

INDUCTRIALISATION, REGIONAL INEQUALITY AND POVERTY IN BENDEL STATE: AN INVESTIGATION INTO LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA DIFFERENTIATIONS

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Introduction

Industrialisation has for decades been recognised by less developed countries (LDCs) as a desirable development strategy. Industrialisation promotes modernisation of the economy as new and latest techniques of production and organisation are introduced. It is also seen as necessary for achieving faster growth and employment generation. Most LDCs have, therefore, intensified their internal effort and have also sought external assistance to promote rapid industrialisation. Without doubt, remarkable progress has been made by a number of these countries in this regard as reflected by a few indicators such as the share of industrial output and employment in total national output and employment, and growth rate of industrial output.

It has been also recognised for some decades that for such progress to be meaningful it has to be assessed in terms of the impact of industrialisation on the welfare of the majority of the population. An important indicator of the level of welfare is the level of income. The pattern of its distribution has, therefore, been commonly used in assessing the impact of industrialisation on the living standard.

The seminal work in this respect is Kuznets (1955) whose analysis showed that as a country industrialises the pattern of income distribution tends to improve after an initial worsening. Williamson (1965)

extended the analysis to regional development when he demonstrated that as economic regions develop, the level of inequality declines. Aigbokhan (1988) applied both levels of analysis to Nigeria to assess the impact of development on inequality. The two levels of analysis are respectively based on the notion that national economy and regional economy are the relevant planning units. These were either Divisional/District or Local Councils. This third level of government was considered by many to face considerable operational problems. These arose partly from the lack of adequate financial resources, as their functions were, in most cases, not properly defined and were, therefore, overshadowed by state governments, and partly from the non-uniform sizes of these councils which made planning for them rather difficult.

It was in appreciation of these problems that *the Public Service Renew Commission (Udoji Commission) Report 1974* recommended a reform of the local government system. The Federal Government accepted the recommendations, the result of which was the 1976 reforms. The reforms effectively abolished the divisional system of local government for larger administrative units of relatively uniform size. A minimum population size of 150,000 and a maximum of 800,000 were fixed for the purpose of viability. For example, in the case of Bendel State, there was before the reform a multitiered system of local government consisting of 32 councils, with populations ranging from 5,599 to 258,828. The reform reduced these to 19 Local Government Areas with populations ranging from 76,990 to 327,787 (See Table 1, column 1).

Among the objectives of the reforms are:

1. to rationalise and stabilise government at local levels. By this reform, the Federal government decided to recognise constitutionally local governments as the third tier of government activity below the state. Local governments were expected by the reform to have substantial control over local affairs, institutions and financial powers to initiate and direct the provision of services. It was emphasised in the *Guidelines* that "responsibilities should be clearly defined and that Local governments should have adequate financial resources to *meet* their obligations which are mainly to stimulate development at the grassroots"; and
2. to ensure that resources would be used in a uniformly defined way, so that basic services such as electricity, water supply and improved transportation would reach individuals at the local level no matter where they resided. It was stated in the *Guidelines* that "these reforms would mean nothing if they did not

include the certainty that as from now every stratum of Nigerian society would benefit from the continued prosperity of this country, through the availability of amenities, indeed necessities, such as electricity, health facilities and so on". In the 1991 Federal Budget speech, responsibility for primary education was devolved to local governments, with additional financial allocations.

Two implications of the reform, from the viewpoint of this paper, are that:

- (1) local government areas effectively became planning and economic regions, and therefore a basis for regional or sub-regional development planning and analysis; and
- (2) With the emphasis on uniformity in the provision of services and amenities by the Local governments, regional and sub-regional disparities should greatly reduce. It is therefore, useful to examine the actual situation after a decade and a half of the existence of post-reform Local Government Areas, and over three decades of industrialisation effort in the State.

The issue of regional equity in Nigeria, in general and in Bendel in particular, has been of concern to researchers for some time now. For example, the Willink Report of 1958 recommended some regions, specifically the Niger Delta area, for special national development and concern because the area was considered depressed, poor and backward. Mabogunje (1970) had observed that " a major policy issue in Nigeria centres on demand for regional equity in economic development, which means effectively that each comparable area wants an equal amount of public investment". And Anusionwu (1980) suggested that a more practical and feasible strategy to national development would be to aim at the attainment of equity among the planning zones.

