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**A Review of Poverty Data, and Assessment of Policies and
Institutions Addressing Poverty Reduction in Enugu State**

by

Paul Francis and Noble Nweze

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1.0 SUMMARY

This paper analyses the nature and extent of poverty in Enugu state and the policies and institutions which address it. It is based largely on secondary data sources.

At the last measure, 57 percent of the citizens of Enugu state were living in poverty, and almost one in six in extreme poverty. Between 1980 and 1996, poverty incidence rose from one household in ten to encompass over a half of the population. Most people (45 vs. 28 percent) think that their living standards have declined further since. Poverty tends to be most severe in rural areas.

Most indicators of human development in the state are very poor indeed. Infant mortality and under-5 mortality are extremely high at 74 and 135 per thousand births respectively. As regards nutritional status, one in five children in Enugu state are stunted, 7 percent wasted, and 10 percent underweight. Only a quarter of households, and only 15 percent of rural households, had access to safe water (i.e. pipe-borne, borehole/handpump or protected well). Literacy rates in Enugu are fair, at 72 percent. School enrolment rates were 84 percent at primary and 61 percent at secondary level. Agriculture is the main source of employment, accounting for 55 percent of the total workforce and 70 percent in rural areas. Out-migration is high, leaving rural areas with an increasingly aged and feminised workforce operating small plots of land at low levels of technology.

Women are disadvantaged in many respects. As well as most agricultural labour, women are responsible for fetching water and firewood, cooking, the care of children, and other household work. Yet they are excluded from control of land and the inheritance of property through customary systems, while political office in both traditional and formal systems is dominated by men. Particularly vulnerable groups in Enugu state include widows, persons living with HIV/AIDS, the disabled, youth, the aged, the mentally ill, and marginalised castes. There is a significant interaction between environmental degradation and poverty, especially in the erosion of agricultural land.

Our review of institutions identified a wide range of government programmes with a bearing on poverty alleviation. Those with an explicit poverty mandate include the State Community Development Coordinating Council (CDCC), and the Federally-supported National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP). Their programmes were found to have had very limited impact. Many sectoral institutions and programmes (health, education, water supply, agriculture, etc.) also impinge on the welfare of the poor. These, too, suffered from deep-seated weaknesses of management, governance and coordination. A lack of coordination between programmes has led to fragmentation and duplication; the absence of consultation with users to inappropriate design and poor performance. Lack of transparency results in the leakage of funds. Poor public expenditure management is associated with disjunctions between policy, budgets and outcomes. Finally, the politicisation of resource allocation leads to programme design apparently better suited to the politics of patronage and gesture than to tackling poverty. Decades of mismanagement have left the population extremely cynical of government programmes, and wary of any association with them. Re-building trust between the government and the governed could be seen as the first necessity for effective poverty alleviation.



The available sources of information on poverty include both quantitative and qualitative data, and provide a reasonable general picture of the nature and distribution of poverty in the state. Some gaps in knowledge exist, including the gender dimension of poverty, and the problems and needs of specific vulnerable groups.

2.0 PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE OF THIS REPORT

This report outlines key sources of information on poverty in Enugu state; synthesises their main findings; presents an assessment of the institutions, policies and programmes that affect the poor; and identifies the main gaps in data on poverty in the state¹. It draws on secondary material, including the published and unpublished sources listed in the references section, and on interviews with a range of stakeholders in Enugu state².

Although data were scattered, sometimes difficult of access, and occasionally hard to reconcile, our search brought to light a substantial quantity of information on poverty and well-being in the state, and we believe our report to be a fairly comprehensive synthesis of the available evidence. Because of the nature of these sources, we have taken the opportunity to make this information more widely available. We have therefore presented our findings in some detail, although we hope in a style that is comprehensible and useful to the non-specialist.

Section 3 introduces Enugu state. Section 4, a conceptual detour, discusses some ways of thinking about poverty. Section 5 gives an overview of the sources of information available on poverty and well-being in Enugu. The main body of our findings is to be found in Sections 6 and 7, which respectively provide a synthesis of what is known about poverty in Enugu State, and review the government and non-governmental programmes and institutions with a direct or indirect bearing on its alleviation. Section 8 draws out conclusions and implications of our findings both as regards both institutions and data relating to poverty.

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Enugu has been the administrative capital of the Eastern Region since before independence. However, the boundaries of Enugu state were established in their present form in 1996. The State lies in the West African tropical rain forest region between latitudes 5° 55' and 7° 10' North and longitudes 6° 50' and 7° 55' East. It is bounded in the east by Ebonyi and Abia states, in the west by Anambra state, in the north by Kogi and Benue states and in the south by Ebonyi state. The population was 2.1 million in 1991, projected to 2.9 million in 2003³. With a surface area of 7,765 square kilometres, Enugu state has a population density of 273 persons per square kilometre. This is almost three times the mean national population density of 96 persons per square kilometre (Ukwu et al 1998)⁴.

¹ This report was produced as an output of the *Scoping Study on Conducting Assessments in Poverty and Wealth Generation in Enugu State*, undertaken by the consultants for the DFID-supported State and Local Government Programme and the Enugu State Reform Team between 21 May and 7 June 2003.

² Listed in Annex 2 to the main report.

³ 1991 Census: National Population Commission, Enugu. Projected at an annual rate 2.7 percent.

⁴ Population densities based on 1991 figures. Projecting growth at 2.7 percent p.a., populations densities can be assumed to be 38 percent higher in 2003.



The state has seventeen local government areas (LGAs). The three LGAs of Enugu Municipality (Enugu South, Enugu North and Enugu East) together account for 22 percent of the population, and Nsukka, a rapidly growing university town, a further 10 percent of total population (Enugu State 1999). Apart from these conurbations, the other 13 LGAs, home to two-thirds of the population, are mainly rural, though their population densities vary widely – between 61 persons per square kilometre for Uzo-Uwani in the west of the state and 930 persons/km² in the case of Igbo-Eze in the north. Small-scale agriculture remains the main economic activity for most of the population.

Ethnically speaking, the majority of the inhabitants of Enugu state are Northern Igbo, though both in- and out-migration are substantial. The traditional social organisation in the state conforms to the typical Igbo segmentary structure. Igbo society has been characterised as open, with authority and leadership going to those who achieved economic success. However, as Ukwu et al (1998) point out, in the emerging economic class structure, patron-client relationships between the elite and their poor relations have to some extent eroded the segmentary principle of equivalence.

4.0 WHAT IS POVERTY?

The way in which we define poverty affects the way in which we will approach the task of eliminating it. In the decades leading up to the 1980s, poverty tended to be thought of as simply lack of income (DFID 2001). Since then, ideas about poverty have increasingly broadened. There are two main reasons for this. First, it has been increasingly recognised that the experience of poverty is a multidimensional one: to be poor is often to suffer ill-health, to be socially excluded, to be vulnerable. Secondly, as understanding of the causes of poverty has developed, we have learned how economic, social, cultural, political and geographical factors tend to reinforce each other, often conspiring to keep the poor in poverty.

Definitions of poverty based on a minimum income or level of consumption continue to be essential to poverty measurement, partly because they are quantitative, and so can be compared over time and between groups, and be subject to the rigour of statistical testing. Measuring poverty in this way requires the definition of a poverty line; that is a standard of living that separates the poor from the non-poor. There are a number of ways of setting this line – for example as a minimum income, level of consumption/expenditure or calorific intake of food. In Nigerian surveys, as we shall see, the approach taken has typically been to fix two lines relative to the standard of living: a moderate poverty line equivalent to two-thirds of mean per capita expenditure, and a core poverty line, equivalent to one third of mean per capita expenditure. These lines define three groups: core, or extreme poor, moderately poor, and non-poor.

Health and education ('human capital' in economic terms) are as essential to well-being as incomes. In a significant step towards broader definitions of poverty, UNDP in 1990 introduced the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI combines in a single index gross domestic product (a measure of average income), with measures reflecting health and educational attainment: life expectancy, literacy, and school enrolment.



Well-being has thus increasingly become recognised as a broad phenomenon, encompassing the whole range of factors which influence human capabilities – our capacity to do and to be (Sen 1999). These include the social and institutional environment within which we live: levels of social autonomy, empowerment, political representation, access to justice and physical security. Poverty, or the lack of well-being, may take the form of physical isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness as well as lack of income and assets (Chambers 1983).

Some of these attributes may be measured and counted, and are thus amenable to quantitative analysis, either in absolute or in relative terms. Other aspects of poverty, such as its institutional or cultural dimensions, or its lived experience, are more complex or subjective, and are thus best captured by qualitative research. Participatory methods of research, in which the opinions of the poor are sought about their own condition, are now generally accepted as the best way of learning about the subjective experience of poverty, and accessing local insights into its causes and remedies.

5.0 WHAT SOURCES EXIST ON POVERTY IN ENUGU STATE?

A broad understanding of poverty, then, requires both quantitative and qualitative data. Here we review the sources of information of these kinds available on Enugu state.

5.1 Quantitative Data

The main sources of quantitative data on poverty in Nigerian are Consumer Expenditure Surveys (CES). The most recent of these was undertaken in 1996/97 by the Federal Office of Statistics with a sample of 14,600 households selected from all of the then 31 states of the federation. Similar surveys had been undertaken in 1980, 1985, and 1992 which permit trend analysis⁵.

A Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) survey was administered in Enugu state in June 2002. The CWIQ is an innovative survey package directed at obtaining a standard set of key social indicators. The survey is designed to be rapidly analysable so as to ensure the prompt availability of findings. In Enugu, the CWIQ survey was carried out on 1,700 households from a random list of 170 selected enumeration areas – 10 for each LGA across the three senatorial zones (FOS 2002)⁶. The results were made available within a matter of months, although it is unfortunate that the data have not always been analysed and presented in the most informative manner⁷.

The Enugu State Poverty Report, undertaken in 1998 with UNDP support, included a sample survey of 4,276 households. The sample frame was based on a 10 percent sample of households (selected by quota) from a 10 percent sample of census enumeration areas (selected by systematic sampling) from all LGAs in the state (Ukwu et. al 1998).

⁵ Poverty lines were based on the 1985 data according to the method described above, and inflated by the consumer price index for other years. The lines thus relate to constant levels of consumption and expenditure, and produce directly comparable figures.

⁶ The CWIQ method was developed collaboratively by the World Bank with other international partners. The survey in Enugu was undertaken under the auspices of the Federal Office of Statistics, the Enugu State Statistical Agency, and the British Council.

⁷ Gender disparities, for example, cannot be clearly interpreted from the analysis.



A Social Assessment of Enugu State undertaken in 2001 to inform the design of the Micro-watershed and Environmental Management Programme – MEMP (FGN 2001) provides both quantitative and qualitative data on 34 rural communities, obtained through a survey of 456 households and focus group interviews (FGN 2001).

Nweze's 2002 pilot study of social capital in Enugu state collected detailed quantitative information on membership of groups and associations in two communities.

5.2 Qualitative Data

An investigation by Nweze and Igbokwe (1999) undertaken as part of the Nigerian Voice of the Poor study entailed in-depth qualitative research in Okpuje in Nsukka LGA in 1999. The Enugu State Poverty Report also includes evidence from focus group discussions, as does the Social Assessment of Enugu State (Ukwu et. al 1998; FGN 2001)⁸.

5.3 Other Social Indicators

The authors have drawn on a range of other sources on human development indicators for Enugu state or the south-eastern region of Nigeria. The most important of these have been: the Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey of 1999 (NPCN 2000); and the FOS/UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys of 1995 and 1999 (FOS/UNICEF 1995, 2000). Sources of official statistics include the Enugu State Statistical Yearbook 1996-98 (Enugu State 1999), and other government publications (e.g. Enugu State 2001a).

6.0 POVERTY INCIDENCE IN ENUGU STATE

This section synthesises what is known about poverty and well-being in Enugu state. Beginning with income and consumption, the most conventional measure of poverty, we then turn in Section 6.2 to qualitative and subjective knowledge of poverty. Key social indicators are reviewed in Section 6.3, and subsequent sections (6.4-6.8) respectively review information on health, water and sanitation, education, employment and agriculture. Three sections (6.9-6.11) then examine 'cross-cutting', but vital, aspects of poverty: its geographical, environmental, and gender dimensions. Finally, Section 6.12 identifies a number of social groups in Enugu state who are particularly vulnerable.

6.1 Income Poverty

The most recent data, from 1996, that 56 percent of the citizens of Enugu state were living in poverty, and almost one in six in extreme poverty (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage poverty head count in Enugu state, 1996

	Core Poor	Moderately Poor	Non-poor
1996	15.4	41.3	43.2

Source: FOS 1999 based on NCS 1996

To obtain an idea of the trends in poverty in Enugu state, it is necessary to turn to statistics relating to the former Anambra state, of which Enugu was a part up to 1991. Table 2 (illustrated in Figure 1) documents the marked growth in the proportion of Enugu/Anambra households suffering income poverty over the last two decades.

⁸ In addition, Francis *et al.* (1996) includes qualitative information on poverty and local institutions from two communities in the State.

