

SOCIAL CAPITAL (PILOT) SURVEY IN ENUGU STATE, NIGERIA

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July 2002

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study sets out to evaluate the *Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital*. Its purpose was to summarize the experience gathered in the field with a view to highlighting which parts of the questionnaire were effective based on interpretation of basic frequency counts for each question, reported in the form of bar charts for each relevant question. The questionnaire was based on four previous World Bank social capital surveys in many locations.

The survey was carried out *in* five different locations, representing the three Senatorial Zones in Enugu State, Nigeria. It was preceded by a training/orientation meeting via a videoconference at The World Bank Country Office in Abuja, Nigeria, during which lead researchers were familiarized with the survey tool. Later six research assistants were trained to administer the tool in the state. The questionnaire is divided into six sections reflecting the structural and cognitive dimensions of social capital. Data were grouped and tabulated using statistical software.

The section on groups and networks were too detailed and left out virtually nothing. Consequently, the volume of data generated was enormous reflecting all aspects of the issues involved. However, the process of data generation was time wasting and cumbersome for both the subjects and the enumerators. This had deleterious effect on the quality and validity of some information as some busy respondents gave spurious answers in order to be free. In addition, some of the questions were suggestive, making the responses too obvious. The aspect on groups generated so much information that one wonders the purpose for which they were intended. There may be the need to trim down this section by expunging some repetitions and merging some of the organizations listed.

The section on Trust and Solidarity focused on data bordering on community trust and solidarity. Nearly all the questions in this section were summarized for ease of evaluation. The questions were brief, direct and more manageable. Field experience showed that respondents were more at ease with the questions, in spite of the complexity of the tabular questions. Another major observation was the difficulty in translating some of the questions to vernacular, even after intensive training on the exercise. This was attributed to dialectical differences, even in the same Local Government Area.

The third section focuses on collective action in communities. A total of thirteen tables were created from ten questions, some of which were in tabular form. The respondents had no problem coping with the number of questions in the section. However, some of the questions that appeared specific theoretically were rather too vague. Some proved too difficult to code and

tabulate, requiring some level of dexterity on the part of researchers to manage. Questions requiring memory recall were most difficult to deal with. This was particularly so in view of the many questions the respondents had to contend with. Some structural improvements were suggested.

Section four deals with information and communication in communities. Fifteen tables were created from eleven (11) well structured, concise, direct, and easy-to-handle questions. Some of the questions appeared too open-ended while provision needs to be made for unlisted but relevant items. Merging some of the questions and including indigenous means of communication such as town/village crier will lose nothing.

Responses to issues about social cohesion and inclusion form the basis of section five. There are a total of thirty-one questions from which fifty-six tables were derived. Many of the tables are complex, being derived from tabular questions. The bane of section five are the multiplicity of questions, many of which relied on memory recall. With too many questions to respond to, respondents were in a hurry to leave, thus jeopardizing the validity of information. The options in some questions were too tricky for some inexperienced enumerators. The questionnaire will benefit immensely by merging some questions and expunging others. Some questions were structured in such a manner as is difficult to handle and tabulate. Many questions were too suggestive, with the result that respondents chose those options that would favour them politically and economically. Apart from these observations, the section is loaded with questions that would address intended issues on social cohesion and inclusion.

With only eleven questions giving rise to twenty-eight tables, the number of questions in section six could be regarded as moderate. The section focuses on empowerment and political action. Respondents had little problem understanding the options. Some of the questions were well structured while others were suggestive. The tabular questions were specific but time consuming. To make the research tool more effective, there is need to trim it by merging some questions and expunging some aspects that are not so much needed. No doubt, the questionnaire will absolutely facilitate the achievement of the objectives for which it is drawn.

In Enugu State, Nigeria, the fieldwork was undertaken in five communities, selected from three political zones of the state as follows:

- Enugu East Senatorial Zone (Abakpa Nike)
- Enugu West Senatorial Zone (Amechi Idodo and Abor communities)
- Enugu North Senatorial Zone (Nsukka Urban and Umabor, Ehalumona communities)

THE STUDY AREA

Enugu State

Enugu State is one of the 36 States in Nigeria, apart from the Federal Capital Territory. Located between latitudes $5^{\circ} 56''$ N and $7^{\circ} 55''$ E of the Greenwich meridian (Ezike, 1992), the State is bounded in the northeast by Ebonyi State, on the north by Benue and Kogi States and to the west by Anambra State from which it was carved out in 1991. In the south it borders with Abia State. Enugu State has a total land area of 8,022.95 sq kilometers with a population of 2,452,996 persons (National Population Commission, 1992) and therefore a population density of 248 persons per square kilometer.

