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*constitutionalism and
development in Nigeria*



LAGOS STATE

**GOVERNANCE,
SOCIETY & ECONOMY**



Dele Olowu



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LAGOS STATE

Governance, Society & Economy

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constitutionalism and development in Nigeria

LAGOS STATE

Governance, Society & Economy

Dele Olowu (Ph.D)

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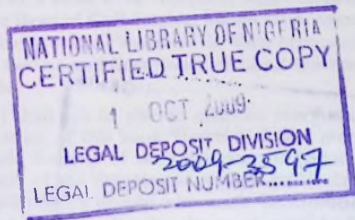
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Dedication

This book is dedicated to the
Glory of God, the people of
Lagos State and my late father,
Chief I.O. Olowu.



Acknowledgements

This work is a culmination of a study begun when I wrote my Ph.D thesis in 1979. Since that thesis was focused principally on the role of local governments in the administration of metropolitan Lagos, substantial additional research had to be undertaken before the present title came to be written. Inevitably therefore, I am grateful to a large number of individuals and organizations who have made its final production possible.

First, I wish to thank Professor Oladipo Adamolekun of the Department of Public Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife who supervised the Ph.D thesis mentioned above. I must also say that without his persistent encouragement and incisive comments on my earlier drafts, this book would never have seen the light of day. I am also grateful to the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife which made a modest research grant available to me to observe the operations of the Lagos State government first-hand.

In the course of writing this book, I have come in contact with several officials of the Lagos State government. In particular, I am grateful to the Head of Service and Secretary to the State Government of the Lagos State Civil Service, Dr A. O. Lewis who agreed in the first place to permit my attachment to his department to observe at close range, the workings of his state machinery and, also, to make my observations. He subsequently agreed to write the foreword to the book. His able lieutenants such as Mr F. A. Adeyemi, then Permanent Secretary in the office of the Head of Civil Service, Messrs G. A. Osunmakinde, A.A. Omofade, V. Marcus and virtually all the then permanent secretaries of the State Civil Service and Secretaries of Local Governments, have all been very helpful.

Of course, I shall not be able to mention everyone who has contributed to the writing of this book. However, I shall mention the following: Mr Bodunde Bankole of the University of Lagos; my anonymous readers; members of my department and, in particular, the typists led by Mr B.E. Iyiola; God's people who made contributions in sorts; and, of course, members of my family, the most special of whom has been my darling wife who, in spite of the pressures of her own work and the challenges of our home, encouraged me on. Finally, I am also grateful to Dr Dafe Otobo of the University of Lagos and my publishers, Malthouse Press, Lagos, for ensuring that this book was finally published.

As usual, I am solely responsible for all the faults in the book.

Dele Olowu
Ile - Ife, 1989

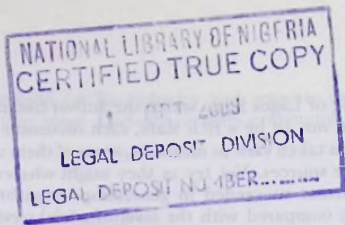
Dedication

This book is a collection of essays written over a period of about ten years. It is a result of my long and varied experience in the field of development studies. The essays are written for a general audience and are intended to be read by those who are interested in the field of development studies. The essays are written in a simple and straightforward style and are intended to be read by those who are interested in the field of development studies.

I am grateful to the following individuals for their support and encouragement during the writing of this book: my wife, Mrs. Olowu, for her patience and understanding; my children, for their love and support; and my friends, for their encouragement and support. I am also grateful to the following institutions for their support and encouragement: the University of Ife, Ile-Ife, for their support and encouragement; the National Endowment for Democracy, for their support and encouragement; and the Ford Foundation, for their support and encouragement.

In the course of writing this book, I have been to several countries and have met many people who are working in the field of development studies. I have been inspired by their work and their dedication to the field. I have also been inspired by their passion and their commitment to the field. I have been inspired by their love and their support for the field. I have been inspired by their passion and their commitment to the field. I have been inspired by their love and their support for the field. I have been inspired by their passion and their commitment to the field. I have been inspired by their love and their support for the field.

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Foreword

Sometime in 1982 when I was the Head of Lagos State Civil Service, the Faculty of Administration, University of Ife, Ile-Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) approached me with a request that approval should be given for the attachment of Dr Dele Olowu of the Department of Public Administration to the Office of the Head of State Civil Service, to enable him observe at close quarters the workings of the machinery of the Lagos State Government. With the concurrence of the then civilian governor, Alhaji L.K. Jakande, the request was readily approved.

The State Administration then believed that it was desirable to encourage mutually beneficial interactions between university dons and top public servants. University Academic Staff could be encouraged to serve in the State Public Service either on full time, for a specific period, or on attachment basis whilst public servants who were so inclined could be released on "Sabbatical" to suitable Universities to study, conduct research or lecture as appropriate.

I am happy to note that the attachment of Dr Olowu has led to the publication of the book *Lagos State: Governance, Society and Economy*. The objective which the book conscientiously tried to achieve was to use the experience of Lagos State to create an awareness of how State-level governments and their agents, in a developing country such as Nigeria, make their contributions to the development process through the provision and maintenance of social services and physical infrastructural facilities.

I have read the manuscript and it is my considered opinion that the book was well researched and well written. The book is a valuable addition to the increasing but still relatively few number of books written by Nigerians on State Governments' involvement in the development process. The book is also timely, having regard to the efforts currently being made to give Nigeria a new constitution and a new revenue allocation system. Proponents as well as opponents of the creation of new States will find the book useful. Some of the issues raised in this book will also be found palatable by those who consider that the overall more rapid development of Nigeria requires that the new revenue allocation system in Nigeria should ensure that more financial resources are released by the Federal Government for the use of the State Governments.

In the particular case of Lagos State which the author has, contrary to popular belief, shown not to be a rich state, each successive government since its creation has taken various measures, some of them unpopular, to tap many revenue sources. Yet try as they might whatever level of revenue the governments succeeded in generating invariably paled into insignificance when compared with the level of social services and basic physical infrastructural facilities that must be provided if Lagos State, especially Metropolitan Lagos, was to perform its roles as the seat of the Federal Government, the commercial, financial, and industrial nerve-centre of Nigeria, etc. What is true of Lagos State is in varying degrees true of many of the other states. Hence, the issue of "transferring" more financial resources from the Federal to the State Governments is one that ought to be given more careful consideration.

I believe it is appropriate to add that the manuscript which I read contains some statements which those who are more closely connected with Lagos State Administration would regard as contentious and debatable. The statement that the strategy of Government with respect to housing was one-track is debatable. The approach of the State Government, particularly during the period 1979-83, towards solving the housing problem was to adopt a two-pronged attack. Houses were built by Government for direct sale to the public whilst members of the public were also encouraged to build their own houses through the allocation of plots of land in Government Estates where basic physical infrastructural facilities were provided. The three incineration plants mentioned in the study were not put to use not because of maintenance and repair problems but because of more fundamental underlying factors.

In order to put the record straight too, I should add that the Civil Service Commission was not responsible for the deployment of staff. It recruited staff who were then sent to the respective heads of cadres of deployment, bearing in mind the needs of the service. Local Government staff were not transferred to the Civil Service and vice-versa at random. A few civil servants were "deployed" by Government to carry out specific functions over a limited period in the Local Governments whilst much fewer members of Local Government staff were, for overriding public interests, made to serve in the civil service for specific periods. Finally, the correct position was that the civil service did not wield tremendous power either over the Local Government Service Commission or the Judicial Service Commission. Both agencies were set up by Law with specific functions and powers and the practice had always been to ensure that the autonomy granted them by Law was not eroded.

These points which are raised for the purpose of clarification do not detract at all from the scholarship and usefulness of the book. A lot of hard work has certainly gone into writing the book. The author deserves

to be praised for his industry and tenacity in seeing the book to the publication stage. I wholeheartedly commend the book to the reading public.

Dr A. Olufemi Lewis,
former SMG & HS, Lagos State.

Introduction

This book is an appraisal of Nigeria's most developed and urbanized State government. The aim of this book is to try to understand how state-level governments (and their agents, especially local governments) in a developing country such as Nigeria make their contributions to the development process through their provision and maintenance of basic social services. In this respect, it is, thus, a case-study of the role played by state governments in the development process, whose focuses have been defined as socio-economic improvement and national integration.

The study is important for at least four reasons. Firstly, one explanation that has been given for the persistence of poverty, especially in respect of the basic needs of the Nigerian people in spite of the expenditure of several billions of petro-naira, is the absence of strong, effective and popular sub-national institutions to mediate the development effort.¹ Public sector activities have been dominated by the central government. Yet, sub-national institutions (whether in federal or non-federal systems) are charged with the administration of major basic social services to meet the daily social needs of the people and to raise resources to meet these needs within a popular and participatory framework.²

Secondly, state governments, in spite of their heavy social responsibilities, have been very poorly researched compared to either national or local governments in Nigeria, but this can be explained as part of our intellectual and political heritage from our former colonial master, Britain, a unitarily-governed country. Yet, protagonists of the creation of more states have always found it easy to push their particular case, based on the developmental potential of state governments, without specifying the nature of such a potential or the other sources besides federal statutory grants from which they expect to pay for costly social programmes. It is the opinion of this author that the lack of a systematic study of state-level governments, contributes considerably to the inability of public officials, politicians and the public alike to appreciate the problems of state-level governments and this substantially hinders the cause of inter-governmental understanding and co-operation. Anyone who was in Nigeria during the four years of civil rule, 1979–1983 cannot fail to appreciate this fact. Only two examples need be given here: the inability of many state governments to pay staff salaries for upwards of seven months and the mounting state debts

which stood at 7 billion naira at the end of 1983.

Thirdly, the study enables us to make a comparison over a period of some fifteen years, 1967-1983, of the different programme emphases of different administrations in the state especially between the military and the civilians. Lagos State was created in 1967 and since then has had both civilians and military administrators.

Fourthly, the selection of Lagos enables us to examine quite closely the allegations of urban parasitism that has been made generally about the relationship of Third World urbanization to the development process.³ Is this true with respect to the Lagos metropolis which constitutes over 80 per cent of the State?

The above remarks underscore one of the major difficulties encountered in this study. Can Lagos State truly serve as a case-study - given the fact of its high level of urbanization and its political and economic importance both to the Nigerian economy and federalism? Yet, it can also be argued that given the progressive urbanization of the country (and its state units) as a whole, a focus on Lagos enables us, in spite of these initial difficulties, to examine the contributions of one state government to the development process, where the latter was in its most developed form.

Using the suspended 1979 Constitution (references are also made to earlier Constitutions) as a bench-mark, the study raises the following questions:

- (a) What roles are state governments expected to perform in the development process? (Chapter One)
- (b) Is the Lagos State situation peculiar? What are its special problems which require state action? (Chapter Two)
- (c) What has been the perception of different administrations in Lagos State of this role? How adequate are basic services in the State today? (Chapter Three)
- (d) How are financial and human resources mobilized to effect these programmes and who bears the social burden for the programmes? (Chapter Four)
- (e) In providing for the needs of the people, what institutions exist for ensuring public participation? (Chapter Five)
- (f) Finally, what lessons can other State Governments learn from the Lagos Case-Study? (Chapter Six)

Notes and References

1. This was part of the verdict of the International Labour Organization's study team on the Nigerian development process. International Labour Organization, *First Things First, Meeting the Basic Needs of the People of Nigeria* (Addis Ababa; Jobs & Skills Programme, 1981) p.9. A total of 141.8 billion naira (about 184 billion US dollars) have been committed under the four, five yearly National Development Plans (1962 – 1985). ₦ = \$1.2 (1985).
2. See K.C. Wheare, *Federal Government* (London, Oxford University Press, 1963) and Ken Davey, *Financing Regional Government* (Chichester: John Wiley, 1983)
3. See for instance, Nigerian Economic Society, *Urbanisation and Nigerian Economic Development* (Ibadan; Conference Proceedings, 1977), p. v.



State-Level Governments and the Development Process: Comparative and Nigerian Perspectives

What is Development?

Development is a popular theme today especially among governments, multi-lateral aid agencies, scholars and peoples all over the world. Indeed, the world itself is presently classified into *developed* and *developing or underdeveloped* countries. Among the Third World nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa,¹ there is a generalized consensus, cutting across different regime-types, that development constitutes the objective to which change should be directed. However, what constitutes 'development' has remained a minefield of controversy, especially among social sciences scholars. Over the years, attempts have been made to characterize the development process based partially on the historical experience of the countries which are at present, described as developed and the peculiar experiences of the Third World nations themselves. A most influential publication in policy circles, popularly referred to as the 'Brandt Report', opined thus:²

Development never will be, and never can be, defined to universal satisfaction. It refers, broadly speaking, to desirable social and economic progress and people about what is desirable. Certainly, development must mean improvement in living conditions for which economic growth and industrialisation are essential. But, if there is no attention to the quality of growth and to social change, one cannot speak of development.