The government has recognised this need for sometime, too. For example, it was stated in the Third National Development Plan that "during the Plan period, it will be the objective of government to promote balanced regional development and ensure that no State lags seriously behind others in the process of development". The Fourth Plan had as an objective, the attainment of balanced development, by which it meant "the attainment of balanced development of the different sectors of the economy and the various geographical areas of the country".⁴

At the State level, Bendel government stated in its Second Development Plan that "for the first time, development proposals at the local level are being integrated with those of the State government. It is estimated that government contributions to local development and self-help projects will be N-1,612,000 in 1970-74; that is 2.1% of the

planned capital expenditure". And that "for easy realisation of the above objective (of development at the local level) economic planning would henceforth continue to start from below....⁵.

Abumere (1978) investigated the effect of industrialisation on intra-regional disparities in Bendel State, in which he divided the State into Coastal South and Hinterland North in a two-sector model. Income tax returns data for 1965/66 to 1971/72 was used. The limitations of applying a dual-sector model to Nigeria were discussed by this author elsewhere. Besides, as Omuta (1978) has also noted, "in operational terms, the local government areas together with their internal structural analyses could facilitate the evolving programmes of action for effectuating the objective of creating a proper balance in the distribution of economic activities". This, therefore, provides an additional rationale for this paper, moreso as no previous study has so far empirically examined the issue of equity at the local government level. As indicated in Section J, the theoretical framework adopted for this paper is the Kughets-Williamson hypothesis that regional (or sub-regional) inequalities tend to decline over time with industrialisation, and that inequality tends to be lower in the developed than in the less developed regions.

Industrialisation in Bendel State

In Bendel State, the industrial sector has been identified as the leading sector whose expansion can rapidly pull up the rest of the economy. Before the civil war, only the government made a serious effort to establish industrial enterprises in the State. The first three such companies established by the State government are the Okpilla Cement Factory, Okpilla; Asaba Textiles Mill, Asaba; and Ughelli Glass Factory, Ughelli — all between 1964 and 1965. However, the first known plant of an industrial type in the State and, indeed, in the country was a sawmill established in 1917 at Koko by an expatriate family, the Miller brothers. After the civil war, there was a spate of government-sponsored industrial concerns. These were: the multi-industry project to manufacture bicycle tyres and tubes and batteries located in Benin City; Bendel Steel Structures, Bendel Construction Company, Bendel Brewery — all in Benin City; Delta Boatyard, Warri; two laundry and dry cleaning plants, one each in Benin City and Warri; a water drilling company; a P.V.C. Floor Tiles Factory, Benin City; Bendel Pharmaceuticals, Benin City; Bendel Plastics Factory, Bendel Flour Mill, Ewu; and Soap Factory, Sapele. One immediate observation is that the locations of the first-phase industrial concerns in the State were concentrated in virtually two towns - - Benin City and Warri. Incidentally, these were the two provincial headquarters at the time. Very few of the industries' locations seem to have been influenced by raw materials' proximity as in the cases of the boatyard, soap, glass and steel industries.

This concentration may have crucial implications for the intra-regional disparities to be discussed in the next section.

Anusionwu (1978) found that there is a very strong positive relationship between the regional distribution of manufacturing industries and the differential regional endowment of the relevant public infrastructure and utilities. This is to be expected since manufacturing industries tend to concentrate at locations with the basic infrastructural facilities because of agglomeration economies and savings thereof. So, through its location of public infrastructure across the state and across Local Government Areas, the government may have thereby influenced the distribution of industrial concerns across the State. Again, this issue will be returned to below.

The size of private sector participation in industrial ventures increased tremendously in the 70s and 80s compared to the 60s. The indigenisation programme did not allow for establishing new industries but was rather concerned with the acquisition of existing ones, it did create awareness for private sector ventures.

The importance of small-scale enterprises has also been recognised for some time by the State government. The government by Edict No. 6 of 1976 established the Small-Scale Industries Loans Management Committee to manage loans granted to small-scale industrial projects. In 1986, the Entrepreneurship Development Programme was established, and a total of 1,000 participants were trained under the scheme. In 1988, the scope of the Small-Scale Industries Loans Management Committee was expanded with the amendment to the edict to empower the Committee not only to manage, the loans granted to small-scale industrialists, under a credit guarantee scheme, but also to operate, on a regular basis, an Entrepreneurship Development Programme to train participants in the art of establishing and managing small-scale industries of their own. Also, supervision of loan beneficiaries through the provision of extension services through organised technical support for small-scale industrialists. For example, in 1989, the sum of N2.5 million was allocated for the loans guarantee scheme.⁸ The government had also acquired, in 1988/89, industrial sites in five locations in the State which were developed into industrial estates in Benin City, Asaba, Auchi, Sapele and Warri.

