

**Report of Social Capital Household Survey Pilot
in Adamawa State, Nigeria
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KEY POINT SUMMARY

1. This Social Capital Household Survey Pilot in Nigeria sets out to field test the consolidated social capital household questionnaire in Adamawa State to access which parts of the Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital (INQUESOC) were effective or ineffective based on interpretation codes. The survey was carried out in five villages and neighbourhoods spread across the state and twenty households were interviewed in each village.

2. **Highlight of findings:**
 - The people were very eager to provide information about the groups to which they belonged. However, they suspected some of the questions particularly the ones about the leadership and personal contributions of respondents' household to the groups.
 - The people in the villages and neighbourhoods perceived the questions and reacted to them in varying ways. Some of the questions were treated with suspect while some made them to suspect the true motive of the survey.
 - Some of the questions were perceived by the respondents as asking the same question twice. The issue of cooperation as against unity in the villages and trust as against honesty of various people and agencies were perceived as such. The respondents perceived some of the questions as being monotonous.
 - Whereas some of the respondents felt they have all rights and power to change the course of their life, the majority was embarrassed by the question. They reasoned that because they are poor this question was not necessary. There is fatalism in all the villages and neighbourhoods that were surveyed. This manifested in the issue of feeling of safety.
 - There is need to reframe and restructure some of the questions in order to capture more effectively the objective of the survey.

3. **Recommendations**
 - The word 'drinks' should be removed from the list of things in question 5.11. Some people considered it as alcoholic drinks and so they felt embarrassed by it.

- Personal market survey to gather market information can be included in question 5.8 as this is a very important source of market information to the respondents.
- Some of the questions may be restructured, modified or dropped. These include Question 6.3, 1.12, 1.27 1.6.
- Question 1.12 was very sensitive and it generated suspicion and doubt about survey.
- Questions 6.5 to 6.7 (E, F) should be retained as they are. They served as enlightenment to the people who hitherto were not aware of such privilege.
- On the average it took hours to interview a household. This made some of the respondents a bit uneasy. The reduction in the length of the questionnaire may be a way out.

1.4 Issues of languages and duration in each village

Hausa language is popular in all the five villages/neighborhoods that were surveyed. Since all members of the team had high proficiency in the language it was not a problem communicating with the people.

The team spent between two and three days in each of the neighbourhood. At each site the greater part of the first day was spent on the process of social mapping, household listing and well being ranking to identify the households that would be included in the survey. The process of questionnaire administration commenced thereafter. The following are the days the team spent in the neighborhoods:

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| • Rumde (central district) | June 14-16, 2002 |
| • Vonnuklang (central district) | June 17-19, 2002 |
| • Farai (south district) (first visit) | June 20-21, 2002 |
| • Dashen (south district) | June 22-24, 2002 |
| • Lughu (North district) | June 25-27, 2002 |
| • Farai (second visit) | June 28, 2002 |

By the end of the stay in each village the team had a reasonable degree of confidence that the questionnaire had been administered to people from a wide variety of background; diverse on both the socio-cultural and socioeconomic frontiers and are representatives of the various groups in the village.

Sample selection within a Community

Within a village (community) separate interviews were held with 5 different households. These households were partly selected with the guide of representatives of the village heads at Dashen and Farai while the team benefited from the assistance of team members that are familiar with Rumde and Vunnoklang.

Specific methods were used for identifying households within villages. One of the team members resides in Rumde and has spent all his life there. He served as guide to the team in the selection of households at Rumde. Also at Vinikilang the team benefited from the experience of

a team member who has friends and contacts within the village. These people assisted in the identification and selection of households. At Farai the village head and Chief Priest assigned one of his aids to guide us through the village. He partly identified some of the households. The same case was applicable at Dashen. The case of Lughu was similar to that of Rumde and Vinikilang. A member of the team hails from that neighbourhood.

Selection of households in all the villages and neighbourhoods involved the process of social mapping, household listing and well-being ranking to identify the rich/poor, farmer/trader, businessmen/civil servants etc households and people for the purpose of questionnaire administration in each of the communities. At Rumde and Vinikilang the process of selection of households was carried out in conjunction with the friends and contacts of our team members who already were familiar with the neighbourhoods. Whereas at Farai and Dashen villages, the village head (in the case of Dashen) and the council of elders and the village chief priest assisted in the selection process. In both Farai and Dashen an official of the village head was assigned to go through the process with us. The process of selection of households at Lughu was similar to that of Rumde and Vinikilang.