It is now widely recognised that development involves a profound transformation of the entire economic and social structure. This embraces changes in production and demand as well as improvements in income distribution and employment.

This lengthy quotation is useful for several reasons. Firstly, it endorses the axiom that development is a normative, people-centred concept. Development has meaning in relation to its ability to bring about the realization of human potential, the increasing rationalization

and subjugation of the universe to the human mind.³ Hence, all countries are concerned with development, whether they are termed 'developed' or 'underdeveloped'⁴. Secondly, it demonstrates that although the development debate has been dominated by economists with their predictable concern for economic growth arising from the use of factors of production, especially capital, to bring about technological innovations and economic productivity, it is now generally accepted that the concept of development must also be equally concerned with the issue of social justice and social structure⁵. The high rates of economic growth recorded in a number of Third World countries in the United Nation's first Development Decade (1950–1960), at about the same time as income inequalities and grinding absolute poverty worsened in these same countries, has brought to question the earlier preoccupation with economic productivity, both among scholars as well as policy makers concerned with the development process. The late Professor Dudley Seers put the matter succinctly when he stated the questions every country must ask as far as the development process was concerned:

What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these questions have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result 'development', even if per capita income doubled.⁶

Similarly, the United Nations in its International Development Strategy for the Second Development decade declared that:

The ultimate objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits on all. If undue privileges, extremes of wealth and social injustice persist, then development fails in its essential purpose. . . . Qualitative and structural changes in the society must go hand in hand with rapid economic growth and existing disparities – regional, sectoral and social – should be substantially reduced.⁷

Both the United Nations and the World Bank now use a wider array of indices to indicate comparative levels of development amongst nations. These are summarized in Table 1.1

Indeed, Nigeria's development planners seem to have been touched at last by this swing of the pendulum in the development debate towards socio-economic transformation away from an earlier preoccupation with economic growth *per se*. For instance, the authors of the *Guidelines to the Fourth National Development Plan (1981–85)* confessed that:

In our previous plans, we seem to have focused attention primarily on strategies for economic growth rather than development. The plans have of

of course, to some extent succeeded in laying the necessary infrastructure for development; but they should not be mistaken for development . . .⁸

Table 1.1: Indices of Comparative Development amongst Nations

World Bank Basic Indicators	U.N. Research Institute for Social Development
1. Population	1. Demography
2. Land Area	2. Health
3. Average gross national product (per capita)	3. Nutrition
4. Annual rate of inflation	4. Housing & related activities
5. Adult literacy	5. Education
6. Life expectancy	6. Transport & services
7. Average index food production	7. Communications
	8. Industry
	9. Foreign trade
	10. General economic indicators
	11. Technology

Sources: Donald McGranahan et al, *Methodological Problems in Selection and Analysis of Socio-Economic Development Indicators*. (Centra, UNRISD 197) and World Bank, *World Development Report 1981*, (Washington D.C.), Table 1.

The Plan document then proceeded to espouse a people-centred development strategy. But development is not concerned with economic growth and social justice alone. It is also interested in the political framework in which these changes take place and the implications of all these on the human psyche. This is particularly important for Third World countries as a large number of them are mere geographical entities rather than properly integrated nation-states. One other goal of development, therefore, is *nation-building*, a process which has been described as "the deliberate fashioning of an integrated political community within fixed geographical boundaries in which the nation-state is the dominant political institution."⁹ This involves the creation of:

a system of political institutions capable of controlling the state's population, of mobilizing the state's human and material resources toward the ends of economic and social modernisation, and of coping with the strain of social, economic and political change without abdicating its control and

mobilization roles.¹⁰

In other words, nation-building involves the creation of political institutions which possess the capacity for tackling the challenges of the development process and at the same time involve all (or at least the majority of) the people through participation in that process.

We may now recapitulate. Development is a complex and normative concept. It must find its meaning with reference to the people, their relationships to their environment, and to one another. It is, however, not an elusive concept. It is now generally agreed that the twin goals of development are socio-economic progress and nation-building. According to one author:

Agreement on the desirability of these (twin) goals is found even among political leaders who show a wide variation in political orientation, political strategy, social origin, and opportunity for success in goal attainment. To the extent that they are politically motivated at all, the rank and file of the population of these countries share the belief that these are proper objectives, and will tend to bring pressure on political leaders who may be tempted to give precedence to more immediate and selfishly activated aims. These paired values seem to explain to a substantial degree accepted ideological commitment in the developing countries.¹¹

Moreover, much of the discussions in the political and administrative literature on development focus, predictably, on the national-level governments. In the next section, however, we shall attempt a purview and description of the role assigned to sub-national institutions, especially state-level governments in the development process in federal systems, with special reference to Nigeria's past and contemporary experience.

State-Level Governments and the Development Process: Towards a Theoretical Formulation

A theory of federalism premised on the legalistic coequal status of the centre and the coordinate units has long since given way to a more dynamic and pragmatic conception of the role of state-level governments in the effective administration of basic social services. The change became remarkable after the World Wars when social concerns (other than limited government) became the dominant concern of governments all over the world. Nowhere has this development been as clearly marked as in the United States of America. A recent book puts the matter succinctly:

Federalism — old style — is dead. Yet, federalism — new style — is alive and well and living in the United States. Its name is intergovernmental relations . . .

Conventional federalism is a static notion. It pictures the relationship between the national government and the states as something fixed for all keeping with the more realistic approach of presentday political analysis, is dynamic; it pictures the intergovernmental relationship as one of constant change in response to social and economic forces as the party and electoral systems. It no longer makes sense to conceptualize federalism as a wall separating the national and state levels of government.¹²

Even the British authority on the subject, K.C. Wheare, conceded the fact that the federal principle had become considerably modified in the four federations he studied (Canada, Australia, USA and Switzerland) in his now classic book titled *Federal Government*:

. . . it is apparent that in all four countries the general governments have become incomparably the most powerful financial systems and the regional governments have been reduced to a restricted if not a subordinate position: (The latter) have accepted, in varying degrees, some measure of financial subordination to the general government.¹³

The factors he adduced for this departure from the legal norm of the federal principle is a combination of factors including the first world war and the depression of the 1930s which has left the richer and more elastic revenue sources with the central government while the major social services - education, police, public health; old age and disability pensions; poor relief, unemployment assistance, social insurance, the care of the blind, maternity and child care - persist as sub-national responsibilities.

This lop-sided allocation of resources and responsibilities have been resolved by different federal systems (and even unitary countries) in different ways, principally through the redistribution of functions and finances (as in Switzerland), use of categorical grants (as in the United States), the creation of intergovernmental institutions to facilitate the continuous readjustment of functions and finances (as in Australia, India and Malaya) and through national legislation (as in the Federal Republic of Germany).

The sum total of these developments is to make the federal governments more superordinate *vis-a-vis* the state governments. But an equally important, though usually overlooked, fact is the growing importance of state-level governments in the administration of basic social services and the preoccupation of the national government with economic and security activities. For instance, whereas the percentage share of the federal government in total direct public expenditure has risen from 34% in 1902 to 53% in 1976 in the United States of America, most federal expenditures are channelled through the state/local governments. Hence, total grants-in-aid to local governments rose from US \$7 billion in 1960 to US \$91.8 billion in 1982, and this represented more than a third of state-local revenues.¹⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that

whereas there were only 2.7 million employees at the federal level in 1976, there were 2.8 million and 7.4 million employees at the state and local government levels, respectively.¹⁵

Similarly, even West German federalism has been described as an:

'administrative federalism' in which the national government has legislative powers, but the state governments have executive powers. . . . A large number of constitutional amendments since 1949 have added substantially to federal powers, to the extent that the state legislative power is virtually limited to the fields of education and cultural affairs, and the organization of state and municipal administration. Even in these instances, there are federal incursions. But when one turns to administrative powers, the picture is different. . . . the states have primary responsibility even for federal laws. Only a few executive powers, in the field of foreign and military affairs, posts and telecommunications, and a few specialized areas fall under direct national control.¹⁶

Indeed, it can be advanced that the primary responsibility of state-level governments throughout the world is mainly in the area of administration of basic services. These basic services are, however, now taken to be the focus of development since their availability and access by the people to such services reduce the worst effects of corporate and individual poverty, enhance social justice, modify the social structure, raise the standard of living generally and bring closer to realization the human potential which the development process, as discussed above underscores.¹⁷

Moreover, state-level governments are participatory institutions. They make possible the participation of people in the administration of the major services that daily concern them. The experience of most nations, whether unitary or federal, indicates that such intermediate level institutions between the national government and the people are necessary. The evidence abounds in the fact that every nation creates such sub-national institutions and often gives them prominence in the administration of basic services. These institutions are given different names in different countries. One traditional label has been 'local governments' and in a sense it is possible to concede that even state governments are local governments, except that they are generally superior to these latter institutions in terms of their *status, scale and range of functions*. But even here, there are exceptions. It is true that state governments derive their existence from the constitution rather than from the central government (in the case of local governments), yet different political and economic environments often make local governments in other countries (and even in the same country in a number of cases) more superior in terms of status, range of functions and even scale than state-level governments.¹⁸ It is therefore possible to utilize the same justifications used in rationalizing the existence of local

governments throughout the world in explaining the role of state-level institutions in any society. They are *primarily* intended to protect local liberties but this has since been overtaken by events and the major justification for the existence of these institutions now lie in the delivery of major basic services; the generation of local resources to finance a part of these services and the provision of a wider opportunity for people to participate in the governance of their affairs. This fact is evident from comparison of Tables 1.2 and 1.3.

In concluding this section, it might be appropriate here to recall one remark by the authors of the *New Federalism*:

The term federalism tells us little about the degree of political centralization in a society . . . it is the contribution to decentralized political decision-making that is usually thought of as federalism's prime value.¹⁹

Up till now, our discussion has focused on the practice of federalism in the more mature federations. Although this is the norm, the situation is not always exactly as expected in the younger federations due to a variety of factors. We shall now briefly purview the Nigerian experience.

States and the Development Process: the Special Problems of Younger Federal States with Special Reference to Nigeria

The role assigned to state-level governments takes on a special significance in a developing country. Firstly, the development of basic infrastructures is a prelude to either agricultural or industrial development; access to these basic services become a major political and economic issue, and, indeed, the major focus of the development process. The gap between expectations and realities with respect to social services in the wake of independence has been well documented in the political development literature.²⁰ Secondly, state-level governments are incapacitated by two factors. The first factor is the hostile relations between the federal and state governments. This is common to all emergent federal systems, as political sectors are more legalistic than in mature federal systems.²¹ Since political institutions are relatively younger, few customs and traditions exist to lubricate the dynamics of intergovernmental relations, hence short of a military or a complete or quasi one-party dictatorship (as in Brazil, Yugoslavia, India and Mexico respectively)²², the text of the constitution plays a greater role in determining the pattern of intergovernmental relations. Hence, whereas there is growing intergovernmental cooperation in the more mature federations (such as the United States of America, and in the European federations), there seems to be growing intergovernmental conflict and competition

Table 1.2: Summary Table of The Three Major Justifications of Local Self-Government.

<i>Public Participation etc. (Democratic Life)</i>	<i>Efficient Services</i>	<i>Resources Mobilization Liberty, (Autonomy)</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Training in corporate responsibility and democratic leadership at local higher levels of government 2. Enhances popular involvement and necessary popular support for leadership 3. Opens formal means of communication between ruler and ruled. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Decongests central government business. 2. Detailed knowledge required for certain services. 3. Proximity to decision-making bodies, improved services responsiveness and efficiency. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Financial autonomy correlates positively with political autonomy thereby increasing individual liberty. 2. Education in corporate responsibility, and discipline. 3. Especially relevant in situations such as LDC where government resources are very limited and short.