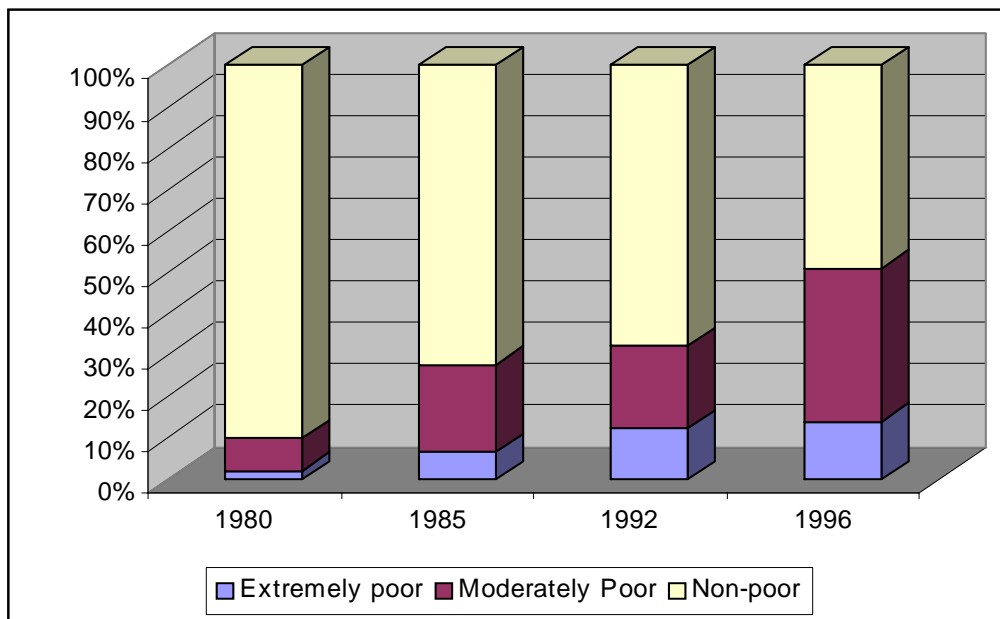


Table 2: Growing Poverty – Percentage Poverty Head Count in Combined Enugu/Anambra States

	Extremely poor	Moderately Poor	Non-poor
1980	2.1	7.8	90.1
1985	6.7	20.9	72.3
1992	12.3	19.9	67.7
1996	13.9	37.1	49.0

Source: FOS 1999

Figure 1: Percentage Poverty Head Count in Combined Enugu/Anambra States



As these statistics show, in just sixteen years from 1980, the number of poor in the two present-day states rose steadily from one in ten to over a half of the population. Over this period those living in extreme poverty rose from a very small proportion (one in fifty) to one in every seven citizens. In fact, these figures underestimate poverty in Enugu state itself, since the Anambra part of the combined area is substantially better off (42 percent poor compared to 57 percent in Enugu in 1996).

The increasing poverty documented in these figures corresponds to a deteriorating national picture over these years, as table 3 demonstrates. The numbers of Nigerian poor increased from 18 million in 1980 to an extraordinary 67 million by 1996.

Table 3: The National Context – Percentage Poverty Head Count in Nigeria

	Extremely poor	Moderately Poor	Non-poor
1980	6	21	73
1985	12	34	54
1992	14	29	57
1996	29	36	34

Source: FOS 1999

Declining incomes trailed by a dramatic fall in other social indicators which meant that, in spite of the country's massive oil wealth, its citizens fared much worse than even those in other sub-Saharan African countries in recent decades. In 1998, Nigeria's Human Development Indicator was 151st of 174 countries (UNDP 2000).

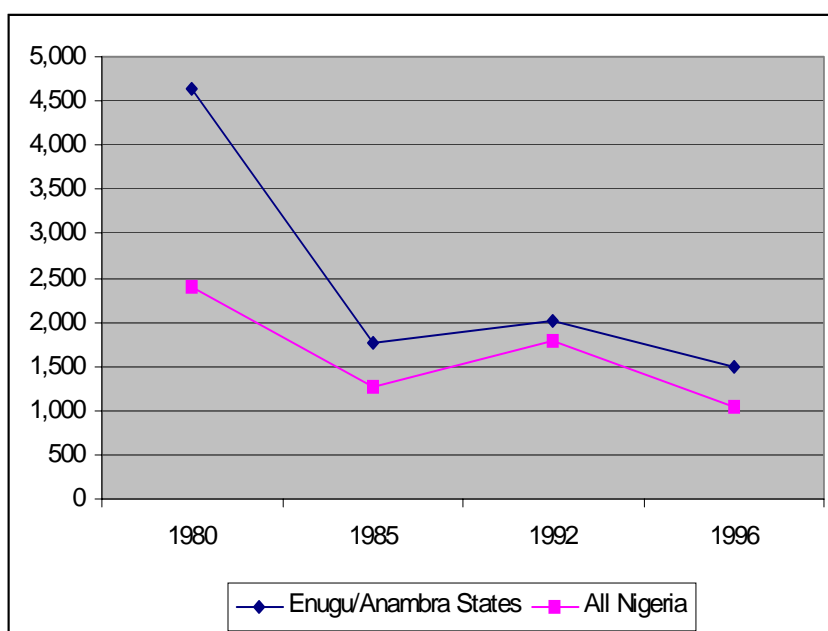
Table 4 and Figure 2 show trends in per capita expenditure for Enugu state and for Nigeria as a whole. The decline in Enugu state (by a factor of three) over sixteen years is dramatic, and was much greater than that for the country as a whole, severe though the national picture was. By 1996, the money spent on food by Enugu/Anambra households was less than a half that in 1980 (FOS 1999).

Table 4: Per Capita Expenditure

	Enugu/Anambra States	All Nigeria
1980	4,644	2,400
1985	1,773	1,265
1992	2,023	1,781
1996	1,497	1,048

Source: FOS 1999
(Naira, constant 1996 prices)

Figure 2: Per Capita Expenditure



Source: FOS 1999
(Naira, constant 1996 prices)

Other, more recent, surveys suggest even more severe levels of poverty. While, for methodological reasons, it is not possible to compare their findings directly to those of the national consumption surveys given above, an intensive survey of Enugu state undertaken by Ukwu et al. in 1998 showed very high levels of poverty both in terms of income and expenditure (Table 5)⁹. On the basis of reported income, over 90 percent of rural were poor, and about three-quarters of these very poor. Of urban households, two-thirds were poor, and 40 percent very poor. Reported expenditures generally tend to present a more positive picture than incomes, as they do here, but even these figures imply that four-fifths of Enugu state's population live in poverty.

Table 5: Classification of Enugu Households by Income and Expenditure 1998

Income			
	Very poor	Moderately Poor	Non-poor
Rural	75	17	8
Urban	41	26	33
Total	69	19	12
Expenditure			
	Very poor	Moderately Poor	Non-poor
Rural	63	22	15
Urban	34	24	42
Total	59	22	19

Source: Ukwu et al. 1998

6.2 Local Conceptions Of Poverty And Its Causes

Poverty is a lived experience as well as a statistical abstraction. What do the poor have to say about their own lives? The sources of qualitative information listed above contain some valuable insights into local perceptions of poverty and social deprivation in Enugu state. In Okpuje, Nsukka LGA, for example, groups of villagers in discussion identified between three and five socio-economic groups (see Table 6).

As we see, there is considerable overlap between the social categories mentioned by different groups, and also in the definitions which they offered, though there are also interesting differences. For all, well-being includes the ability to consume (most fundamentally, to eat well, but also to clothe oneself) and to accumulate assets – physical assets, such as houses, land, oil-palm plantations, cars and also political assets such as titles. Social obligations are also central. These apply first to immediate kin – to marry and have children, to feed one's family, to educate one's progeny, to pay their medical expenses, and perhaps to set relatives up in business. Responsibilities are also due to the wider community – to contribute to collective initiatives and development schemes, and to be hospitable to strangers.

Influence and autonomy are also clear concerns. The wealthy accumulate titles and influence through meeting community obligations. The poor, on the other hand, have to serve the wealthy for survival (and so to be 'very obedient') and even to rely on their wives to support them.

⁹ Ukwu *et al.* derived their poverty line from the average household income in the Nigerian Human Development Report, 1997, adjusted for inflation. The line defining extreme poverty was taken as one half of this.



Table 6: Categories and Qualities of Social Strata Elicited from Different Groups

	Adult men	Adult women	Male youth	Female youth
Agbenu or ofieri (wealthy)	Prosperous farmer Has servants Is generous Titled Owns much land Influential Participates in development activities Pays all community levies Accommodates strangers	Owens a house Makes financial contribution to community Owns land Owns oil palm trees Helps relations Educates children Looks after wife very well	Titled Self-sufficient Many wives Many children	Many houses Educates many children Has cars Can assist the poor Sets up relations in trade Titled Well-fed Enables wives and mother to take titles
Okorobia or dimkpa (quite well off)	Feeds well Serves community Plays leadership role	n/a	Subsistence farmer Eats well Credit-worthy (can re-pay) Hard working Ambitious	Owens a house Educates children Feeds self and children well May have car or motorcycle Has just enough for himself and family
Akpaka ji ike agba or Ike kete orie (not well-off)	A ne'er do well Does not feed well Does not take title Efforts usually in vain Serves wealthy to survive Children not regular in school	Works very hard to earn a living Lives from hand to mouth Usually married Educates children, but with difficulty	n/a	n/a
Ogbenye or Ehu (poor)	Does not feed well Drowns his sorrows in kai-kai (local gin) Looks wretched Restless and aggressive Flouts rules and regulations Does not take title Does not pay community levies Relies heavily on wife	Lives on charity Depends on God Feeds poorly Cannot pay school fees Cannot pay hospital bills Does not own a good house	Struggles hard but is unlucky and lacks resources Eats poorly Cannot meet responsibilities Rarely marries	Does not feed fine Does not have a house Cannot send children to school Not properly clothed



Onehe (very poor)	n/a -	n/a -	Married Can feed immediate family Poor but respected	n/a -
Ehu (destitute)	n/a -	n/a -	Lazy Gluttonous drinker, but cannot buy Often homeless Very obedient Plays a lot of eche (game) Visits a lot	n/a -

Source: Adapted from Nweze and Igbokwe 1999.

Concepts of morality and fate are embedded in these discussions. Ambition drives the less well off, and the willingness to take a well-judged risk is respected in this culture. On the other hand, the shiftless poor are seen as lazy and untrustworthy, with a predisposition to drunkenness, aggression and sponging. Others are simply thwarted by bad luck.

The distinctions made by male youth between ogbenye, onehe, and ehu embody such moral assessments. According to them, ogbenye, though poor, work hard and try to meet their responsibilities. Even if their success is limited, they are to be respected. The category onehe, to which only male youth referred, are typically nuclear families with children who may depend on the husband's father in a crisis. These two groups are the 'worthy' or 'deserving' poor. Ehu, in contrast, are the minority who brings down fate on their own heads through indolence, irresponsibility and inappropriate sociability. One might speculate that the fact that male youth was the only group to distinguish three categories of poor was a reflection of their insecurity in facing the future. Other groups likewise showed particular preoccupations – women and female youth tended to stress responsibilities towards the family, adult men to emphasise political responsibilities.

All groups thought that well-being had been on the decline in recent years, and that the number of wealthy agbenu and ofieri had decreased markedly over the last ten years, typically from a quarter of households to one in ten, and the proportion of poor to have risen. Young men considered ehu to be a category that had hardly existed ten years before. The increasing reliance on remittances from migrants was given as one sign of declining fortunes.

The main causes of poverty elicited from adult men were lack of agricultural capital and inputs, shortage of farmland, forest degradation, and unemployment. Adult women thought the lack of water and roads the main causes of poverty. Male youth referred to pressure on land, and the soil degradation that resulted; female youth to lack of training and inadequate marketing and storage facilities. All groups saw these causes as resulting in malnutrition, ill health, increasing crime, and ultimately an early death.



6.3 Key Indicators Of Human Development

Table 7 gives some key social indicators for Enugu state distinguishing rural from urban respondents. Substantially more households interviewed in 2002 considered themselves to have become worse-off over the previous year than thought themselves better off. This was especially so in urban areas. Three-quarters of households had difficulty in satisfying their food needs at least at some time over the preceding year. This table also includes key indicators relating to health, education and employment, which will be analysed more systematically in subsequent sections.

6.4 Health And Poverty

A nation’s health, and especially that of its children, is perhaps as good as any measure as of its quality of life. Yet Nigeria’s health indicators are as poor as those of almost any nation.

Table 7: Some Key Social Indicators for Enugu State

	Enugu total (%)	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Household economic situation compared to one year ago:			
Better now	28.5	26	35
Worse now	45.2	45	47
Difficulty in satisfying food needs over previous year	74.8	77	71
Access to safe water supply	25.9	52	15
Adult literacy rate	72.5	65	91
Employment			
Unemployed ¹⁰	5.9	4	10
Male	5	n/a	n/a
Female	7	n/a	n/a
Underemployed ¹¹	11.2	11	11
Male	14	n/a	n/a
Female	9	n/a	n/a
Primary School			
Access to Primary School	73.4	67	89
Primary enrolment	83.8	81	91
Satisfaction	61.5	59	68
Secondary School			
Access to Secondary School	35.4	30	49
Secondary enrolment	61.2	57	73
Satisfaction	40.4	36	51
Medical Services			
Health Access	37.4	27	62
Need	21.8	24	18
Use	21.1	22	18
Satisfaction (of those using)	13.3	14	11
Child Nutrition			
Stunting	19.1	22	14
Wasting	7.0	6	9
Underweight	10.4	11	8

Source: Adapted from FOS 2002

¹⁰ Unemployed defined as ‘persons who did not work in the four week period preceding the survey and who looked for work in the same period. The inactive population, primarily students and retired persons, is not included’.

¹¹ Underemployed defined as ‘persons who sought to increase earnings in the seven days preceding the survey’.



6.4.1 Child nutrition

Data collected in 2002 show that 19 percent of children in Enugu state are stunted, 7 percent wasted, and 10 percent underweight¹². While stunting and underweight were more prevalent in rural areas, wasting was more prevalent in urban areas (Table 7). Boys tended to have somewhat poorer nutritional status than girls (23 percent compared to 15 percent stunting; 8 percent to 7 percent wasting; 11 percent to 9 percent underweight). Only 17 percent of those surveyed had participated in state nutrition programmes (FOS 2002).

Figures for south-eastern Nigeria (of which Enugu state is a part) from the National Demographic and Health Survey of 1999 indicate even higher rates of malnutrition, with over one third of children (35 percent) stunted, 8 percent wasted, and 18 percent underweight (NPCN 2000)¹³.

