

Supplementary Appendix for

**PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIPS AND
LOW EDUCATION AMONG YOUTH IN KANO, NIGERIA**

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Kofar Wambai in Context

To what degree do the household heads in Kofar Wambai differ from Nigerians in general in their attitudes toward education and government services? In this supplementary appendix, we address this question through an analysis of the Afrobarometer Nigeria surveys, collected respectively in 2001, 2003, and 2005 (i.e., Rounds 1.5, 2, and 3). The Afrobarometer data furnish a national probability sample of voting age Nigerian citizens that nicely brackets the data collection period for the KWHS. Additional details of the Afrobarometer data are available at <http://afrobarometer.org/>, where similar data from surveys of 17 other African nations are described.

Table A1 presents responses to three separate questions on attitudes toward education, based on a pooled and appropriately weighted analysis of 2001, 2003, and 2005 Afrobarometer data. In the first and second columns respectively, percentage responses are presented for the full sample of Nigerian adults and then for men only. As shown in the first panel, five percent of Nigerians see education as the most important problem facing the country, and 75 percent do not see education as among the top three problems facing the country. These results should not be interpreted as an indication that Nigerian schooling is generally regarded as satisfactory, only that Nigerian citizens see others problems as even more troubling. As shown in panel two, when judging the tradeoff between quality of schooling and the necessity of introducing school fees, Nigerians as a whole favor the introduction of school fees to increase quality by a margin of two to one. And, as shown in the third panel, 54 percent of Nigerians report that the government is performing “Very badly” or “Fairly badly” in addressing the educational needs of the country.

– INSERT TABLE A1 HERE –

The last two columns of Table A1 introduce adjustments to align the Afrobarometer data with that of the KWHS. For column three, the percentages are tabulated after restricting the Afrobarometer sample to men and then after standardizing the data to the age by education joint distribution of the Kofar Wambai household heads. For the fourth column, the data are further restricted to men who live in urban areas and who self-identify as either Hausa or Fulani. Again, the data are then standardized to the age by education joint distribution of the Kofar Wambai household heads.¹

The standardized responses presented in columns three and four show only very minor differences from those already presented. Nigerian men with the age and education distribution of the household heads in Kofar Wambai have very similar attitudes toward education as other Nigerians. If there are differences, these men tend to have slightly more positive attitudes toward the Nigerian school system.

A comparison of the third and fourth columns is also useful. By restricting the data to only urban Hausa men for the fourth column, and then standardizing the data to the same age and education distribution used for the third column, a comparison of the percentages in the last two columns reveals the extent to which being an urban Hausa man with the age and education characteristics of those in Kofar Wambai may generate different attitudes. For the first two panels, the differences are nearly zero and not statistically significant (see Notes for Table A1). For the third panel, however, there are modest differences, as higher percentages of urban Hausa men report that the government is performing “Fairly well” or “Very well” in addressing the

¹ For each panel, the percentages in the last two columns are predicted values from ordered logit models, where standardization weights are applied separately to urban, Hausa men and non-urban-or-non-Hausa men to align each of the two groups with the age and education distribution of household heads in Kofar Wambai.

educational needs of the country. The chi-squared value for a test of no difference from the underlying ordered logit model is 11.08 (with 1 df and a p-value of .0009), suggesting that this difference is genuine and unlikely to have emerged as a result of sampling error. Nonetheless, in substantive size, it is not large, especially given the broad similarity of responses in the other two sets of results on school quality.

Based on the results presented in Table A1, we conclude that respondents in Nigeria who are similar to the household heads of Kofar Wambai – where similar is defined with reference to five characteristics of ethnic group, age, gender, education level, and urban residence – confront broadly similar educational institutions as all Nigerians, about which they have similar opinions.

As noted earlier, patron-client relations, mutual obligations in solidarity networks, and logics of gift giving are pervasive throughout West Africa. And, although the Afrobarometer data do not provide direct information on patron-client networks, they do have measures of some politically relevant behavior that can be used to assess whether or not urban Hausa men are similar to other Nigerians in this domain. Tables A2 and A3 present results analogous to those in Table A1 for two questions, “During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons for help to solve a problem or to give them your views?” and “In the past year, how often (if ever) have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to government officials in order to ____?”