Sources: Contributions by Hugh Whalen, Brian C. Smith and L.J. Sharpe in L.D. Feldman and M.D. Goldrick (eds), *Politics and Government of Urban Canada* (Toronto; Methuen, 1969), the exchange between G. Langrod, and K. Panter-Brick and D. Moulin in the *Public Administration* of Spring 1953 and Winter 1954. See also Dilys M. Hill, *Democratic Theory and Local Government* (London; George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1974)

Table 1.3: Functions of Regional Governments

Provision of Services	Regulatory Function	Development Functions	Representative Functions	Coordination & Planning
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Environmental services (roads <i>trunk</i> & local-refuse disposal, street-lighting, sewage, drainage, parks & recreation, flood control, irrigation); 2. Social services (Education, Medical & public Health Services, Administration of Social Security/Care for the poor, the Aged or the Handicapped); 3. Public utilities – gas, domestic water, public transport & distribution of electricity. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General law order maintenance (Police, prisons etc.) 2. Regulation of specific activities – land use, building standards, entertainments, Liquor trade, etc. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic activities – operation of factories, plantation, forests, or trading companies 2. Provision of infrastructure – industrial sites, employee housing, irrigation, warehousing, access roads, etc. 3. Extension Services (agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, literacy & adult education). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community representativeness and participation; 2. Expression of opinion on matters outside executive responsibility. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Regional investment 2. Land use

Source: K.J. Davey, *Financing Regional Government* (Chichester: John Wiley, 1983), pp. 14–16.

between the centre and the states in the Nigerian setting especially evident during the four years of the Second Republic (1979–83). Each level of government was jealously guarding its constitutional responsibilities as evidenced by the large number of court cases between the federal and state governments in the four years of the civilian governments. The fratricidal nature of partisan competition tends to aggravate the situation further. It must be noted, rather sadly, that similar federal-state crises led to the demise of the First Republic.²³

A second limitation is the poverty of any serious scholarship on state governments. For instance, with the exception of a few journal publications and official reports on new state demands, there is a dearth of any serious scholarship on state-level administration.²⁴ Most political and administrative studies of any consequence are at the national level or at best attempts to describe and explain the relationships between the national and the State Governments.²⁵ Long periods of military rule with its hierarchical command structure might be an explanation for this oversight, but the close attention paid to the study of local government belies this reasoning.

More helpful may be the fact of colonial heritage from Britain which has remained a unitary country. Yet, most of the services performed by local governments in Britain are performed by state-level governments in Nigeria. These include primary and post-primary education (less University Education), health and environmental services, water supply, etc. Indeed many close observers of Nigerian local government will be quick to recognize that but for the few years following the local government reforms of 1976 (1976 - 79), local governments have been largely excluded from the administration of major public and social services in independent Nigeria.²⁶ In any case, local governments even after the 1976-79 reforms have only been able to perform those services conceded to them by their state governments irrespective of executive or constitutional stipulations at the centre. One unfortunate effect of this dearth of scholarship is to leave state-level leadership, either civilian or military, ill-prepared psychologically and intellectually to meet the challenges of development thrust on them by the people through the constitution.

So, what has been the role of state governments in the Nigerian development process? First, they have widened *political participation*. A brief historical outline of the evolution of Nigeria's nineteen state unit system* shows that the creation of more states has arisen largely as a result of the need for a more balanced and articulate representation

*Two additional states — Akwa Ibom and Katsina states — have since been created by the Babangida Administration

in the governing process.²⁷ This is particularly so far a country the size of Nigeria (estimated 1986 population of 103 million) and with its highly pluralistic ethnic composition comprising at least seven distinct geopolitical cultures which had enjoyed differing degrees of political autonomy before the unification of Nigeria in 1914²⁸ and federalization in 1954. Even during the colonial era, there were agitations for the creation of state units along colonial provincial boundaries which, at least in the northern and western regions, followed those of the pre-colonial 'governing units'.²⁹ Whereas, the Willink Commission of Enquiry, which was appointed to investigate 'the fears of minorities for domination and means of allaying such fears', recommended special constitutional and administrative measures, subsequent examinations, namely the controversies leading to civil war in 1967 and the Irikefe Panel of July 1975, led to the restructuring of the big powerful regions, dominated by the then northern region, first into twelve and then to nineteen states. Even then, but for the second coming of the military at the end of 1983 plans were already afoot in the National Assembly to create twenty-nine additional states which would have brought the total states in the federation to 48. Table 1.4 summarizes these developments since 1914 to the present together with the implications for the size of the state-units.

Generally, it is believed that the state-units have been the major instruments for nation-building in such a large and disparate community (comprising over 250 linguistic groups) as Nigeria. Indeed, the creation of the first twelve states out of the then regional system was primarily a master-stroke to break solidarity for rebel leaders in the former eastern region. This strategy paid off handsomely and contributed largely to the demise of rebellion. This is, however, not peculiar to the Eastern regional uprising. The potential for rebellion was always a very real factor in the calculus of power and political negotiation under Nigerian's regional system (1954-67).³⁰ This is not to argue that the justifications for the creation of more states in Nigeria were always tenable. Indeed, it has been suggested that one of the more forceful factors promoting the demand for more state-units (or local government units) during the brief spell of civilian government, 1979-83, was the growing dependency of the national economy and the totality of public sector finance on earnings from oil, which contributed over 90 per cent of the nation's public revenue in the late 1970s.³¹ Secondly, in order to have an idea of state governments in the *socio-economic transformation* of the country, let us overview briefly the Nigerian development process thus far.

Table 1.4: Regional/State Units in Nigeria and 1983 Proposals

1939	1967	1976	1983 Proposed
Northern Region (54.2%)	Benue-Plateau (8%) Kano (10.4%) Kwara (3.1%) North Central (7.4%) North West (10.3%) North East 15.3%	Benue (4.4%) Plateau (3.6%) Kano (10.4%) Kwara (3.1%) Kaduna (7.4%) Sokoto (8.2%) Niger (2.1%) Gongola (4.7%) Bauchi (4.4%) Borno (5.4%)	Benue Kogi New Benue Okura Plateau Nassarawa Middle-Belt Kano Tiga Gujba Tigawa Liutai Chari Kwara Kabba Kaduna New Kaduna Katsina Sokoto Zaufara Niger Njaba Gongola Taraba Bauchi Gombe Katagum Borno New Borno
Subtotal	1	6	10
Population (million)	29,808		

Table 1.4 cont'd.

1939	1967	1976	1983 Proposed
Eastern Region (22.5%)	East Central 13.2%	Anambra (6.5%) Imo (6.7%) Rivers (3.1%) Cross River (6.2%)	Anambra New Anambra Ebonyi Imo Abia Aba Rivers Port Harcourt Cross River New Cross River
Subtotal 1	3	4	10
Population (million) 12,398			
Western Region (23.3%)	Bendel (4.4%) Lagos (2.6%) West (17%)	Bendel (4.4%) Lagos (2.6%) Ogun (2.8%) Ondo (4.9%) Oyo (9.3%)	Bendel Anioma Delta Lagos Ogun New Ondo Ondo Oyo New Oyo Oduduwa Osun
Subtotal 1	3	5	11
Population (million) 12,801			
Grand Total 3	12	19	48

Total population
(million) 55

*Figures in parentheses represent percentage population distribution among the states/regions.

We have already suggested in the previous sections of this chapter that although development is a complex and normative concept, it is not illusive. It is real. We have touched on the role of State Governments with respect to nation-building in Nigeria. The socio-economic aspect of development is characterized by material improvement which results from either of two possibilities or a combination of both. These are overall improvement in economic performance or the redistribution of social benefits from one section of the population to another. Such transfers take many forms but one of the most effective and popular means is the transfer through the provision of basic social services, which are targeted primarily at the poor. Not even the discovery of new mineral (and revenue) sources will bring about socio-economic improvement if either or both of these factors are absent. The Nigerian experience proves this abundantly.

In Nigeria, as in many other developing countries, the public sector is the prime mover of the economic development process. Some estimates put the total national investment made by the public sector in the economy as of 1976 at almost 70 per cent; but the fourth National Development Plan expected 86 per cent of the total national expenditure of 82 billion naira to be made in the public sector leaving only 14 per cent for the private sector during the five year period (1981-85). This is in line with the trend since 1970 (See Table 1.5).

According to a recent assessment of the Nigerian development process:

There is little evidence that Nigeria's big expenditure has made much impact on the conditions of the majority of the population. . . . All in all, the recent high rate of public investment has not been as productive as might have been expected.³²

For an economy whose public sector had made a total investment of 51.7 billion naira through its development plans between 1962 and 1981 for its estimated 80 million population (1981) and was reputed to have recorded annual growth rates in its Gross Domestic Product of 9 per cent, this was a serious indictment. Although handicapped by reliable and consistent data, on the basis of the evidence available to it, the report submitted that there has been a 'continuing heavy incidence of the diseases of poverty; a semi-stagnation of the rural economy due to the neglect of agriculture in development priorities; low per capita and food intake; inadequacy of water supplies and of urban housing, rural roads and health services; and the imbalance in formal schooling facilities between 'North' and 'South', girls and boys, rural and urban areas'. The report concluded that "more people are living in poverty than before the oil-boom started" and that:

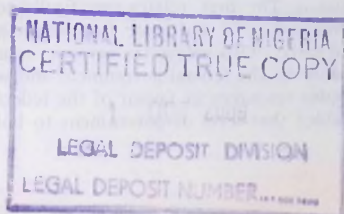
despite the heavy political emphasis on planning, there seems to have been

no conscious strategy of development in the past. There were however implicit priorities – on economic rather than rural; on industry rather than agriculture; on new works rather than maintaining and improving existing services.³³

**Table 1.5: The Share of Public and Private Sectors In the Nigerian Economy
Gross Fixed Capital Formation and Development Plan Expenditure,
1957 - 85)**

Period	Planned Expenditure		
	Public Sector	Private Sector	Total (₦) Million
Gross Fixed Capital Formation 1957 – 1963	107.8	147.0	254.8
%	42.3	57.7	100%
1st National Development Plan (₦ Million), 1962 – 1968	1,334.8	1,031.8	2,366.6
%	56.4	43.6	100%
2nd National Development Plan (₦ Million), 1970 – 1974	1,976.4	1,631.6	3,608.0
%	54.8	45.2	100%
3rd National Development Plan (₦ Million), 1975 – 1980	32,860.0	12,870.0	45,730.0
%	71.9	28.1	100%
4th National Development Plan (₦ Million), 1981 – 1985	70,500.0	11,500.0	82,000.0
%	86	14	100%

Sources: *Economic Indicators*, Vol. 2, No. 11 (Lagos, Federal Office of Statistics, 1965) and *Government Plan Documents* (1962–85).



The report recommended a reversal of these priorities.

There is no denying the fact that one of the factors which has militated against the Nigerian development effort is the absence of appropriate institutions to mediate the efforts so far made from the top. A disproportionate amount of public expenditure is spent on a few cities (especially headquarter cities at all levels) and a highly centralized bureaucratic machinery with little or no impact on the totality of the people.³⁴ This is precarious for the country's cohesion and integration but contemporary experiences of other Third World nations suggest that this situation is not peculiar to Nigeria.³⁵ Indeed, the above-mentioned appraisal of Nigerian development-performance also underscores the problem of excessive centralization.³⁶

To the extent that state-level governments (and their subsidiaries), as we have argued in the previous sections, are generally charged with the responsibility for providing and maintaining basic and essential services, the non-availability or poor quality of these services is an indictment on this level of institutions. There is, therefore, a justifiable need to take a critical look at the performance of these institutions in the Nigerian federal system.

Generally, it may be claimed that the constitutional allocation of responsibilities under Nigeria's federal constitutions has largely followed the convention in other federal countries whereby the overall management of the national economy is in the hands of the national government while expecting the state governments and their subsidiaries to provide and maintain the major social services. For the pre-military era (1954–1966), a close student of Nigerian fiscal federalism of that period has shown that functions better provided centrally than regionally because of advantages of economies of scale or which might have spill-over effects were on the exclusive federal list (national defence, borrowing, money, exchange control, immigration, higher education, etc.) as in the older federations. However, he points out too that the allocation of functions between the federation and the regions during this period was such that the:

governments of the regions were charged with the responsibility of providing social services and of developing agriculture and industry. Thus, the responsibility for promoting economic and social development rested with the regions.³⁷

Two developments between 1967 and 1983 altered this general pattern. The first, relates specifically to the military period between 1966 and 1979 and arose from the huge oil wealth of the late 1960s and early 1970s whose tax revenues (christened an 'oil-boom') accrued mainly to the federal government and was retained by it. This shifted surplus resources in favour of the federal government (Table 1.6) and enabled that level of government to boldly enter into economic and

social responsibilities hitherto reserved for the regions. It accomplished this feat through legal and fiscal instruments, both of which were easily mustered under a military government. For instance, the federal government was able to dominate the concurrent list more effectively and to transfer some functions such as primary education from the residual to the concurrent list.³⁸ Similarly, the federal military government was able to tamper with the independent revenue sources of the state governments (gaming taxes, commodity-based revenues, standardization of flat rate and personal income taxes, etc). Even then, it must be pointed out that state governments dominated the social development sector as the federal government had to rely on the state governments to supervise its priorities in agriculture, education, urban roads, basic health services through the use of non-statutory grants. A total of 1.005 billion *naira* non-statutory grants were given by the federal to the state

Table 1.6a: A Fiscal Profile of State Governments in Nigeria
1968 - 1985

Years	Federation Source %	Internal Source %	Total (₦ million)
1968/69	60	40	144.5
1969/70	70	30	232.2
1970/71	77	23	393.0
1971/72	73	27	454.1
1972/73	67	33	545.8
1973/74	63	37	525.8
1974/75	72	28	839.6
1975/76	75	25	1,830.
1976/77	87	13	3,080.0
1977/78	88	12	3,740.0
1978/79	85	15	3,390.0
1979/80	88	12	5,220.0
1980-85	87	13	6,325.0*

Sources: *Digest of Statistics*, Lagos Vol. 24 (January 1975), p. 81; Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Presidential Commission on Revenue Allocation* Vol. 1, (Lagos, 1980); and Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-85*, pp. 68-70.