6.4.2 Child mortality

Table 8 shows the extremely high levels of childhood mortality in south-eastern Nigeria. Under-5 mortality is exceptionally high at 135 per thousand^{14,15}. It is perhaps necessary to pause for a moment to absorb the toll of human suffering that this statistic implies: one child in seven does not live to see his or her fifth birthday.

Table 8: Childhood Mortality (per Thousand) in South-Eastern Nigeria, 1999

Neonatal mortality ¹⁶	37.3
Post-neonatal mortality	37.1
Infant mortality (0-1 year)	74.3
Child mortality	35.5
Under 5 mortality	135.0

Source: NPCN 2000

Figure 3 shows the percentage distribution of causes of infant and child mortality and morbidity for Nigeria as a whole. It is striking that a relatively small number of causes – malaria, diarrhoea, acute respiratory tract infections and vaccine-preventable diseases¹⁷, all of which are preventable or treatable – account for more than nine out of ten cases of death and disease in infants and under-fives (UNICEF 2001:40).

¹² Stunted children are short for their age. Their height is more than two standard deviations below the standard (NCHS) height for age.

Wasted children are underweight for their height. Their weight is more than two standard deviations below the standard (NCHS) weight for height.

Underweight children are short for their age. Their weight is more than two standard deviations below the standard (NCHS) weight for age.

¹³ Using the same definitions as in note 12 above for sample of 368 children under three years of age (c.f. CWIQ methodology includes children up to five).

¹⁴ This figure is consistent with the estimate given in the *Enugu State Poverty Report* of under-five mortality rates of 111 and 24 for rural and urban locations.

¹⁵ For the purposes of comparison, under-5 mortality averages 6 per thousand in advanced industrial nations, and 90 in developing countries as a whole (UNICEF 2002).

¹⁶ Neonatal mortality is the probability of dying within the first month of life.

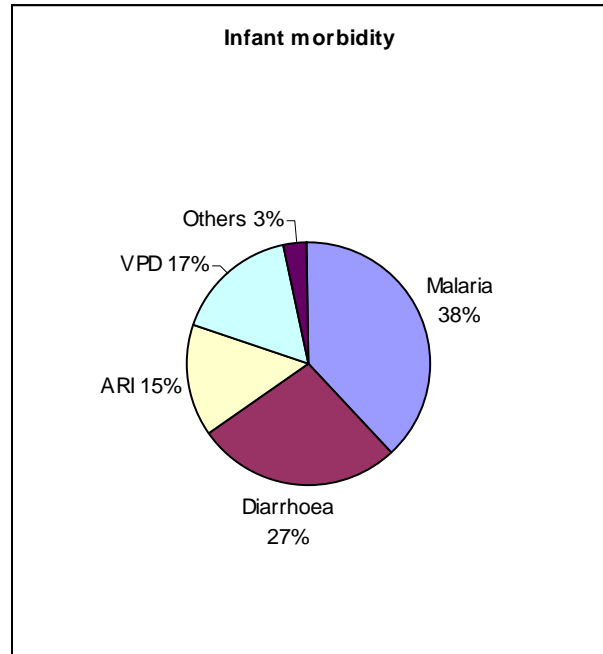
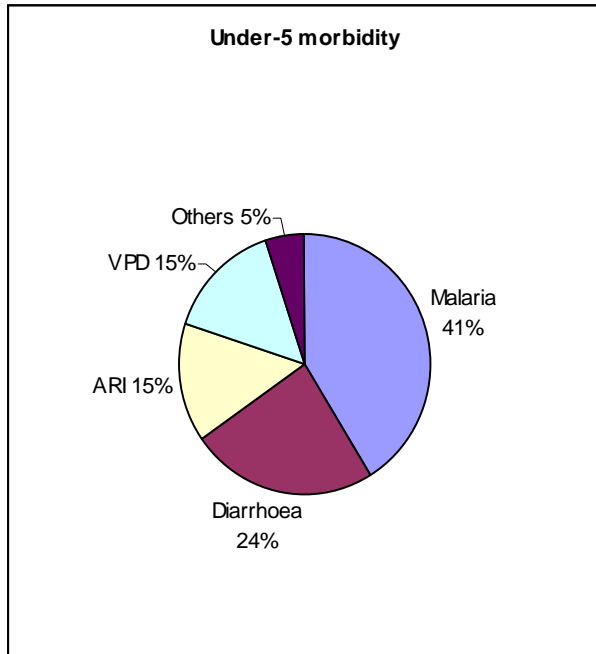
Post-neonatal mortality is the probability of dying after the first month, but within the first year of life.

Infant mortality is the probability of dying within the first year of life.

Under-five mortality is the probability of dying within the first five years of life.

¹⁷ Pertussis, cerebro-spinal meningitis, measles, neo-natal tetanus.

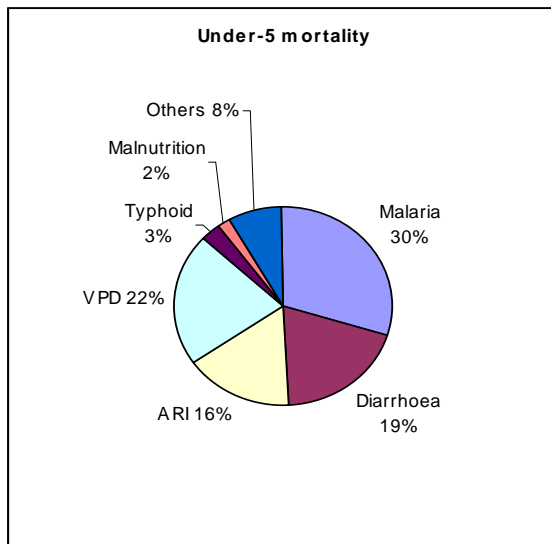
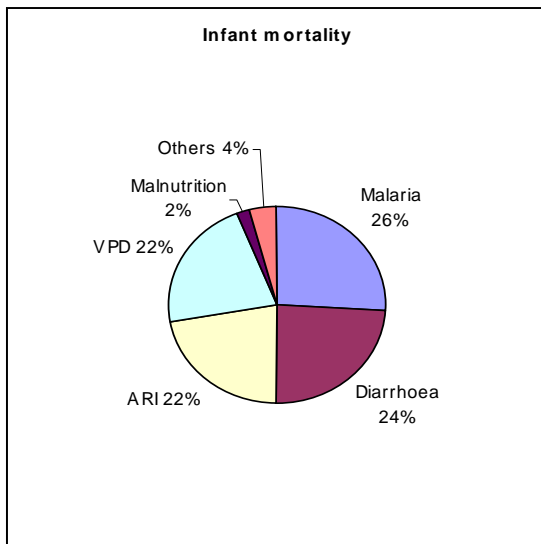
Figure 3: Percentage Breakdown of Under-5 and Infant Mortality and Morbidity by Reported Causes: all Nigeria



ARI = acute respiratory tract infections; diseases.

VPD = vaccine-preventable

Source: UNICEF 2001



6.4.3 Immunisation coverage

There was a steep decline in immunisation rates in the 1990s in Nigeria as a whole. The most recent data for the south-eastern zone of Nigeria indicate that only one in four children is fully immunised (that is, for BCG, DPT3, OPV 3 and measles). Eighteen percent of children had received no immunisation at all (NPCN 2000; UNICEF 2001).

6.4.4 Access to and use of medical services

Only 37 percent of Enugu households (27 percent in rural areas) had reasonable access to health facilities¹⁸. About one in five of households reported the need for medical services in the four weeks preceding the survey (24 percent of rural and 17.8 percent of urban), and a similar proportion had actually consulted a health practitioner during that period. Of those who did consult, only 13 percent indicated satisfaction with the medical service received. The cost of treatment was the main reason for dissatisfaction (70 percent), followed by the long wait to see medical personnel (20 percent), the poor outcome of treatment (18 percent) and the non-availability of drugs (12 percent) (FOS 2002).

These complaints about cost, delay and drug availability perhaps explain why pharmacists were the most commonly consulted source of health consultation. 36 percent of informants had consulted a pharmacist or chemist, compared to the 30 percent who had attended private hospitals and 19 percent public hospitals. Private doctors and dentists accounted for 5 percent of consultations and traditional healers 6 percent. It is notable that, for both rural and urban communities, Community Health Centres seemed to be almost irrelevant as sources of treatment – only 2 percent of users had visited them. Rural populations were particularly reliant on pharmacists and traditional healers, such that a little over a half of consultations took place at formal health facilities, either public or private (FOS 2002).

Unsurprisingly, poor access to services and malnutrition are associated with very unfavourable health outcomes. The WHO's World Health Report 2000 assesses the performance of the health systems of its 191 member states. According to every single criteria Nigeria was near the bottom, often being outperformed even by countries ravaged by civil war (Table 9) (WHO 2000)

Table 9: Comparative Performance of Nigeria's Health System

Criterion	Place of Nigeria
Disability adjusted life expectancy	163rd of 191
Equality of child survival	187th of 191
Overall health system performance	187th of 191
Impact on level of health	175th of 191
Health expenditure per capita	176th of 191
Overall goal attainment	184th of 191
Fairness in financial contributions	180th of 191
Responsiveness	149th of 191

Source: WHO 2000

Enugu state's health infrastructure, policy and programmes are considered further in Section 7.4.

¹⁸ Defined as living less than 30 minutes away by transportation commonly used by the household.

6.5 Access To Water And Sanitation

Quality of drinking water is one of the main determinants of health, and much time and labour (generally of women and children) may be spent in collecting it. Access to water is therefore an important dimension of well-being. Forty percent of all Enugu state households, and a half of rural households, were more than half an hour from the nearest source of drinking water. Only a quarter of households, and only 15 percent of rural households, had access to safe water (i.e. pipe-borne, borehole/handpump or protected well)¹⁹. In rural areas, most of the remainder relied on unsafe sources such as unprotected wells, rivers and ponds. In urban areas, a third of households (generally the poorest) have to buy their water from vendors using hand carts or water-tankers. Only a little over a half (53 percent) of households had some means of sanitation – most commonly a flush-to-septic tank or covered pit latrine (FOS 2002).

6.6 Educational Status

Literacy rates in Enugu state are fair, at 72 percent, though higher for men than women (80% c.f. 66%), and in urban rather than rural areas (91% c.f. 65%)²⁰. Just under three quarters of children had reasonable access to primary schools, and primary enrolment was 84 percent²¹. Sixty-one percent of those surveyed were satisfied with primary education. Only 35 percent of households had ready access to secondary education, and 61 percent of children were enrolled. The satisfaction rating for secondary schools was 62 percent. Access, enrolment and levels of satisfaction were all higher in urban than rural areas for both primary and secondary schools (Table 7). The reasons given for dissatisfaction with school were: high fees (47 percent), lack of teachers (34 percent), poor facilities (23 percent) poor teaching (22 percent), and lack of books and other supplies (16 percent) (FOS 2002). Factors influencing the quality of education in the state are considered in Section 7.4.

6.7 Employment

Most of the working population (78 percent) were self-employed (86 percent in rural, 55 percent in urban areas). Agriculture is the main source of employment, accounting for 55 percent of the total workforce and 70 percent in rural areas. The proportion of women in agriculture, at 61 percent, was higher than that of men (47 percent). Trade was the next most important activity (24 percent of females and 14 percent of males, followed by services (8 percent of females, 14 percent of males), and education and health workers (5 percent of both male and female).

Unemployment affected 6 percent of the population (5 percent of men and 7 percent of women). Fourteen percent of men and 9 percent of women were underemployed (see Table 7 and notes). The underemployed were predominantly self-employed persons (83 percent), and half of them were in the agricultural sector (with another 23 percent in trade).

¹⁹ Other surveys of access to safe water in southeastern Nigeria as a whole, give higher figures: 34 percent and 39 percent for 1995 and 1999 respectively (FOS/UNICEF 1995, 2000).

²⁰ Of persons aged over 15.

²¹ School access is defined as children living in households with a primary/secondary school less than 30 minutes away. Enrolment is defined as children currently in school.



There are a number of industries around Enugu, coal mining being the longest established. Others include brewing, vehicle assembly and construction materials. The latest available figures, for 1998, suggest that there are some 9,882 civil servants, 9,615 local government employees, 4,675 parastatal employees, and 17,735 teachers in the State. The figures suggest that 5 percent of the working-age population may be employed by the government.

Both in- and out-migration in the state are high. Incomers account for some 12 percent of the population. Most come from neighbouring states in the south-east of Nigeria. Migrants are concentrated in urban areas, though there is a sizeable influx of agricultural labour and migrant farmers in some rural LGAs. Out-migration is an even more striking characteristic of Enugu state: 41 percent of households interviewed in 1998 reported having members of their immediate family living outside. Some recorded up to five such members; and for every ten households there were eight migrants. Over a third of migrants remained within Enugu state, and a further quarter in south-eastern Nigeria. Other parts of Nigeria, especially the south-west (20 percent) and middle belt (10 percent), accounted for a further 35 percent. Quite striking was the global nature of migration – 14 percent of urban households had a member abroad, the US being the most favoured destination (Ukwu et al. 1998).

6.8 Agriculture

As already noted, 70 percent of the rural population work in agriculture. The main crops are cassava, yam, cocoyam, maize, rice, and vegetables while livestock include sheep, goats, pigs and poultry. Ecologically favoured locations for agricultural production include Isi Uzo, Uzo Uwani, Awgu and Nkanu LGAs.

Seventy-seven percent of households hold land (FOS 2002). Farm size is small, generally less than half a hectare. Extended kin groups retain control over land, though sales are becoming more common. In Igboland, including Enugu State, rights in land traditionally derive from membership of the patrilineage. Rights of absolute ownership in land rest with the extended family: individual members are granted land by the family head, and, this may be used by his children. However, neither the grantee nor any of his descendants after him may alienate rights in the land in any way. While the entire family has proprietary rights in the land, the individual grantee possesses only usufructory rights over portions allotted to him under specified conditions (Huth 1969; Famoriyo, 1979). Land may also be acquired through purchase, pledge, exchange, lease, borrowing or gift (FGN 2001).

