this level of Government. Indeed, the federal government supplied the entire amount of about N20,000,000.00 the state government spent on the UPE in 1977.

The world economic recession and the oil glut have greatly affected the country's revenues. Consequently, the ability of the Federal Government to execute its projects successfully has been hampered. The direct effect of this situation will be discussed in chapter four which deals with funding irregularities.

#### Research Methodology

Two out of the 23 local governments in the state have been chosen for study in this research project. They are Konshisha and Ofu. They both provide the basis to test the assumption of political and administrative favoritism and discrimination. The two local government areas represent different degrees of electoral support for the National Party of Nigeria, NPN, in the governorship elections held in 1979. It is important to note that,

politically, there are three main groups of local governments in the state. Konshisha represents a group of twelve local government areas in the eastern part of the state which gave the NPN about 96 percent support in the 1979 elections (see map of Benue State on page 49). The other local government areas in this group are Nagi, Gwer, Gboko, Makurdi, Vandeikya, Ushongo, Guma, Ambighir, Katsins Ala, Ukum, and Kwande. Ofu, however, represents six local government areas in the west that gave the party about 72 percent support. The other local government areas in this group are Idah, DeKina, Bassa, Ankpa and Omalla. The third group consists of Apa, Otukpo, Oju, Okpokwu and Ado local government areas. These local governments gave the NPN about 55 percent in the elections. It proved not possible to select a local government area from the last group for this research work because of time and financial constraints. The results contained in this paper cannot therefore, be considered conclusive. Nevertheless, the difference in the amount of support given by the two local governments provides the basis for initial testing of the hypothesis of political favoritism. Chapter two tests the hypothesis that financial support for the UPE in the local government area is related to the degree of electoral support by each local government for the ruling party in the State. The author secured data on electoral support from the Federal Electoral Commission in Makurdi. The author also obtained data on the degree of financial support for the UPE from files

and accounts books kept by the Ministry responsible for primary education.

Analysis in chapters three and four regarding administrative discretion and other problems with implementation of the UPE draws on information from a number of sources, including personal experience, interviews with teachers and administrators, documents and ministry records, and store ledgers and files kept by the Ministry.



## CHAPTER II

### POLITICAL INTERFERENCE: THE EFFECTS OF ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR THE RULING PARTY ON FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE UPE

The primary purpose of this chapter is to analyze the extent to which support for the UPE is influenced by the degree of electoral support for the ruling party, the National Party of Nigeria, by a local government. Testing this hypothesis makes it possible to determine whether success of the UPE is partly determined by political interference in administration and implementation. Specific research hypotheses to be tested include the following:

- H<sup>1</sup> Funding for the UPE varies with the degree of electoral support for the party.
- H<sup>2</sup> The number of new schools built varies with the degree of electoral support for the ruling party.
- H<sup>3</sup> Amount of supply sent to each local government varies with electoral support for the ruling party.

This chapter will also document other situations in which political interference and political favoritism affected the success of the UPE scheme. The two local governments chosen for purposes of analysis are Ofu and Konshisha. They were chosen for reasons given in chapter one of this paper.

#### Degree of Electoral Support

The principal actors in policy formulation are people in government who have authority to assign priorities and commit resources. During the civilian administration in Benue State, these people included the governor, members of his executive council, and legislators. While it is

true that the UPE scheme originated from the federal government, each state government reserves the right to implement it in the way it deems fit. In exercising their powers to implement the scheme in Benue State, elected office holders have allowed political considerations to influence their judgement. Even political interest groups have been included in the implementation of the UPE as will be seen later in this chapter.

The issue of political interference can be linked to the gubernatorial and state assembly elections held in 1979. Although five political parties presented candidates to contest the position of governor and state assembly members, only two of them could be said to be important in terms of the number of votes received. These are the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Nigerian People's Party (NPP).

#### (a) Gubernatorial Election

In the governorship election held in Ofu Local Government, 21,000 people voted for the successful party (NPN). This constituted 72.5 percent of the total of 29,000 people who cast their votes. The Nigerian People's Party received 7,500 votes, constituting 25.8 percent, with the remaining votes going to the other three parties. However, in Konshisha Local Government, the NPN received a higher percentage of support than it did in Ofu. Out of a total of 26,000 people that voted in this election, 25,000 (96 percent) cast their votes for the NPN candidate.

### (b) State Assembly Election

The pattern remained the same in the state assembly election as in the gubernatorial election. Two seats were allocated to Ofu Local Government and two seats also went to Konshisha Local Government. The two candidates who contested on the platform of the NPN won in Konshisha Local Government. However, in Ofu Local Government, the NPP was able to capture one of the seats in Ejule District as a result of the nullification of the election of an NPN candidate by an election tribunal.

### Degree of Financial Support for the UPE

The research hypothesis states that funding for the UPE varies with the degree of electoral support for the victorious party, the NPN. From the election results given above, it is clear that the party received more support in the two elections conducted in 1979 from the people of Konshisha Local Government than from the people of Ofu Local Government. If the hypothesis is correct, then we would expect that funding of the UPE scheme will be higher or more favorable in Konshisha. This hypothesis will be operationalized by focusing on three indicators of support for the UPE: funding per capita, number of new schools, and number of supplies.