* Yearly Average, 1980-85 Estimates

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There is no denying the fact that one of the factors which has militated against the Nigerian development effort is the absence of appropriate institutions to mediate the efforts so far made from the top. A disproportionate amount of public expenditure is spent on a few cities (especially headquarter cities at all levels) and a highly centralized bureaucratic machinery with little or no impact on the totality of the people.³⁴ This is precarious for the country's cohesion and integration but contemporary experiences of other Third World nations suggest that this situation is not peculiar to Nigeria.³⁵ Indeed, the above-mentioned appraisal of Nigerian development-performance also underscores the problem of excessive centralization.³⁶

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* Yearly Average, 1980–85 Estimates

Table 1.6b: Comparison of State and Federal Budgets
1952 - 80

Year	Federal Retained Revenues	(₦ Million) Regional/State Revenues	Total
1952/53 (%)	86.1 (86.5)	14.6 (14.5)	100.7 (100)
1965/66 %	190.6 (77.2)	56.2 (22.8)	246.8 (100)
1972/73 %	1,067.6 (70.5)	446.9 (29.5)	1,514.8 (100)
1979 %	8,870 (72.3)	3,400 (27.7)	12,270.0 (100)
1980* %	12,990 (70.3)	5,480 (29.7)	18,470.0 (100)

Sources: Gerald K. Helleiner, *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth In Nigeria* (Homewood, Irwin, 1966), pp. 286-287; Federal Office of Statistics, *Economic Indicators* Vol. 4, No. 10 (October 1968); *Digest of Statistics* Vol. 2 (October 1974); Central Bank of Nigeria, *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts* (Lagos, 31 December, 1981), pp. 67 - 76.

Note: *Revised Estimates. Budget year changed to January to December in 1980. Figure already adjusted.

governments between 1976 and 1979 alone, an amount which represented 48.5 per cent of total plan grants of 2.07 billion for the period.³⁹ The effect is as shown in Tables 1.7 and 1.8 in terms of the expenditure patterns of the federal and state governments.

The second development which flowed from the first and which more specifically concerned the 1979-1983 period, was the partially-suspended Constitution of 1979 which was nurtured and sponsored by the military in collaboration with other elites.⁴⁰ To a large extent, the constitution attempted to involve the federal government in the administration of basic services (see Table 1.9 on allocation of responsibilities under the Constitution) but certain other factors ensured that the state governments continued to dominate the social development sector. There were three main areas in which the 1979 Constitution enhanced federal powers in the social development sector *vis-a-vis* the state governments. These were in the areas of constitutional allocation of responsibilities, tax powers and the control of local government.

With respect to the allocation of responsibilities, the sum-total of

Table 1.7: Actual Capital Expenditures on Economic and Social Infrastructures 1975 - 80

State	Estimated Internal Revenue Total Expenditure (1979)	Economic % (Agriculture, Manufacturing, Mining, Commerce, Power, Transport, Communication)	Social (including Regional Development) % (Education, Health, Labour, Youths, Water Supply, Refuse, Housing, Town Planning, Community Development)	Administration of Defence, Density (Federal Only) General Admn.)	Total Actual Expenditure N Million
Anambra	11.7	37.2	55.8	8.0	286,759
Bauchi	12.9	27.2	64.2	8.6	298,601
Bendel	10.3	54.2	40.6	5.1	527,393
Benue	12.6	48.3	46.1	5.6	361,602
Borno	5.8	34.5	55.1	10.4	345,450
Cross River	8.3	37.2	53.4	9.4	338,537
Gongola	5.0	27.0	61.1	11.9	306,371
Imo	7.0	40.6	52.0	7.4	387,877
Kaduna	9.5	42.4	51.0	6.6	360,418
Kano	11.1	41.1	49.3	9.6	453,634
Kwara	4.7	22.0	71.9	6.1	441,948
Lagos	41.3	15.1	66.7	18.2	499,598
Niger	4.2	29.4	60.9	9.7	240,791
Ogun	9.5	45.8	42.6	11.6	312,005
Ondo	14.0	47.3	41.0	11.7	411,525
Oyo	5.1	36.6	61.4	2.0	354,187
Plateau	8.8	30.7	60.1	9.2	284,474
Rivers	4.8	39.6	48.9	11.5	527,483
Sokoto	8.2	33.3	56.8	9.9	370,439
All States	10.2	36.6	54.3	9.1	7,102,100
Fed. Govt.	-	58.4	18.6	19.9	22,331,660

the new powers conferred on the federal government was that this level of government had a general responsibility for ensuring that all governments conformed to the Directive Principles of the State and specifically for such functions as export produce marketing, public order, commerce, mining, minimum educational standards, national planning, the youth service and the public complaints commission institution. This contrasts with the 1963 constitution but a number of administrative practices established during the thirteen years of military rule (such as regular meetings of cognate federal and state ministries, the setting of higher remunerations for federal officials compared to the states) had institutionalized federal-overall leadership.

The second area of the federal supremacy over the state governments was in the area of finance. As a result of the withdrawal of some of the major independent revenue sources of state and local governments by the federal military government as noted above (a practice which persisted substantially during the civilian era), state governments were made to become more dependent on the federation account, which

Table 1.8: Actual Capital Expenditure of State Governments Under
The Third Plan, 1975 – 80
(In Percentages)

Sector	Federal Govt.	All States	Least	Highest
Education	7.7	17.8	6.6 (Oyo)	28.5 (Plateau)
Transport (Roads)	25.8	14.7	6.9 (Gongola)	33.9 (Bendel)
Water Supply	0.4	11.2	3.8 (Benue, Rivers)	33.9 (Lagos)
Agriculture, (Irrigation, Live stock, Forestry, Fishing, etc.)	5.9	11.2	3.9 (Lagos)	18.4 (Kaduna)
Administration	7.1	9.1	2.0 (Plateau)	18.2 (Lagos)
Town and Country Planning	0.7	8.5	3.0 (Kaduna)	19.4 (Oyo)
Housing	3.8	4.9	1.4 (Rivers)	12.3 (Ogun)
Health	1.2	4.7	2.4 (Ondo)	7.4 (Borno)
Manufacturing and Craft	10.1	4.3	0.9 (Kaduna)	10.1 (Imo)
Commerce	1.3	3.3	0.4 (Ondo, Oyo)	7.7 (Anambra)
Community Development	—	2.7	0.0 (Oyo, Plateau, Niger)	13.8 (Gongola)
Others (Cooperatives, Power, Informa- tion, Social Development, Sewerage/Refuse Disposal)	36	12.7	—	—
Total	100	100		

Source: Fourth National Development Plan, 1981–85

was solely collected by the federal government and which, if the controversy surrounding revenue allocation between 1980 and 1982 in the country was anything to go by, could be more effectively and unilaterally tampered with by the federal government.⁴¹

Finally, the 1979 constitution unambiguously limited the state governments with respect to structures, functions and finances of their local governments. Again, this was in contrast to the previous constitutions in which state governments were regarded as the creators of their local governments and were given limitless freedom to tamper with these institutions as they liked.

In spite of these limitations imposed on the states, however, the state governments were helped by two factors in maintaining their hold on the services. The first was the new (1982) Revenue Allocation formula which ensured that they had more nationally collected revenues available to them through statutory grants than before. Secondly, the nature of partisan politics was so vitriolic and so corrupt that the federal government was inhibited from entering boldly into the social services sector, as it did under the military. The federal government was dogged by legal battles over its two major programmes – agriculture and public housing – especially from state governments controlled by opposition parties. In one instance, its housing projects in one state were bulldozed overnight by the state government. Even when the federal government decided on creating its own field agencies – the Presidential Liaison Offices – these were hampered greatly by the lack of cooperation from state governments opposed to the idea, and the highly political nature and quality of Presidential Liaison Officers throughout the country. In essence, therefore, the states, were left largely with the task of making these services available to their people, with little direct assistance from the federal government. Inevitably, this resulted in increasing financial difficulties at the state level – inability to pay staff salaries for long periods (up to one year in a few states), a growing debt and a resort to perennial deficit financing.⁴²

This is not surprising given the expensive nature of social services world-wide and the fact that these are the services that are enjoyed by the largest number of people in the country. For instance, according to a research finding as of 1976, the universal primary education programme took 21 per cent of the nation's total revenue, today (1983) it is estimated at 2.1 billion naira or 19 per cent of the total national revenue and when the cost of secondary education is added (1.18 billion naira) these two responsibilities alone account for 29 per cent of the country's total national revenue. And since this source is the main revenue base of state governments, this leaves them only with about 7.5 per cent of the total national revenue allocated to that level of government according to the current Revenue Allocation formula (Table 1.10).

Table 1.9: Distribution of Responsibilities Among Nigerian Governments

<i>Federal Government</i>	<i>State Government</i>	<i>Local Government</i>
1. Defence and Security	1. Secondary and Higher Education	1. Sewage Disposal
2. External Relations	2. Health	2. Maintenance of Feeder Roads
3. Interstate and International Roads	3. Water Supply	3. Primary Education
4. Port Facilities	4. Housing	4. Market Stalls
5. Railways	5. Lighter Infrastructure	5. Rural Health
6. Airport Facilities/Aviation	6. Agriculture	6. Crafts and Small Scale Industries
7. Power Supplies	7. Lighter Industries	
8. Communications	8. Town and Country Planning	
9. Heavy Industries		
10. Higher Education		

Cabinet Office, *Report of the Technical Committee on Revenue Allocation* (Lagos, 1977). As modified by the 1979 Constitution, See details in Appendix I

These considerations have prompted a case-study of state level performance with respect to its contribution to the development process as outlined above, namely: the provision of basic services, the mobilization of internal revenues and the promotion of participatory decision-making.

Why A Lagos State Case-Study?

Strong objections can be raised to the choice of Lagos State in illustrating the basic propositions of this study. First, Lagos, unlike most states in Nigeria, is highly urbanized (See Table 1.11). The type of problems it faces are, therefore, different from those of other states in Nigeria. Second, the fact that the seat of the federal government has been in the state since 1914⁴³ makes federal interest dominant in Lagos State compared to other states (where federal presence is less felt). This affects

Table 1.10: Models of Revenue Allocation In Nigeria 1977 - 83

Level of Government	Actual Transfers (1977-79)	Technical Committee (1978)	Okigbo Commission (1980)	Government White Paper (1980)	Revenue Law (1982)	Actual Transfers from Federation Account (1981-83)
Federal %	78	54	53	55	58.5	61.5
State %	19	30	30	30	26.5	29.5
Local %	3	10	10	8	10.0	9.0
Special Fund %	n.a.	6	7	7	5	n.a.
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Relevant Commission Reports and White Papers, *Central Bank of Nigeria Annual Reports* for 1980 - 83 (Lagos).

Note: 1. The Special Fund is administered by the Federal Government and must have been lumped with the federal share in the first columns and with the state fund in the last column.

not only the revenue side but also the expenditure patterns. Lagos State is reputed for its high level of dependence on internally-generated revenues raised mainly from the personal income tax compared to other state governments but a substantial proportion of the payees work in federal establishments concentrated at the capital (40% of total federal civil servants in 1980) or in industries which were attracted to Lagos by federal presence (about 30% concentration of all large-scale establishments by 1973). Similarly, the local government collects substantial sums from these industries and federal establishments as property rates (as grants in lieu of rates in respect of the latter). On the expenditure side, federal government's direct expenditures and investments in Lagos are known to be quite substantial.

