

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASPIRATIONS, PERCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA: A TEST OF THE DUALISTIC THEORY*

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ABSTRACT

Some development economists have held that since the rural areas of developing countries are inhabited by people who are largely illiterate and poor peasant farmers as opposed to the urban dwellers who are literate, non-farm workers, an intrinsic dualism exists in these countries. These rural dwellers have been further characterized as having aspirations, expectations and perceptions which are not exactly shared by their urban dwelling counterparts. Following this characterization, they have justified a need for separate development strategies in order to prevent the rural lagging sector from acting as a drag on the urban progressive sector.

This study therefore sets out to test the applicability of such theory in the Nigerian setting. Respondents were drawn from two large industrial urban centers and four farming communities in the southwest of the country. The results show that although there are marked socio-economic differences between ruralites and urbanites in southwestern Nigeria, they are not very different in their general aspirations, expectations and perceptions. It is found that irrespective of their location, the people look forward to a better life for themselves and members of their families and do perceive those factors likely to impede the rapid development of their country. A holistic rather than segmentary, dichotomous development approach is therefore advocated so as to enhance the even development of the country.

INTRODUCTION

Laurence Hewes (1974) has observed that development plans of developing nations are frequently based on the theoretical assumption that

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these societies are dualistic in nature and, as such, separate development plans should be made for their urban and rural sectors. This dichotomous view often makes the resulting development plans fail to take into account the interplay of the component factors and linkages across the entire national socioeconomic landscape. It may also lead to the production of two or more imperfect development plans based on two or more imperfectly conceived and partial systems whereas there should preferably be an integrated plan based on the single system that actually exists.

In Nigeria, although development plans are not generally split into two, the actual planning is generally premised on the notion of an urban-industrial and rural-agricultural dichotomy. Such a practice gives the impression that these two sectors require different strategies for their development or that human aspirations, expectations and perceptions within these two sectors are intrinsically different. This study is therefore directly concerned with this implied assumption. More specifically, the objectives of the study are:

- (a) To compare rural and urban dwellers' aspirations measured in terms of what they earnestly desire for themselves and their family members with respect to level of education, type of occupation and family size;
- (b) To compare urbanites' and ruralites' perceptions measured in terms of their definition or rating of factors contributing to a happy life and obstacles to national development;
- (c) To compare ruralites' and urbanites' expectations measured in terms of their rating of national development priorities; and
- (d) To derive some implications for socio-economic development planning for Nigeria based on the findings.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Several studies have been carried out in the United States of America particularly on the rural-urban comparison of a number of factors. The results of a number of these studies have shown that the difference between rural and urban America is disappearing leading scholars like Bell (1966) to talk of the development of a 'mass society' or 'mass culture'. According to this observation, homogenization of the culture is generally attributed to the development of modern transportation and mass communication systems, improved highways and rapid transit systems, television, radio, newspapers, magazines and motion pictures. Thus, isolation which historically permitted the development of differences in life styles among various segments of the population has been replaced by a system of continuous interchange throughout the culture and distinctive sub-cultural patterns have been eliminated from the society. Similarly, the facts that in the developed areas of Northern Europe and America most social amenities found in the urban centers are equally present in the small towns and that

some urban dwellers are in fact seeking fresher air in the suburbs have led some people to question the relevance of Rural Sociology as a distinct discipline in such areas (Schnore, 1966; Galjart, 1973; Shanin, 1976).