### (a) Per Capital Funding

In September of 1981, a total of 18,250 pupils were enrolled in primary schools in Konshisha Local Government, compared with 24,591 pupils in Ofu Local Government. The

1963 census projected a population of 65,000 for Ofu Local Government for September of 1981 and a population of 59,500 for Konshisha Local Government. The school enrollment figures for the two local government areas during the military and civilian administrations are shown on Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1

Primary School Enrollment  
During the Military Administration

Local Government	1977	1978	1979
Ofu	22,750	23,000	23,500
Konshisha	17,000	17,200	17,750

Source: Ministry for Primary Education, Makurdi

Table 2

Primary School Enrollment  
Under Civilian Rule

Local Government	1980	1981	1982
Ofu	24,000	24,591	25,100
Konshisha	18,100	18,250	19,000

Source: Ministry for Primary Education, Makurdi

The projected population figures for Konshisha and Ofu local government areas at the end of the military administration in the state in September of 1979 stood at 64,350 and 58,100 respectively. During the military era, Ofu Local Government, with a higher population and school enrollment, received more funds for the scheme as can be seen from Table 3 on the following page.

Table 3Total Amount of Money Shared Out for the  
UPE Scheme During the Military Regime

Local Gov- ernment	1977 Naira	Amt. per pupil	1978 Naira	Amt. per pupil	1979 Naira	Amt. per pupil
Ofu	3,230,000	141.9	3,300,000	143.4	3,500,000	148.9
Konshisha	2,400,000	141.9	2,750,000	143.8	2,630,000	148.1

Source: Ministry for Primary Education, Makurdi

However, the pattern of distribution suddenly changed during the civilian administration. Table 4 shows that the civilian State Government ignored the criteria for sharing out funds for the scheme between 1980 and 1982 and gave more money to Konshisha Local Government: Ofu with a larger school enrollment and greater population received less money during the three years under survey. The difference in the amount per pupil rose to a ratio of 3:2 by 1982 in favor of Konshisha. This is a major difference.

Table 4Total Amount of Money Shared Out for the  
UPE Scheme by the Civilian Administration

Local Gov- ernment	1980 Naira	Amt. per pupil	1981 Naira	Amt. per pupil	1982 Naira	Amt. per pupil
Ofu	4,150,000	172.9	4,520,000	183.8	5,000,000	199.2
Konshisha	4,500,000	248.6	4,900,000	268.4	5,600,000	294.7

Source: Ministry for Primary Education, Makurdi

The Benue State Government has not offered any reason for its action. However, three officials interviewed, and who preferred to be anonymous, agreed that the State

Government took the action in order to repay the people of Konshisha Local Government area for the 1979 elections and their continued political support.

(b) New Schools

Our second research hypothesis states that the number of new schools built varies with the degree of electoral support for the ruling party. Table 5 below and Table 6 on the following page show the growth of primary schools in the Local Governments both under the military and civilian administrations for a period of three years each.

Table 5

Number of Primary Schools and  
Rate of Change Under the Military Administration

Local Gov- ernment	1977	1978	% of change	1979	% of change
Ofu	69	66	10	70	6
Konshisha	56	59	5.3	60	1.6

Source: Ministry for Primary Education, Makurdi

Ofu, the larger of the two local government areas, experienced higher increases in schools compared with Konshisha under the military rule as shown in Table 5. These increases roughly parallel the population sizes of the two local government areas.

However, under the civilian administration, Konshisha, the smaller of the two local governments, gained more schools as shown in Table 6. During the first year of the civilian administration, for instance, the government built

fifteen new schools in Konshisha Local Government area. The overall rate of increase of new schools built by the state government in Konshisha Local Government from 1980 to 1982 stands at 30.6 percent, while the increase for Ofu Local Government is only 1.8 percent during this period.

Table 6

Number of Primary Schools and Rate of  
Change Under the Civilian Administration

Local Government	1980	% of change	1981	% of change	1982	% of change
Ofu	70	0	72	2.8	74	2.7
Konshisha	75	25	100	33	134	34

Source: Ministry for Primary Education, Makurdi

The 1963 census projected a similar rate of population growth for Ofu and Konshisha Local Government areas. The changes in the number of primary schools represented in Table 6 cannot, therefore, be explained by higher population growth in Konshisha than in Ofu. None of the three government officials interviewed offered any reason to justify the disparity in growth pattern of primary schools in the State. A Chief Education Officer, who requested not to be identified, explained that the head of the Ministry often overruled any suggestions that would lead to equity in the opening of new schools. He explained that school growth in terms of number did not correspond with the enrollment growth and that, if he had his way, he would have insisted that the standard criteria of 35 pupils to one classroom should

be maintained. One would have expected that politicians from Ofu Local Government area would protest this action of the State Government. I interviewed a legislator from the area in this regard. He showed me a copy of a protest letter written to the State Government. However, the state government took no action on this petition.