The process of household selection included well being ranking in conjunction with the guide. It was not necessary for this survey to carry out a complete well being ranking in the villages because the whole process of ranking all of the households in the villages and neighbourhood would be a lengthy one and require sensitive facilitation. For our purpose the team:

- Identified well-being groups/categories within a village/neighbourhood.
- Elicited peoples' criteria for differentiating between the categories.
- Obtained proportions of households in each category.

The team had extensively discussed the criteria on the basis of which households were categorized in different well-being categories with the guides. This gave the team an understanding of the peoples' own categories and criteria.

2.2 Fieldwork Process:

Building Trust and Rapport (Shared Understanding)

The team agreed that how we introduced ourselves and the study to the communities could have a bearing on the responses. The study team adequately discussed how to handle the introduction before we left for the field. There was a common understanding on what was to be required to handle introductions each time a household would be interviewed.

Transparency

The most important part of introduction is being transparent. The team mentioned clearly to the ward and village that this interview with the households was a part of a larger survey being carried out in three regions in Nigeria in order to field-test the INQUOSEC in lower-income communities. The survey process was fully explained to the wards and village heads. They were also informed of the duration of the team's visit with the community and how the interviews would be handled.

Avoiding generating expectations

Another issue the team kept in mind is that of generating any expectations. In line with this the team decided to mention the World Bank very sparingly during interviews. A consultative process, like the one adopted by this survey (and with a focus on understanding peoples' perception of the questions), can create expectation of some sort of benefits in peoples' minds. It was important to explain clearly at the very outset in each neighbourhood that this was only a survey to field-test the INQUOSEC. The team pointed out that there are no direct benefits or follow-up to these interviews. However, the possibility that the results from the survey could influence national policy and in turn have a positive impact on the peoples' lives in an indirect manner was emphasized. However, whether or when this will happen could not be predicted. The team reiterated this several times during the course of the fieldwork, as it is highly undesirable to generate any false expectations.

Documentation

Documentation and synthesis of information generated during each interview session was a very important part of the survey. It was therefore, important to ensure that the team members had the required ability to document and synthesize such information.

Proper recording of all responses and reactions to the questions was of crucial importance in the documentation process. This is the basic data that was used for analysis and synthesis. The team used a small notebook for taking notes in the field. Field notes of respondents' perception of key words in the questionnaire were taken.

2.3 Criteria for Selection of Neighbourhoods

The state is divided into three senatorial districts. These are the north, central and south senatorial districts. The selection of neighbourhoods was done in order to cover the three senatorial districts. Two neighbourhoods each were selected in the Central and South senatorial districts while one neighbourhood was selected in the north district. In the north senatorial district Lughu, an urban neighbourhood was selected at Michika while Rumde was the urban neighbourhood sampled in the central senatorial district at Jimeta. The rural neighborhoods were Vunnoklang in Girei LGA in the Central Senatorial District and Farai in Demsa LGA and Dashen in Jada LGA both in the South district. One common feature of these communities is the diversity of important social groups such as religion, ethnicity, race, tribal and linguistic affiliations, political affiliation, level of income, occupation etc. The characteristics of the villages and neighbourhoods are shown in Appendix 3.

Dashen

Dashen is a rural settlement situated on the highway linking Jada and Ganye LGAs. It is also in the South Senatorial District. The village is known for its rich agricultural activities. The area is referred to as the food basket of Adamawa State in some quarters. There is a Theological College, schools, a small market, and places of worship in the village. Most of the houses are mud houses with thatched roofs. There are bush paths linking the various parts of the village and the farms. Prominent politicians in the country are from this part of the state.

Lughu

The selection of an urban neighborhood at Michika was informed by the fact that Michika is one of the oldest and most populous LGAs in Adamawa State yet there are several lower-income neighborhoods in the town. In addition to this is the fact that there is high rate of migration of the younger generation in pursuit of commercial activities. Basic infrastructure such as drinking water, light is available in the neighborhood.

Vonnuklang

This neighbourhood situated on the bank of River Benue in Girei Local Government Area (LGA) is in the Central Senatorial District of Adamawa State. It is a conglomeration of people of diverse ethnic groups. This neighborhood is sub urban and is about 10 kilometers away from the Girei LGA headquarters. The settlement is largely unplanned. Children play outside the houses naked. Spots where local brews are sold and consumed abound in this neighborhood. There is diversity of ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. Traders, fishers, artisans, civil servants, casual labourer etc find the community a conducive place as house rent is generally low.