In contrast to this concept of a homogenous mass society which is of late origin, much of rural sociology has been based on the assumption that important differences exist within the society that are attributable to 'rurality' (Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929; Sjoberg, 1964). Durkheim's postulate of rural-urban difference, for instance, is based on the type of solidarity or collective conscience which prevails. To him, while rural areas are characterised by a simple division of labor and held together by 'mechanical solidarity', societies at the urban end of the continuum are held together by organic solidarity having a differentiated division of labor and dissimilarities among members which ensure variation in experiences, separate from the 'collective conscience'. According to this theory, 'where' a person lives is believed to in some sense mold, 'how' he thinks, feels and lives. Rural people have therefore been characterized as conservative, traditional and fixed in their habits and opinions, etc. Bealer and Willit (1965) attribute these characteristics to the nature of rural settlements in America which are characterized by low density of population and isolation of farm families. While the agricultural demands on land in the United States of America have hindered the concentration of farmers into large communities, in Nigeria the farm is generally separated from the community, particularly in southwestern Nigeria and parts of the north. Even in the eastern, northeastern and central portions of the country where farmers tend to live within their farmlands, farmers do not live in isolation but always in small communities. Thus, rather than developing individualized fixation in habits and opinions, the Nigerian rural communities tend to develop group conservatism. With respect to the effect of rural people's characteristics on their aspirations, expectations and perceptions vis-a-vis urban dwellers, studies in the United States have shown no marked difference. Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf (1968) in their study of rural-urban differences among Negro boys found that both maintained high levels of goals and expectations. However, the aggregate rate of congruence between aspirations and expectations and their attainment has been found to be inversely associated with socio-economic status—the lower the socio-economic status, the higher the rate of deflection of goals. Similarly, they found that rural-urban differences were greater for goals than for expectations. Urbanites were found to have higher goals and expectations than ruralites. While this difference is not altogether unexpected in America when one remembers the sense of inferiority which that society tends to perpetuate among the various other races vis-a-vis the whites, it will be interesting to test whether this type of difference exists in Nigeria where there is no color discrimination. In other words, if such a rural-urban difference is found in Nigeria, it would be attributed to the condi-

tions of rural areas rather than to social discrimination.

HYPOTHESIS

The major hypothesis tested in this study can be stated as follows:

'There is no difference between rural and urban dwellers in southwestern Nigeria in their aspirations, expectations and perceptions'.

'Urban dwellers' in this hypothesis refers to those respondents selected from Lagos and Ibadan while 'rural dwellers' refers to those respondents from farming villages in other parts of southwestern Nigeria. 'Aspiration' is here defined in terms of desired positions or stations in life both for oneself and one's family. This was specifically measured in terms of desired family size (number of children), highest level of education for children, type of occupation desired for at least one of the children, preferred place of residence and type of occupation for oneself and the level of education which the respondent wishes he had.

'Expectation' here is defined in terms of what respondents look forward to developmentally and was specifically related to the priority which they expected governments in Nigeria to give to specific issues such as the modernization of agriculture, industrialization, development of culture, birth control, etc. 'Perception' here is defined in terms of the respondents' awareness or recognition of national problems, particularly those militating against rapid socio-economic development, and their recognition and ranking of factors that make for a happy life.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this study were obtained through interviews conducted among a total of 280 respondents drawn from two urban and four rural locations in southwestern Nigeria in 1977. The urban respondents (183 in number) were drawn from Lagos and Ibadan which are large urban centers. Similarly, 97 ruralites were drawn from predominantly farming villages (Onigangan, Olukotun, Idi-Araba, and Ibodi) where the population in each case did not exceed 2,000 inhabitants and in which there were to be found very few social amenities and formal institutions.

In the large urban centers, a cluster sampling technique was used in order to ensure that the respondent population cut across the various social and economic strata of the cities. A relatively smaller sample of respondents was interviewed in rural areas because of the difficulty encountered in establishing confidence readily with the people and the fact that the interview took place during the farming season.

The questions asked included those aimed at establishing the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents as well as those to determine

their aspirations, expectations and perceptions as explained earlier. The details of the analysis in each case are reported within the findings. The chi square and rank correlation statistics were used in the testing of the hypotheses as these are normally less restrictive in their demands.

FINDINGS

1. Respondents' Socio-economic Characteristics:

All the ruralites interviewed were married while 34 percent of the urbanites were single. The ruralites had an average of 5 children per family whereas the average for the married urbanites was 2. The urbanites were more highly educated than the ruralites and by occupation most ruralites were either farmers or laborers while the urbanites were mainly white collar workers.