### (c) School Supplies

The third research hypothesis states that the amount of supplies sent to each local government area varies with the degree of support for the ruling administration in the 1979 elections. Table 7 below shows the number of school materials sent to the two local governments for the months of July, August and September of 1981.

Table 7

#### Distribution of School Materials in the Two Local Government Areas

Item	Konshisha (18,250 pupils)		Ofu (24,591 pupils)	
	Number Received	Item Per Pupil	Number Received	Item Per Pupil
1. Footballs	100	1 to 180	78	1 to 315
2. Exercise books 2 A type	40,000	2.19 to 1	40,000	1.6 to 1
3. Exercise books 2 D type	40,000	-do-	40,000	-do-
4. Rulers	25,000	1.36 to 1	25,000	1.01 to 1
5. Packets of Chalk	15,000	.82 to 1	15,000	.6 to 1
6. Netballs	90	1 to 202	85	1 to 289



Tables 1-6 reveal that the state government favored Konshisha over Ofu without any justification other than the political support it enjoyed from the former local government. Thus, the evidence provided in this chapter is consistent with all three hypotheses that support for the UPE varies by local government with the degree of electoral vote for the ruling party, the NPN. Funding for the UPE, the number of schools built by the civilian government, and the amount of supplies sent to each local government varies with the support that their population gave the NPN during the 1979 elections. These must be regarded as only tentative conclusions until further research can be conducted in other local government areas.

### CHAPTER III

#### EFFECTS OF ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UPE

The main aim of this chapter is to highlight the various ways in which administrative discretion affects the implementation of the UPE scheme. We shall examine how the amounts and timeliness of supplies vary as a result of favoritism through administrative discretion. These outcomes may result from political pressures from above, lack of personal commitment to a program, favoritism which is related to the administrator's local government area, or expediency. Before going into detailed discussion regarding how these different forms of administrative discretion affect the UPE scheme, it is pertinent to consider the contents in which favoritism may arise.

Administrative discretion occurs when policy makers leave administrative details to administrators rather than taken on the difficult job of passing specific legislation. Robert T. Nakamura and Frank Smallwood state:

... implementers exercise a high degree of discretion because policy makers are willing to delegate to them general authority to make rules and regulations and to take other administrative actions to carry out policy goals.<sup>14</sup>

Second, administrative discretion exists because superiors cannot control every decision made by their subordinates, and subordinates must have flexibility to deal with unpredictable situations. Eugene Bardach makes this point as follows:

No matter how rudimentary and sophisticated the detection and response repertoire of a social program's control system may be, ... the system will always leave some room for discretion on the part of controllers. They must have freedom to deal with unpredictable novelty in a given situation, for which no standardized response has been programmed, or to eschew a standardized response that on equity grounds is unacceptable to their superiors or to themselves or to persons who become the object of control.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, within broad policy guidelines, administrators make many important decisions on their own. They have a certain amount of independence from their superiors. In the implementation of the UPE program, superior's orders either refer to general guidelines contained in the policy establishing the scheme, or the spontaneous directives coming from political actors in the state government. In any case, the politicians are aware that administrators possess discretion, and learn to take advantage of it.

In our discussion under "political pressures from above," we shall see how politicians take advantage of this awareness and coerce administrators to use this discretionary power to favor politicians. Because of this discretion, decisions may be influenced by many political, ideological, and personal considerations which may interfere with the proper administration of a program.

#### Political Pressure From Above

We have analyzed certain ways in which political interference affects the implementation of the UPE in chapter two. Political leaders can put pressure on administrators to use their discretionary powers to reward and punish local

governments in the distribution of school equipments and materials. Insufficient funds have made it impossible to implement the UPE properly. Politicians are aware of this situation. They grant broad discretionary powers to those who implement the scheme in an attempt to avoid facing up to controversial policy issues. An example of this is the power given to the administrative head of the Ministry for Primary Education "to distribute school supplies to the local government areas"<sup>16</sup> without obtaining from the Commissioner, who holds the executive authority over the affairs of the Ministry, detailed specifications regarding how to distribute them. By doing this, blame for improper distribution would be shifted to the Permanent Secretary. In general terms, Eugene Bardach has noted that, "... the bureaucrats who have been placed in-charge of the program elements are typically compromising candidates, minimally acceptable to all the contending forces, though probably, most responsive to the political executive."<sup>17</sup> This is true of the UPE program. The contending forces in the UPE implementation program include the Chief Executive (governor) of the State and his officials, primary school teachers, and also parents and guardians. The implementers are the compromise candidates. The play of the game by all these parties, Bardach says further, "... is characteristically unruly and is often accompanied by charges and countercharges of foul play, political cowardice and irresponsible zealotry."<sup>18</sup> These wranglings between the

various parties are, no doubt, unfavorable to the successful implementation of the UPE scheme. Administrators of the program are quick to point accusing fingers at politicians for not allowing them to execute the scheme without interference. An example is on the issue of constructing classrooms by direct labor discussed in Chapter IV where politicians put pressure on implementers to site the experimental classrooms in areas not planned for.