The choice of Lagos State is, however, a deliberate one. First, being the most urbanized state in the whole federation, it represents the epitome of the development process together with all its contradictions. How this situation is managed to promote equitable and rapid developmental goals within a federal democracy should be of interest to most people and especially to other states in the federation. In addition, it must be noted that Nigeria is a rapidly urbanizing country, a fact charac-

Table 1.11: Urbanization in Nigeria By State (1963 and 1979)

State	% Population in Communities of 20000 and above (1963) ¹	Percentage % of 'Urban' Local Governments ²
Lagos	72.6	62.5
Ondo	50.9	35.3
Oyo	50.6	41.7
Ogun	49.4	30.0
Kwara	27.6	8.3
Rivers	14.5	44.4
Anambra	11.9	43.5
Imo	11.8	57.1
Kaduna	11.8	57.1
Bendel	11.5	21.1
Bauchi	11.3	12.5
Congola	11.5	17.7
Borno	11.2	5.6
Sokoto	10.1	36.8
Niger	10.1	12.5
Plateau	9.0	14.3
Bcnuc	8.9	38.5
Cross River	8.1	58.8
Kano	6.0	90.0
Total/Average	19.2	37.1

Sources: Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Annual Abstract of Statistics* (Federal Office of Statistics, 1973) and F.S. Idachaba et.al, *Rural Infrastructures In Nigeria* (Ibadan, Federal Department of Rural Development, 1981).

- Notes:
1. State data based on approximate calculations from the 1963 Population census returns.
 2. Urban local governments are defined as those with a minimum 1979 Population of 300,000 and 100 persons/km² density and above or 100,000 population and 500 person/km² density and above. All state headquarters are included even though seven of them do not meet these conditions.
 3. It is important to emphasize that this 1979 measure is purely indicative in the absence of an acceptable census.

teristic of other Third World Nations (See Table 1.12). The level of urbanization (percentage population in cities of 20,000 and above) rose from 11 per cent to 19% according to the 1953 and 1963 national population censuses and has been estimated at 25 per cent and 37 per cent for 1975 and 1979, respectively.⁴⁴ Cities in developing countries have come under heavy criticism in the last two decades.⁴⁵ From a position of optimism concerning the role cities in developing countries can play in the economic development process following the experience of the historical development of today's advanced nations, pessimism over the cities in developing countries now abound. Among other things, urban centres are accused of receiving an undue proportion of the share of the scarce development resources available to Third World nations. In return, they do not generate ripples of technological innovation and development throughout the economy as in the developed countries but promote mass unemployment (through excessive dependence on foreign technology to prop up linkage-free industries), over-population and over-urbanization (through excessive concentration of medical and other amenities in them), slum growth (through their inability to generate sufficient resources to meet the infrastructural needs of the ever-expanding cities), and the promotion of anomie (through the suppression and muffling of all opinions other than those of the rich and powerful). Above all, a large number of Nigerian cities (49% as of 1952) have been dubbed 'parasitic' on the development process.⁴⁶

This study tries to examine the reality of this situation in one of Africa's largest cities. Not that there have been no previous studies along these lines on the city of Lagos but these were all carried out before 1968 when a bold attempt was made by the Nigerian federal government to ensure a more effective local management of the city's affairs by designating it as one of Nigeria's 12 States.⁴⁷ Even though subsequent restructuring of the Nigerian state-units has been carried out, the Lagos State has remained intact. This study tries to assess the activities of the government in generating independent revenues to finance its basic services; its success or failure in meeting the needs of the Lagos people for basic services and the opportunities that exist for citizen-participation.

One lesson that emerges from this study is that even though other states may not be as urbanized as Lagos State, they can learn from the examples of the Lagos state in terms of solving the problems of its urban management problems. Indeed, most Nigerian States will have to worry more about such problems in the near future as more and more Nigerians move to the urban centres. In fact, to the extent that urbanization can be regarded as a rough index of some aspects of the structural changes which the development process brings about in a society, this study assumes that levels of urbanization are synonymous with

Table 1.12: The Face and Level of Urbanization in the Major World Regions

Region	GNP Per Capita US \$ 1979	1950 Urban Population as a ratio of Total Population	1980 Urban Population as a ratio of Total Population	1970-75 Average Annual Growth Rate
AFRICA	645	14.5	28.9	5.0
Eastern Africa		5.5	16.1	7.0
Middle Africa		14.6	34.4	5.6
Northern Africa		24.5	43.8	4.6
Southern Africa		37.3	46.5	3.2
Western Africa		10.2	22.3	5.1
LATIN AMERICA	1,357	41.2	64.7	4.0
NORTHERN AMERICA	10,135	63.8	73.7	1.3
EAST ASIA (China, Japan, etc.)		16.7	33.1	3.1
SOUTH ASIA (India, Pakistan, etc.)	2,359*	15.7	24.0	4.0
EUROPE	7,579	53.7	68.8	1.5
OCEANIA	7,525	61.2	75.9	2.7
USSR	4,110	39.3	64.8	2.4
WORLD TOTAL:		28.9	41.3	2.8

Source: United Nations, *Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth* (New York, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Population Studies* No. 68, 1980), pp. 11 and 16 and *World Bank Report 1981* (Washington D.C.) p. 134.

*Would be lower than Latin American average if Japan and Israel were excluded.

comparative levels of development, although this needs to be qualified.⁴⁸

In essence, therefore, the difference between Lagos and any other State in terms of rural/urban problems is that of degree and not kind. Even Lagos State, although generally regarded as Nigeria's 'City-State' as we shall see in this study has a substantial, rural and underdeveloped territorial area. How the State government resolves the contradictions between urban and rural regions in the prosecution of its development priorities and programmes must interest both social scientists of differing persuasions as well as policy-makers at the State level.

This leads us to the final problem raised in the choice of Lagos as a

case-study. Available evidence confirms that all states have some federal interest and presence in them, even though not of the same degree as it is in Lagos State (See Table 1.13 for instance). But all States can tap federal resources and expenditures and the ability of States to bargain for federal funds and projects has been one of the hallmarks of Nigerian federalism. In any case, the problem, presently, is not with the availability of resources at the state levels but how well the present potential is being utilized.

Organization of the Book

The remaining chapters of the book elaborate on the themes discussed above. Chapter Two provides the necessary background information on Lagos State – its land, its people and its government and administration up to 1983 in the boldest possible profiles. We have argued here that the primary goal of state (and local) governments is the administration of basic services, hence in Chapter Three the performance of this basic services delivery role is reviewed with special reference to the state's basic social services programmes in key areas. Services can, however, be performed only when resources (financial and human) can be mobilized to support them. This theme is examined in Chapter Four. Chapter Five takes up the third development goal of state level governments – the promotion of citizen participation – and there is a special focus on the institutions designed to promote this goal under the partially suspended 1979 Constitution as was operated in the State. This Chapter benefits tremendously from the author's two-month stay in the Lagos State public service as a particular-observer. Chapter Six contains an overview of the study together with some conclusions that were reached which may be particularly beneficial to other states and Nigerian federalism.

A note is in place here on the use of terminologies throughout the study. 'State-level governments' or state governments refer not just to the state units but, except where it is otherwise specifically stated, to all state-level institutions – the local government system inclusive.

'Development', as earlier discussed is taken to mean efforts directed towards the promotion of the people's material well-being (socio-economic transformation) and the promotion of national consciousness through citizen participation (nation-building). To this extent, state units are ranked in the development process using two major indices – the level of urbanization (as in Table 1.11) and four other social development factors (primary school enrolment, population per hospital bed, per capita state government expenditure, and road density). See Table 1.14.

'Basic social services' refer to those services which promote the basic needs of the mass of the people – transportation, education, housing, health and environmental services, etc.

Table 1.13: Federal Government Actual Expenditure on Trunk 'B' Roads, 1975 - 77

State	Amount in ₦ Million	State Area Size (^{'000} Km ²)	Federal ₦ Expenditure per km ²
Bendel	46.7	36.3	1,286.5
Lagos	46.5	3.3	14,090.1
Sokoto	26.5	10.1	262.1
Plateau	25.7	54.2	474.2
Bauchi	21.8	65.5	332.8
Rivers	21.1	20.9	1,009.6
Cross-River	14.1	28.6	493.0
Borno	12.0	116.6	102.9
Kano	9.8	43.1	227.4
Ogun	9.3	16.4	567.1
Kwara	8.3	60.4	137.4
Benue	8.2	51.1	160.5
Ondo	1.7	20.5	82.9
Kaduna	1.7	67.8	25.1
Oyo	1.2	46.6	25.8
Gongola	0.8	59.9	13.4
Imo	0.3	12.7	23.6
Anambra	0.4	17.3	23.1
Niger	0.2	45.4	4.4
Total/Average	256.3	45.7	295.4

Source: Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Presidential Commission on Revenue Allocation* Vol. 1 (Lagos, Government Press, 1980) for expenditure figures.

Table 1.14: Composite-Table on Socio-Economic Characteristics of Nigerian States

States	Population 1979 (millions)	Land Area '000 km ²	Primary School Enrolment 1979/80 % of population	Population Per Hospital Bed (1979) (All Health Institutions)	Road Density (1978/79) metres per km ²	Actual Per Capita Expenditure 1975-80 Institutions	Rank Scores	Overall Rank
Lagos	2,396	17.3	465.1	19 (5)	456 (1)	709 (1)	20.4 (2)	1
Bendel	3,641	26.3	835.7	23 (2)	550 (2)	528 (6)	146.5 (4)	2
Ogun	2,295	16.4	350.4	15 (13)	771 (5)	456 (2)	135.7 (5)	3
Ilewo	5,434	12.7	1,025.1	19 (5)	980 (8)	366 (4)	71.8 (12)	4
Kwara	2,537	60.4	588.4	23 (2)	1,061 (9)	88 (15)	178.0 (3)	4
Ondo	4,038	20.5	478.2	12 (15)	587 (3)	357 (5)	102.9 (6)	4
Rivers	2,545	20.8	510.5	20 (4)	940 (6)	51 (18)	211 (1)	4
Cross-River	5,146	28.6	850.9	17 (10)	948 (7)	372 (3)	65.1 (15)	8
Anambra	5,321	17.3	961.5	18 (7)	745 (4)	179 (8)	54.1 (16)	9
Benue	5,591	51.1	866.4	24 (1)	2,190 (15)	111 (12)	100.4 (7)	9
Niger	1,767	45.4	319.8	18 (7)	1,280 (11)	130 (11)	133.8 (6)	9
Plateau	2,998	54.2	536.6	18 (7)	1,412 (12)	138 (10)	94.8 (8)	12
Gongola	5,854	59.9	473.1	12 (15)	1,794 (14)	94 (14)	78.6 (10)	13
Oyo	7,706	46.6	1,281.7	17 (10)	1,230 (10)	215 (7)	46 (18)	13
Bauchi	3,537	65.5	999.1	11 (17)	3,238 (18)	95 (13)	82.9 (9)	15
Kaduna	6,063	67.8	845.1	14 (14)	1,451 (13)	70 (16)	59.1 (14)	15
Borno	4,435	116.6	693.3	16 (12)	3,048 (17)	45 (9)	78.5 (11)	17
Kano	8,544	45.1	842.9	10 (18)	2,902 (16)	158 (9)	53.4 (17)	18
Sokoto	6,715	101.1	423.6	6 (19)	4,519 (19)	63 (19)	55.2 (15)	19
Total/Average	82,621	857.6	12,749.4	15	1,185	214	86.0	