Rumde

Jimeta Yola is the capital town of Adamawa State and it is the seat of government. It is cosmopolitan in nature and has enjoyed that status since it became the state capital of old Gongola State over two decades ago. The town enjoys basic infrastructure such as clean drinking water and electricity is provided. There are various neighborhoods in Jimeta Yola and they include both rich and poor/lower income and neighborhoods, however, Rumde stands out as a typical example of a lower-income neighborhood in Jimeta Yola for its notoriety. Main sources of livelihood of the people include civil service, petty trading/business, illegal sale of petroleum products, blacksmithing and commercial motorcycle service. Majority of the people live in small houses and compounds mainly built of clay. The settlement is largely unplanned and as a result motor roads are few. Most of the pathways are accessible by motorcycles, bicycles and by foot.

Farai

This village is reputed to be the seat of traditional religious practices in the Bwatiye kingdom. It is regarded as the core point in the kingdom. Though a very rural community, it commands great attraction annually as people congregate in the village for an annual traditional ceremony. Motor vehicles cannot move in the village in spite of its proximity to both Numan and Demsa (both of which are LGA headquarters) because there are only winding roads and footpaths snaking through the largely mud houses with thatched roofs. The people are mainly farmers, hunters and civil servants.

PERCEPTION OF QUESTIONS BY RESPONDENTS

4.1 PERCEPTIONS

The following is the summary of how the respondents perceived the questions during the pilot survey. The findings are presented according to the sections of the questionnaire.

4.1 SECTION ONE: Groups and Networks

Most of the respondents were eager to tell enumerators the groups and organisations that they belonged to. There were a few that were a bit reluctant to disclose the information. It was a bit difficult for some of the people to tell the two most important groups to the household. They felt the questionnaire was trying to find out so much about their groups. Questions such as 1.4, 1.6 and 1.9 sounded as though there was a subtle probe of the groups. As a result of this perception some of them were a bit careful in their responses.

Questions 1.15, 1.16, and 1.17 particularly were answered with a lot of reservation. Their perception was that the leadership of the groups and organisations were coming under close scrutiny. Most of the people provided answers that would suggest that they were trying to be protective. The question on political viewpoint of the members of the groups was a sensitive one (i.e. Q1.12). This is coming on the heels of the disbandment of local councils and hype in electioneering campaign across the state. Respondents were careful to answer this question.

Concerning networking with other groups and organisations some of the respondents perceived the question as a way to access the degree of independence of their groups. There is a feeling that a group that networks is a weak group. This explains the occasional interaction between groups. Interaction with other groups is perceived as lose of focus by the leadership of groups.

Many of the respondents felt that the question of close friends is unnecessary at this time when close friends are known to betray trust reposed in them. They answered the question with skepticism and philosophy. As a result if this some of the people said that their close friend is their father only. Some body said that all followers of his religion enjoy his trust and confidence and he can discuss personal things with them. In his view the people are free to breach the trust if they so wish.

An elderly man perceived that question 1.29 was referring to the time of his death. He asked the enumerator where would he go to that would warrant his neighbours taking care of his children. He became infuriated and said that he hates to talk about death because he hates to die. He hates anything that would remind him about death.

Demographics

Most of the respondents were happy to provide the demographic information about their households. Many of them saw it as getting them registered for some direct benefits. This made some people at Lughu to feel that they have been deprived of an opportunity to receive assistance

from agencies. The demographic information also gave many of the respondents the feeling that no harm would come to them since the names of all the people were listed and it would be “impossible for all of them to be herded into prison”.

4.2 SECTION TWO: Trust and Solidarity

The perception was that trust in people in absolute terms was elusive. They felt that it is vainful for one to say that he trusts people completely. The respondents showed that in most cases the willingness to help people in need is not always matched by the ability to actually help. In other words most people are willing to help but would eventually fail to actualize it because they lack the wherewithal.

In answering question 2.3 most of the respondents said they trust people from other ethnic group much more than they do people from their ethnic group. They believe that people that are from the same ethnic group would work against their interest. Some people had reservation in telling how much trust they had for local and central government officials as well as the police. Some of them saw it as an opportunity to vent their anger and grievance against them for their actions and inactions. For the police, many were evasive by saying that since they have never had cause to go to a police station they would not be in a position to comment on their trustworthiness.