Administratively, Enugu State is divided into 19 Local Government Areas. But politically, there are three zones, namely: Enugu North, Enugu South and Enugu Central.

About 85% of the rural population is engaged in the agricultural sector, characterized largely by smallholdings of less than one hectare. Predominant food crops include cassava, yam, maize, rice, pigeon pea, bambara nuts, cocoyam and cowpea. The major perennial tree crops grown are oil palm, citrus, pear and cashew. These are supplemented with small-scale livestock farming such as poultry, small ruminants and indigenous cattle.

The State capital is located at the hilly city of Enugu. An old seat of government, Enugu was the capital of the former East Central State from which present Anambra, Enugu, Imo, Abia, and Ebonyi States were carved out. Highly cosmopolitan, Enugu boasts of a couple of industries and a coal mine, from which the appellation – ‘coal city’ was derived.

Umabor, Eha-Alumona

Umabor, a rural village in Eha-Alumona community, is located in the North East of the University Town of Nsukka, a few kilometers away from Nsukka Local Government Headquarters of Enugu State, Nigeria. It has a population of about 36,129. Regarded as one of the food baskets of Enugu North Senatorial Zone, Umabor farmers grow major staples such as cassava, cocoyam and maize as well as popular fruits including pear, oranges, mango. Honey production is gaining wide acceptance as a secondary occupation in the village.

In spite of its proximity to Local Government Headquarters, Umabor lacks such basic infrastructures as water supply, electricity, all season roads, general hospital, etc.

Nsukka

Nsukka area lies between latitude $6^{\circ} 18''$ and $7^{\circ} 06''$ North and longitudes $6^{\circ} 52''$ and $7^{\circ} 54''$ East, and covers a total surface area of approximately 3,961 square kilometers (Ofomata, 1978). However, the Nsukka urban community is one of the two major urban centres of Enugu State recognized by the state government. It has a population of about 254,422.

Before 1960, Nsukka was a relatively unknown town, overshadowed by the then more prosperous Ogorugu, which became a major exporting centre (on account of its location

along the River Niger coast) and Ibagwa, which had a flourishing horse market. After 1960, all these changed with the establishment of the University of Nigeria (Okoye, 1978).

Nsukka has grown *pari pasu* with development of the University. A casual look at the settlements will reveal two distinct patterns, namely: one predominantly rural, where indigenes live; and another, essentially cosmopolitan, and mostly inhabited by non-indigenes.

The University dominates the landscape of Nsukka, offering employment to most of the inhabitants and constituting its main economic base or its main industry (Okoye, 1978).

Abor

Abor is a rural community in Udi Local Government Area of Enugu Senatorial Zone, with a population of about 6,950. With a direct link road to the state capital, Enugu, Abor is well positioned to enjoy facilities, which are not available in most other rural communities in the state. Thus electricity and piped water supply are added advantages to a community that is populated by non-indigenes, many of whom sought to live away from the bustle and hustle of city life.

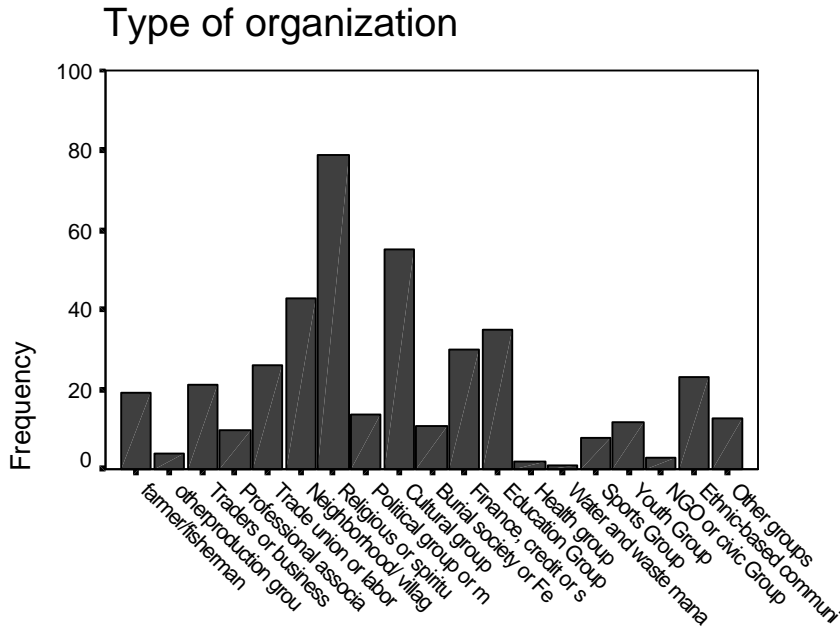
Three primary schools and one secondary school represent the hallmark of community efforts to provide rural infrastructure