Notes and References

1. 'Third World', 'Less Developed' 'Developing' or 'Underdeveloped' countries include all countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania excluding Australia, Japan and New Zealand. A detailed characterization of these countries is available in M.P. Todaro, *Economic Development In the Third World*. Second Edition (New York, Longman, 1981), pp. 23-45. See also S.E. Finer, *Comparative Government: An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Politics* (Middlesex, Penguin, 1970), pp. 96 - 127; and United Nations, *World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1980* (New York, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1981), p. 5.
2. The Independent Commission on International Development Issues, *North - South: A Programme for Survival* (London, Pan Books, 1980), p. 48. Its Chairman was Wily Brandt, the then Chancellor of the West German Federal Republic. Republic.
3. See Fred W. Riggs, 'Introductory Concepts' in *Administrative Studies*, 16, (1976). This concept is fully elaborated in Akin L. Mabogunje, *The Development Process: A Spatial Perspective* (London: Hutchinson University Press, 1980), Chapter 2.
4. M.P. Todaro, *Economic Development In the Third World*, op.cit., p. 56
5. There is considerable debate among scholars concerning the extent of changes possible with respect to social equality or social justice without preceding or corresponding change in social structure. See two excellent reviews in A.L. Mabogunje op. cit., pp. 35-50; and Ferrel Heady, *Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition (New York, Marcel and Dekker, 1979), p. 79-126. See also Gunnar Myrdal, *The Challenge of World Poverty* (London, Penguin Press, 1970), pp. 49 - 56.
6. Dudley Seers, "The Meaning of Development" Eleventh World Conference of the Society International Development, (New Delhi, 1969), p. 3.
7. United Nations, *Social Development and the International Development Strategy* (General, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1979), p. 2.
8. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Guidelines for the Fourth National Development Plan* (Lagos, Ministry of National Planning, 1981), pp. 20 - 21, Para 6.8 Emphasis added.
9. Milton J. Esman, "The Politics of Development Administration" in J.D. Montgomery and W.J. Siffins (eds.), *Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 59
10. Monte Palmer, *Dilemmas of Political Development*, Ithasca, Illinois, Peacock Publishers, 1973), p. 3.
11. F. Heady, op. cit. p. 244. Compare this position with that of S. Macpherson, *Social Policy In the Third World: The Social Dilemmas of Underdevelopment*, Brighton, John Spiers, 1982), who claims that development is a complex and elusive concept p. 15
12. M.D. Reagan and J.G. Sanzone, *The New Federalism*, Second Edition (New York, Oxford University Press, 1981) pp. 3-4.
13. K.C. Wheare, *Federal Government* Fourth Edition, (London, Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 109

14. Data from M.D. Reagan and J.G. Sanzonne, Op. Cit., pp. 45–49; and D.S. Wright, "Local Governments In An Intergovernmental Maze: Contemporary Experience In the United States of America", Conference Paper at an International Conference on Local Government in West Africa, University of Ife, February 1982.
15. D.S. Wright, *Understanding Intergovernmental Relations*, (North Scituate, Mass; Duxbury Press, 1978), p. 12
16. Fred L. Morrison, "Cooperative Federalism In the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany" in A.B. Akinyemi, P.D. Cole, W. Ofonagoro (eds.), *Readings on Federalism* (Lagos, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1979), p. 245
17. There is a great deal of interest in social transfers through relative factor prices modification, asset redistribution (principally land), tax reforms and social direct transfers payments through services in the economic and political development literature. We need not go into these here. See M.P. Todaro, *Economics for A Developing World* (London, Longman, 1977), pp. 161–164
18. On the distinction between state and local governments see, K.J. Davey, *Financing Regional Government* (Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 1983), pp. 12–13
19. M.D. Reagan and J.G. Sanzonne, op.cit. p. 7
20. See a good summary in David Hilling, 'The Infrastructure Gap' in Alan B. Mountjoy (ed.) *The Third World: Problems and Perspectives* (London, The Macmillan Press Limited, 1978), pp. 84–92
21. Eme Awa, *Issues In Federalism* (Benin-City, Ethiope Publishing Co., 1979), p. 6
There is a comprehensive bibliography on federalism (up to 1975) in Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, *Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations In Canada, Australia, the United States and other countries, A Supplementary Bibliography* (Kingston, Queens University, 1976).
22. On Brazil and India, see Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Study-Team on the Management of Intergovernmental Relations In Federal Administration Systems* (Lagos, Executive Office of the President, 1982). On Mexico, see M.A. Romero, "Mexican Federalism: Conception and Reality" in *Public Administration Review* 42, 5. (September/October 1982), pp. 399–404.
23. See Ladipo Adamolekun, *Public Administration: A Nigerian and Comparative Perspective* (London, Longman, 1982), Chapter Seven.
24. The exceptions are: *Quarterly Journal of Administration*, Special Issues on "State-Level Administrations" 2, 3 (April 1968) 3, 4 (July 1969), 10, 2 (January 1976); L.A. Jinadu, "The Constitutional Situation of the Nigerian States" in *Publics* 12, 1 (Winter 1982), pp. 155 – 186. See also E. Ekong, *Evaluating Development: The Case of Western Nigeria* (Ilesa, Ilesanmi Press, 1977) and O. Fajana "Development Planning at the State Level: A Case Study of the Former Western State of Nigeria" in *Quarterly Journal of Administration* 12, 3 (April 1978). The Official reports include: Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Panel Appointed by the Federal Military Government to Investigate the issue of the Creation of more States and Boundary Adjustments In Nigeria* (Lagos, Cabinet Office, 1975) and Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Creation of States In Nigeria: A Review of Rationale, Demands and Problems Up to 1980* (Lagos, Government Printer, 1981)
25. These include A.B. Akinyemi, P.D. Cole, W. Ofonagoro (eds.) *Reading on Federalism* (Lagos, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1979) and *Quarterly Journal of Administration* 16, 2 (January 1980) Special Issue on 'Intergovernmental Relations in Nigeria'. See also Brian Smith, "Federal – State Relations In Nigeria" in *African Affairs* 80, 320 (July 1981) and W.A.

- Ndongko 'Revenue Allocation and the Stability of the Nigerian Federation, 1960 – 80; in *Public Administration and Development* 1, 2 (April/June 1981), pp. 151–164.
26. A. Gboyega, "Intergovernmental Relations In Nigeria: Local Government and the 1979 Constitution" in *Public Administration and Development* 1, 4 (October/December 1981), pp. 281–290; Dele Olowu, "Local Government Innovation in Nigeria and Brazil: A Comparative Discussion of Innovational Transfers and Intergovernmental Relations" in *Public Administration and Development* 2, 4 (October/December 1982), pp. 345–358; and also Dele Olowu, "Local Government In Nigeria: An Overview" in *Comparative Local Government Country Papers*, (Mosman, International Perspectives No, 9, 1984).
 27. See for instance, O. Adejuyigbe, "Rationale and Effect of State Creation In Nigeria with Reference to the 19 States" in A.B. Akinyemi *et al. op.cit.*, pp. 190–212, also the two Official Reports cited in footnote 24.
 28. Michael Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria* (London, Faber and Faber, 1966, p.11
 29. Eme O. Awa, *Federal Government In Nigeria* (Berkley, University of California Press, 1954), p. 5
 30. See J.A.A. Ayoade, "Secession Threat as a Redressive Mechanism in Nigerian Federalism" in *Publius* 3, 1, (Spring 1973), pp. 57–74
 31. A.O. Philips, "State Creation, Revenue Allocation and Nigeria's Development" in Nigerian Institute of Management (ed.), *Management Development In Nigeria* Vol. II (Akure, 1984).
 32. International Labour Office, *First Things First: Meeting the Basic Needs of the People of Nigeria* (Addis Ababa, Jobs and Skills Programme, 1981), p. 6
 33. *Ibid.*, p.10
 34. See, in particular, M.O. Filani, "Nigeria: The Need to Modify Centre – Down Development Planning" in W.B. Stohr and D.R. Fraser Taylor (eds.), *Development from Above or Below? The Dialectics of Regional Planning In Developing Countries* (Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 1981), pp. 283–304. See also, E.O. Akeredolu-Ale, "Poverty as a Social Issue: A Theoretical Note" in Nigerian Economic Society (ed), *Poverty In Nigeria*, (Ibadan, Conference Proceedings, 1975), pp. 43–62
 35. See United Nations, *Social Services In Rural Development: Issues Concerning their Design and Delivery* (New York, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1979). See also, Marcelo Selowsky, *Who Benefits from Government Expenditure? A Case Study of Colombia* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1979).
 36. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Technical Committee on Revenue Allocation*, Volume I (Lagos, Cabinet Office, 1978) was particularly critical of the moves towards excessive centralization during this period.
 37. A. Adedeji, *Nigerian Federal Finance: Its Development, Problems and Prospects* (London, Hutchinson Educational Limited, 1969), pp. 144–146
 38. See Dele Olowu, "Local Government and Social Services Administration In Nigeria: The Impact of Urbanization" in Dele Olowu (ed.), *The Administration of Social Services In Nigeria: The Challenge to Local Governments (Ile-Ife, Local Government Training Programme, University of Ife, 1981)*, pp. 38 – 41.
 39. For an overview of fiscal federalism during the military period, see S. Egitte Oyovbair, "The Politics of Revenue Allocation" in K. Panter-Bricks (ed.), *Soldiers and Oil: The Political Transformation of Nigeria* (London, Frank Cass, 1978), pp. 224–252; O. Oyediran and O. Olagunju, "The Military and the Politics of Revenue Allocation" in O. Oyediran (ed.), *Nigerian Government and*

- Politics under Military Rule, 1966-79 op.cit.*, pp. 192-211; and Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Presidential Commission on Revenue Allocation Vol. 1 Main Report* (Lagos, Government Press, 1980).
40. On the elitist nature of the 1979 Constitution, see Billy Dudley, *An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 161-166. That constitution is now suspended in parts, see *Constitution (Suspension and Modification) Decree of 9th February, 1984*.
 41. See Dele Olowu, "The Impact of Revenue Allocation on the Resource Development Role of State Governments In Nigeria", Paper presented to the 25th Anniversary Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society (Benin, May 1984).
 42. State Government debts stood at ₦2.2 billion in 1980 and had risen sharply to ₦7 billion by the end of 1983. See Central Bank of Nigeria, Annual Report and Statement of Accounts (31 December 1980) and World Press Conference by Major-General M. Buhari as reported in the *National Concord* (Lagos) of 10 January, 1984.
 43. Lagos had been the Capital for the Southern Protectorate since 1906.
 44. Projections based on 1952 and 1963 figures in respect of 1975 and on the National Survey of Rural Infrastructures in respect of the 1979 figure. See J.T. Uyanga, *Towards A Nigerian Urban Policy* and F.S. Idachaba *et.al.*, *op.cit.*
 45. See for instance, Kingsley Davis, "The Role of Urbanization in the Development Process" in *Rehovot Conference on Urbanization and Development in Developing Countries* (Rehovot, Israel; Settlement Study Centre, 1971); Gerald Breese (ed.), *The City In Newly Developing Countries* (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1969); Paul Bairoch, *The Economic Development of the Third World Since 1900* (London, Methuen & Company Limited, 1975) Ch. 8; Akim L. Mabogunje, *Cities and African Development* (Ibadan, Oxford University Press, 1979); and A.L. Mabogunje, *The Development Process, op.cit.* Chapters 7 - 9. J.F. Kinn, *Cities In the Developing World, Policies for their Equitable and Efficient Growth* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1983).
 46. This finding was based on a factor analysis of the population characteristics of Nigerian cities using the 1952 Census. No other study has been conducted since then. But most social science writers generally concur with this position. A.L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization In Nigeria* (London, Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 316. A slight modification to this position is found in A.L. Mabogunje, "Growth Poles and Growth Centres in the Regional Development of Nigeria" in A. Kulinski (ed.), *Regional Policies In Nigeria, India and Brazil* (The Hague, Mouton Publishers, 1978), pp. 3-32.
 47. These include, B.A. Williams and A.H. Walsh, *Urban Government for Metropolitan Lagos* (New York, Praeger, 1968); P.H. Baker, *Urbanization and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos 1917 - 1967* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973); A.B. Aderibigbe (ed.), *Lagos, The Development of An African City* (Lagos, Longman, 1975).
 48. The main qualification is in respect of the twin phenomena of 'over-urbanization' and 'pre-industrial cities'. See Gerald Breese, *Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries* (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), pp. 49-54 and A.L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization In Nigeria* (London, Oxford University Press, 1968).

Government and Administration of Lagos State Area up to 1983

In this chapter we take a closer look at government and administration of the Lagos State area up to 1983. First of all, we attempt a brief summary of the environment which the Lagos State government must contend with. We then examine the administration of Lagos State Area between 1861 and 1967, the agitation for the creation of the State, and, finally, the governance of the State since 1968.

1. The Land and People of Lagos State Area

Lagos State is often referred to as Nigeria's city-state.¹ But is Lagos a City-State? *The Dictionary of the Social Sciences* defines a state as 'an organization which exercises coercive authority over all the inhabitants of a territory'.² A city-state, in a federal system will, therefore, be an organization, which exercises a partial or full governmental authority over a predominantly city-territory. Does the Lagos State qualify to be so defined? The Lagos State Regional Plan estimates that 89.4% of the total population resides in the metropolitan parts of the state by 1982.³ In other words, only 10.6% of the State's population is estimated to reside in the non-metropolitan or less city-region. However, it is also known that all of the metropolitan population occupies only 37 per cent of the state's land area. Hence, it is possible to regard Lagos as a city-state only with respect to its population but clearly not with respect to its land area. The nature and implications of these contradictions are examined below. It is important to note here, however, that although the scale of urbanization may not be as high as in other Nigerian States, each of them faces to some degree the same problem of population concentration (urbanization) and the development of a large, sparsely settled territory (rural development).