4.3 SECTION THREE: Collective Action and Cooperation

In answering the question in this section, many of the respondents, especially those in the urban neighbourhood within the state capital took so much time to lay their complaints. They complained about the failure of government to provide facilities and amenities to their neighbourhood. They saw questions 3.5 and 3.7 as opportunity to indict the government. Whereas in more rural neighbourhood such as Lughu and Dashen, the, perception was that question in this section would project their name and image of their neighbourhood. Thus they were glad to tell all about their communal effort to provide and maintain amenities such as water supply. Questions 3.5 and 3.6 were considered to be an assessment of how rich the village is because they perceived it to be a direct assessment of how many rich people are in the neighbourhood. They feared that this information might ward off assistance coming from outside the community. This is reflected in the fact that in answer to question 3.6 they generally gave a lower proportion of people when compared to the proportion that was given in question 3.5. In all the communities question 3.7 was not a problem at all because already they had evidence to cite in support of their collective action except at Rumde. There, the attitude to the question was nonchalant. The impression is that everyone was on his own as far as water supply was concerned. The government failed, they are quick to tell you.

4.4 SECTION FOUR: Information and Communication

Some of the people interviewed perceive reading of newspaper as a sign of affluence. Sarcastically they would say that they would rather use the little money they have to buy food for the household than to buy newspaper. To them newspapers are expensive. Others who are illiterate felt embarrassed because the literate members of the society read newspapers only.

The people, generally, felt at home with question 4.3. Some of them showed their radios to the enumerators while others listed the radio stations they listen to regularly. Telephone service is perceived as elitist privilege and moreover it is not even available in four of the village. It was observed that many of the respondents listed “self” as one of their important source of information in answer to questions 4.7 and 4.8. Self is not listed on the questionnaire.

Some of the respondents did not know why question 4.11 was included on the survey. They try to evade it by saying that they cannot tell how many times they traveled out of their neighbourhood. They felt they are being investigated.

4.5 SECTION FIVE: Social Cohesion and Inclusion

It was difficult for the people to clearly come out with a rating of social unity. In most cases they considered it as being the same as cooperation and feeling of communality. In many instances they perceived social unity as mainly superficial because they are aware of division engendered by both traditional and religious differences. At Farai there is a dividing line between the traditionalists and the Christians. In the other villages it is between the Christians and the Moslems. Their perception of social unity therefore hinges much more on the concept of tolerance of one another. All the religious teachers emphasise tolerance in community life and the people have imbibed it. Concerning differences in characteristics of people living in the neighbourhoods the respondents’ perception of it was that the fingers of the hand are not all equal in length. There was no difficulty in coming to terms with that. One respondent simply showed the palm of his hand to the enumerator and asked him whether all the fingers were equal in length.

The issue of access to justice in question 5.6 was peculiar at Farai. In that village, the perception was that justice resides with the elders of the village who are the traditionalists. Cases cannot be taken to the police. That would be an act of disrespect for the elder and traditional institution. Some respondents perceive access to education by young girls as an undue exposure of the girls to immorality as a result they are denied education in order to safeguard them.

Some people perceived question 5.7 as an assessment of their important or relevance in the scheme of things in the neighbourhood. For them, it is an ego booster that they are to be reckoned with in all the affairs of the village.

Sociability

Again questions 5.11to 5.19 were perceived as yardstick for measuring popularity of individuals among his folks. Some perceived it as necessary for political adventurism. They like to be seen as crowd pullers in their own little corners. However, many of the people said that the interaction with people from other religion was very limited. Most of the respondents did not take part in games and recreational activities. Their perception of games and recreational activities is that they are for people that are already comfortable. Time is valuable, as they feel, and so it should rather be devoted to activities that will bring in food to the household. Some respondents are forbidden to play games by their religion.

Conflict and Violence

The people generally talked about a peaceful society in relative terms. They perceived it on a nationwide basis. They would tell of crisis situations that have occurred in other parts of the country and then relate it to their own neighbourhood.

The respondents perceived the democratic dispensation in the country as a time when people can exercise their right and liberty erroneously. This could result into more violence in the community. They also observed that crime and violence has been on the increase lately in the country. The respondents cited several instances of violent crime both within and outside their neighbourhood. They have a clear perception of crime and violence. Those that had fallen victims freely talked about it and the effort that they have made to stamp out crime in the neighbourhood. On the feeling of safety, they generally exhibited fatalism i.e. whatever has been destined to happen to someone shall happen.