The modal income range for the ruralites was found to be between N£1,001 and N£1,500 whereas a majority of the urbanites earned well over N£3,000 per annum. Among those who were married, 57.7 per cent of the ruralites indicated that their spouses were not earning separate incomes whereas 57.4 per cent of urban spouses earned separate incomes. Table 1 summarizes some highlights of the characteristics of the respondents. To further probe into the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, they were asked whether their children were attending school, the highest level of education which any of their children has attained, their spouse's level of education and satisfaction with present occupation and income. It was discovered that among those who had children, more ruralites (90%) had children in school than urbanites (69%). This might be a reflection of the age structure. In other words, more ruralites have school age children than urbanites. The data further revealed that among those respondents whose children had been to school, urbanites tended to have more children (48%) who have graduated from institutions of higher learning (i.e. above the Modern School) while nearly 76 per cent of the rural children were either primary or modern school graduates. This may be a direct reflection of the disparity in ability (income) between the two groups to send children to higher levels of education beyond the level which is covered by the universal free primary education scheme of the state and federal governments.

When asked for the spouse's level of education, it was found that 76 per cent of the ruralites had illiterate spouses while the corresponding proportion for the urbanites was 31 percent. Up to 21 percent of the urbanites' spouses had university qualifications while no ruralite's spouse had a qualification higher than the secondary school leaving certificate (3%).

Over half (51.5%) of the rural respondents said they were dissatisfied with their occupations. On the contrary, a majority (74.3%) of the ur-

banites expressed satisfaction with their jobs. However, neither of these two groups were completely satisfied with the income they made. Only

TABLE 1. RESPONDENTS' SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

		RURAL (N = 97)		URBAN (N = 183)	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
(a)	Marital status				
	Married	97	100	121	66
	Single	—		62	34
(b)	Number of children				
	0	5	5.2	64	35
	1-3	17	17.5	68	37.1
	4-6	54	55.7	45	24.6
	7-9	14	14.4	6	3.3
	10+	7	7.2	—	—
	Mean	4.9		2.2	
	Mode	4		1	
(c)	Level of Education				
	Illiterate	58	59.8	1	0.5
	Std. 6 or less	26	26.8	8	4.4
	Modern school	6	6.2	12	6.6
	T. T. C.	2	2.0	17	9.3
	WASC/GCE (O.L.)	5	5.2	63	34.4
	G C E (A. L.)	—	—	9	4.9
	University	—	—	56	30.6
	Others	—	—	17	9.3
(d)	Occupation				
	Unemployed	—	—	1	0.5
	Teaching	4	4.1	28	15.3
	Private business	—	—	1	0.5
	Business executive	—	—	3	1.6
	Civil servant	—	—	41	22.4
	Farmer	43	44.3	1	0.5
	Salesman	—	—	10	5.5
	Company Executive	—	—	28	15.3
	Tailor	1	1.0	1	0.5
	Engineer	—	—	8	4.4
	Pharmacist	—	—	10	5.5
	Secretary	—	—	46	25.1
	Laborer	19	19.6	5	2.7
(e)	Income (N£)				
	100 or less	18	18.6	0	0.0
	101- 500	19	19.6	1	0.5
	501-1000	15	15.5	10	5.5
	1001-1500	33	34.0	49	29.8
	1501-2000	12	12.4	18	9.7
	2001-2500	—	—	14	7.7
	2501-3000	—	—	14	7.7
	3001 +	—	—	77	42.1

4 per cent of the ruralites and 36 per cent of the urbanites indicated being satisfied with their incomes.

These findings go to substantiate earlier findings and assertions that rural populations have lower socio-economic characteristics than their urban counterparts. However, whether this difference will affect and reflect on their aspirations, expectations and perceptions is the major interest of this study.

2. *Test of Hypotheses:*

The general hypothesis stated earlier was split into three parts for more detailed testing. Thus:

- H₁ There is no difference between urbanites' and ruralites' aspirations measured in terms of the things they wish for themselves and for their families.

To operationalize this hypothesis, a number of specific items were compared between the two groups. These included: (i) the number of children desired, (ii) highest educational aspiration for children, (iii) occupational aspiration for children, (iv) preferred place of residence, (v) occupation desired for self, and (vi) level of education desired for self. In addition to simple frequency counts, the student 't' test was used where applicable to determine the significance of the difference between the two groups. The results are summarised in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2. DIFFERENCES IN ASPIRATIONS BETWEEN RURALITES AND URBANITES IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA

ITEM	RURALITES (N = 97)		URBANITES (N = 183)		't' Value	Remark
	No.	%	No.	%		
(a) Preferred number of Children						
2- 4	10	10.3	103	56.3		
5- 7	19	19.6	63	34.4		
8-10	32	32.8	11	6.0		
11-13	16	16.4	6	3.3		
14 +	20	20.6	0	0.0		
Mean		9.9		4.8	13.72	Sig. at
Mode		10		4		0.00
(b) Highest educational aspiration for children						
T. T. C.	1	1.0	0	0.0		
W.A.S.C.	0	0.0	2	1.1		
University	96	99.0	181	98.9		
(c) Occupational aspiration for children						

Doctor	36	37.1	77	42.1
Engineer	15	15.5	23	12.6
Univ. Lecturer	12	12.4	28	15.3
Businessman	4	4.1	9	4.9
Soldier	11	11.3	3	1.6
Accountant	1	1.0	11	6.0
Pharmacist	4	4.1	11	6.0
Nurse	6	6.2	4	2.2
Agric. Scientist	8	8.2	7	3.8
Journalist	—	—	2	1.1
Surveyor	—	—	1	0.5
Technician	—	—	5	2.7
Lawyer	—	—	1	0.5
Others	—	—	1	0.5
(d) Coveted educational status for self				
Modern school	11	11.3	1	0.5
T. T. C.	6	6.2	1	0.5
W. A. S. C.	9	9.3	4	2.2
G. C. E. (A/L)	10	10.3	2	1.1
University	48	49.5	84	45.9
Tech. Certificate	1	1.0	7	3.8
Has enough already	12	12.4	84	45.9
(e) Preferred place of Residence				
City	40	41.0	119	65.0
Rural area	57	59.0	64	35.0
(f) [Preferred Occupation				
Wouldn't change	39	40.2	92	50.3
Business	44	45.4	27	14.8
University Lect.	7	7.2	6	3.3
Civil Servant	7	7.2	12	6.6
Salesman	—	—	12	6.6
Accountant	—	—	12	6.6
Pharmacist	—	—	4	2.2
Printer	—	—	3	1.6
Photographer	—	—	2	1.1
Caterer	—	—	8	4.4
Company Executive	—	—	6	3.3
Nurse	—	—	1	0.5

- (a) Desired number of children: It was found that more than half (56.3%) of the urbanites wished to have a maximum of between 2 and 4 children while only 10 percent of the ruralites aspired to have this number. Instead a majority (32.8%) aspired to have between 8 and 10 children. The mean number of children desired was 9.9 for the ruralites and 4.8 for the urbanites. The 't' test showed that this was significantly different at the 0.00 level. This finding has been explained in earlier surveys by the fact that rural families in Nigeria experience a higher infant mortality rate than urban families owing to poor or non-existent medical care in these areas. Ruralites therefore

- do not tend to take chances in pre-determining the number of children to produce since they cannot tell how many of them will survive (Federal Office of Statistics, Rural Demographic Survey, 1966). Moreover, there is a strong cultural belief among ruralites that children are God's gifts and one should not refuse them when given.
- (b) Highest educational aspiration for children: Here it was found that in both rural and urban areas, most parents desired their children to have a university level education. Only one rural and two urban respondents wanted their children to have just the Teacher Training and Secondary School levels of education respectively. This finding also shows that there is no difference between rural and urban residents in southwestern Nigeria in their appreciation of the worth of western-style higher education, particularly as this relates to status attainment in contemporary Nigeria.
- (c) Occupational aspiration for children: It was found that most parents in both urban and rural areas wish their children to become professionals. The desire for doctors and engineers accounted for over half of the responses in each group (52.6% rural; 54.7 urban). The desire for these two professions was only followed by the desire for university lecturers (12.4% rural; 15.3% urban). While the desire for these professional occupations was nearly equally distributed in both groups, the urbanites however had a broader area of choice of occupations than the ruralites. This might be a reflection of the lower level of education among ruralites which may delimit their horizon in terms of alternative available occupations. It is interesting also to note that a significant proportion of the rural respondents (11.3%) wished their children to become soldiers while the urbanites did not feel this was a very lucrative profession. It is possible here that the ruralites see soldiering as a short cut to power in the society (this study having been done during the military era in Nigeria) while the more enlightened urban dwellers saw military power as transient or the profession as risky.
- (d) Coveted educational attainment for self: Respondents were asked to indicate the highest level of education they wished they had attained if all things were equal. It was found that in both groups, the desire for a university level of education was nearly the same (49.5% rural; 45.9% urban). This again is a reflection of the equal appreciation of the worth of higher education among the two groups. However, the desire for other levels of education below university was expressed by more ruralites than urbanites. This might be a realistic appraisal of their background circumstances as even if they had higher educational aspirations the realities of their backgrounds could not have permitted the realization of such aspirations.