Metropolitan Lagos and Lagos State

To date, most writings on Lagos focus exclusively on the urban and metropolitan parts of the State.⁴ The reason for this is not far to seek. Lagos is the leading metropolis of Nigeria today. It is its chief port, largest industrial and commercial centre and the seat of the federal government of Nigeria. The Lagos port handles 80 per cent of Nigeria's imports and a 1973 industrial survey conducted by the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS), showed that Lagos had 28.5% of all the country's industrial large-scale establishments, 47.6% of its industrial employment, 59.5% of the value added by industry and 72.7% of net capital expenditure in industry in the whole country.⁵ These facts are the engines promoting the prime attraction of job seekers to the Lagos metropolitan area. Table 2.1A shows the growth rate of the Lagos federal territory compared with other major urban centres. In actual fact, the Lagos metropolitan area, as demonstrated in Table 2.1B grew at an annual rate of 11.4%. In particular, the Mushin district council area grew by 21.2% per annum between Nigeria's last two censuses (1952 and 1963). It is equally known that three-quarters of the increase in the Lagos metropolitan population is due to migration mainly (78.2%) from the area covered by the erstwhile Western Region. Over one-half (53.6%) of these migrants come to Lagos in search of jobs, 17% for educational reasons, 12% to learn a trade, and the rest being attracted by the glitters of city life. Most (63.6%) of the Lagos metropolitan population is young (less than 20 years).⁶

The Lagos metropolis is however not Lagos State, even though the former dominates it economically, politically and demographically. For instance, of the total number of 290 large-scale establishments (employing ten or more persons) in the state by 1970, only three such establishments were to be found outside the metropolis, their employees representing only 1.1% of the total for the state.⁷ We have already seen that over 80% of the state's population is 'estimated', rightly or wrongly, (see below) to live in the metropolis and this has implications on voting strength and political support. However, as also earlier indicated, the metropolis covers only 37 per cent of the state's land area. Another 17 per cent is taken up by lagoons and waterways. The remaining 46% of the land is covered by swamps, poorly drained slopes and dense natural vegetation. How this vast area will be opened up to modern agricultural/industrial development is one of the major challenges confronting the governments of Lagos State.

Whereas the State is divided into eight local government areas (twenty-three between 1980 and 1983)⁸ for administrative purposes (Figure 1), for planning objectives it is divided into four major planning zones,⁹ which roughly correspond to the 'economic regions'¹⁰ of

Figure 2. These are:

(i) *The Municipality*: An area of about 70 square kilometres comprising the islands of Lagos and Ikoyi and parts of the Mainland. Most of this area with some notable exceptions have high housing densities and very little space for other development schemes. This is the area circumscribed by the old municipality of Lagos (federal territory) but which today has become the Lagos Island and Mainland local governments.

Table 2.1A: Nigerian Urban Centres (100,000 and Above) and Their Growth Rates

No.		Popn in 1963 (thousands)	Growth Rate b/w 1952/63 %
1.	Lagos	665	9.5
2.	Ibadan	627	3.1
3.	Ilorin	409	17.6
4.	Ogbomoso	320	8.6
5.	Kano	295	8.7
6.	Musin	258	16.1
7.	Oshogbo	210	5.5
8.	Abeokuta	187	8.3
9.	Port-Harcourt	180	9.5
10.	Zaria	166	11.8
11.	Ilesa	166	17.1
12.	Onitsha	166	7.7
13.	Iwo	159	4.7
14.	Ado-Ekiti	158	20.2
15.	Kaduna	150	12.8
16.	Maiduguri	140	9.4
17.	Enugu	138	8.1
18.	Ede	135	11.6
19.	Aba	131	8.4
20.	Ife	130	0.3
21.	Ila	115	16.3
22.	Oyo	112	4.5
23.	Ikere	107	11.7
24.	Benin	101	6.4

Source: Nigerian Population Censuses, 1952 and 1963

Table 2.1B: Population of Greater Lagos, 1952 and 1963

Area	1952	1963	Annual growth rate (per cent)
Lagos Federal Territory Division	271,800	665,246	8.5
Ikeja Division	58,112	394,972	19.0
Ikeja District Council area	7,705	36,923	15.3
Musin District Council area	37,563	312,063	21.2
Agege	12,844	45,986	12.3
Osodi, Sogunle area	4,274	23,391	16.7
Ajeromi district council area	12,951	52,245	13.5
Total	346,137	1,135,854	11.4

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, 1973

(ii) *The Metropolitan Zone*: This includes all the continuously built-up parts of Lagos. This zone, together with the municipality, is the area regarded in most studies and for policy purposes as "the metropolis". It is thus the area to which most data on Lagos relate and in which at least 70% of the total population and the major part of the industrial investment within the State are to be found. Besides the municipality, the area spans such outlying suburbs as Mushin, Somolu, Ojo, etc., which correspond with the Local Government Areas of Mushin, Somolu and Ikeja.

(iii) *The Outer Metropolis*: This includes outlying centres of the metropolis and their economic hinterlands such as Badagry, Agege, Ikorodu and Epe.

(iv) *The Rural Hinterland and Coastal Beaches*: These are the sparsely settled creek areas of Epe and Badagry. It is notable for instance that Epe covers half of the whole State's physical space (1,673 square kilometres but has less than a tenth of the State's population (130,395 as of 1963).¹¹

In reality, one of the most drastic problems faced by the State, as other states of the federation, in its development effort has been the absence of reliable data. Conflicting estimates have been made by different 'experts' of the State's population and of the relative demographic importance of the metropolitan region in the state. Many of these attempts are simple 'guesstimates'. For instance, on the basis of the 1963 population census, the Demographic Division of the National Population Bureau estimated the 1979 population of Lagos State to be 2.2 million. This was based on the assumption that the metropolitan

Table 2.2A: Population and Density in Lagos State By Local Government Area

Local Govern- ment Area	Land Area in (Sq. km.)	Population 1963 (Census)	1963 Popu- lation Pro- jected to 1978	Land Use survey 1978	Voters Regist- ration	Density (Land Use) (Survey) Persons/ Km ² (1978)
1. Lagos Island	210(31)	342,908	853,244	572,600	490,037	2,727
2. Lagos Mainland	88(64)	342,908	825,820	571,700	485,798	6,497
3. Mushin	71(27)	156,031	577,572	1,192,600	945,360	16,797
4. Somolu	37(8)	156,031	212,400	516,400	385,870	13,957
5. Ikeja	292(15)	86,909	305,800	642,900	488,981	2,202
*6. Ikorodu	461(39)	120,360	184,100	173,100	260,165	376
*7. Epe	1,673(n.a.)	130,395	183,500	169,200	708,401	352
*8. Badagry	745(n.a.)	122,159	171,500	463,200	579,271	648
	13,577	1,457,701	3,359,336	4,300,0004	343,885	1,202

Sources: Population Census, 1963

Master Plan Unit, Ministry of Planning and Economic Development.

"Master Plan Bulletin No. 2", and "Financial Capacity Document".

Federal Electoral Commission (Field Notes)

Notes: 1. Figures in parenthesis stand for the percentage of the land area that is water or wetland. n.a. means not available.

2. Voters Registration is multiplied by a factor of 2 since it is estimated that 50% of the population is in 0-17 age group and adjusted upwards by 20%. The base figures are taken from the actual register of Voters in Lagos and differ slightly from figures in FEDECO's Volume on the 1979 general elections.

Table 2.2B: Estimates of Population Distribution within Lagos State 1963 — 1978
(in percentages)

Local Government Area	1963 Population Census	Land Use Survey	Voters Registration 1978	Average 1978	Difference 1963 and 1978
Lagos Island	23.5	13.3	11.3	12.3	- 11.2
Lagos Mainland	23.5	13.2	11.2	12.2	- 11.3
Mushin	10.7	27.7	21.8	24.8	14.1
Somolu	10.7	12.0	8.9	10.5	- 0.2
Ikeja	6.0	15.0	11.3	13.2	7.2
Ikorodu	8.3	4.0	6.0	5.0	- 3.3
Epe	9.0	3.9	16.3	10.1	- 0.9
Badagry	8.4	10.8	13.3	12.1	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: See Table IIIA. (Percentages may not add up to exactly 100% because of rounding).

portions of the State grew at an annual rate of 4% in contrast to the outlying areas of the State. Similarly, the cancelled 1973 population census indicated that Lagos State had a population of 2.47 million, which would have meant a 5.5% intercensal annual growth rate between 1963 and 1973. This would mean that the State would have had a population of 3.22 million by 1978. For the metropolis, estimates ranging from 1.8 million (Lagos State water consultants) to 3.5 million (Master Plan Unit, Bulletin 2) have been made for 1978. In any case, Tables 2.2A and 2.2B attempt to sum up the most realistic population estimates for the different administrative divisions of the State.

The estimates in Table 2.2B come from three sources: the 1963 census projected at the official rate of 5% for urban and 2.5% for rural areas; the land use survey (based on household samples); and the 1978 voters registration exercise. The latter is multiplied by two (since the Lagos State 0–17 age group is known to be about 50% of the total population) and adjusted for 20% under-counting.¹² It is interesting that the two latter estimates almost tally with only a difference of 43,000. There are some significant points that can be made from the attempt to reconcile the three data sources (Table 2.2B). The table shows that although the five metropolitan Local Government Areas (Island, Mainland, Mushin, Somolu and Ikeja) have between them 73 per cent of the population (1978), there has been a net movement of population not only from the municipal local governments (Island and Mainland) but also from the metropolitan parts of the State. The relative concentration of population in 1963 in the metropolitan parts was 81.2 per cent. In other words, there has been an outward movement of population from metropolitan to the non-metropolitan parts of the State within the fifteen year period (1963–1978).

It is also important to note that more than half of the State's land area (68 per cent) is located in only two local government areas, Epe and Badagry. This affects the distribution of population and access to services. Whereas the density of population is 10,000 persons per square kilometre in Mushin and Somolu local governments, less than 500 persons live in a square kilometre in the non-metropolitan parts of the State. It is noteworthy that even this seemingly low population density is higher than those of sixteen of Nigeria's nineteen States (the exceptions being Anambra 301 and Imo 458 persons per km²) Table 2.2B further indicates that if only the actual land area of the state was taken into consideration the population density would even be considerably higher.

The Major Environmental Problems Confronting Lagos State

The major problems confronting the State can be identified to be rapid

urban/metropolitan growth and restricted land area. We comment briefly on these in turn.

Rapid Urban/Metropolitan Growth

Whereas the population of the rest of the country is growing at an annual rate of 2.5%, the population of metropolitan Lagos has been growing at an annual average of 11.4%. Indeed some parts of the metropolis, notably Mushin, have been growing at almost a double of this rate (21.2%) One of the most serious problems facing the State is the provision of such basic services as schools, health services, roads, housing, employment, etc, that are required by this rapidly growing, young population. This is particularly difficult since it is almost an impossible task to persuade federal officials to adopt a higher population rate than the 4% per annum currently utilized by the National Population Bureau in projecting the population of Lagos from the 1963 National Census. The result is that whereas the federal officials, for instance, presumed that the population of Lagos State was 2.88 million in 1978, in actual fact and as seen above, the population of the State was around 4.3 million. This is particularly significant since as demonstrated in Chapter I, most states with the exception of Lagos State are heavily dependent on federal statutory transfers. The State government has therefore had to rely on other revenue sources (see Chapter IV) to finance the cost of its rapidly increasing, costly and sophisticated social services.

Restricted Land Area

This problem of rapid population growth is complicated by another problem, that of restricted land area.

Although Lagos State has the smallest land area in the federation and of which about 17% is either water or wet surface, the problem of land is not an absolute limitation. The real problem is that most metropolitan development has been concentrated in the Lagos Island area, around the ports in the southern and western parts of the State. Indeed, several attempts have been made to reclaim large portions of land from the sea and the lagoons. However, large tracts of land exists for development, both for agricultural and industrial/commercial purposes, towards the northern and eastern parts of the State. The reason why development was confined to the south and west was that the federal capital territory is located there and since it has been the major investor in the Lagos region, it has tended to attract other investments to those parts. With the addition of parts of Western region to it in 1967, therefore, one of the major tasks that has faced the Lagos State Government is how to decentralize economic activities and how to channel

fresh development into undeveloped parts of the State, which make up more than half of the State's land area.

Indeed, it is the enduring restriction of federal activities to the south-west region that has been responsible for the staggering environmental problems and the very high cost of building transportation networks within this part of the State. These cost considerations and limited space for future development, together with strategic considerations, seemed critical to the decision to move the national capital out of the Lagos State.