4.6 SECTION SIX: Empowerment and Political Action

The respondents' perception of happiness is that one does not need to be rich to be happy. Most of them see themselves as happy in spite of their low estate in life and they talk about it openly. They are so philosophical about their state of happiness. Questions 6.2 and 6.3 are difficult to get the respondents to clearly differentiate between control, right and power to change the course of life. Some of them saw these questions as repugnant. They are religious and they have resigned almost all decisions to their god. Some said they have all power to change the course of their life. However, as they said that, you could see the underlying reservation in the expression on their face. Some respondents feel they have all right so long as the political party that formed the government is in power. Some said that so long as they are public servants they have limited rights. Others linked rights to wealth. Their perception of questions 6.2 to 6.4 is that the underlying factor is possession of wealth. An old man believes that he would become young if only he had money.

Concerning the question of impact in making the village a better place to live, some respondents saw it as an opportunity to blow their trumpet. They were generally happy to answer this question. Some felt that since they are poor they do not have much impact. They relate impact to wealth and social status.

Most respondents in the 5 villages see petition writing as a taboo, which people should normally not walk into. Their attitude and expression when this question came up was that petition writing is troubleshooting. This is the same perception the respondents had for question 6.7 (C, E, and F). They would rather wait for the press to come to them to find out about the local problems. They perceive it that they would be indicting their leaders should they alert the press on a local problem. The general perception about the police is that the police may breach a trust.

In the case of voting for a candidate from a different ethnic group, their perception is that what matters to them is a candidate that will alleviate their hardship when he gets voted into office. As for the government officials the respondents believe that they do not have time for

them. When they go to the officials they do not listen to them. Rather they give them little pocket money as though they went to the leaders to beg money. The respondents would not clearly comment on how honest some of the agencies listed in Q6.12 are. They felt that they would be indicting the government officials, and traditional leaders. The traditional village leaders are highly revered by the people the community and so they would rather be careful. However, with respect to the police, judges and staff of courts, the respondents freely commented about them.

Their perception of the honesty of local government has deteriorated under the democratic rule than during the military rule. The local government officials were afraid of the military.

FIELD EXPERIENCES

The experience of the research team is captured here in a summary form. It is presented according to the villages and neighbourhoods that were surveyed.

Dashen

The research team called at the house of the village head that accorded us a very cordial reception. A respondent in the process of answering the questions decided that he would not go ahead with the interview. His friends had to persuade him to continue. He complained so much on why he would not give the names of the members of his household to the enumerator. He later demanded for money. The people talked favourably about the World Health Organisation Bamako Initiative programme. They commended the effort of international organisations for helping in the area of health services, water supply and sanitation. The Parent Teacher Association (PTA) in the village are very active as they collaborate with government to provide school buildings while the government takes charge of recruiting and the payment of teachers. A household in the village had followers of both the Christian and Muslim religions. The household head said that his most trusted friends are Christians.

Lughu

Reception of the team was very cordial and easy here. The people were very excited to receive the enumerators. The villagers that were not interviewed wished that they had been a part of the survey. They felt that they had missed a great opportunity to be enumerated. A respondent at Lughu said that he could trust everybody because has met two people in the past years that had proved to be very trustworthy.

Vunnoklang

A woman who is a politician was friendly. She was so friendly outstandingly. She is married and has children. She said that she all rights and can do almost everything. She was very receptive. She belongs to the women group in the church and said she is free to go campaign trip freely.

A theologian in the village was one of the respondents. During the second visit to his shop he was no longer as friendly and cooperative as he had been. He was not willing to provide the demographic information on his household. His shop attendant and his very close neighbours did not know the names of his wife and children. He very reluctantly gave the names of his

household members because he said that was confidential information. He complained so much and was very harsh about the demographics.

The wife of one retiree of the National Youth Service Corps in the village was had a child who was very sick. The wife of the man tried all she could to dissuade him from giving time to the research team. Rather than heed the wife's advice he told his wife that the research team may be angels and so he would not like to lose the opportunity of receiving angels in his home. He narrated this to the enumerator at the end of the interview. The research team, on seeing how much the child was suffering, assisted the man with money so that he could buy medicaments for the child. This man feels oppressed by the government because he has not been paid his benefits. He also believes that the rich people in the society generally oppress the poor. He cited an example to buttress his point as he told a story about a poor man whose land was taken by a company. The man went to court but he got no reprieve, as he was poor.