The family is the main source of farm labour, though it may be supplemented by hired, exchange or reciprocal labour. According to Okorji (1986), women contribute more than half of the total labour in south-east Nigeria farming systems. A more recent survey of Enugu state, reported that “women provide 58-68 percent of the agricultural labour force, and produce up to 80 percent of the food for family consumption. It is the women in the state that do most of the weeding, harvesting, processing and marketing of food crops” (FGN 2001:23). As a consequence of out-migration, the farming population is increasingly not only a feminised, but also an ageing one. The same survey reveals a ratio of 82 males to every 100 females in the rural communities surveyed (FGN 2001).



While traditional agriculture is complex and sophisticated, levels of technology are low, and chemical inputs not much used. Agricultural credit, such as is available, is obtained “*largely from informal sources such as personal savings, friends, relations, money lenders and co-operative societies. Commercial banks, development banks and government credit agencies provide very limited credit to farmers because of the complexity of the procedures involved*” (FGN 2001:23)

6.9 Spatial Dimensions Of Poverty

Few of the available sources of socio-economic data give information about local variation in the incidence of poverty. However, the CWIQ survey presents findings disaggregated by the three zones of the State. Some key social indicators by zone are presented in Table 10. Zone A consists of Enugu and the eastern part of the state, zone B the south and west, a zone C the north and west of the state. The figures reflect a number of factors, of which two are most notable. First, zone A includes the Enugu conurbation, which seems to have pushed up most social indicators. Second, zone C is relatively remote and poorly served by infrastructure: the statistics indicate worse access to primary and secondary schools and health facilities, as well as poorer child nutrition. It is characteristic of Nigerian social demography that the poor are clustered in poor communities: not only are more remote LGAs likely to be poorer, but within those LGAs, more isolated communities can be predicted to contain a disproportionate amount of deprivation.

6.10 Gender Dimensions Of Poverty

The gender division of labour, responsibility and power in any society reflects interdependence and cooperation on one hand, and inequalities and conflict on the other. Poverty is thereby prominently inscribed with a gender dimension. We have already noted differences between male and female school enrolment and adult literacy (Table 11). Women are over-represented in agriculture, yet generally have restricted access to farmland which, under customary land tenure systems, they can only cultivate on behalf of their husbands or the male head of a land-owning unit. They are similarly excluded from the inheritance of property, given the patrilineal principles of kinship norms. Traditional titles are also largely the monopoly of men (Ukwu et al. 1998).

Table 10: Key Social Indicators by Zone

	Zone A (%)	Zone B (%)	Zone C (%)
Household economic situation compared to one year ago			
Better now	33	28	23
Worse now	46	37	51
Difficulty in satisfying food needs over previous year	72	76	77
Access to safe water supply	36	13	26
Adult Literacy Rate	82	65	67
Employment			
Unemployed	9	5	3
Underemployed	10	15	10
Primary School			
Access to Primary School	78	81	63
Primary enrolment	84	82	84
Satisfaction	60	62	63
Secondary School			
Access to Secondary School	40	37	29
Secondary enrolment	66	64	53
Satisfaction	44	44	33
Medical Services			
Health Access	51	33	24
Need	20	24	23
Use	20	23	22
Satisfaction (of those using)	11	16	14
Child Nutrition			
Stunting	13	22	25
Wasting	9	4	8
Underweight	11	11	9

Source: Adapted from FOS 2002

Zone A: Enugu North, Enugu South, Enugu East, Nkanu East, Nkanu West and Isi-uzo LGAs

Zone B: Aninri, Awgu, Ezeagu, Oji River, Udi LGAs

Zone C: Igbo Etiti, Igbo Eze North, Igbo Eze South, Nsukka, Udenu, Uzo Uwani LGAs

While no systematic data are available on the allocation of household labour, women are also largely responsible for fetching water and firewood (on which 72 percent of households rely – FOS 2002), as well as cooking, the care of children, and other household work²².

Table 11: Gender Dimensions of Some Social Indicators

	Female (%)	Male (%)
Adult literacy	66	80
Primary school enrolment	82	86
Secondary school enrolment	59	64

Source: FOS 2002

²² In our view, more effective analysis of the data collected in the CWIQ survey (FOS 2002) could have revealed much about gender inequality.



Female genital mutilation (FGM) is quite prevalent in south-eastern Nigeria. As well as carrying the risk of infection, this practice subjugates women and violates their human rights. Data from two surveys of adult women give a respective incidence of 68 percent for south-east Nigeria, and 76 percent for Enugu/Anambra states. A lower prevalence among younger age groups suggests that the practice is gradually declining (UNICEF 2001:197).

6.11 Poverty And The Environment

There are important interactions between poverty and environmental issues. In rural areas, these include erosion, flooding, deforestation, loss of biological diversity and declining soil fertility. In urban areas, poor sanitation and a growing problem of solid waste disposal create health risks, especially in residential areas where the poor live (FGN 2001:24). Environmental hazards can threaten land, crops, health and livelihoods (see Section 6.2).

6.12 Vulnerable Groups

The burden of poverty and social deprivation falls unevenly on different parts of the population. Social and economic indicators are universally worse in rural than in urban areas, while the gender, spatial and environmental dimensions of poverty have also already been noted. There are, in addition, a number of other particularly vulnerable groups. These include persons living with HIV/AIDS, widows, the disabled, the mentally ill, youth, the aged, and marginalised castes.

UNICEF has described the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Nigeria as “*perhaps the single most serious long-term threat to survival, and threatening to plunge the country into a multi-faceted development crisis*”. HIV prevalence amongst the sexually active age groups of 15-49 years is rising rapidly in Nigeria (from 1.8 percent in 1991, to 3.4 percent in 1993, 4.5 percent in 1995 and 5.4 percent in 1999), and HIV is being increasingly transmitted by mothers to infants. The HIV prevalence rate for south-eastern Nigeria, at 5.2 percent, was, in 1999, close to the national average (UNICEF 2001:67). Given that the infection is in its exponential phase, the current figure is almost certainly already several percentage points higher, with perhaps 80,000 people already affected in Enugu state alone. Those directly and indirectly affected by the epidemic, including orphans, will become a growing group. Epidemiological modelling suggests that by 2010, there will be 60,000 children in the state who have lost one or both parents to HIV/AIDS.

Widows have particularly low social and economic status in south-eastern Nigeria. After the loss of her husband, a woman traditionally has no rights of inheritance, and even children of the marriage may be passed over in favour of the husband's relatives. Widows may also be subject to levirate marriage. To compound matters, their human rights may be compromised as victims of seclusion, isolation and ostracism, as well as to degrading and harmful prohibitions and rituals (Okoye 2001).

The disabled suffer particular disadvantages. Census data suggest a ‘crude disability rate’ of about one person in two hundred, and one child in three hundred. Disability is often the result of preventable or treatable disease or deficiency. The disabled have special needs for care, education, rehabilitation and employment, but tend to suffer social stigma and discrimination, and to be neglected and marginalised (UNICEF 2001:187). Most of those suffering mental health problems also lack the support they need. Enugu's Neuropsychiatric Hospital, with only two hundred beds, serves a population of perhaps thirty million.



Those whose behaviour cannot be managed at the hospital are confined in the prison asylum, where conditions are wretched.

Nigerian youth has for over a generation suffered the frustration and despair of growing unemployment, and lost opportunities. Some have turned to crime, violence or drug abuse. The arming of youth by political factions or vigilante groups has contributed to an escalation in crime and violence now constitutes a daily threat to the lives and property of those living in the state.

The aged are also a vulnerable group, especially as growing poverty and social change puts increasing strains on traditional kinship obligations. Chronic payment problems mean that even those entitled to pensions receive little more protection in their old age than others.

Although strongly egalitarian in most respects, traditional Igbo society included two castes who were excluded from normal rights. These were the osu (allegedly descendents of cult slave) and ohu (descendants of secular slaves). While abolished through legislation in 1956, prejudice against those of osu and ohu descent continues, making some households effectively outcasts. Nevertheless, some have overcome at least their material disadvantage through determination and hard work (Okeke 1986).

7.0 INSTITUTIONS, POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES ADDRESSING POVERTY IN ENUGU STATE

All three tiers of the Nigerian federal structure – federal, state and local government – have functions relevant to poverty reduction. The following subsection gives some background as to their respective responsibilities. Sections 7.2 and 7.3 then consider government policies and programs specifically addressing poverty at the state and federal levels respectively. A wide range of other government programmes have bearing upon the lives of the poor, even where their mandates are not explicitly phrased in terms of poverty alleviation²³. Section 7.4 considers these sector by sector. Section 7.5 considers local government. Section 7.6 outlines the main areas of international donor support to Enugu state. However, poverty reduction is categorically not a monopoly of government; a plethora of community-based and civil society institutions are making an effective contribution to improving the lives of the poor, and these are discussed in Section 7.7.

²³ According to the Ahmed Joda panel report (1999) and the Professor Ango Abdullahi Committee report (2000), the core poverty alleviation ministries are: Agriculture and Rural Development, Education, Water Resources, Industry, Power and Steel, Employment, Labour and Productivity, Women's Affairs and Youth Development, Health, Works and Housing, Environment, Solid Minerals Development, Science and Technology, Finance, and the National Planning Commission.

7.1 Institutional Background And Constraints

The current (1999) constitution does not articulate a clear definition of authority between the federal and state levels, and says very little about the role of LGAs. Most of the powers accorded to the states in its Second Schedule are exercised concurrently with the federal government, with few powers being assigned exclusively to the states. This has led to a lack of clarity and potential duplication in some areas (secondary education, for example is the responsibility of both state and federal levels). The main source of funds to undertake these tasks is federal revenue. The formula for revenue-sharing among the three tiers of government allows 48.5 percent of revenue to the federal level, 24 percent to the states, and 20 percent to LGAs (World Bank 2002)²⁴.

The consultants were not in a position to analyse budgeting and financial management matters in the state in any detail, and are reluctant to stray beyond their field of competence. However, two points are quite clear. First, that good financial management is central to the ability of the state to plan, implement and monitor effectively actions of any kind against poverty. Secondly, that all was far from well in this area. The aspirations of the new political order have clearly put enormous pressure on state and LGA budgets. This has been exacerbated by the 2.5 times increase in salary for public servants (most of whose salaries had fallen below the poverty line in the previous era) in May 2000. Shortly afterwards, the National Assembly approved a fivefold increase in pay and allowances of political appointees at all levels of government.

The consequences of an apparently continuous budget crisis fall unevenly on different parts of the system, but the delayed, unpredictable, or non-release of budgeted funds is widespread. Not least, the payment of public servants' salaries is affected. Early in June, civil servants and primary school teachers had not been paid since March, while ENADP employees had last received their salaries in November 2002. The late payment of salaries has the inevitable eroding effect on morale, attendance and effectiveness. Capital budgets, which include deferred maintenance and rehabilitation as well as new projects, are equally affected. In some ministries (for example, agriculture) many – even most – budget lines had not been funded for years. As we shall see below (Section 7.5), the situation at local government level was even more serious. Worryingly, in the eyes of many, the situation did not seem to have improved since the onset of the third republic.

The problem of non-release of funds conspires with several others to make government programmes ineffective. An emphasis on visible physical achievements, and the shadow incentives inherent in the contracting system, have led to a conception of 'development' as one of creating new infrastructure, rather than of managing existing assets to produce effective services for the poor. Thus, for example, new primary health care clinics are built while existing ones lie unutilised because they lack staff, drugs or equipment. This tendency is reinforced by the dual capital/recurrent division of the budget process such that 'development' tends to be equated with capital projects (World Bank 2002).

²⁴ This formula is applied after derivation of 13 percent to the oil producing states and 'first charges' for debt repayment, other international obligations and 'special' (i.e. federally determined) projects. The remaining 7.5 percent of the post-derivation figure is allocated to further 'special projects' (World Bank 2002).



The lack of effective monitoring of services, either through formal systems or the active participation of beneficiaries, means that the performance of the system is subject to little effective scrutiny.

7.2 State-Level Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

7.2.1 Policy Orientation

Poverty reduction is said to be a key priority of the post-military administration in power in Enugu state since 1999. The main state-level programme with a particular focus on poverty is that of the Community Development Coordinating Council (CDCC). While no explicit overarching policy has been articulated for poverty alleviation, a Permanent Secretary (Special Duties) has been appointed in the office of the Secretary to the State Government (SSG) to coordinate state poverty programmes, and to liaise with federal initiatives. The SSG emphasises the state government's holistic approach to poverty reduction, and pointed to other initiatives which addressed the needs of the poor, including those in health, education, adult literacy, HIV/AIDS, rural electrification and infrastructure.

7.2.2 Community Development Coordinating Council

The Community Development Coordinating Council (CDCC) is a poverty alleviation initiative for rural communities conceived by his Excellency, the Governor of Enugu State, Dr. Chimaroke Nnamani. It is implemented through a partnership between state, local government, and communities. CDCC has 30 staff at its headquarters in the Governor's Office, while at Local Government level, it works through officers of the Community Development Department. Under the programme, each community is encouraged to establish Community Development Councils (CDCs), and encouraged to identify projects for support under the scheme. A Project Selection Committee consisting of a range of sectoral agencies assesses these proposals. If approved, the cost of the project is shared, with the community making a 25 percent contribution (which can take the form of labour or materials), the LGA a further 25 percent, and the state government the remaining 50 percent.

While applications have been received from 205 communities, and a budget of N5 million per month of capital funding is apparently available to support them, the results of the programme to date are limited. Only one micro-project (in rural electrification) has been completed, while one further project (a 'cottage hospital') is underway.