Political pressure also leads administrators to use their discretionary powers to curry favor. Officials who are directly placed in-charge of distributing school materials have been found engaged in trying to please the Commissioner in-charge of the Ministry by sending more materials and equipments to his local government area. It should be noted too that these officials are aware of the political strength of each Commissioner posted to run the Ministry. Their disposition to curry favors, therefore, depends on the individual Commissioner's political power in government. In this particular case, the incumbent Commissioner who is from the governor's area enjoyed the support of the chief executive. Officials distributed the materials inequitably as shown in Table 7, on page 22.

I conducted an investigation on this inequitable distribution by examining stores' registers. By the time I carried out the investigation in August of 1983, the Commissioner under whose tenure of office the officials made the distribution had been reassigned to another

Ministry. However, I met him in his new office and asked for his explanation on the distribution which did not conform with the laid down criteria "of equality of local governments, school enrollment and local government population."<sup>19</sup> He explained that detailed distribution of school equipments and materials is delegated to the permanent secretary who should rely on the criteria for the distribution. This delegation allows the administrator to exercise favoritism in his decisions, and allows the commissioner to shift the blame to the administrator. When I interviewed the administrator who served as the Commissioner's aid at the time of this distribution for his explanation, he pointed out that the people living in the Commissioner's local government area would lose confidence and interest in the scheme, and indeed in the Commissioner's political ability, if his Ministry equipped the UPE schools in the area in a poor manner. The permanent secretary, therefore, sanctioned the method of distribution that favored the Commissioner's local government area.

While there may be some sense in the argument that the Commissioner must show his people that the UPE scheme is indeed succeeding, one has to disagree with the distribution method which favors one local government to the disadvantage of others. An obvious outcome of the acceptance of this type of logic in distribution is that each Commissioner would intensify the activities of his Ministry in his own local government area to the detriment of other

local government areas. This would negate the formula laid down in the policy when establishing the scheme.

#### Lack of Personal Commitment to a Program

An important factor which affects the performance of administrators is their psychological motivations and bureaucratic norms that permeate the Ministries and Departments in which they work. In discussing psychological motivations, Van Meter and Van Horn note that "implementers may screen out a clear message when the decision seems to contradict deeply cherished beliefs."<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the intensity of the implementers' dispositions may affect their performance. Those administrators who hold intense negative preferences may be led to outright and open defiance of the program's objectives. In this respect, the reader is referred to the practice by most top administrators in State Ministries, and especially, the Ministry for Primary Education, who prefer to send their children to private primary schools where fees range between N400 to N500 per annum. A survey I carried out in all UPE schools in Makurdi, the state capital, showed that no single Permanent Secretary sent his child to any public schools as of July of 1983. I asked for the opinion of the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry for Primary Education on this attitude by highly-placed officials in government towards an important project like the UPE. He said that "many" people in the State are skeptical about the quality of education offered by the UPE schools. Five headmasters of UPE schools in Makurdi

whom I talked to on the subject said that more attention is paid by the owners of private schools to standards of education than by those who run public schools. This raises significant doubt as to how committed these administrators are to the program they are supposed to implement.

#### Favoritism Related to One's Home

This kind of favoritism, like any other type, should not exist in the public sector, but as Nicholas Henry notes, "... public administrationists, while increasingly concerned with administrative ethics and decision-making, have not yet addressed themselves to the necessary chore of defining a workable framework of moral choice for the public administrator."<sup>21</sup> The implementers of the UPE scheme, though not politicians per se, have their own constituencies. They cannot afford to ignore these constituencies while dealing with a public issue like the UPE. It is, therefore, common that they distribute school supplies and equipments in favor of their home areas. The Ministry took no action on this complaint. When I asked a top official why the letter received no one's attention, he simply explained that "it lacked merit." Thus, many inequities in distribution of money and supplies may be related to how many contacts a local government has in the Ministry Headquarters. Ministry officials may feel personal allegiances to the areas in which they grew up. Nigerian administrators tend to act on the basis of such allegiances. This is a hypothesis that cannot be tested here, but that is worthy



of future study.

#### Administrative Expediency

In many instances, implementers have considerable discretion in interpreting their superior's decisions and orders. With such discretion, administrators may make decisions based on what is the simplest or the most expedient thing to do. An example of this took place in December of 1981 when the Commissioner in-charge of primary education directed that school materials should be sent to all local government headquarters within five days for distribution to all UPE schools. However, an aide to the Commissioner later gave a counter instruction that because there were not enough vehicles to make the trips within the stipulated times, only a few local government areas should be supplied their shares. The aide, however, used no criteria in determining which of these local government areas should be reached first. One can conclude that the aide sent the vehicles to those local government areas of his preference. This incident took place because the Commissioner had not given detailed instructions concerning the distribution of the school materials. File records examined showed that he simply instructed the aide to ensure that the materials be distributed within five days. The Commissioner's written instruction did not consider the number of vehicles available for the exercise, and funds for the purchase of fuel. In one respect, he could be justified for not going into such minute details, as they fell within the schedule of

duties of his administrative aide. However, such details should have been considered as important to the successful execution of his instructions. Rather than going back to his boss to discuss the problems, the aide used his discretion and selected those local governments that could, in his opinion, be reached under the prevailing circumstances because it was expedient.