A journalist with the state television was of the view that the survey was for Christians only and so he was not interested. However, when he was clarified on the survey he agreed to be enumerated.

A politician in the neighbourhood tried to dissuade some of the respondent as he went about carrying negative publicity about the government and international agencies. He complained and castigated the government for inaction in his neighbourhood. He claimed that since 1973 questionnaires had been completed and nothing came out the effort rather the information they provided was used by some people to enrich themselves. He threatened that the community would not vote the party in government even though they are registered members of the party. He accused local government officials of embezzlement of public funds.

There are so many youth and elders for a in the neighbourhood. These groups, it was discovered, were mainly political outfits. They liaise with politicians and receive money from them.

A woman was stopped by the husband not to give the demographic information of the household. This was during the second visit to the household. He claimed that in the past years he had answered questionnaires. Nothing was done for him rather the information that he provided was used by some people to obtain loans. Concerning water supply in the neighbourhood some respondents demonstrated the unwillingness of the people to get together to solve the problem by showing the enumerator a well that is now filled with silt. All that is to be done is to de-silt the well. Nobody is willing to do that. There are, however, so many private bore holes in the neighbourhood where water is sold to the people. It is therefore difficult for the people to come together to solve this problem. They accused the officials of the utility board of creating artificial scarcity of water by switching off water supply. This is because they prefer to sell water to the people.

Some respondents accused engineers in the state ministry of works of acts of corruption. They gave poor roads/culverts as examples of poorly completed jobs.

A woman was afraid to attend to the enumerator. While a household was being interviewed a friend walked into the house and tried so hard to discourage the couple in answering the questions. He said that it would be very unsafe for them to continue to give information to an unknown person or organisation. The household head, however, disregarded him and went ahead to answer the questions.

In this neighbourhood Muslims do not relate to non- Christians. A woman said she feels very unsafe because she lives near a mosque and being not a Muslim she is afraid of falling a victim in the event of a religious crisis in the village. Two people that had a great impact in the neighbourhood are no longer alive.

Rumde

An elderly that had worked with the National Association of Road Transport Owners (NARTO) and was yet to be paid his retirement benefits was one of the respondents at Rumde. The man is married and has 33 people in his household. He has pent up grievances against his former employers and requested the research team to assist him in any possible way. He said that he has given up on life. However, he is still producing children as he has a young wife and a child of about 2years old.

The ward head took so much time to find out so much from the research team the exact purpose and goal of the survey before he began to talk to the enumerator. He has lived in the community for about 35 years. He did not disclose the number of his children. In fact he said that he does not consider himself to have children except one of his grand child. He said he is a happy man.

The team interviewed a woman whose husband is a civil servant who would not cater for the household. The eldest son who is a footballer takes care of the family. The son is more or less the head of the family. The woman is very friendly and is the leader of the local thrift collection group (*adashe*) in the neighbourhood. She has 7 children. Her friends can trust her.

One of the respondents, an elderly man, waned to know the benefit that he would derive by being interviewed by the research team. After he was clarified he referred the enumerator to his eldest son whom he mandated to provide all necessary information.

An elderly man did not want to tell the enumerators the groups and organisations they belonged to. He, however, told the enumerator the groups he belonged to. He said he trusts all people that share the same religion with him. This neighbourhood is notorious for crime and for harboring miscreants. However, all the respondents said that they have never been victims of violent crime in the past year. At Rumde the people pointed accusing finger at the government for failure to do so many things for the neighbourhood. This was not observed in the rural areas as the people there are very willing to embark on communal work in order to provide amenities for their communities. There is a well at Rumde that is filled with silt. The people are not willing to come together to de-silt it and put it back to use. Whereas at Lughu the people provided the community with a bore hole (source of water supply) and they have made hired a guard to secure the facility. At Dashen there is a water users association and they are concerned with managing the water supply to the village.

Farai

The village is a very poor one. The village reflects the differences and diversity existing in the state. The village is considered to be the navel of the Bwatiye Kingdom. They hold tightly to their culture and traditions. The village is very different from the other villages in the area where Christianity has had a great influence in the sense that they still tightly hold onto their cultural and traditional practices. Despite the many years of Christian missionary activities in the area there are on two churches on the outskirts of the village.