Assessment of the factors constraining the programme was beyond the means of this review. However, the main problems seemed to arise from difficulties in obtaining the contributions of LGAs and communities. The former is likely due to the chronic lack of operational funding to which many LGAs are subject, the causes of which are explored in Section 7.5. Communities' hesitancy seemed, on the other hand, to have two bases. First, there was sometimes tension between CDCs and other, longer established, community institutions with a mandate for local development, such as 'town unions'. Second, and more fundamental, was simple scepticism on the part of communities about the likely outcome of involvement in any project initiated by government. The reluctance of communities to release their contribution in spite of reassurance that the government's contribution would be sent to the community rather than the other way around, was interpreted by CDCC staff as due to a lack of community capacity and illiteracy.

However, community organisations have demonstrated a capacity to undertake projects when they wish to do so, and, on further exploration, it seems that their disinclination to participate in government programmes may rather arise from a simple lack of trust.

7.2.3 Forthcoming World Bank Support for community-based poverty alleviation

The World Bank is supporting two distinct community driven social fund programmes in Nigeria, both of which support micro-projects selected, implemented and managed by communities. These are the Community-based Poverty Reduction Project (CPRP – a social fund), and the Local Empowerment and Environmental Management Project (LEEMP), an example of a community driven development (CDD) project. Although for any particular state, participation is generally open to only one of these programmes, information from the World Bank suggests that Enugu is in fact scheduled to participate both in the LEEMP project and the second phase of CPRP, both due to begin shortly. Within the state, surprisingly, there was no information available on Enugu's participation in these projects from either of the agencies generally charged with the coordination of such donor initiatives – the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning's Planning Commission, or the Economic Affairs Unit of the Governor's Office. The Permanent Secretary responsible for coordinating poverty alleviation was also unaware of the programmes.

7.3 Federal Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

Over the last three decades, successive federal administrations have initiated a substantial number of projects and programmes aimed at reducing poverty in Nigeria (one source lists 27 since 1975 – EPCC 2003). They include the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), the Family Support Programme (FSP), Mass Mobilisation for Social and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP), Better Life for Rural Women, the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and the 'Green Revolution' campaign. These have tended to be multi-sectoral initiatives, though frequently with a rural bias. They are by and large remembered as fragmented, inefficient and unsustainable ventures that left communities with a minor legacy of inappropriately located, ill-constructed, un-maintained and short-lived minor infrastructure (Francis et al. 1996).

7.3.1 National Poverty Eradication Programme

Against this background, the National Poverty Eradication Council (NAPEC) was established by the Federal Executive Council in January 2001 in order to:

"coordinate the poverty reduction related activities of all the relevant Ministries, Parastatals and Agencies. NAPEC is mandated to ensure that the wide range of activities are centrally planned, coordinated and complement one another so that the objectives of policy continuity and sustainability are achieved" (NAPEP 2001:5).

NAPEC is responsible for National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) which set itself the goal of eliminating poverty in Nigeria by 2010. NAPEP's 'blueprint':

"provides strategies for the eradication of absolute poverty in Nigeria, through the streamlining and rationalisation of existing poverty alleviation institutions and coordinated implementation and monitoring of relevant schemes and programmes at all levels of Government" (NAPEP 2001:3).

Of the wide range of NAPEP programmes proposed in their blueprint, the only activities being implemented in Enugu state are several components of the Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES), which aim to provide job training opportunities to graduates and school leavers. These are the Mandatory Attachment Programme and the Capacity Acquisition Programme.

The Mandatory Attachment Programme (MAP) is for unemployed graduates of Universities and Polytechnics, and holders of the Nigerian Certificate of Education (NCE). Trainees are attached to employers for two years in order to acquire relevant job skills. Participants were supposed to receive a monthly stipend of N10,000 for the duration of their attachment. In the event, the stipend was discontinued after eight months in August 2002, and the programme has now been abandoned in the State.

The Capacity Acquisition Programme (CAP) targets holders of First School-Leaving Certificates and Secondary School graduates. Participants are trained for three months in trades such as tailoring, carpentry, plumbing or hairdressing, receiving a monthly stipend of N3,500, after which they are settled in employment and offered trade equipment at a subsidised price. In Enugu, a number of beneficiaries of the programme in tailoring apparently found employment, but this proved not to be possible for other trades. Further, beneficiaries have in general been unwilling to pay for equipment even at a 50 percent subsidy: none of the 148 sewing machines available for 600 tailoring beneficiaries was ever claimed, and they are still stored at the Federal Secretariat. Three trainees from the state were also sent to the President's farm in Ota, Ogun State, and then given N100,000 to set up poultry farms.

Another sub-component of the CAP is the Owner-Operator KEKE-NAPEP for Youth Empowerment Programme. This is intended to introduce Asian-style three-wheeler passenger scooters to Nigeria, as an income-generating enterprise for youth (NAPEP 2002). Vehicles costed at N400,000 are offered to intending operators at N180,000. However, even with this subsidy of more than 50 percent, there has been little interest in the programme, and 34 of the 41 'KEKE-NAPEPs' remain parked unsold in the Federal Secretariat.

The limited success of these programmes is widely recognised, and can be traced to the highly politicised nature of candidate selection. Indeed the embeddedness of the YES scheme in the nexus of party political patronage was openly acknowledged in the distribution of MAP and CAP application forms through Senators, Members of the House of Assembly and local government office holders. This inevitably meant that the criteria for the selection of beneficiaries were unlikely to be ones that would promote the sustainability of the programme, while those in a position to genuinely benefit from the programme were overlooked.

The excerpts reproduced at the opening of this section imply that an important coordination role was envisaged for NAPEP in the complex task of mediating between sectors, stakeholders and levels of the federation in the fashioning of poverty policy. It was indeed resolved between State Governors and NAPEP State Coordinators in 2001 that each state would establish a State Poverty Eradication Council (SPEC) chaired by the Governor, as well as a State Coordination Committee with members drawn from State and Federal Ministries and other agencies. However, in Enugu State, the Coordination Committee has not met for at least the last year, and there is doubt as to whether the SPEC has ever met at all.

Nevertheless, NAPEP in Enugu still views coordination as its primary role, and is embarking on a major data collection exercise in obtaining information on village structure in all communities in the state's 17 LGAs. This is also to include information on NGOs, CBOs, and projects in each village. It was not clear how this would be used.

The rather considerable gap between NAPEP's grandiose intentions and its limited achievements, both in the implementation and the coordination of poverty alleviation programmes raises, a number of perplexing questions. First, in the light of the state's own poverty reduction programmes, what is the coordinating role of a federal institution in a state context? Second, what is the relation between NAPEP and a second federal creation that also ostensibly has the role of formulating coherent poverty reduction strategy for the federation and its component units – the Poverty Reduction Strategy Policy (PRSP) process, considered in the next section? Finally, can an institution as mired in political patronage as NAPEP is, map a route out of poverty whose guiding principle must be, above all, a more just and transparent governance?

7.3.2 The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) Process

Since 2000, Nigeria, like many countries, has been developing a coordinated Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), encouraged by international financial institutions. An Interim PRSP (IPRSP) is being developed as the first stage, and this will be followed by the development of a full PRSP. The process is being coordinated by the (federal) Economic Policy Coordinating Committee (EPCC), chaired by the Vice-President. In Enugu state, the Acting Director of Planning in the Planning Commission (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning) had been involved in some of the meetings called by EPCC. The full PRSP is anticipated to involve a broader range of stakeholders, including the states of the federation civil society actors, and the private sector. At this stage, however, the involvement of state has otherwise been limited, and the profile of the National PRSP process is quite low in Enugu.

7.4 Other Government Programmes And Policies

Other State level institutions with bearing on poverty alleviation include the line agencies responsible for health, education and agriculture.

7.4.1 Health services

The following providers of health services are present in the state:

Primary Health Care Institutions	252
Secondary Health Care Centres	14
General Hospitals	13
Registered Private Hospitals	95

As we have seen (Section 6.4), pharmacies and traditional healers also play an important role as health service providers. While detailed information is not available on the condition of these health facilities, many lack staff, basic facilities and equipment, especially in more remote rural areas. These severe limitations in the quality of health services were reflected in the satisfaction figures quoted in the earlier section.



Both public and private hospitals are concentrated in urban centres. Almost a half of the state's 5,807 medical beds are concentrated in Enugu and Nsukka (Enugu State 1999), as are 46 percent of private hospitals, and 71 percent of private clinics (Ukwu et al. 1998).

There are a total of 492 doctors in the state (1998 figure: Enugu State 1999). 91 percent of these are concentrated in the state capital, largely in the teaching hospital (76 percent). Eight of the seventeen LGAs had no doctors at all.

The ***Department of Public Health and Primary Health Care in the Ministry of Health*** administers a number of programmes with important implications for poverty reduction. They include:

- National Programme of Immunisation: NPI works to provide immunisation against nine childhood vaccine-preventable diseases (tuberculosis, measles, pertussis, diphtheria, neonatal tetanus, poliomyelitis, cerebro-spinal meningitis, yellow fever and hepatitis B. The programme has achieved rates of infant immunisation ranging from 45 percent for polio to 5 percent for tetanus through partnership between federal, state and local government, with support from UNICEF.
- Bamako Initiative: this scheme for making essential drugs available to LGA health care centres was established in 1999 with support from the Nigerian (Special) Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF). The programme provided a 'seed' stock of drugs to a Primary Health Care Committee in each LGA, which were to be used to establish revolving funds for on-going supply of drugs at community level. The seed drugs were provided without a needs assessment and included inappropriately specialised drugs which were, moreover, close to expiry date. There were also problems in establishing transparency at LGA and community levels. The PTF was abolished after less than a year and the program was largely abandoned in 2000, although training activities continue in two LGAs with UNICEF support.
- Roll Back Malaria centres on the distribution of insecticide-treated bed-nets (ITN)., which are sold to the public at a subsidised price. The programme is supported by WHO, UNICEF and DFID.
- Onchocerciasis control: supports a twice yearly distribution of Ivermectin distribution to communities in the state. Funding comes from Global 2000, and the African Programme for Onchocerciasis control (APOC).
- Guinea worm Eradication: guinea worm is endemic in four LGAs in Enugu. This programme includes advocacy, community mobilisation, health education, vector control and water supply. Infestation has been reduced markedly, and guinea worm has already been eradicated from one LGA. The programme is supported by Global 2000, UNICEF, WHO and DFID.
- Other relevant programmes of the public health department include: Safe Motherhood, Nutrition, Health Education, School Health Services the Community Health Extension Programme and the Tuberculosis Control Programme.

Many of these programmes have registered considerable achievements. However, their sustainability is threatened by the high dependence of key activities on outside funding. The difficulty of obtaining counterpart funding or logistical support from state, and especially local, government, remains a common theme.

7.4.2 Educational services

The numbers of formal educational institutions are listed below:

Primary schools	984
Secondary schools	245
Technical colleges	6
Teacher training colleges	2

Tertiary institutions include the University of Nigeria (Nigeria's first autonomous university); Enugu State University of Science and Technology, Institute for Management and Technology (IMT), the Federal College of Education, Eha Amufu; Federal Government College, Enugu; Police College, Oji River; Police Training School, Enugu.

Table 12 shows total enrolment and gender ratios in the educational system. The pupil-teacher ratio is 19:1 at primary level and 42:1 at secondary level²⁵.

Table 12: Total Enrolment and Gender Ratio by Level of Education, 1997, Enugu State

Level of education	Total enrolment	Females per 100 males enrolled
Primary school	249,137	98
Secondary school	205,082	117
Technical	5,223	40
Teacher training colleges	1,100	3,829

Source: Enugu State 2001

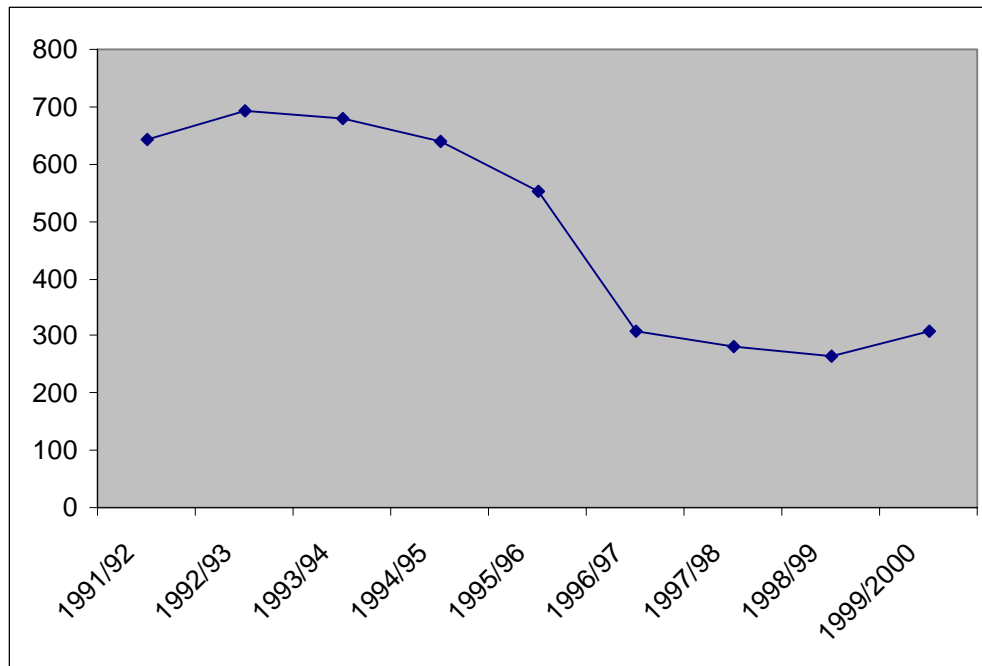
Two features of the system can be noted from official statistics. First, there has been a marked decline in primary enrolment in Enugu state in the mid 1990s, as is clear from Figure 4. Secondly, in secondary schools, girls outnumber boys. The decline in primary enrolment is mainly due to the rapid rise in private schools during this period, itself a reflection of a drastic decline in the performance of public schools. Those who can afford it have abandoned public schools in favour of private ones, especially in urban areas. Public schools, which are chronically under-funded and mismanaged, lacking teachers, teaching resources and adequate infrastructure, are now nearly exclusively for the children of the poor, a situation that has the long-term effect of perpetuating poverty and social exclusion. It was reported that over 8,000 private primary schools with 2 million pupils were officially registered in the country as far back as 1995, most of them are located in the south (Francis et al. 1998). This situation is reflected in rates of satisfaction with education (Section 5.6).