The existence of administrative discretion creates situations in which personal motives and politican pressures can interfere with the proper administration of a program. This chapter has reviewed how pressures from the top, lack of personal commitment, local favoritism, and the tendency to do what is expedient, all have disrupted the equitable implementation of the UPE scheme.

CHAPTER IV  
OTHER PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE  
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UPE SCHEME

Having dealt with the specific hypotheses of this research work, we now turn to other general problems which affect the smooth implementation of the UPE program in Benue State. These problems include inadequate planning, rising costs, corruption and irregularities in contract awards, inadequate money for payment of teachers' salaries and allowances, and problems with recruitment of teachers.

Inadequate Planning

One major factor that has led the Federal Government into its present inability to meet its financial obligation toward the UPE scheme is planning without facts. As Wolfgang Stolper noted in his book, Planning Without Facts In Nigeria, "a plan ought to give an intellectual framework within which decisions can be made continuously."<sup>22</sup> The Old Western and Eastern Regions had experimented with the UPE before the Federal Government embarked upon it in 1976. The Eastern Region dropped the UPE and re-introduced fees after one year's unsuccessful experiment in 1956 due to improper planning. One would, therefore, have expected that proper planning would be made by the highest level of Government before embracing it. This would appear not to be the case.

Why would the Federal Government rush to launch the scheme, one would ask? Its introduction was certainly not designed to win over the electorates since it was a military regime. As Okey Onyejekwe correctly pointed out, "... it

was made at a time when the then military regime was not enjoying the utmost confidence of the people. It could be said that the announcement was made to placate the masses of the people."<sup>23</sup> The Federal Military Government inaugurated the UPE at the beginning of the 1976-77 school year. The number of children proved to be much larger than anticipated. During the period, the number of pupils envisaged for Class I throughout the country stood at 2,297,000. However, the actual figure turned out to be 2,992,000. This means that 695,000 pupils were not catered for in terms of budgetary allocations. The effects of such wrong projections and assumptions have led to inability by government to fund the program adequately.

Table 1 below shows Enrollment in Primary Class 1 in projected and actual figures in the first school year of the UPE scheme, the previous year and the year after. It should be noted that in each case, the actual enrollment figures far outstripped what the government anticipated.

Table 8

Enrollment in Primary Class I (Projected and Actual Figures)  
in 1976-1977 for Benue State

1975-76 (,000)		1976-77 (,000)		1977-78 (,000)	
Projected	Actual	Projected	Actual	Projected	Actual
41.1	76.1	99.9	276.2	150.1	194.4

Source: Projections from Lagos. Actual MOE Makurdi

Rising Costs

Inflation of prices in the country has been sustained from two principal factors:

- (1) The continuing effects of the enhanced oil prices during the "boom years" of 1973 and 1974.

- (2) The upward movement of salaries and wages resulting from the implementation of the Udoji Salary Review Commission.

These factors have affected educational funding in the sense that on the capital side, the cost of building classrooms rise along with the increase in prices of building materials. During the research work, I conducted an interview with a contractor engaged in the construction of classroom blocks in Ofu Local Government. He complained bitterly that since the contract was awarded to him in January of 1982, the price of cement had risen from N6 to about N9.00. On the recurrent side, salaries of teachers also rose considerably. This is as a result of the periodical review of salaries of public officers by the Federal Ministry of Establishment. The most recent of these reviews took place in 1982 and it gave teachers an average increase equal to 10 per cent of their salaries. With the foregoing constraints placed on the Federal Government, it had been unable to finance the UPE scheme adequately. On realizing that the UPE is a costly affair, the newly elected President of Nigeria Alhaji Shehu Shagari noted in the 1979/80 Federal Government Budget Speech that "primary education has now become a joint responsibility of the federal, state and local governments as well as local communities."<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the new administration was re-emphasizing the views of the Federal Commissioner of Education, Colonel A. Ali under the military regime when he noted that, "the universal primary education was not an exclusive responsibility of the federal

government, but that of the people of the country -- all parents could contribute to the success of the scheme by ensuring that they provided their children with uniforms, all the required books and other vital necessities for learning."

It is in the area of its inability to fund the UPE scheme entirely that one could apportion blame on the Federal Government. The Federal Government is supposed to allocate funds for the execution of the scheme on a monthly basis. I examined the UPE vote book for 1982 at the Ministry for Primary Education and there was no single month that the Federal Government sent in money by the first day of the month. In one instance, the records revealed that by September 15th of that year, the State Government had not received its July allocation.