The village is so small even though it is very accessible to both the Local Government headquarters of both Numan and Demsa LGAs. They guard the secret of their culture very closely. Getting into the village was the most difficult for the research team. The arrival of the team in the village caused so much stir as the people came out to watch and they all had a question on their lips- what are these strangers doing here? The screening of the team was done first by the village head. The village head that is also the chief priest of the village took the team to the oldest man in the village for further interrogation. Somebody suggested that the team should give him money for him to facilitate our passage to the oldest man in the village. The eldest man confirmed that visitors are usually allowed into the village. Each member of the team was interrogated thoroughly. All forms of consultations were done. In fact the team feels that the chief priest may have gone to the village shrine to make some enquiry on the team's mission. It is a closed place as they suspect visitors.

One point of interest is that the village head and chief priest is a well-educated man yet young girls are prevented from going to school. They alleged that girls that went to school got impregnated. Does this not portray that their rights are being denied them and the failure of their much-cherished culture in shaping the lives, behaviour of their people? However, the people were ready to offer their young girls to the team members as girl friends. This is contradiction in terms.

In this village the people are prevented from taking cases to the police and to seek redress in the court. There was a violent clash between two parties some years ago. When the case was taken to the police the elders of the community favored an "amicable" and so went to the police to withdraw the case. The case in reference was between the Christian worshippers and the traditionalists who are also the elders of the village. In such a case the possibility of a fair hearing is in question. There is boundary dispute in the village with the local government headquarters, which is a neighbouring town.

5.1 Problems encountered in the field

Though the research team did not encounter much problems in the field the following are worthy of note;

1. Problem of acceptance- At Farai, one of the rural neighborhoods in the central senatorial district, the first time we got there, the team found it difficult to gain the peoples' welcome. The leaders and elders of the village subjected the team to thorough and serious session of interrogation. The Village head is also the Chief priest of the community. They wanted the team to go to the shrine in order to meet the Chief priest. The team was suspected of coming to the village with an evil motive.
2. A few of the respondents and village guides expected to receive tips from the researchers.

3. The duration of each session of interview was an average of 2 hours in view of the length of the questionnaire. Several of the respondents felt that too much of their time had been taken.
4. The activity of politicians to discourage respondents. At Rumde, a local politician tried so hard to discourage two respondents without success.
5. The people alleged that since 1973 several research people had brought questionnaires to them to complete. In the process the people/researchers made some promises, which they have not fulfilled. This attitude actually made one man to stop his wife from talking to the enumerator.

5.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the field experience, the team had the following suggestions:

- The people perceived questions 2.5 and 5.10 as one question. They perceived them to have the same meaning. They can be merged to become one question.
- The word ‘Drinks’ should be removed from the list of things in question 5.11 because some people consider it to be referring to alcoholic beverages only. Their religions forbid it and they feel embarrassed.
- In questions 4.7 and 4.8 the people are not aware of Internet at all. This option can be removed from the questionnaire because the residents of the lower-income communities are not in touch with this facility at all. However, in question 4.8, ‘personal’ or ‘self’ can be included in the options because some of the respondents personally go to the markets to receive information.
- In question 5.6 respondents reacted to option E (i.e. Transportation) with great surprise. They asked, “How and why should someone be prevented from transportation?”
- Question 6.3 offended the people. This should be restructured because people perceived it as an insult to them.
- Question 1.12 is a very sensitive question. It generated suspicion that probably the enumerators wanted to find out whether the people are anti government. Can we be silent on this in future?
- Question 1.6 can be reframed in such a way that it will ask for estimates. Most of the respondents gave us estimates since they have no records.
- Some respondents perceived question 1.27 as a wish of bad luck. Can this be reframed?
- Question 2.3 should be replicated in future.
- Questions 4.3 and 4.4 should be preceded by a question such as ‘do you have electricity in your neighbourhood?’
- Questions 6.5 to 6.7 (E, F) should be replicated because they also served as enlightenment to the respondents as many of them were not aware of such privileges.
- Question 6.10 can be replicated.
- Boxes should be provided for question 1.23.
- Questions 2.3 and 6.12 were perceived as the same i.e. Trust and honesty. Can they be reframed so as to bring out the difference?
- The expression somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, and others (see q. 3.4, 3.7, 3.8, 2.5, 2.1) may be reframed because of difference in language style across countries.
- Questions 1.18 to 1.21 can be replicated in future.