The apparent imbalance in secondary schools enrolment in favour of girls may be due to boys leaving school early to go into small-scale commerce trade²⁶.

²⁵ According to the statistics given to the consultants. There must be some doubts about the reliability of some of these statistics in two areas in particular. First, figures for secondary enrolment are inconsistently high relative to other social indicators. Secondly, the number of primary school teachers is higher than would be anticipated given the number of students. While this may in part be due to the declining enrolment in government primary schools, actual primary pupil:teacher ratios are probably therefore higher than those given here.

²⁶ However, this trend is not confirmed by other sources such as the CWIQ survey – Table 11.

Figure 4: Trends in primary school enrolment 1991/2 to 1999/2000, Enugu state



Source: Enugu State 2001

6.4.3 Agriculture and rural development

Nigeria's current Rural Development Strategy Paper emphasises equity as an important goal of policy (FMARD 2001). In Enugu state, the policy aim established for the agricultural sector by the current regime for 1999-2003 is "to make food products sufficiently available at affordable prices and maintain a sustainable agricultural development in the State". Seven policy thrusts, relating respectively to the enabling environment for food self-sufficiency, seeds, community modern farms, agricultural inputs, extension, fisheries and livestock development have been elaborated.

Unfortunately, the state Ministry of Agriculture, charged with implementing this policy, is not given the means to do so. The ministry has 900 staff, many of them quite highly qualified, yet the late or non-release of operational and capital funding leaves it in permanent financial crisis. The condition of its facilities and programmes reflects this.

- The number of community farms, meant to provide improved seeds to farmers, have been reduced from 9 to 4, and even at these, seed multiplication has been abandoned due to lack of funds, and the farms largely deserted.
- None of the state's four irrigation schemes is functioning.
- The ministry's two poultry farms and feedmill have been abandoned and stripped by the local population.
- All fish hatcheries are broken down, while fishponds are unstocked and most have now collapsed.
- Of 16 storage silos, six are abandoned and the other ten empty.
- The produce laboratory built six years ago has never been equipped, while the produce storage warehouse has been abandoned and stripped by villagers.



- The Veterinary Centres lack drugs and have obsolete equipment, as does the Veterinary Laboratory.
- Fertiliser distribution has been hived off to the Fertiliser Procurement and Distribution company, a parastatal.
- The ministry's tractors have been transferred to the Enugu State Tractor Hiring company (ESTRAC), a parastatal, where apparently none is now operational.
- The Rural Works Department is supposed to provide feeder roads for local communities. The department was inherited by Agriculture from another ministry, but cannot function, as the equipment meant for the job is lying broken down at the Ministry of Works.
- The Ministry does not have a single vehicle or computer at its disposal.

In spite of these disadvantages, and the irregular payment of their salaries, Ministry staff have registered modest achievements. They mobilise for ad hoc animal vaccination campaigns when the state or federal authorities release funds for a particular animal health crisis, although regular vaccination of livestock has gone by the board. A community forestry programme has also been developed.

With particular relevance for poverty reduction, the Community Development Department mobilises communities for self-help initiatives, for which the Federal Ministry of Agriculture provides financial support to selected village projects (three communities last year received a total of N150,000)²⁷.

The mandate for agricultural extension lies with the Enugu State Agricultural Development Programme (ENADEP). Its various sub-programmes (technical services, extension, rural institutional development and engineering) each have both zonal and field staff. Extension, for example, has managers and extension officers in three zones, with block extension supervisors and eight extension officers in each LGA. Operational funding tends to come and go with particular projects: current projects include a Root and Tuber Special Programme funded by the World Bank, a Special Programme for Food Security funded by the federal government and managed by FAO, and a cassava mosaic disease programme managed by the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture. The delay or failure in releasing counterpart funds by the State government often threatens the continuity of these projects.

7.5 Local Government

The exclusive powers of local government as set forth in the constitution are relatively few – they include construction and maintenance of local roads, sewage facilities, markets, and bus parks (World Bank 2002:9). However, LGAs also share responsibilities with the state level in important areas, including primary, adult and vocational education, agricultural development, and primary health care. The provision of these services is carried out under state supervision (Enugu State 2000).

²⁷ 1 US\$ = 130 Nigerian Niara (June 2003).



According to the 'presidential' model at LGA level, a Chair and Vice-Chair are directly elected by the LGA as a whole, while Councillors are elected by its constituent wards (generally sixteen to eighteen per LGA). They constitute a local government executive and legislature respectively. Councillors elect among themselves, a Leader and Deputy Leader as well as minority leaders and whips, generally along party lines. This body is supported by the Clerk to the Council, an administrative position.

Local government service (LGS) staff are headed by the Head of Personnel Management (HPM), who is responsible for the department of general administration, as well as the other departments, each of which has an administrative Head. There are typically five such departments: finance, education, health and social welfare, works and housing, and agriculture and natural resources.

In addition to its LGS Head of Department, each of these departments has political heads, generally known as supervisory councillors, who are not elected councillors, but rather political appointees of the Chair. The chair also makes other direct appointments to his staff, typically under a Political Secretary. These may be quite numerous (Box 1).

LGA budgets are particularly stretched for several reasons. First, allocations are relatively small at the outset, derived as they are from the 20 percent revenue-sharing formula divided between the country's 774 LGAs. Secondly, since 1994, the salaries of primary school teachers have been deducted at source from the LGA allocation and paid directly to the staff concerned. Further amounts are withheld for traditional rulers, pensions, etc. Depending on the number of teachers, this may leave LGAs with little revenue, and in some cases, even a zero or negative allocation. Finally, the 'presidential' model at the local government level has led to large numbers of political appointees swelling the payroll in addition to the Chair, Councillors, and Local Government Service staff.

The extent to which these financial limitations frustrate development activities appears to vary considerably between LGAs. We were able to visit two local government areas, one rural and one peri-urban, and their situations contrasted markedly (Box 1). Although both carried the paraphernalia of the presidential system on their budgets, with high numbers of political appointees and 'newly recruited' workers, one of them was successful in sustaining a programme of development, while the other was not. The main factors determining these outcomes were apparently differences in the federal allocation, in levels of staffing, and in the attitudes of the executive. While caution must be exercised in generalising from two cases, incidental evidence suggests that these two LGAs are fairly close to the two extremes of performance in the state. As far as salary payment is concerned, for example, most LGAs are in arrears to some degree, but only a handful more than the 8 month delay revealed in our first case study.

Box 1: Local government and development: a democracy dividend?

The two local government areas considered are located respectively in an agricultural region in the north-west of the state and near to Enugu city. The administration in both LGAs followed the pattern described above, with executive, legislature, and six departments.

In the **rural LGA**, the departments had a total establishment of 950 LGA staff, about a third of them senior staff. In addition to these LGA technical and administrative staff, the Executive Chairman and his Deputy are supported in their duties by the following political appointees: a Political Secretary; 4 Supervisory Councillors – for Health, Works, Agriculture, and Education; a Special Personal Assistant (Finance); 2 Special Assistants (Political); a Chief Protocol Officer; a Deputy Chief Protocol Officer; 7 Protocol Officers; 6 Assistant Protocol Officers; a Director of Security; a Deputy Director of Security; 2 Public Relations Officers, Grade II; 3 Special Personal Assistants, Grade I; 8 Special Personal Assistants, Grade II; a Women's Organiser; 1 Personal Assistant; 1 Senior Executive Assistant and 2 Executive Assistants.

The salaries and allowances for these staff amount to some N13 million per month, over 2 million of which goes to political appointees. The executive also collects an additional 'security' vote of N1 million per month. These figures exclude the salaries and emoluments of councillors, which generally amount to a further N2 million per month. Further, and somewhat mysteriously, a quarter of LGA staff were not allocated to any specific department but were classified as 'newly recruited'.

The federal allocation to this LGA averaged about N14 million per month in 2002 (that is, after some N15 million was removed at source for teachers' salaries and other federal deductions). Locally generated revenue, mainly from markets and bus parks, at between N10-12,000 per month, or roughly 0.07 percent of LGA revenue, is negligible. The salaries of the revenue collection department in any case are around seventy times the value of the revenue which they collected.

Thus, even were the whole of the LGA's revenue to be allocated to salaries, which in fact appears to be far from the case, it would be insufficient to meet the monthly bill. As a result, LGA staff had not been paid since November 2002 (eight months previously), and were still owed arrears for several earlier months of 2002. No allowances for overheads were ever made, and there had been no capital budget for some years. As a result, except where donor support was applied in kind for specific programmes (e.g. by UNICEF for primary health care), none of the staff had access to operational funds to do any work. We met several members of the finance department on our visit, but otherwise found no sectoral department staff, or any political appointees, in their offices.

In the **peri-urban LGA**, there were 646 LGA staff, with an additional 417 'newly recruited' staff, and around 50 political appointees (along with about 250 non-regular staff who sat on committees for bush burning, security of electricity supply, etc.). However, the financial management situation appeared incomparably better. The monthly federal allocation is around N 27 million (after deduction of some 18 million for primary school teachers, etc.). The salaries bill is 14 million, of which 3.5 million goes to political appointees. This leaves N9 million per month for overheads and capital. About 0.5 million per month of internal revenue is also generated. In 2002, this LGA was able to sustain a capital budget of N83 million. The payment of staff salaries is fully up to date. Staff were found in their offices, and there was an air of activity at the HQ.

Source: Consultant's field notes

7.6 Support From International Development Partners

7.6.1 UNICEF

UNICEF supports a large programme in Enugu, reference to which has already been made in the section on Health Services. The main foci of the UNICEF programme are Women's Rights and Child Rights. Other programmes include education, health and sanitation.

- The Survival and Early Childhood Programme is targeted at children under five, and aims to improve household nutrition practices, promote equitable access to essential packages, and promote an enabling environment. It includes three main projects:
 - The Vaccine-Preventable Diseases Project, which works with 10 NGOs with the aim of supporting 20 percent of vaccine services in the state.
 - The Nutrition and Early Childhood Project, which is training 20 hospital midwives and primary health care personnel to extend nutrition advice.
 - The HIV/AIDS Prevention and Care Project is aimed at sensitisation and prevention of HIV/AIDS, and caring for those living with HIV/AIDS.
- Education, Integrated Growth and Development Project. This programmes comprises:
 - The Formal and Non-formal Basic Education Project supports training of teachers and developing early child development linkages in primary schools to enable domestic helps to attend school and obtain a basic education.
 - The Water and Environmental Sanitation Project supports the provision of shallow bore-holes in rural communities, the building of community capacity to manage them, and the construction of 40,000 household latrines.
- Planning, Protection and Participation Project
 - The project includes components on adolescent reproductive health, juvenile justice, and youth and participation.
 - Under its HIV/AIDS programme, UNICEF has conducted training of trainers workshops for adolescents and Youth Corps members. A testing, counselling and information component is to follow in collaboration with YORDEL AFRICA.

7.6.2 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

The UNDP programme of support to Enugu state is now completing its fifth programme cycle, during which N80 million was allocated to each state. The cycle has had four themes: job creation and sustainable livelihoods, social development, sustainable agricultural and rural development, and national management for socio-economic development.

- the Job Creation and Sustainable Livelihood programme supports the promotion of private sector development through the extension of micro credit and other actions.
- Social Development focuses on provision of basic infrastructure and equipment (water supply, health centres and equipment, etc.) to communities, and the training of community health workers and NGOs.



- Sustainable Agricultural and Rural Development extends improved farming methods of farming, by distributing improved seedlings, and providing technical advice training
- The National Management for Socio-economic Development programme focuses on capacity building for the state in order to institutionalise transparency and accountability. It has included training for civil servants in financial management, monitoring and evaluation, etc.

There are four main implementation modalities for these programmes: integrated community development; multipurpose skill development centres; microcredit; and a Human Development Trust Fund:

- Integrated Community Development: is implemented in fifteen poor communities selected by the state government. Following community needs assessments, an Implementation Committee was formed in each community and a focal Social Mobiliser selected. At the State level, a Stakeholder Committee collates and shortlists proposals from the communities for financial approval.
- Multipurpose Skill Development Centres have been established in each of the three senatorial zones of the state. The objectives are to reduce unemployment, crime and manage conflict. A thousand persons have already been trained in these centres.
- Micro-credit a substantial programme of small-scale credit is implemented by the Catholic Institute for Justice and Peace (CIJAP). Using a group lending approach, loans totalling N5.8 million at 4 percent interest have been made, and N3.3 million repaid to date.
- The Human Development Trust Fund has the objective of forging a partnership between community, government and the private sector in order to generate additional resources for rural development programmes. Prominent individuals and companies are encouraged to donate funds which are matched by grants from UNDP/government.

The themes for the sixth programme cycle for UNDP which is due to begin in the third quarter of 2003 are: democracy and governance; poverty alleviation; community information technology; HIV/AIDS; crises prevention and management; energy and environmental management.

7.6.3 World Health Organisation

WHO supports several health programmes including disease surveillance, and the Roll Back Malaria Programme.