#### Contract Awards and Direct Labor

Eugene Bardach has noted that, "... it should not surprise us that most individuals who receive money from government, whether they are civil servants, consultants or contractors, tend to provide less in the way of exchange than many government officials and most taxpayers would like."<sup>26</sup> In this regard, taxpayers are certainly not pleased with the performance of contractors handling UPE projects in the State. The integrity of some of the government officials who awarded these contracts is questionable too. There have been accusations that these officials "ignore the quality of the job performed by a

majority of the contractors because the officials take bribe from the contractors." <sup>27</sup> This irregularity exists in spite of the fact that even "civil servants and staff of parastatals in 1979, contributed five percent of their February and March salaries toward the implementation of the UPE program."<sup>28</sup> The illegal activities between government officials and contractors are so well known that there is little point in commenting on them beyond noting that they exist. The Complaints File in the Ministry reveals that letters of petition regarding contract corruption involving Ministry officials numbered over 10 in the month of July 1981 with respect to four contract awards.

In March of 1980, the government came up with an idea to construct model classrooms through direct labor. Consequently, it set up committees for the exercise in each of the then 13 local government areas. They consisted of a project manager, a coordinator, a co-opted member and a technical officer/adviser. The government in theory, gave each of these committees a free hand to choose the site of the project. The government gave an initial amount of N10,000 to each one of them in July that year for the construction of a block of 6 classrooms, one office and a store. It estimated that when completed, the 13 projects would cost a total of N205,000 i.e., N15,769.23 per block. The government also anticipated that the classroom in each local government would accommodate about 3,120 pupils.

This method of direct labor was designed to reduce

construction costs. A similar project completed through contract awards in July of the same year cost nearly N500,000. The Government would save over N290,000 through the direct labor method. However this plan could not be implemented due to some actions which had clear political motives. In the first place, members of the Committee did not have free hand to select where to site the project. I interviewed one of the Project Managers who requested not to be identified. He told me that no sooner had his Committee settled down to work than the Commissioner and top Government functionaries from the Local Government Area put pressure on the members to site the project in their towns of origin. He further explained that contractors from the local government area also complained that they were being denied the opportunity to contribute their quota to the educational development of their area. He showed me a joint petition written by these contractors to the Government on the issue. The contractors did not just fight to be given the opportunity to contribute. They wanted high profits from the projects. The contractors put pressure on the government and it finally dropped the idea of direct labor and went back to the method of constructing buildings through contract awards.

#### Payments of Teachers' Salaries

In 1980, the Benue State Government expected a total of N38,206,800.64 to pay primary school techers. However, the actual amount contributed by the Federal Government



for that year stood at N1,407,790.00. The State Government by this time found it difficult to finance its own projects since it was one of the new states created in February, 1976, just six months before the launching of the UPE scheme. Besides, the state had other programs like office and residential accommodations to tackle. Therefore, it could not find the balance of N37,206,800.64. The civilian administration started ignoring payment of teachers' salaries and allowances in 1980. I happened to be serving with the Ministry for Primary Education that year. This non-payment of salaries led to the numerous strike actions that teachers in the State have engaged upon in demanding for payment of their salaries. The Government had not been up-to-date in payment of primary school teachers' salaries since that year.

The issue of delays in payment of teachers' salaries has been one of the most controversial aspects of the implementation of the UPE program. During the electioneering campaign for the 1979 elections, the NPN gubernatorial candidate and now governor of the State had promised to improve primary school education by putting an end to the diversion of Federal allocations meant for the execution of the UPE scheme by the State Government. However, the Governor had barely spent a year in office when his administration came under heavy attack by many observers including an editorial opinion by the New Nigerian newspaper of July 8, 1980 "for diverting moneymeant for the scheme to pay contractors who

have executed projects totally unconnected with the UPE project." Thus, not only has the amount coming from the Federal Government become inadequate for the scheme, but the insufficient funds are diverted to other projects. In August of 1980, the state government diverted about N1.3 million meant for payment of teachers' salaries in the Local Government Joint Account to pay the contractor constructing the Makurdi Township Stadium. My interview with officials at the Ministry Headquarters on this allegation confirmed it, although no one agreed to be identified.

Inadequate funding has contributed to low morale among teachers. The issue of low morale of teachers featured prominently in all aspects of this research work. The original aim of imparting knowledge to pupils fails if teachers are not well disposed to teach in the most appropriate manner. It is, therefore, essential that any problem and worries that might adversely affect the teaching mind of teachers should be avoided by the school authorities.

In Benue State, the morale of teachers is low. Since the inception of the civilian administration in October of 1979, primary schools have witnessed an average of "3 months of strike actions by teachers per year."<sup>29</sup> These strike actions have paralyzed the school semesters and in one year, 1981, final year pupils could not graduate in the appropriate month of June. That meant that they could not go into institutions of higher learning that year, at least not in the normal month of October.

The central issue which has been responsible for the

low morale of teachers is that of non-payment of their salaries and allowances. I conducted interviews in two schools selected from three districts in each of the two local governments under survey. On the whole, I interviewed a total of six teachers in each school. The headmaster of each of the schools was among the six interviewed. However, I reached an agreement with the headmasters that the schools and the teachers affected would not be named for fear of any possible harassment by the authorities. The general consensus was that the government had made it impossible for teachers to concentrate on their job through the non-payment of their salaries and allowances. Members of their family and dependents, they argued, were hungry at home and this interfered with their ability to teach effectively. When this writer reminded them that the State Government had problems with the Federal Government as the latter could not meet its financial obligations towards the UPE scheme, more than two-thirds of them said the scheme should be abolished. The government, they recommended, should make parents and guardians pay. On the issue of material and equipment, the headmasters who receive these items from the local government offices said that they received less than one-third of their requirements. All the teachers interviewed said that they found it impossible to teach effectively under such circumstances.