- (e) Preferred place of residence: When asked to indicate the place (urban or rural) where the respondents would prefer to live under normal circumstances, it was found that a majority (65%) of the urbanites preferred their urban setting while a majority of the ruralites (59%) preferred their rural setting. When respondents were further asked whether they were thinking of changing residence in the future, 60 percent of the ruralites said 'no' while 55 percent of the urbanites said 'yes'. This perhaps shows that the ruralites have so adapted themselves to their rural environments that they do not want to risk any change. Those urbanites who indicated a desire to change residence were found mainly to aspire to move to other urban rather than rural settings. This, again, is consistent with earlier findings that urbanites tend to be more mobile than ruralites.
- (f) Preferred occupation: Only 40 per cent of the rural respondents indicated that they would not like to change their present occupations. Among those who desired change, nearly 76 per cent wanted to become businessmen. Similarly, about 50 percent of the urbanites were satisfied with their present occupations and desired no change. Although business was the major attraction for a great number of those urbanites who desired new occupations (29.7%), their choice of alternative occupations was more varied than the ruralites. The aspiration to go into business among the two groups of respondents might be a reflection of the general acquisitive or materialistic trends in the country. The desire to change present occupations (which was greater among ruralites than urbanites, 't' significant at 0.1 level) is an indication of the inferior status of present rural occupations in the country which calls for their improvement and variation. Secondly, it is also an indication that the aspirations of ruralites and urbanites in this part of Nigeria with respect to occupations are not too different. They would all want an occupation that brings steady income and promises a good life.
- From the foregoing results, it can be concluded that in general, ruralites and urbanites in southwestern Nigeria are not too different in their levels of aspirations for themselves as well as for their families.

H₂ There is no difference between ruralites and urbanites in southwestern Nigeria in their expectations (measured in terms of what they looked forward to and the priority they expect governments in Nigeria to give to specific issues in development).

To operationalize this hypothesis, 15 items of development interest to the nation were identified. These ranged from the modernization of agriculture to the government takeover of schools from voluntary agencies (see appendix I). Respondents were then asked to indicate whether they would

consider each of the items as of high or low priority if they were in positions to influence their execution. The items listed were submitted to independent judges for rating and an average standard rating was arrived at on this basis with a high priority item being given 2 points while a low priority item was given 1 point. From the judges' ratings, the highest number of points that a respondent who rated the items like the judges did could score was 27. Thus, if all the urban respondents had rated the items in agreement with the established criterion in each case, they would have scored a total of 4,941 points while the ruralites would have scored 2,619 points. These figures therefore became the expected scores (E) for both groups while their actual scores served as the observed scores (O). Using the chi square analysis, the "goodness of fit" test was carried out to see whether or not there was agreement between both the rural and urban respondents in their expectations.

A chi square value of 81.81 (significant at 0.00 level with 2 d.f.) was obtained, thereby showing that there is perfect agreement between the two groups in their rating of the priorities of various items for national development.

To further test the hypothesis, respondents were also given seven values contributing to happy life and were requested to rank these in order of importance to them as individuals. The values identified included high income, satisfactory job, successful family life, peaceful life with no unpleasant surprises, high political position, high educational attainment and living in luxury (see Appendix I).