– INSERT TABLES A2 AND A3 HERE –

The results in Table A2 show that Nigerians are much more likely to contact religious leaders than local government councilors, traditional rulers, or other influential people. As shown in the third column, men with the age and education distribution of household heads in Kofar Wambai are slightly more likely to contact local government councilors, religious leaders,

and traditional rulers than Nigerians in general. And, when comparing the third and fourth columns, urban Hausa men with the age and education distribution of household heads in Kofar Wambai have contact rates and levels very similar to other Nigerian men. They are perhaps slightly more likely to have contact with religious leaders and slightly less likely to have contact with traditional rulers, but these differences are small and not statistically significant (see Notes for Table A2).

The results in Table A3 show that approximately 25 percent of Nigerians have had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor for a government official in the past year as part of their efforts to obtain a document/permit, get a child into school, obtain a household service, or avoid a problem with the police. As was the case for Table A2, all four columns are similar, such that rates of bribery, gifts, and favors differ little when the sample is narrowed to men of various types and standardized to the age and education distribution of household heads in Kofar Wambai. Again, none of the small differences between the results in columns three and four are statistically significant (see Notes for Table A3).

Taken together, the results in Tables A2 and A3 provide a convincing case that, at least on these measures of gift giving and relationships to authority, urban Hausa men differ little from Nigerians in general. It is unlikely that household heads fitting this basic description are substantially more or less likely to be involved in asymmetric power relationships with community elites in which forms of gift giving are required. They have about the same relationship with elites as others, and they appear no more likely to offer tribute to these elites.

In conclusion, based on the analysis presented in Tables A1 through A3, we conclude that urban Hausa men with the age and education characteristics of the household heads in Kofar Wambai do not differ substantially from Nigerians in general in three ways. First, their views of

the government supported education system are similar to those of Nigerians in general. They see considerable challenges and many problems, but they do not on average view the education system as among the most important problems facing the country. Second, the rate at which they have contact with government, religious, and other community elites is similar to Nigerians on average. Third, they are no more prone to predation from government officials, as they engage in tributary gift giving and bribery at about the same rate as other Nigerians.

We cannot, however, offer a fully convincing bridge analysis. Kofar Wambai certainly has distinctive local features that are not captured by the profile of household heads considered here (based only on gender, age, education, urban status, and ethnic group). It is possible that, because Kofar Wambai is a very old community within a rapidly growing country, our results are more orderly than we would find in newer urban Hausa areas. And, of course, we cannot offer any analysis about rural Hausaland, other ethnic groups, or other regions in the country. Thus, although we consider Kofar Wambai to be a typical working class neighborhood in one of the most important cities in West Africa, it is nonetheless true that we offer a case study of only one community.

Table A1. Attitudes About Education in Nigeria

Variable	Nigeria Adults, 18 Years and Older		Standardized to the Age and Education Distribution of the KWHS	
	Men and Women	Men	Men	Urban Hausa Men
Education is One of the “Most Important Problems” Facing Country				
<i>Not a Top 3 Problem</i>	74.6	74.8	76.5	76.1
<i>Third Highest Problem</i>	10.5	10.0	10.6	10.8
<i>Second Highest Problem</i>	10.2	10.5	9.3	9.5
<i>Highest Problem</i>	4.7	4.7	3.6	3.7
School Fees and Quality Tradeoff				
Two statements: “It is better to have free schooling for our children, even if the quality of education is low.” vs. “It is better to raise educational standards, even if we have to pay school fees.”				
<i>Agree very strongly (No fees)</i>	16.8	16.8	17.3	16.3
<i>Agree (No fees)</i>	14.8	13.7	15.0	14.4
<i>Agree with Neither Statement</i>	2.6	2.5	2.9	2.0
<i>Agree(Fees)</i>	26.0	26.4	26.7	26.7
<i>Agree very strongly(Fees)</i>	39.7	40.9	38.2	39.9
“How well or badly would you say the current government is handing the following matters, or haven’t you heard enough about them to say?”				
Addressing educational needs				
<i>Very badly</i>	23.8	23.7	25.1	17.5
<i>Fairly badly</i>	30.5	29.7	29.8	26.0
<i>Fairly Well</i>	38.6	39.4	37.9	45.5
<i>Very Well</i>	7.1	7.2	7.2	11.0

Source: Afrobarometer Nigeria Data 2001, 2003, and 2005 Waves Merged. Total N = 7001, 6977, and 6905 for each panel.

Notes: The distributions in the last two columns are predicted values from ordered logit models, where weights are applied separately to urban, Hausa men and non-urban-or-non-Hausa men to align each of the two groups with the age and education distribution of household heads in Kofar Wambai. Chi-squared values for a test of no difference in the percentages of these two groups are .02 (1 df, p-value of .87) for the education problems question, .26 (1 df, p-value of .61) for the school fees and quality tradeoff, 11.08 (1 df, p-value of .0009) for government performance on addressing educational needs.