7.6.4 DFID

The UK Department for International Development's programme is the most significant bilateral programme in Enugu state. DFID's overall aim is the elimination of poverty, and this is reflected in the three areas of engagement defined in the DFID country strategy for Nigeria. These give priority to support to the federal and four reforming state governments (including Enugu) in developing poverty reduction strategies, and to combating HIV/AIDS. DFID is working with Enugu state in the following areas (DFID 2002)²⁸:

²⁸ Given the primary audience of this report, it was not considered necessary to provide detail on the DFID programme of support to Enugu.

- State and Local Government Programme
- Health
 - Partnership for Transforming Health Systems (PATHS)
 - Insecticide Treated Mosquito Nets Project
 - Change Agents programme (CAPS)
- HIV /AIDS
 - Strengthening Nigeria’s Response to HIV/AIDS
- Rural Livelihoods
- Water
 - Federal Government of Nigeria-UNICEF Water and Environmental Programme (FGN-UNICEF WES)
- Access to Justice
- Education
 - Support to Universal Basic Education

Gender and the environment are mainstreamed into all DFID-supported programmes and activities in the state.

7.7 Civil Society And Community Organisations

Community based organisations and indigenous associations Igbo communities are well known for their thriving associational life. A 2001 social assessment of rural communities in the state showed the high level of membership of local organisations (Table 13). These associations provide a wide range of services, including loans, access to marketing community development activities, social interaction and spiritual solace.

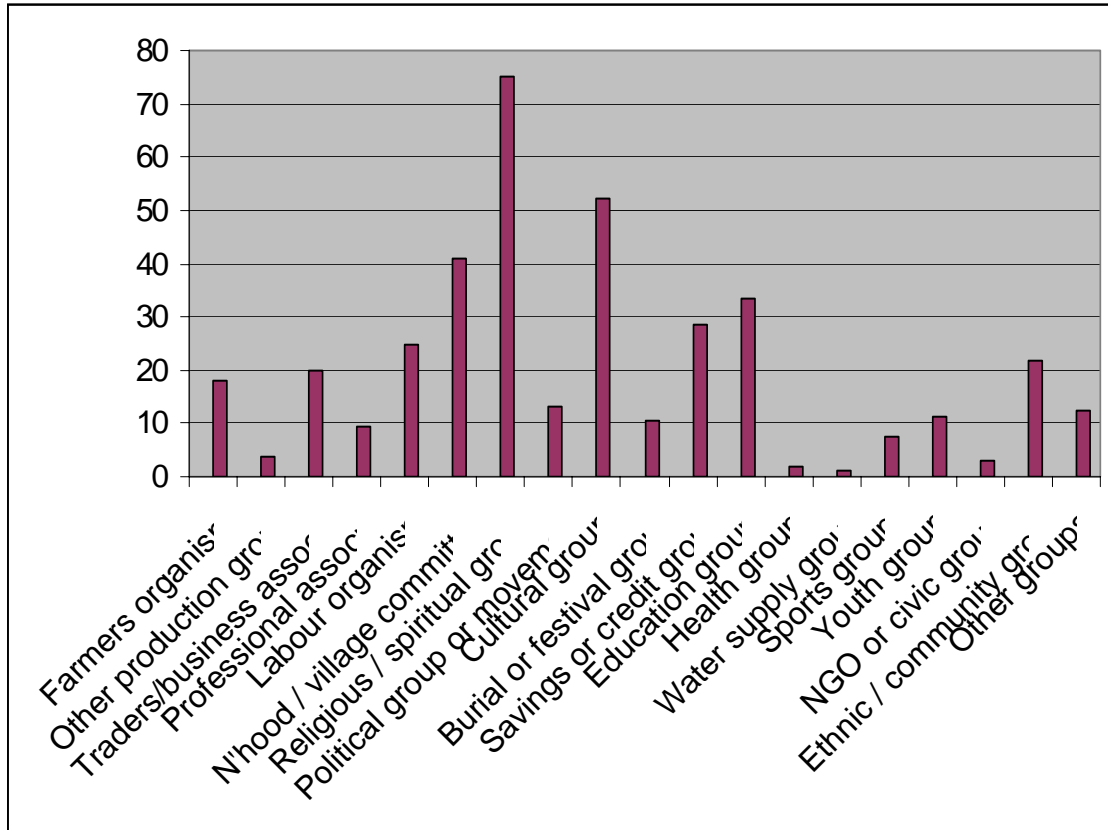
Table 13: Membership of social and religious organisations by household heads in Enugu (percentages)

Cooperatives	53
Thrift Societies	63
Religious Organisations	53
Social Clubs	28

Source: FGN 2001

The richness of this stock of institutions is confirmed by the ‘social capital’ survey undertaken by Nweze (2002), which found that a sample of 105 households were members of a total of 419 groups. These are broken down by type in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Membership of groups in Enugu (% of households belonging to each type)



Source: Nweze 2002

Box 2 shows how traditional principles of social organisation remain influential in shaping communities' responses to their challenges.

Box 2: Role of lineages and age grades in development in Enugu State

In the traditional social system of the Igbo, social and political units are small, autonomous and egalitarian, and responsibility for governance widely dispersed. This allows for broad participation in planning and executing community initiatives. Mbu 'town' in Isi-Uzo LGA, for example, consist of two segments: Mbu-Amon and Mbu-Akpoti. Mbu-Amon itself consists of three autonomous villages, and these villages are themselves constituted of between six and nine kindred groups (descent is reckoned patrilineally). The constituent units of each level jealously guard their autonomy and, in particular, their rights to equal shares in the obligations and benefits accruing from the level above them, including equal representation in the elders' council, the age grades, and the town union.

Now, if Mbu town decides to build a school, the contribution required will be divided equally between Mbu-Amon and its fellow segment, Mbu-Akpoti. Each of the two segments will then go home and divide its obligation between the number of autonomous villages, and each village will in turn share it between its constituent kindred groups. The same system is used for sharing benefits, including political positions such as councillorship. This segmentary system operates irrespective of the size of each unit, so that a village with a few inhabitants will contribute equally to costs, and partake equally of the benefits of a project, as one with many. (Depending on the excludability and subtractability of benefits, this may mean that kin groups with few members end up contributing more than they gain.)

In Isi-Uzo LGA title societies (sometimes also known as 'age grades') also perform an important role in all communities. They are voluntary societies, differentiated by occupation and social status. Membership of the more prestigious of these may be very expensive. Title societies impose levies on their members to fund their projects, and may mobilise resources (both cash and labour) from their communities or the general public.

Source: adapted from Francis *et al.* 1996

In Enugu state, indigenous organisations are involved in community initiatives of all kinds. Boxes 3 and 4 give illustrations of the contributions that they make to local development.



Box 3: Okpuje Development Committee

Okpuje Development Committee was founded in 1960 as the Okpuje People's Forum and renamed in 1987. All members of the community, at home and abroad, are members. The body has a central committee, elected every two years by a general assembly. Funding comes from donations collected at launches and levies paid by all adult members. Women do not attend meetings, but are bound by decisions.

The Okpuje Development Committee has been responsible for substantial projects. These include the construction of Okpuje Community Secondary School at the cost of 175,000 Niara; completing the installation of electricity after the project was abandoned by the state government (265,000 Niara); the reconstruction and roofing of the community market; and the installation of an electrical generator and water meter for the community water project. Projects proposed included the installation of piped water to all households, and expansion of the secondary school.

Source: Nweze and Igbokwe 1999.

Box 4: Achieving self-reliant development in Umu-Itodo

Umu-Itodo is an isolated community in Isi Uzu LGA, northern Enugu state, with a population of about 10,000. Access is made difficult by hilly terrain, broken by numerous rivers and streams. The villagers are mostly farmers, petty traders and artisans, with palm wine tapping, livestock farming and food processing as secondary occupations. The community considers itself poor and remote, but takes great pride in its many achievements.

The community formed a Community Development Committee (CDC) in 1986 and elected an executive consisting of members from each of the village's segments and chaired by a retired teacher. This body mobilised labour (particularly that of young people and women) and materials for culverts to construct the fifteen kilometre road to Obollo Afor. Lack of cooperation from the communities through which the road was to pass meant that the CDC had to resort to lobbying, and eventually the courts, to see the road constructed.

Soon afterwards, the CDC turned its attention to education and, assisted by the increased prosperity brought by the improved road, the community members were able to raise funds to build in Umu-Itodo the only Technical Secondary School in the LGA. Community scholarships were made available to children from the village to study at the school. With continuing improvements in the road and the local economy, regular transportation services from the village to two nearby markets became established. A trading association, the Umu-Itodo Traders and Tradesmen Association (UTTA), chaired by a local driver, was formed. The UTTA has since built a community hall in the centre of the village for social activities and ceremonies. At about the same time, the women of Umu-Itodo organised to build a market near the community hall. Since then, the community has successfully lobbied NITEL (Nigeria Telecommunications, Plc) and the local government to provide a postal agency and a health post, both of which are housed in community buildings. Not surprisingly, the CDC was ranked by both men and women in Umu-Itodo community members as the most relevant and effective institution in the village.

Source: adapted from Francis *et al.* 1996

As relevant as the density of this network of 'homegrown' associations and their development achievements, is the attitudes which communities have towards them as compared to government agencies and NGOs (Table 14). CBOs were regarded much more favourably highly than either local government or ministries in terms of all criteria, from local knowledge through efficiency to corruption. NGOs tended to fall somewhere between CBOs and government organs in these regards.

Table 14: Local perceptions of various development organisations, rural Enugu state

	Mean response (%)			
	LGA	Ministries	CBOs	NGOs
Perceptions of role and capacity:				
Concern and support for community welfare	55	34	92	36
Agents of community development	52	35	94	33
Responding and promoting citizen's social rights	46	33	97	35
Providing social services	49	36	92	36
Support for capacity building	32	22	59	23
Environmental sustainability	35	26	65	26
Having adequate knowledge and understanding of people and conditions in the community	48	34	86	35
Agreement with following statements:				
Is corrupt	18	12	0	0
Is inefficient	21	19	0	27
Is exploitative	0	10	0	0
Has heavy bureaucratic burden	90	86	0	27
Is difficult to access	60	44	0	16
Is insensitive to community needs	21	34	0	0

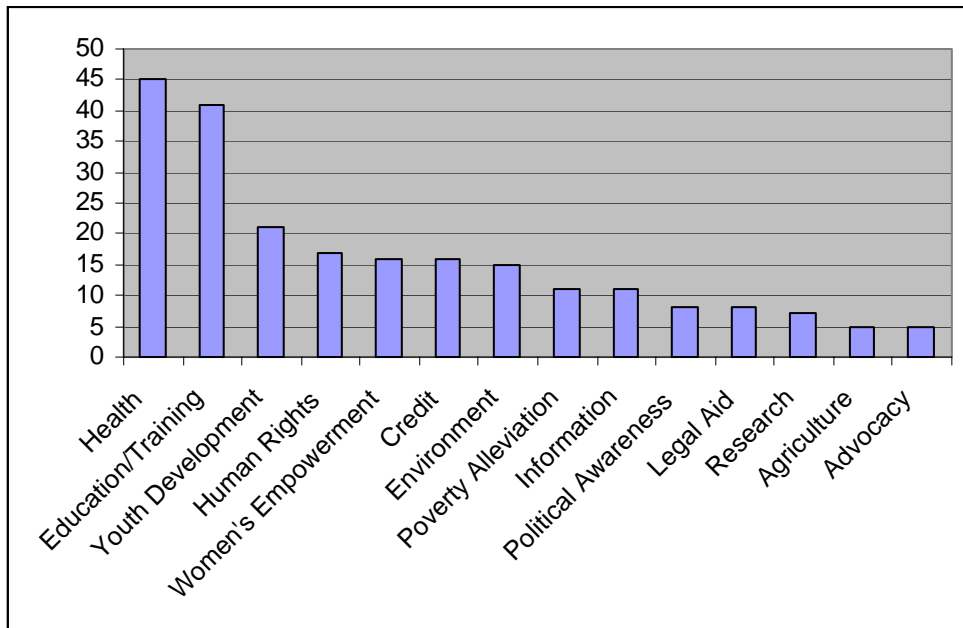
Source: Adapted from FGN 2001

7.7.1 Nongovernmental organisations

The national directory of Nigerian NGOs compiled by UNICEF includes 63 organisations registered in Enugu state, while 45 Enugu-based organisations are listed in the directory of Eastern Nigerian NGOs compiled by CRDCN (UNICEF 2002; CRDCN 2001). The relatively small overlap between these two sources suggests that they may cover only a proportion of the NGOs active in the state. A survey of 24 rural communities in Enugu in 2001 found 25 NGOs active in them (FGN 2001:138).

Figure 6 shows NGOs by main kinds of activity. Health and education are the most popular sectors of intervention, though there are a substantial number working on the agendas of empowerment, rights and advocacy.