The mean rank for each item was calculated for each group and rank correlation analysis was used to determine the degree of agreement between the two groups as shown in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3. AVERAGE RANKING OF VALUES CONTRIBUTING TO HAPPY LIFE

Values	Urban ranking (N = 183)	Rural ranking (N = 97)
1. High income	4	1
2. Satisfactory job	2	2
3. Successful family life	1	3
4. Peaceful life with no unpleasant surprises	3	3
5. High political office	7	7
6. High educational attainment	5	6
7. Living in luxury	6	4

$$r' = 1 - 6 \frac{\Sigma(ED)^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

$$= 0.679 \quad (\text{sig. at } 0.05)$$

An r' value of 0.679 which is significant at the 0.05 level was obtained, thereby suggesting that there is a considerable amount of agreement between the two groups in their definition of values contributing to

a happy life. That the ruralites and the urbanites in this study tend to rate values contributing to a happy life in similar ways therefore substantiates their earlier agreement on what they expect the national development priorities to be. In other words, both at the individual and the national levels, ruralites and urbanites in southwestern Nigeria do not seem to be too different in their expectations.

H₃ There is no difference between ruralites and urbanites in southwestern Nigeria in their perception or awareness and recognition of obstacles to national development.

To operationalize this hypothesis, ten known social problems in Nigeria which might be considered inimical to national development were identified and respondents were asked to rank order these in a descending order of importance. Here again, items were submitted to various judges for ranking and the mean ranks established for each item were regarded as the criterion (A) against which the average rankings of the two groups were judged using the rank correlation coefficient analysis as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4. RESPONDENTS' RANKING OF OBSTACLES TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

	ITEMS										r'	value
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		
Criterion (A)	7	8	9	2	3	5	4	6	1	10	$r'_{RU} = 0.49, p < 0.20$	
Rural (R)	1	2	5	10	7	8	3	4	2	6	$r'_{AR} = - .115$	
Urban (U)	1	2	4	10	6	3	5	7	8	9	$r'_{AU} = - .388$	

In calculating the rank correlation coefficient, it was found that while there was some disagreement in the ranking of the items between the judges and both the ruralites and urbanites ($r' = -.115$ (AR); $r' = -.388$ (AU)), there was some measure of agreement in the ranking of the items by both the urban and rural groups on their own ($r'_{RU} = 0.49, p < 0.20$). In this case, it is likely that the judges were more idealistic in their ranking of the items than either the urbanites or the ruralites. It is interesting however to observe that both groups did not differ too significantly in their own rating of obstacles to national development, thereby showing that no marked difference exists between them in their perception and recognition of what is bad for the nation.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

A Presidential Commission on Rural Poverty in the United States of America obtained the following testimony from a Louisiana minister:

"The poor think differently: they have a different sense of value Take the concept of education. To the middle class it stands for the road to better things for one's children and one's self. To the poor it is an obstacle course to be surmounted until the children can go to work. The poor tend to be fatalistic and pessimistic because for them there is no future; everything is today. They do not postpone satisfactions. When pleasure is available, they tend to take it immediately. They do not save because for them, there is no tomorrow" (Rogers and Burdge, 1972).

The findings of this study in southwestern Nigeria do not seem to justify the characterization of the Nigerian rural poor in the above light. The rural southwestern Nigerian may not be highly educated, but he certainly appreciates western education in contemporary times as a source of social mobility. He therefore desires his own children to attain the heights of such education. Hence in social planning, the policy on education in Nigeria must be liberalized in a way that both the ruralites and the urbanites can have equal benefits.

Similarly, the findings of this study have shown that the rural southwestern Nigerian does not "think" markedly differently from his urban dwelling counterpart. They tend to share similar aspirations for self improvement, the improvement of their families and the development of the nation. They also share similar perceptions with respect to factors likely to impede national development. The present study was limited to a rather small portion of southwestern Nigeria rather than the entire country, hence the findings can hardly be generalized. It is possible that the lack of marked difference between ruralites and urbanites in this study is largely due to the social structure of southwestern Nigeria (which is mainly urban) as well as the relative socio-economic advancement of this portion of the country vis-a-vis the other parts. It is possible that in other less advanced parts of the country, the differences between ruralites and urbanites are significant in all respects. Further study in other parts of the country is therefore required in order to fully establish this hypothesis.