Government effort at promoting industrialisation directly through public sector involvement in industrial activity and indirectly through encouraging private sector activities seems to have had remarkable success. For example, industrial establishments which were estimated at 12,371 in 1975, grew to 19,383 in 1979 and had by 1988 increased to 189,526. Manufacturing establishments numbered 3,091

Table 1

SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS ON BENDEL STATE
BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS 1975-88

L.G.A	Population 1976	Population 1985	<i>Distr. of Manufacturing</i>	<i>Distr. of Mft. Employment</i>	<i>Distr. of Ind. Estabs. 197'</i>	<i>Distr. of Ind. Estabs. 1979</i>	Distr. Of ind. Estab s. 1988	<i>Distr. of Ind. Employment 1000</i>	<i>% of Workers with OIL &</i>	<i>% of Workers with Univ. Dearee</i>
	(i)	(2)	(ft)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	m	(10)
Agbazilo	190570	2717232	43	173	177	554	1427	4139	99.0	0.51
Akoko-Edo	155271	216576	27	104	94	653	631	1696	96.0	1.89
Aniocha	145356	201653	113	674	424	584	1492	4507	95.3	2.26
Bomadi	76990	160449	26	65	102	73	739	1020	98.7	0.29
Hurutu	113(105)	138598	24	56	110	280	506	2399	93.8	3.71
Ethiope	327912	417678	137	2491	518	1021	1206	3024	96.8	1.52
Rlsiiko	187034	247XV	43	585	208	701	1563	4868	94.9	1.46
Ika	21X148!	269668	75	479	329	1609	4168	8672	95.4	1.66
Isoko	185680	266099	102	138	311	959	1944	3813	96.4	0.81
Ndofcwa	242737	302482	148	1245	454	733	1841	4163	99.7	0.17
Okpc	147451	216460	198	6837	866	1794	7849	29398	85.5	7.23
Okpchho	184373	245690	43	129	1(0	216	1532	4658	92.4	2.15
Orcdo	, 232632	355642	1223	11690	5236	5778	24056	68174	92.0	3.31
Orhionmwon	, 245554	307769	51	109	229	776	1357	5791	99.1	0.28
Oshimili	117858	181738	55	1068	237	590	1238	4695	92.3	2.56
Ovia	170586	213197	53	258	143.	168	512	1603	99.1	0.56
Owan	125751	1598(18	32	89	98	' 207	803	2068+	97.2	0.48
Uglielli	217V20	320145	146	372	7or,					> tt.

Table 1 Continued

1. Sapele Local government Area was not included in this Table because the Local Government was created in 1989 by which time most of these data ha been collected.

Source

1. Figures for 1976/78 are derived from Berdel State Statistical Year Book 1978 (Benin City, 1980) pp. 60, 62, 129, 140, 141, 175, 262 266 & 213 except for figures for Industrial Establishment, 1975 which are from (4) below
 2. Digest of Education Statistics (Benin City, 1988) pp. 30 & 62
 3. Digest of Health Statistics (Benin City, 1988) pp. 1, 10 & 15. These figures comprise government, mission and private hospitals and maternity
- Report of the census of Industries and Business, Bendel State 1988: Maiden Report (Benin, city 1991), pp. 209, 86, 87, All these publications are by: Statistics Division a Ministry of Finance and Development, Benin City.

and employed 19,186 persons in 1975. By 1988 the number had risen to 10,040 manufacturing establishments. See Table I. Manufacturing of wearing apparel alone grew by 141.3% between 1975 and 1988.⁹ Along with this growth is to be expected to be an increased share of industrial output and income in total output and income.

As shown in Table II(a), manufacturing activities accounted for about 15% of total industrial establishments, coming third behind Retail and Services with 54.5% and 20% respectively. In the manufacturing sector [Table II(b)], the wearing apparel sub-sector is the most prominent, accounting for 42.5%, followed by Furniture and Fixtures with 22.4%, Grain Mill Products with 11.6%, and Structural Metal Products with 6.8%. It is encouraging that the capital goods sub-sector (structural metal) ranks among the top four activities in the manufacturing sector, a potential base for indigenous technological take-off, if properly nurtured.