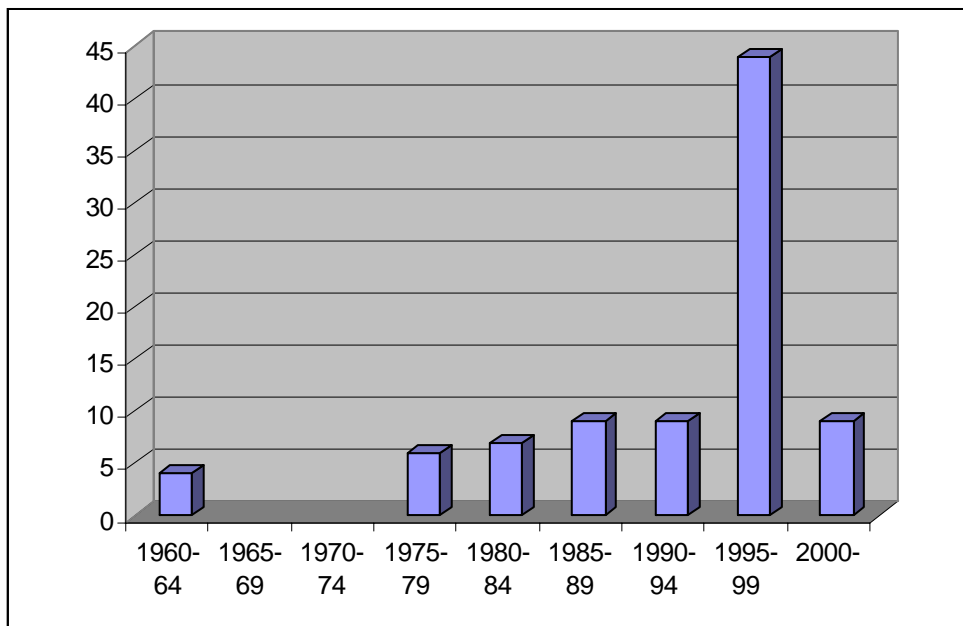
Figure 6: NGOs in Enugu state by area of activity



Source: analysis from UNICEF 2002; CRDCN 2001; FGN 2001

The rise of NGOs appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon in the state. We analysed dates of foundation where available, and found that most NGOs were established in the late 1990s, with only few pre-dating the mid-seventies (Figure 7). The late 1990s were a period when international donors ceased to work with the Nigerian government because of governance concerns, and often channelled funds through nongovernmental organisations.

Figure 7: NGOs in Enugu state by date of foundation



Source: analysis from UNICEF 2002; CRDCN 2001; FGN 2001

We lack systematic data on size, organisation and capacity, of the NGO sector in the state. While some organisations are old and long established, our impression is that many NGOs are relatively small in size, sometimes consisting of only a handful of members. Quite a number of NGOs are now involved in the implementation of government programmes, generally those supported by international donors. Most NGOs that we spoke to saw their role in terms of complementing government activities. A number of loose networks exist in the state which link NGOs together around particular issues, for instance HIV/AIDS.

8.0 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The policies of Enugu state's current administration are said to be centred on poverty reduction. Given the extent of poverty, and the ground lost in recent decades, the state has taken up an enormous challenge in making poverty reduction its priority. As we have seen, well over half of Enugu's people are living in poverty. While by no means the poorest state in the Federation, Enugu is the second poorest of the five states of south-eastern Nigeria, and living standards have declined precipitously in the last few decades. The poor suffer multiple deprivations: short, unhealthy, unproductive lives, with inadequate access to incomes, clean water, health services, education and infrastructure. Particularly vulnerable groups include women, remote rural dwellers and unemployed youth.

8.1 Institutional Constraints

Were the number of initiatives that invoke the needs of the poor a test of the state's commitment to poverty reduction, then it would be incontestable. To a substantial legacy of institutions inherited from the past or imposed on it from other levels, the administration has added its own poverty reduction initiatives. However, severe institutional constraints afflict both those organisations with the mandate of eliminating poverty and the agencies charged with delivering the services that the poor, with others, utilise. These obstacles overlap and reinforce one another, but the main ones are as below.

- A lack of coordination, particularly between federal, state and local government levels, and the proliferation of special agencies, leads to fragmentation and duplication.
- The absence of consultation with users in planning, implementation, and monitoring leads to inappropriate design, poor and unresponsive performance and inadequate maintenance.
- Lack of transparency leads to arbitrariness and leakage of funds.
- Poor public expenditure management leads to disjunctions between policy objectives, budgets, the release of funds, and outcomes.
- The politicisation of resource allocation may lead to programme design apparently better suited to the politics of patronage and gesture than to tackling poverty.

Yet overshadowing all of these problems is a massive crisis of trust between government and governed – a deep cynicism that many feel to be justified by the pillage of public resources witnessed in the last decades. As we have seen, such popular scepticism can make any partnership between community and government unworkable.

8.2 Towards Institutional Solutions

If our diagnosis of the institutional and governance problems affecting the planning, resourcing, and management of public action is correct, then their resolution should lie in the following areas.

- Better integration of programmes to create a more coherent set of poverty objectives, strategies and actions.
- Promoting the participation of users and beneficiaries in programme design and implementation.
- Improving transparency in resource allocation and use.
- More effective translation of plans into budgets, and budgets into actual expenditure through improved public expenditure management.
- Closer attention to the monitoring of outcomes.

Our diagnosis also raises the question of the appropriate role of targeted poverty reduction programmes as against the improvement of conventional services such as health, education and agricultural extension. Where ‘the poor’ means ‘most people’ – as it now does in Enugu state – their needs may be best addressed through well-functioning health centres, schools and clean water.

One means of improving both coherence and participation would be through the preparation of an integrated poverty reduction strategy (PRS), which could establish a framework around which the various poverty programmes, and public action more generally, is structured. However, such a process would require considerable resources and occupy scarce management capacity. A PRSP could only therefore be justified if it were to be used by Enugu state as an instrument to address the institutional constraints identified, rather than adding yet another agency operating in parallel with existing ones. If the most urgent priority is to rebuild the trust of the people of Enugu in their government, then not only resources and capacity will be needed, but also the will to move beyond the political and administrative culture that underlies such institutional dysfunction.

8.3 Poverty Data And Analysis Needs

If policies to reduce poverty are to be based on evidence, and planning is to be focused and effective, reliable information is needed on the extent and severity of deprivation in the state as a whole, and the needs of specific vulnerable groups.

With its recent CWIQ survey, the 1998 Poverty Report, national consumption and expenditure statistics, the qualitative work undertaken for the Voice of the Poor study, Enugu state is relatively well placed with regard to poverty data²⁹.

Further, new national surveys are scheduled which will fill some of these gaps, most notably a new Living Standards Monitoring Survey (LSMS), data collection for which is scheduled to begin later in 2003 by the Federal Office of Statistics.

²⁹ More specifically compared to two other states reviewed by the consultants for SLGP, Benue and Ekiti: see Nweze and Francis 2002 and Nweze, Ojowu and Francis 2002.



A number of specific gaps in knowledge nevertheless do exist. We have identified two main areas where there is a dearth of information. The first is the gender dimension of poverty. The second is the identity, distribution, problems and needs of the vulnerable groups identified in the previous section. There are also a number of secondary areas not yet well documented, including the geographical distribution of poverty across the state and needs of particular areas; and the capacities of Civil Society Organisations.

The availability of information on the subjective and qualitative aspects of poverty in the state is also quite limited compared to quantitative sources. However, with the possible exception of the primary gaps mentioned in the previous paragraph, we do not consider that this lack gives sufficient grounds to justify beginning a new programme of participatory research in the state. There are three reasons for this. First, the demand for poverty knowledge, and particular qualitative data, by decision-makers is currently relatively limited³⁰. Secondly, participatory research, which was originally meant to empower communities, has increasingly become at least as 'extractive' as more formal socio-economic research in taking information and offering little in return. The current development vogue of asking communities in detail about their problems and then doing nothing about them will increasingly lead to informant fatigue and disappointed expectations. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, we believe that if research is really to influence poverty, it must be designed to address specific questions the answers to which can improve policy design in identifiable ways.

Following from this reasoning, our main conclusions with regard to the availability of knowledge about poverty are as follows:

- Enough is known of the characteristics of poverty to confirm the need for, and to provide the basis for beginning to develop, a systematic approach to poverty alleviation in Enugu state.
- As poverty policies are developed, specific questions will arise about their design, incidence, or impact.
- Future research should be directed very specifically at answering such questions.

8.4 Last Word

While this report may read as a catalogue of woes and inadequacies, it is also indirectly a tribute to the self-reliance of the individuals and communities of Enugu state. South-easterners are famed for their entrepreneurial spirit and independence, and it is only through resourcefulness and determination that they have survived the neglect of earlier administrations. It is from this popular spirit of resolve and inventiveness that the state might take its cue in seeking to establish the foundations upon which the well-being of its citizens can be rebuilt.

³⁰ It is an indicator of the nature of demand for, and the distorted supply of, official statistics that even the Zonal Controller of the Federal Office of Statistics for the south-eastern region in Enugu, the agency responsible for executing the CWIQ survey along with other regular surveys of household consumption, agriculture, etc., did not have access to the results or reports of these surveys, or indeed to any other recent statistics on the state. He seemed surprised that it was necessary to explain to us that the first priority in distribution of reports went to the external sponsors of the research. Similarly, no state officials interviewed on poverty referred to the CWIQ or other social surveys analysed here.



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After all, there is nothing alien about the concept of transparency. As the ancient Igbo aphorism has it³¹:

Ezi okwu bu ndu
Okwu asi bu onwu

Truth is life
Falsehood is death.

³¹ Quoted in Umeh (1997).

Annex 1

Terms of Reference

Scoping Study on Conducting Assessments in Poverty and Wealth Generation In Enugu

Introduction

In Enugu the state Government has established a State Reform Team (ESRT). This is charged with responsibility for leading governance reform with a view to achieving enhanced capacity and effectiveness of state and local governments to formulate policy, manage resources and provide improved service delivery.

As part of the process of planning for and implementing strategies to achieve these objectives, the SRT has decided to undertake a number of situational assessments. One such assessment is into the nature and extent of poverty in the State. Information is expected to inform the planned process of developing policy guidelines for poverty reduction in the State.

While the ESRT has commissioned the study described here, it should be noted that a State Government Agency, the Community Development Coordinating Council (CDCC) has responsibility for working with the people in the State on measures to reduce poverty. This organisation is therefore a key government stakeholder in the exercise. The Director of the CDCC is a member of the ESRT and was instrumental in putting forward these ToR.

Background

Although there is a large agricultural sector in Enugu, the state is nevertheless quite heavily industrialised. It is a major coal mining area, while in Enugu City there are significant industrial establishments, especially in the brewing, vehicle assembly and construction materials sectors.

At this stage it is unclear how much information is already available describing poverty in the State. A Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) Survey was carried out in 2002. There may be other basic data available in selected departments. However, it is thought that there is no assessment of the 'nature' of poverty, that is one that would give any indication as to the distribution of various types of capital (economic, social, political and so on).

Objectives

The proposed study will therefore comprise two parts. The first part will comprise:

- A desk study to include collection and assimilation of existing poverty assessment material in Enugu state; and
- A scoping study to establish the need, and outline plans, for a participatory assessment, based upon knowledge of existing data.

The second part would comprise the conduct of the participatory survey.

These Terms of Reference refer to the first part (the bullet point objectives above).



The Desk Study

The desk study will be undertaken mainly in Enugu City, but could also involve consultation of other centrally located sources.

The consultants will:

- Talk to relevant stakeholders and visit sources to establish the existence of current and relevant materials and information on Poverty in Enugu;
- Assimilate and collate this information;
- Produce a written review and evaluation of it.

The work may be expected to identify, amongst other things:

- Types of indices or measures of poverty (or well-being or other related terms) currently being used;
- Any current policies, strategies or programmes for reducing poverty (increasing wealth creation) now in place;
- The role being played by current institutions (federal, state, LGA, others) and their responsibilities in these areas;
- The current occurrence of poverty (well-being) according to the measures currently available; and
- The different socially disadvantaged groups that are most affected or at risk.

Scoping Study

The overall aim of the scoping mission will be to produce outline plans for a participatory assessment of poverty (or well-being) in Enugu State.

The development of this plan must include answering the following questions:

What needs to be assessed?

International standards or models may be used to describe the various forms that poverty can take. In this context the results of the desk study may be expected to provide some indications as to what has, and therefore what needs to be, assessed in Enugu.

A decision about what should to be assessed needs fully to be understood by those responsible for the work – the SRT, the CDCC and other stakeholders. Therefore stakeholders need to be identified, and then an agreement reached with them, on the basis of the desk study and poverty models as to what else needs to be discovered.

What is the purpose of assessing it?

The purpose of the assessment also needs to be fully understood. Is it in order to:

- simply collect information about poverty;
- involve the citizens in providing information so as to raise their awareness of poverty issues and what they, the government and others might do about it;
- provide information, based on citizens' views, that can be fed into the development and implementation of better service delivery, and into other policy and strategy developments?

Results of this questioning should influence decisions about the type of survey to be done, and may raise the SRT's and other stakeholders' ownership of the work. It will also be essential to gain agreement on this issue if the results of the investigation are to be used to bring about changes in policy.



How should we assess it?

Finally the various techniques available for assessing poverty need to be understood, and evaluated, given local conditions and the answers to the above questions.

Outline Planned Assessment

Following these decisions, it should then be possible to develop an outline plan for the assessment work to be done. This should include reference to:

- Objectives
- Techniques to be used
- Resources necessary
- Potential local resources
- Time frame
- Costs
- Expected outputs

As far as possible the members of the SRT should be involved in the scoping work. It is essential that their understanding should drive development of the assessment plans. This involvement may be through individual meetings, but should include a full SRT team session at the beginning of the input in order to consider the questions above, and a team session at the end of the input to report back on, and agree, outline proposals for assessment work.

Outputs

The outputs of the study will be:

- a collection in hard and/or electronic copy of the materials identified;
- a plan of action, agreed with the ESRT, for further study and assessment; and
- a report that summarises and evaluates the information collected, presents and justifies proposals for the further study, and describes the process followed by the consultants.

Consultants, Timing and Support

The desk study and scoping mission will be undertaken by an international consultant specialised in poverty analysis, together with a local Nigerian consultant from Enugu. The local consultant will begin work on the desk study prior to arrival of the international consultant. Therefore some information will already be available when the international consultant arrives in the field.

Consultant	Prep'n	Travel	Field Work	Report Completion	Total
International	1	3	17	2	23
Local			20	2	22

The desk study work should commence as soon as possible, with an input to follow from the international consultant either in late May.

SLGP will provide transport and access to office support. The consultant(s) should provide their own computers. Refer to the attached quality assurance procedures which provide details regarding report deadlines and formatting.

Annex 2

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