Confronted with the teachers' case, Ministry officials agreed that they could not pay salaries and allowances

regularly. However many of these officials explained that the teachers often displayed lack of patience, understanding, and care for pupils by embarking on strike actions. Many of the officials who held this view must have changed their mind, for they too took part in a 7-day industrial action embarked upon by civil servants in the State late in August of 1983 because the government failed to pay their salaries for two months.

The effects of low teacher morale in UPE schools cannot be over-stated. A few parents who have financial ability have withdrawn their children and sent them to fee-paying primary schools. Evidence of this is shown in the increasing number of pupils in private schools in Makurdi, the state capital, and Ugwolawo and Tse-agberagba. In a private school owned by a religious organization in Makurdi, enrollment rose by 100 per cent in the 1982/83 academic year.

#### Recruitment of Teachers

The State Government has not recruited adequate numbers of qualified teachers. By July of 1980, the total number of teachers in the employment of the Ministry for Primary Education in the State was 25,410, with 11,140 trained and 14,261 untrained. At the inception of the UPE scheme, the State Government had vowed to replace all the untrained teachers with qualified ones in order to raise the standard of education in primary schools. To this end, the State Government opened ten new Teacher Training Colleges in 1976 and it hoped that "by 1981, over 2,000 graduating teachers

from these colleges would replace some of the untrained ones."<sup>30</sup> The training of teachers is to be a continuing process. In 1981, when the government employed the first graduating students of the Teacher Training Colleges, the Government relieved some untrained teachers of their posts in order to make way for the newly qualified ones. This sparked off a lot of protests among the affected teachers. The dismissed teachers, apart from engaging in demonstrations throughout the State, mustered the support of legislators and other political heavyweights from their areas. The State Government had to reconsider its decisions and finally reabsorbed most of the untrained teachers. There is no doubt that the situation became temporarily unhealthy for the UPE scheme. The quality of education imparted by the untrained teachers continues to be poor. However, the Government has embarked on training the untrained teachers. The question is how many of the untrained teachers can be trained in light of the turnout of primary school pupils who, because of lack of opportunities elsewhere, flood Teacher Training Colleges. Investigations I conducted during the research work also revealed that there is also the problem of unwillingness, and often times unpreparedness on the part of some of the untrained teachers to go for further training. Reasons such as family commitment and old age are often offered by them.

The evidence provided in this chapter indicates that inadequate planning, rising cost, corruption in contract

awards, inadequate money to pay teachers' salaries and allowances, and problems related to their recruitment have affected the smooth implementation of the UPE scheme.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has analyzed factors which interfere with the proper and successful administration of the Universal Primary Education scheme in Benue State of Nigeria. One set of factors, analyzed in chapter two, involved political interference related to support for the ruling party in the state during the gubernatorial and state assembly elections held in 1979. The effects of administrative discretion on the implementation of the scheme are also discussed in chapter three. Finally, other problems which range from inadequate planning, rising costs, corruption and irregularities in contract awards, and problems with recruitment of teachers are analyzed in chapter four.

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the implementers of the UPE have not executed the scheme equitably. The goals of the scheme which the government launched in September of 1976, also are not fully achieved. The government failed to meet the projected figures "of graduating 200,000 primary school pupils per year by the end of 1983."<sup>31</sup>

#### Relationship Between the Interfering Factors

The evidence provided in chapter two is consistent with the hypothesis that funding of the UPE in the local government areas varies with the degree of electoral support for the National Party of Nigeria, NPN, which won the gubernatorial and state assembly elections held in 1979. In addition, the nature of administrative discretion, as seen in

chapter three, has led to inequitable implementation of the program. Among other reasons, the exercise of discretion by the administrators of UPE is manipulated by politicians. This represents one way in which administrative discretion is linked to political interference in the implementation of the UPE scheme. This is so because implementation involves a highly politicized set of interactions and interrelationships among actors.

Although information gathered during the research work indicates that the implementers of the UPE are not always given a free hand to execute the program, it is also true that administrators are inherently political in their behavior. Apart from having their own political bases or constituencies, they must respond to political issues that they come across while performing their duties. This may be true, for example, when an aide to the Commissioner distributes more supplies to the Commissioner's local government area in order to show the people in that area that the scheme which is executed by his Ministry is successful. Difficulties in implementing the UPE program arise, therefore, not from a single factor but from the collective interaction of several of the factors analyzed above.