Three notable characteristics of the industrial sector may be mentioned. The first is that the bulk of the establishments are small-scale enterprises. For example, of the 68,185 enterprises covered in the 1988 survey, 91.43% engaged less than five persons, and of the 2,521 multi-unit enterprises covered, 68% and 15% respectively engaged less than five persons and between five and nine persons. The second is that the bulk of the labour force of 189,526 covered in the 1988 survey, 92.6% had the Ordinary Level of the General Certificate of Education or below, while 3.33% had University degree qualifications, and 4.1% had the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education or equivalent qualifications.

A third characteristic is that two or three local government areas account for the bulk of the establishments. Oredo, Warri and Okpe Local Government Areas accounted for 35.23%, 16.23% and 11.51% of the 68,185 enterprises covered in 1988. That is 63.02%. Oredo and Warri Local Government Areas accounted for 52.39% in 1988 and 59.4% in 1975. The two local government areas accounted for 49.58% of the labour force in 1988.¹¹

These three characteristics may have crucial implications for intra-local government areas and inter-local government areas income distribution and poverty. With two or three local government areas which make up 10.5% or 15.8% of the total number of local government areas, accounting for 60% to 63% of the total establishments and employment and possibly income, it is to be expected that measured inter-local government areas inequality would be high. And with income enterprises and workers concentrated in a few areas, the incidence of poverty may be higher in other local government areas. Similarly, with less than 8.0% of labour force, by virtue of their qualifications having access to much higher income employment, intra-local government areas inequality and poverty may be expected to be

high. It is against the foregoing background that in the next section the structure and incidence of inequality and poverty will be examined.

Table 11 (a)

DISTRIBUTION OF
MANUFACTURING ACTIVITY,
BENDEL STATE, 1988

	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Manufacturing	10,400	14.75
Restaurant	5,910	8.67
Wholesale	779	1.14
Retail	37,191	54.54
Hotel	334	0.49
Agriculture-related	212	0.31
Transportation	129	0.19
Quarrying and Mining	24	0.04
Utilities	48	0.07
Services	13,355	19.24
Construction	163	0.24

Table II(b)

DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL
ESTABLISHMENT,
BENDEL STATE/1988

	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Grain Mill Products	1,162	11.6
Bakery Products	99	0.99
Wearing Apparel	4,263	425
Furniture and Fixtures	2248	22.4
Footwear	128	1.27
Sawmills	156	155
Wood and Cock Products	121	1.21
Printing and Publishing	394	3.92
Tyre and Tube	97	0.97
Rubber Products	59	0.59
Cutlery and Hand Tools	129	1.29
Structural Metal Products	685	6.8
Others	499	4.97

Source: Computed from Report of the Census of Industries and Businesses, Bendel State 1988 (Benin City: Ministry of Finance and Development), pp. 9-18.

Inequality and Poverty in Bendel State by Local Government Areas

As mentioned above, the hypothesis examined in this paper is that industrialisation has brought about an improvement in income distribution. In a cross-section study as this, the hypothesis becomes that of whether the more industrialised and more developed regions exhibit lower inequality and incidence of poverty. For this purpose, some socio-economic indicators, presented in Table I, have been used as a basis of classifying Local Government Areas into "more developed", "developed" and less "developed". Specifically, indicators in columns 3, 4, 7, 8, 14 - 19, 20 and 21 of Table I have been selected.¹² As a simple rule, any local government area that has above the state average on at least 60% of the twelve indicators is classified as "more developed", any with 50% as "developed", and others as "less developed". On the basis of this, the classification reported in Table III was derived.

Evidence in columns 3 to 8 of Table I suggests that only three local government areas (Warn, Okpe and Oredo) could really be described as industrialised. They recorded above the state average in

four of the six selected indicators of industrialisation. This confirms the general impression that the Bendel South (old Delta Province — Warri, Ughelli, Okpe, Isoko, Ethiope) is more industrialised than the Bendel North (old Benin Province), see Abumere (1978). When social indicators are added, some of the less industrialised local government areas qualified as "more developed" or "developed"

Table III

CLASSIFICATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS BY LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT

<i>More Developed</i>	<i>Developed</i>	<i>Less Developed</i>
Oredo	Agbazilo	Akoko-Edo
Warri	Aniocha	Bomadi
Ughelli	Ethiope	Burutu
Etsako	Ndokwa	Isoko
Ika	Okpe	Oshimiii
	Okpebho	Ovia
	Orhionmwon	Owah

Estimates of measured inequality are reported in Table IV. Three commonly used measures of inequality have been used, namely, the Gini Coefficient, Coefficient of Variation (CV) and Standard Deviation of Logarithms of Income (SDLY). Each of these captures different types of inequality, see, Aigbokhan (1988) for discussion of the different types of inequality and the basis for selecting these indices and Aigbokhan (1991) for discussion of the survey data used in this article.