Amechi Idodo

Amechi Idodo is an autonomous community in the north of Nkanu East Local Government Area of Enugu State, Enugu East Senatorial Zone. Largely a poor agrarian community with a population of about 7,602, Idodo farmers produce yam, cocoyam, cassava, oil palm, etc., which are sold in both local and distant markets. Buyers of agricultural produce come from neighbouring states of Abia, Ebonyi, Anambra and Imo. Palm kernel is available in large quantity. However, much of it is wasted due to the absence of local processing facilities. Quite often, traders cash in on the annual glut and rip off the market to the detriment of producers, thus exacerbating the incidence of rural poverty.

FINDINGS BY SECTION

Summary of Section 1 (Groups and Networks)



Type of organization

- There are too many questions in this section. Consequently, it took too much time to go through all the questions. The respondents were easily bored, especially the busy ones.
- Some of the questions were suggestive. For example, the respondents readily admitted membership of organizations to which they did not belong. This was so easily deduced from the follow up questions.
- Because of the multiplicity of questions, some respondents answered questions hurriedly in a bid to conclude and attend to some urgent business.
- Most household heads were evidently reluctant to include other household members even when it was clear that such household members participate in group activities.
- It was difficult for some households to select the best two of the organizations to which they belong. This was so because in this part of the world people value local organizations and may not be able to prioritize or rank them objectively.
- The coding process is too time wasting.
- Some of the organizations listed in section 1 should actually be merged for more effectiveness. Eg, C &D, I&J, O&P, etc.
- Some of the questions (eg. 1.6, 1.7, etc) take respondents down the memory lane. This, coupled with multiplicity of questions, rendered some of the responses suspicious.
- There may be need to break down funds into registration, donations, contribution which are more like local terminologies in group activities.

- Question 1.10 and 1.11 could be merged.
- Somewhat effective (question 1.17) should actually be replaced with not too effective.
- Need to have a second look at question 1.23. It should be reframed and made more specific. The term technical assistance was too difficult to conceptualize in local terms. Breaking it down into specific technological items may be helpful.
- The fact that there were too many unlisted items suggests the need to include more options in some questions.

Summary of Section 2 (Thrust and Solidarity)

- The questions under trust and solidarity were brief and direct. The respondents didn't encounter problems in responding to the questions. *
- The categories of people in question 2.3 were actually central to people's welfare. It was therefore not surprising that respondents were excited about the questions.
- However, the concept of "getting along" was not easy to explain and could mean several things to several enumerators. However, this difficulty was overcome by adopting a unanimous definition during the training period.
- Again, some of the options in question 2.2 were difficult to translate in local parlance, especially to illiterate respondents.

Summary of Section 3 (Collective Action and Cooperation)

- The respondents had no problem coping with the number of questions in this section.
- However, some questions were rather too vague. For example, question 3.1 should specify the type of activity ... for the benefit of the community.
- Question 3.2 proved difficult to tabulate and analyze. The double-barreled question should be separated. May be the use of a checklist could be useful here.
- Another experience with regard to question 3.2 was that one or two enumerators elicited information on question 3.2 from some respondents who had answered negatively in question 3.1. To avoid this error, it may be necessary to begin no. 3.2 with the prefix 'if your answer to 3.1 is yes, what were the three main such activities...'
- Most respondents could not remember the number of times their households participated in community activities during the previous year. This led to so much guesswork. This was not surprising given the voluntary nature of such activities.
- Question 3.4 did not specify type of fine before eliciting information on the likelihood of such fine or criticism.
- Question 3.5 led to subjective responses. It is difficult for an average villager to give an objective response to such a question.

Summary of Section 4 (Information and Communication)

- The fourth option in question 4.1 appears too open-ended. There is need for a fifth and even sixth options.

- In question 4.3, it is likely that many respondents listened to radio more than once a day, an option not included in the questionnaire.
- There was no provision for respondents without radio
- In question 4.4, it is also likely that there are respondents who watch television more than once a day. Yet this option was not provided for.
- There was also no provision for those who did not own televisions in their houses or who do not have access to television.
- The above comments also hold for telephones. Rural communities do not have access to telephone.
- The mode of transportation should be included as part of question 4.11.