#### Problems and Prospects

The main problems with the implementation of the UPE scheme in Benue State, as highlighted in this paper, include political interference, lack of personal commitment to the scheme by its implementers, favoritism, lack of adequate



planning, and insufficient funds. Although diversion of funds is not one of the main issues focused upon during this research work, it is an important factor affecting the smooth implementation of the scheme in the state as we have seen in chapter two. For the UPE to be a success, there is an urgent need to solve these problems. That is, however, a gigantic task under the political atmosphere that exists in the state. The State Government has no major source of realizing revenue for its projects. It, therefore, relies mainly on the Federal Government for the money it needs in executing its programs, including the UPE. The financial position of the Federal Government has, however, weakened as a result of the world economic recession and the oil glut. Under the present circumstances, the State Government is unlikely to have enough money to fund the UPE scheme.

#### Specific Recommendations

The Benue State Government, like all other governments in the Federation, embarked on the UPE scheme because a majority of parents and guardians do not have money to pay for the education of their children. This research work indicates that the government does not have the financial ability to bear the full cost of providing a universal, free primary education for children in the state. The central factors of political interference, administrative discretion in its different forms, inadequate planning, rising costs, corruption in contract awards, and problems related to the

recruitment of teachers and inadequate money for payment of their salaries, make it impossible to implement the program smoothly.

The biggest problem remains inadequate financing. In view of the increasing school enrollment figures in the state and poor financial position of the government, I would recommend that the UPE scheme be abolished. A number of alternative programs might be created in its place. One possibility to be explored is a program whereby school authorities should encourage primary school pupils to engage in farming. Money realized from farm products could be used to help finance school administration. Such a program would require special training of teachers in improved methods of farming so as to enable them to impart their knowledge to the pupils. The government could also develop a program for subsidizing the school's efforts. Children who have high aptitude and those whose parents are poor could be given scholarship by the government.

The problem of diversion of funds, though not the main issue in this paper, has been detrimental to the equitable implementation of the UPE scheme. This author, therefore, recommends that the federal government should set up an agency to audit how and where all money it sends to the state government is expended. The purpose of such audit is to prevent the types of inequities described in this paper.



## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Okey Onyejekwe. The Military in Economic and Social Development (Cambridge University, 1981).

<sup>2</sup>E.A. Akiga. Policies and Strategies for Post-Primary Education, a lecture delivered at the Ahmadu Bello University Zaira in April 1980.

<sup>3</sup>Source: Published data on Federal Civil Service employees with the office of the head of service, Federal Secretariat Ikoyi Lagos as of June 1983.

<sup>4</sup>I.O. Ajimoko. "Quality and Quantity in Primary Education" (West African Journal of Education 1978, Vol. XX, No. 1) p. 280.

<sup>5</sup>C.C. Taiwo. The Nigerian Education System. Ibadan: (University Press, 1972) p. 41.

<sup>6</sup>Daily Times of Nigeria, Lagos Publication of Thursday, September 7, 1976.

<sup>7</sup>A.O. Lewis. Free Primary Education in Nigeria, London: (Oxford Press, 1975) p. 105.

<sup>8</sup>Chief S.O. Awokoya. Free Education in Western Region. Ibadan: (Government Press, Edition IV, 1962) p. 6.

<sup>9</sup>Source: a report on the take-over of mission schools by government published by the Kwara State Ministry of Information in August 1974.

<sup>10</sup>Pat Williams. "Message for Western Montana," 1983, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup>Source: "Blueprint on the Implementation Committee for the National Policy on Education." 1978-79, p. 127.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>13</sup>G.C. Edwards. Implementing Public Policy. Washington, D.C.: (Congressional Quarterly Press, 1980) p. 55.

<sup>14</sup>Robert T. Nakamura and Frank Smallwood. The Politics of Policy Implementation. New York: (St. Martin's Press, 1980) p. 118.

<sup>15</sup>Eugene Bardach. The Implementation Game: What Happens After a Bill Becomes a Law. Cambridge: (The MIT Press) p. 130.

<sup>16</sup>Source: The Schedule of duties operated by the Ministry for Primary Education, Makurdi.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>19</sup>Edict No. 4 of 1980 "Local Government Joint Account" lays the criteria for sharing funds and materials to all the local governments in the State.

<sup>20</sup>Donald S. Van Meter and Carl E. Van Horn. The Policy Implementation Process A: Conceptual Framework (Administration and Society, 6, No. 4, Feb. 1955) p. 460.

<sup>21</sup>Nicholas Henry. Public Administration and Public Policy. New Jersey: (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980) p. 131.

<sup>22</sup>Wolfgang Stolper. Planning Without Facts in Nigeria. London: (Oxford University Press, 1969) p. 10.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>24</sup>Daily Times of Nigeria, edition of October 2, 1979.

<sup>25</sup>Colonel Ahmadu Ali. "Bearing Responsibility for Primary Education." Lagos: (Daily Times of Nigeria, November 2, 1974) p. 5.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>27</sup>Anonymous Letter of Petition in Complaints File at the Ministry for Primary Education, Makurdi.

<sup>28</sup>"Benue State-the March Towards Progress." Makurdi: (Directorate of Information, 1981) p. 7.

<sup>29</sup>The Nigerian Voice, Makurdi: (August 16, 1983) p. 3.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>31</sup>Source: Ibid., p. 4.

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