A number of observations could be made from the Table. First, depending on the type of inequality considered, it could be higher in the rural or urban areas. For example, in the case of the Gini coefficient — indeed, the three measures — inequality seems to be higher in the urban areas in seven local government areas and lower in another seven. The same thing applies with rural inequality. This suggests that inequality is not consistently lower in the rural areas than in the urban areas as would be expected on the basis of the Kuznets hypothesis.

Table TV

MEASURED INEQUALITY AND INCIDENCE OF POVERTY, BENDEL STATE 1989/90

L.GA	URBAN				RURAL			
	GINI	CV	SDLY	Pov-erty	GINI	CV	SDLY	Pov-erty
Agbazilo	0.327	0.694	0.338	27 20	0.277	0.645	0.293	15 22
Akoko-Edo	0.320	0.747	0.329		0.381	0.836	0.401	
Aniocha	0.362	0.913	0.358	39	0.352	0.810	0.372	15
Ethiope	0.347	0.823	0.336	26 51	0.351	0.886	0.329	15
Etsako	0.288	0.914	0.300		0.255	1.029	0.256	74
Ika	0.301	0.684	0.375	13	NC	NC	NC	NC
Isoko	0.312	0.647	0.367	15	0.331	0.745	0.386	18
Ndokwa	0.323	0.671	0.390	30	0.448	1.051	0.501	50
Okpe	0.319	0.936	0.310	50 29	0.314	0.892	0.282	17 34
Okpebho	0.362	0.825	0.352	21	0.284	0.894	0.278	NC
Oredo	0.353	0.759	0.361		NC	NC	NC	
Otionrnwon	0.371	0.774	0.328	35	0.288	0.598	0.290	20
Oshimili	0.352	0.853	0.387	39	0.257	0.820	0.316	13
Ovia	0.364	0.854	0.368	36	0.318	0.725	0.355	14
Owan	0.263	0.860	0.279	48	0.283	0.908	0.289	27
Sapele	0.211	0.737	0.232	35 10	NC	NC	NC	NC
Ughelli	0.341	0.746	0.324	6	0.319	0.676	0.344	10
Warri	0.267	0.548	0.322		NC	NC	NC	NC

- Note:
1. Bomadi and Burutu Local Government Areas were not covered in this survey because of accessibility problems.
 2. NC = not computed. The data were either too few or too clustered to make any computation meaningful.

Source: Computed from the survey data.

Secondly, there is no strong enough evidence that there is a correlation between industrialisation and inequality. In fact, many of the local government areas qualify as "more developed" and "developed" on the basis of social indicators, and some of the local government areas with the lowest inequality, although "more developed", seem to have recorded this on the basis of the more widespread social infrastructures. An example of this is Etsako. At the same time Owan which is less developed recorded among the lowest inequality. This, again, seems to have been due largely to social infrastructure. This evidence appears to be at odds with the conclusion by Abumere (1978) that "regional income inequality is narrower in the less developed (North) than in the more developed (South) regions (and that) geographical disparity in incomes is higher in the industrialised (South) than in the agricultural (North) regions, and industrialisation thus seems to be a major cause of regional, inequality and also the

rapid increase over time of this inequality.¹³ This conclusion seems to consider industrialisation as undesirable for fear of its generating inequality. Rather, industrialisation should be viewed as desirable, not only because of the employment and income effects but also because of savings in foreign exchange leakages through import. What is important is to ensure labour intensive industrialisation, supported by reasonably well-spread social infrastructure.