Summary of field experience Section 5 (Social Cohesion and Inclusion)

- There are too many questions in section 5, many of which relied on memory recall. There is nothing wrong with memory recall approach provided they are not too many. With too many questions to contend with, many respondents gave spurious answers, just to be left alone. Needless to say, section 5 contained many questions that aroused the interest of the subjects.
- In question 5.1, the options were difficult for inexperienced enumerators. Especially difficult to differentiate are options 3, 4 and 5 of question 5.1. It should be stressed that most Nigerians who speak English are at a loss for words when translating from English to vernacular.
- Technically speaking, there is no difference between questions 5.2 and 5.3, unless one is trying to triangulate. Any factor that causes division in a community is said to be causing problems.
- Questions structured as in 5.4 are difficult to handle and tabulate. So also question 5.6 and similar questions. Such cross tabulations need to be made as simple as possible.
- The same observation goes for question 5.14, 5.16, 5.19 and 5.22. The enumerators had lots of trouble getting information from these questions. The problem was compounded by the many questions involved.
- In question 5.27, differentiating between options 2 and 3 proved cumbersome because of the difficulty in finding equivalent expressions in vernacular.
- There was evidence of dishonesty in responses in some locations. For example, in Idodo, where it is known that community conflict had persisted for a long time as a result of chieftaincy squabble, the respondents failed to admit the existence of the conflict.
- The enumerators mentioned the suggestive nature of some of the questions, making the subjects choose options that would favour them politically and economically.
- In fairness to the respondents, nobody should expect 100% perfect answers from a time-consuming research instrument as the one administered. People are too busy and hungry to sit down for more than an hour answering questions.
- Provision of space for options not originally included was found to be necessary. This was particularly so for questions 5.6, 5.13, 5.16, 5.19 and 5.22.

Summary of Comments on Section 6 (Empowerment and Political Action)

- The number of questions is moderate. However, some of the questions probed too deep into the privacy of the subjects. Many of them were not comfortable with questions 6.2 to 6.5.
- Questions 6.5 and 6.6 seemed particularly confrontational, making some respondents doubt the enumerators' claim that they were not government agents. As a result, some responded with reservations. It was clear that the mentality of the military era had not quite cleared.
- Question 6.14 was rather suggestive, thereby influencing responses.
- Generally, section 6 is properly focused and direct albeit some of the questions probed too deep. The tabular questions were specific but time consuming.

MAJOR OBSERVATIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The study set out to evaluate the Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital in five communities, selected from each of the three Senatorial Zones of Enugu State, Nigeria.

The first section of the report focused on the aspect dealing with Community Groups and Networks. The questions are too many, over detailed and some quite suggestive. Consequently, the respondents were easily bored and irritated during interview sessions. The prolonged sessions prompted some subjects to respond hurriedly in spite of strategies to calm them down. The first set of questions about groups and organizations were really too tasking and time consuming.

The questions in the second section (Trust and Solidarity) are as concise as they are direct. Apart from a few grouse about the structure and details, both enumerators and respondents were easily at home with the section.

Respondents had no difficulties coping with the number of questions in section three. However, they could not recall quantitative information, especially those dealing with cash, or days, etc.

Section four focusing on Information and Communication did not deal with too many details as in sections 1 and 5. However, a few options may have been inadvertently left out. There wasn't much problem dealing with the tabulated questions, which required stepwise analysis.

Respondents rating of social unity in the villages/neighbourhood and other aspects of exclusion and inclusion form the major focus of section 5. Some difficulties were observed in translating some of the options to vernacular and in dealing with the tabulated questions. There were also problems with some of the questions, especially those requiring respondents to recall events. It was the opinion of the team that such questions elicited subjective and spurious responses. Generally, section 5 is too detailed and really needs trimming.

The main theme of section 6 is Empowerment and Political Action. Some of the expressions used in the options were difficult to translate to vernacular. Some questions were rather suggestive while others required much dexterity in dealing with. The number of questions is quite moderate.

Overall, the questionnaire has too many questions and need to be remarkably trimmed down. There was over emphasis on the ability of respondents to recall past events – payments and other quantitative information, which an average villager cannot remember objectively in a hurry. While some questions such as some of those with tabular structures need to be restructured for ease of data collection, others should be merged and some totally expunged. It is however the opinion of the team that the questionnaire is standard and will absolutely facilitate realization of the objectives for which it is prepared.