Nevertheless, that in this study ruralites have been found to be markedly different from urbanites in their socio-economic characteristics is an accepted and expected fact which poses an indictment of the unequal development policy in the country. However, with respect to the general hypothesis of the study, our findings at this juncture contradict the popularly held view that where one lives determines how he thinks and feels—a view which motivated Earl Kulp (1970) to prescribe that a radically different strategy of development is required for the rural areas of developing countries vis-a-vis that which is required for over-all national development. There is no doubt that the strategy and requirements for agricultural development might be different from those for national development, but the contention here is that the rural area is not merely a farmland. It contains people who have aspirations, expectations and perceptions

which might not be too different from those held by urban dwellers.*

A radically different development strategy for rural Nigeria could only be justified if such a strategy is one that is designed to bridge the development gap existing between the two sectors as a result of past neglect. Otherwise, only a holistic view of development would be acceptable. This involves a development policy emphasizing the reallocation of national resources and opportunities in a way that allows for even development across the entire society (see Ekong 1977a for details). Such a holistically conceived plan of development would ultimately remove misallocation of resources and the failure to realize the chances of developing a genuine rural-urban continuum.

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* One may point out by way of criticism that the assumption which tends to underly this study is that national development programs are often designed to meet people's aspirations, expectations and perceptions whereas such variables are never established and consciously incorporated in the formulation of development plans. While such an observation is well taken and the author has in fact made a similar point in an earlier study (see Ekong, E. E., 1977b; chpt. 4), it has to be pointed out that perceptions, aspirations and expectations are, nevertheless, vital psychological variables in the individual and, therefore, societal growth towards maturity. Development has been regarded as describing stages in individual as well as societal growth toward maturity and as comprising a sustained economic production of goods and services as well as changes in the structure of opportunities open and available to individuals for the enhancement of their growth. The manner in which a nation allocates its resources, therefore, has a major consequence on the life chances of the major groupings in that nation (in this case rural and urban groupings) to realize this developmental growth. Thus, a study of this nature which tries to establish the existence or otherwise of a difference in these variables between groups within a particular nation is very relevant in guiding resource allocation in development planning.

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APPENDIX

A. Values Contributing to Happy Life

The following are some of those things that make for happy life. Rank these 1-7 in order of importance to you as an individual.

- (i) High income
- (ii) Satisfactory job
- (iii) Successful family life (good wife and children)
- (iv) Peaceful life with no unpleasant surprises
- (v) High political position (e.g. being a commissioner or head of state)
- (vi) High educational qualification
- (vii) Living in luxury (e.g. having a number of cars, houses, etc.)

B. Rating of National Objectives

The following are some objectives which the state as well as the Federal Governments have. If you were in a position to advise any of these governments, indicate whether you would consider these to be of High Priority or Low Priority.

	High Priority	Low Priority
(a) Development and modernization of agriculture	_____	_____
(b) Development and modernization of industry	_____	_____
(c) Raising the standard of living of the people	_____	_____
(d) Raising the standard and widening the accessibility of social amenities (e.g. medical care, water, electricity, roads, telephones, etc.) to people	_____	_____
(e) Greater participation of citizens in politics	_____	_____
(f) Development of culture	_____	_____
(g) Development of science and technology	_____	_____
(h) Conservation of natural resources (e.g. forest resources, game reserve, etc.)	_____	_____
(i) Increasing trade with other countries	_____	_____

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|--|-------|-------|
| (j) Increasing military and financial aid to other countries | _____ | _____ |
| (k) Controlling the birth rate in the country | _____ | _____ |
| (l) Instituting land reforms (e.g. government taking over all lands) | _____ | _____ |
| (m) Development of sports and building new stadia | _____ | _____ |
| (n) Opening more Universities | _____ | _____ |
| (o) Government take over of all schools from private voluntary agencies. | _____ | _____ |

C. Perception of Obstacles to National Development

Which of the following do you think are the greatest obstacles to the development of this country? Please order them in descending order of importance 1–10.

- | | |
|--|-------|
| (a) Wasteful spending (e.g. “spraying” at parties) | _____ |
| (b) Nepotism (e.g. favoring one’s relations in giving jobs, etc.) | _____ |
| (c) Tribalism (i.e. favoring one’s ethnic group in the distribution of public goods) | _____ |
| (d) Too many public holidays | _____ |
| (e) Laziness and unemployment | _____ |
| (f) Bribery and abuse of office | _____ |
| (g) Stealing and embezzlement | _____ |
| (h) Suppression of criticism by the government | _____ |
| (i) Importation of luxury items like lace and expensive cars | _____ |
| (j) Migration from rural to urban areas | _____ |