Thirdly, inequality tends to be high in the majority of the local government areas. In the case of the Gini coefficient, for example, most local government areas recorded estimates higher than 0.30. And fourthly, the limitation of using dual-sector models to analyse inequality issues in a multi-regional country such as Nigeria is also highlighted. For example, Warn Local Government Area is in the Delta (Bendel South) region but has low level of inequality along with Etsako and Owan in Bendel North, whereas, Ughelli, Okpe, Ethiope and Isoko —all in Bendel South — recorded high level of inequality as do Oredo, Ovia, Akoko- Edo, Agbazilo, Okpebho and Orhionmwon — all in Bendel North. It is only by adopting multi-regional models that more detailed information that could ensure a more effective¹ policy design for tackling the equity problem in the State could be generated. A similar picture emerges from the incidence of poverty across the State. Using the consumption-plus basic needs approach, Aigbokhan (1991) defined a poverty line of N400 and N-300 per month respectively for urban and rural Nigeria in 1989/90. On the basis of this, using the Headcount Index, the incidence of poverty was estimated to be 27 and 27.1 for urban and rural Bendel respectively. But looking through Table IV, it is observed that there are variations across local government areas. Two observations follow from this. First, a high incidence of poverty is largely an urban phenomenon. That is, the number of local government areas with a poverty level higher than the state average record such a high level in their urban area — Aniocha, Etsako, Ndokwa, Okpe, Oshimili, Ovia and Owan — compared to only three for rural area — Etsako, Ndokwa and Okpebho. Put the other way round, only six local government areas recorded a low incidence of urban poverty — Ika, Isoko, Oredo, Ughelli and Warn. All the others recorded low rural poverty.

Fourthly, there appears not to be a consistent relationship between the level of development and poverty. Among the local government areas which recorded low incidence of poverty some are in each of the three levels of development. The same thing applies with local government areas with a high incidence of poverty. It could, therefore, be argued that it is not the level of industrialisation and development that tends to determine the structure and incidence of inequality and poverty in the State or local government area but rather the internal structures of these regions and how the policies are being designed and implemented. This, therefore, underscores the fact that local government areas should more effectively be used as planning regions.

More resources should be made available to this tier of government to enable them to get development truly closer to the grassroots. As Egonmwon (1984) has rightly observed, "up till now only minor role is accorded to local government areas, both in terms of functions and resources". This would need to change in the light of this evidence.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the industrialisation effort in Bendel State since its creation out of the former Western Region in August 1963. It was noted that the State has become more industrialised over the years in terms of the number of industrial enterprises and employment. However, these were concentrated largely in very few local government areas. This, therefore, means a high level of regional inter-local government area inequality, and that such inequality may have worsened over the years. It was also noted that industrialisation is incapable of adequately explaining intra-local government area inequality. Rather, variations in inequality and poverty suggest that social infrastructural facilities could be important determinants of inequality and poverty. Moreover, some local government areas classified as less industrialised qualified as "developed" when social infrastructure indicators were added as the basis of classification.

This evidence suggests that more attentions would need to be paid to the provision of social infrastructural facilities at the local government level to ensure that the benefits of development do actually reach the larger population. If, for example, only a small proportion of the population has access to secondary and post-secondary education and thereby higher income employment, there will continue to be a skewed pattern of income inequality as well as a high incidence of poverty. Efforts to improve the provision of infrastructural facilities at the local government level should be through devolving more roles to local government areas in the provision of these services within the limits of their personnel and competence, and through more conscious effort of the State Government to provide these services and a more effective monitoring of the provisions, especially in an era of inflated contract costs.

In this paper, factors determining intra-local government area inequality and poverty have not been explicitly examined. This is an issue for further studies.

Notes

1. Quoted in Egonmwon 1984 pp. 48 & 49, emphasis added. It should be mentioned that to ensure that adequate financial resources are available to local governments, the formula for allocation of federally-collected revenue has been revised a few times. Initially, local governments' share was 10%. It was raised to 15% in 1988.
2. Quoted in Okpala, 1987 p. 96.
3. Quoted in Okpala, *op. cit*, p. 99.
4. *Third National Development Plan 1975 - 80* Lagos, 1975, p. 291; and *Fourth National Development Plan 1981 - 85* Lagos, 1981, p. 37.
5. *Second Development Plan 1970 - 74* Benin City, 1970, pp. 12 and 76. The Third Plan stated that an objective was "to ensure that as far as possible, industrial projects are evenly distributed throughout the State.
6. Omuta, 1978, p. 64.
7. Anusionwu, 1978, p. 363.
8. "Industrial Policy of Bendel State." unpublished manuscript Ministry of Commerce & Industry, Benin City, 1989, pp. 25-26.
9. *Report of the Census of Industries and Businesses, Bendel State, 1988*, Benin City, 1991, p. 6.
10. *Op. cit*, p. 5.
11. *Op. cit*, p. 6.
12. These are among the commonly used socio-economic indicators, see *UNESCO* 1976. The book is a collection of two papers on socio-economic indicators.
13. Abumere, 1978, pp. 10-11.
14. Measured inequality of $G = 0.30$ is generally regarded as the threshold beyond which inequality could be considered as high since zero inequality is not attainable. That is, some degree of inequality is inevitable. See Aigbokhan 1988.

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