Table A2. Contact with Elites and Government Officials

Variable	Nigeria Adults, 18 Years and Older		Standardized to the Age and Education Distribution of the KWHS	
	Men and Women	Men	Men	Urban Hausa Men
“During the Past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons for help to solve a problem or to give them your views?”				
Local government councilor				
<i>Never</i>	82.2	79.0	75.9	78.9
<i>Only once</i>	7.5	8.5	9.1	8.2
<i>A few times</i>	7.8	9.2	10.4	9.1
<i>Often</i>	2.6	3.3	4.6	3.9
Religious leader				
<i>Never</i>	51.3	49.2	48.6	47.9
<i>Only once</i>	12.7	13.2	12.7	12.7
<i>A few times</i>	24.3	25.2	25.6	26.0
<i>Often</i>	11.8	12.4	13.1	13.4
Traditional ruler				
<i>Never</i>	71.0	67.2	60.3	65.0
<i>Only once</i>	10.9	12.2	12.9	12.0
<i>A few times</i>	13.0	14.2	18.1	15.9
<i>Often</i>	5.1	6.4	8.7	7.3
Some other influential person				
<i>Never</i>	71.3	69.0	69.0	66.8
<i>Only once</i>	10.4	10.6	10.7	11.2
<i>A few times</i>	13.8	14.8	14.8	15.9
<i>Often</i>	4.6	5.7	5.5	6.1

Source: Afrobarometer Nigeria Data 2001, 2003, and 2005 Waves Merged. Total N = 6986, 6987, 6985, and 6903 for each panel. Responses of “Don’t know” are treated as missing.

Notes: The distributions in the last two columns are predicted values from ordered logit models, where weights are applied separately to urban, Hausa men and non-urban-or-non-Hausa men to align each of the two groups with the age and education distribution of household heads in Kofar Wambai. Chi-squared values for a test of no difference in the percentages of these two groups are .74 (1 df, p-value of .39) for the local government councilor, .04 (1 df, p-value of .85) for the religious leader, 1.45 (1 df, p-value of .2284) for traditional ruler, and .45 (1 df, p-value .50) for some other influential person.

Table A3. Reports of Bribery, Gifts, and Favors

Variable	Nigeria Adults, 18 Years and Older		Standardized to the Age and Education Distribution of the KWHS	
	Men and Women	Men	Men	Urban Hausa Men
“In the past year, how often (if ever) have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to government officials in order to:				
Get a document or permit?				
<i>Never</i>	74.9	74.6	76.4	78.9
<i>Once or Twice</i>	14.3	14.4	13.7	12.4
<i>A few times</i>	7.7	8.0	7.2	6.4
<i>Often</i>	3.1	3.1	2.7	2.3
Get a child into school?				
<i>Never</i>	75.0	75.0	70.1	76.0
<i>Once or Twice</i>	13.7	14.2	14.8	13.2
<i>A few times</i>	8.9	8.6	10.5	9.0
<i>Often</i>	2.4	2.3	2.2	1.9
Get a household service (like piped water, electricity or phone)?				
<i>Never</i>	74.4	73.8	76.9	72.2
<i>Once or Twice</i>	12.2	12.5	10.7	12.4
<i>A few times</i>	9.2	9.1	8.5	10.3
<i>Often</i>	4.3	4.5	4.0	5.1
Avoid a problem with the police (like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest)?				
<i>Never</i>	74.3	72.9	75.9	75.1
<i>Once or Twice</i>	10.7	11.4	10.5	10.8
<i>A few times</i>	8.4	8.5	7.7	7.9
<i>Often</i>	6.6	7.2	5.9	6.1

Source: Afrobarometer Nigeria Data 2001, 2003, and 2005 Waves Merged. Total N = 5981, 6043, 6051, and 6122 for each panel. Responses of “Don’t know” and “No experience with this activity in the past year treated” are treated as missing.

Notes: The distributions in the last two columns are predicted values from ordered logit models, where weights are applied separately to urban, Hausa men and non-urban-or-non-Hausa men to align each of the two groups with the age and education distribution of household heads in Kofar Wambai. Chi-squared values for a test of no difference in the percentages of these two groups are .49 (1 df, p-value of .49) for get document or permit, .93 (1 df, p-value of .34) for get a child into school, 1.97 (1 df, p-value of .16) for get a service, and .05 (1 df, p-value of .82) for avoid problem with the policy.