This decision itself may *in the long-run* probably slow down the pace of economic development in the city. Quite clearly, it will mean that less federal moneys than hitherto will be spent in the State and the State government has already started reading this handwriting on the wall.

It should be emphasized again that the problems encountered by the Lagos State are different from those of other states in degree rather than in kind. Every state too has to cope with the twin problems of urban concentration and rural development.

The Administration of Lagos Area, 1861-1967

The historical evolution of Lagos' administrative history is well documented.¹³ (See Appendix II for a summary). All that will be done in this section is to briefly outline the major management challenges confronting the area which today falls under the jurisdiction of the Lagos State. Lagos started around the Island and Mainland areas as a fishing and agricultural village respectively by some Yoruba tribes but, before long, had become a melting pot for Yoruba, Binis and Dutch traders. The following facts of the city's administrative history in view of subsequent developments, are relevant.

First, since 1861 when Lagos was 'ceded' to the British and until 1951 it was administered as a *city-state* with its own separate Governorate administration and in 1866 it was included in the 'West African Settlements' under a Governor-in-Chief resident in Sierra Leone, but it retained its separate Legislative Council and a 'local' administrator. In 1874 it was brought under the Governor of the Gold Coast, with a Lieutenant-Governor locally in charge. Again, in 1886 Lagos was set up as a separate Colony under its own Governor until the amalgamation of Lagos with the Southern Protectorate in 1906. Even then, there was a separate Administrator for the Lagos Colony just as there was a Lieutenant-Governor each for the Western and Eastern provinces respectively, both responsible to the Governor. It was not until the Macpherson Constitution of 1951 that Lagos (both territory and Colony) was merged with the rest of Western Nigeria, but in 1953 the Federal territory was excised from the Western region. Hence for a

continuous period of eighty-nine years (1861–1950), Lagos had been separately administered and between 1886 and 1954, the Colony and Federal territory had been administered as a single unit.

Second, as from 1951 the administration of the Lagos region faced two sets of problems. The first problem was that of *fragmented political and administrative authority* between two antagonistic governments, the federal government which controlled the federal territory (except for the brief period of 1951 to 1954) which was itself dominated by a northern regional party, the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) and the western regional party, the Action Group, which administered the Colony Provinces since 1951. This fragmented political authority, of course, led to fragmented administrative authority. No one government was responsible for area-wide services such as transportation, water and planning. Each governmental authority approached its task in its own parochial way, unmindful of the socio-economic consequences for a fast-growing metropolitan population. Besides, there was an additional uneasy division of authority among the different ministerial departments in the federal on the one hand, as well as within the Western Regional Government Ministries on the other. In spite of the fact that a federal Ministry for Lagos Affairs was created since 1959 to administer regional functions (including local government control), the department was not independent enough to carry out these tasks without reference to the respective ministries of education, health, and justice, each of which had difficulties identifying its task within the Lagos metropolis given its wider frame of reference, the nation.

This problem inevitably led to a second problem, which was the *continuous impoverishment and truncation of community services*. In particular, it brought about a situation whereby the level of social services obtainable in the federal territory was much better than those available in the outer metropolitan regions. According to B.A. Williams, "while there was a preponderance of financial resources and administrative capability in Lagos (the federal territory), there was great deficiency in urban infrastructure, financial resources and administrative expertise in the metropolitan area where urban services were most needed. There was thus a divergent pattern of urban services in an urban community that had virtually become one."¹⁴

This was in spite of the fact that less number of people were living in the federal territory. By 1962 the proportion of the metropolitan population residing in the federal territory had fallen from 88% in 1952 to 60%. We have also seen in the last section that the state's population residing in this part had actually dropped to less than a third (24.5%) sixteen years later. Hence, from a management viewpoint a good case existed for bringing the metropolitan territory under one administrative authority long before 1967. In actual fact, two foreign experts,¹⁵ who were

commissioned in the early 1960s to prepare reports on the city, had indicated the necessity for a 'unified or co-ordinated government for the whole metropolitan area. Unfortunately, neither the federal government of the time nor the western regional government had the wherewithal to effect such reasonable recommendations. This was because of the political circumstances of the period and to these issues we now turn.

The Agitation for a State of Lagos, 1958-67

The political agitation for a separate state of Lagos dates back to the Willink Commission of 1958. Three organizations, the Lagos and Colony State Movement, the United Muslim Party and the Aborigines of Lagos and Colony Province canvassed for a full regional status for the Lagos federal territory and colony area.¹⁶ They put up arguments of jurisdictional conflict in the management of Lagos problems under the present arrangement, some of which have been mentioned. They felt that the federal territory was at present confined to a strait-jacket and that the development of the Lagos region could only be solved in a state or region of its own. The Willink Commission rejected this demand together with all others. The Commission's main argument was that a separate region for the Lagos area would violate a fundamental principle of the existing constitution concerning federal-state relations if the federal capital territory was included in the area. On the other hand, the area without the federal territory had neither the economic nor political base to stand alone. Even though all the political parties, including the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) and the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) supported the enlargement of the federal territory with the prospect of becoming a separate region, if elected in the 1959 federal elections, none of them honoured their promises.

The boldest, most comprehensive and far-reaching case for a state of Lagos was made by Alhaji Lateef Kayode Jakande four years later in a pamphlet titled, *The Case for Lagos State*.¹⁷ His case was supported by three major arguments: the remoteness of the federal government as a regional government for the territory, administrative muddle under the present system, and the neglect of Lagos and its citizens due to their denial of genuine participation in running their affairs even though they made greater contributions to the national revenues than they received. (See Appendix III for the summary of his proposals).

Three different proposals in support of making a region or state out of the Lagos area were considered and regarded as inadequate. These included a) to increase the number of Lagos seats in the national parliament; b) to upgrade the city council to that of a regional government and c) to return Lagos federal territory to the Western Region.

The latter he argued would be the natural thing to do if Nigeria disintegrated.

He dismissed the constitutional fears of the Willink Commission thus: 'the creation of a Lagos State will not prejudice the position of Lagos as the Federal Capital. It is not necessary to make Lagos federal territory in order to protect federal properties in Lagos A Federal Capital Commission may be established to control and administer these properties'¹⁸

Other objections such as those of the small size of the state and the viability and the vested industrial interests of the Western region government in Ikeja were similarly dismissed.

Although the pamphlet was written while he was in prison, Alhaji Jakande's rapid rise to prominence as an influential journalist after his pardon by General Gowon's administration ensured that his ideas received the widest publicity. Moreover, his mentor, Chief Obafemi Awolowo was at this time the Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council. There was (and still is) therefore no doubt that both the personality, the writings and the connections of Alhaji Jakande ensured that Lagos was one of the newly created States announced by the Military Government on 27, May 1967, on the eve of the Civil War. By 1975, the tide had turned for Lagos State. Representations were made by minorities in Ogun State (the Aworis, Omu, Ketu and even Egbados) to be included in Lagos State. A case was even made by the 'Elites of Lagos' who demanded the removal of the Federal Capital from Lagos and, probably acting on knowledge of the thinking of the Irikefe Panel, opposed either the elimination of the State or the extension of its boundaries 'beyond the incorporation of Aworis and Egbados'.¹⁹

The Irikefe Panel, however, went ahead to recommend that the present boundary of Lagos State should be expanded 'substantially (to include the present Ogun State) and that the Capital of the State should move to Ikeja or a point just outside Ikeja as a consequence of increased size of the present Lagos State'.²⁰ The major contention of the Panel was that the present size of Lagos State 'was in itself a powerful cause for the demand of the creation of more states in the country'. This is because people argued that 'if a state as small as Lagos could survive, there was no reason why their own particular proposed state should not survive'.²¹ Besides, it felt there had always been strong association between Egbas, Ijebus and Lagos since the colonial era. Whatever the merits of extending the boundaries of the state to include such a vast area, the Federal Military Government rejected the proposal. It clearly spelt out its dissent in this manner: 'it is difficult to see how the proposed Ogun State is expected to survive in peace and harmony. The people of Lagos would be going into the state as a minority after enjoying statehood for a period of nine years . . . Lagos as a state is viable

on its own, especially by its advantageous position as a leading industrial and commercial centre in the country . . .²²

The Establishment and Development of the Lagos State Government 1968 - 1983.

The first Governor of Lagos State was Lieutenant-Colonel Mobolaji Johnson.²³ He stayed in that position longer than any other governor, military or civilian, from 1967 to 1975. He was swept out of office, with the Gowon regime, after the successful and bloodless *coup d'etat* of July 1975. He saw the state through its most trying and teething periods. He was succeeded by Captain (later Commodore) Adekunle Shamshedeun Lawal and Commander Ndubuisi Kanu respectively who each stayed in office for two years (1975 - 77 and 1977 - 79). As the federal military government made final preparations to hand over power to civilians, military Administrators were appointed to replace Military Governors in 1978 and the Military Administrator of the State during this period (1978 - 79) was Commander Ebitu Ukiwe, who stayed in office for approximately one year before handing over power to the first civilian governor of the State, Alhaji Lateef Kayode Jakande (1979 - 1983). These widely differing periods of military governorships make an historical periodization for this section difficult. We shall therefore touch on two of the foremost problems faced by the Lagos State government since its inception, the establishment of the state's public service and the harmonization of its inherited legal and administrative systems.

Building The Lagos State Public Service

The nucleus of the manpower available to the Lagos State government at its inception was mainly officials in the federal ministries of Agriculture, Education, Finance, Health, Internal Affairs and Labour whose duties related primarily to the Lagos Federal territory; officials of Western region ministries and of its Unified Local Government Service and officials of the Lagos City Council. Most of these were either transferred or seconded to the new State public service. However, the Lagos City Council served as the secretariat to the new state government for about a year and lost many of its seasoned officials to the new Lagos government. Indeed, the City Council was synonymous with the state government in those days and their staff belonged to the same public service. The Lagos Local Government Commission was established in 1971 after the first state-wide reform of local government (See below). The Lagos State public service can thus be termed a melting pot for federal, Western state and Lagos municipality officials and this is even

still discernible today in the composition of that state's public service (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Background of Senior Administrative Officials In Lagos State 1972 – 1982 (Level 10 and Above)

	<i>West</i>	<i>Federal</i>	<i>Lagos State</i>	<i>Total</i>
1972	14	16	36	66
1975	12	9	15	36
1977	13	10	50	73
1982	10	9	118	137

Source: Lagos State of Nigeria, Staff Lists 1975 – 1982

- Note:*
- (1) Some of the Officials transferred into the Lagos State Public Service after 1968. The State also host many officials especially between 1972 and 1975
 - (2) Lagos State component includes former officials of the Lagos City Council.

The basis of seconding or transferring federal officials to the Lagos state government was based broadly on the pattern of federal-state delineation of responsibilities according to the 1963 constitution. However, this involved a lot of bargaining, consultation and the evolution of certain procedural principles with regards to the sharing of functions. At the instance of the Supreme Military Council, a joint committee on administrative and financial arrangements for Lagos state government was established, comprising senior officials of both the Federal Government and the Lagos State Government. According to Professor Babatunde Williams, the joint Committee proposed an interim arrangement to the effect that 'existing federal ministries with policy and operating responsibilities in Lagos should carry on meanwhile, that such ministries should keep the military governor informed of their work, and that the ultimate responsibility in respect of these functions should lie with the military governor'.²⁴

Under this arrangement, in fact, the first budget of 1967–68 was prepared by the Federal Government. However, the committee finally proposed three specific principles which it derived from the 1963 constitution (as amended by Decree No. 27 of 1967) for the sharing of responsibilities and assets between both governments. These principles were that (i) all regional functions with appurtenant physical and

human assets should be transferred (*vide* Federal Government Notice No. 992 of 11 June, 1967); (ii) where a function or an institution was shared and could not be declared regional or federal on the basis of a relevant criterion, the Federal and the Lagos State Governments should resolve responsibilities by negotiation; and (iii) the transfer of personnel, in accordance with the transfer of function, should be governed by secondment and resecondment.²⁵

Negotiations with Western State officials were not as elaborate but were equally protracted. In the end, the Western State government agreed to transfer its responsibilities for Badagry, Epe and Ikeja Divisions to the new Lagos State Government. In fact, it was not only the Western State local government staff alone that left for Lagos State. Many officials from Ijebu and Egba Divisions of the Western State saw it as an opportunity to be nearer home. (See Table 2.3).

In any case, by 1 April 1968, the state government began with a total of seven ministries and four extra-ministerial departments. These ministries were those of Finance and Economic Development; Justice, Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs; Agriculture, Natural Resources, Trade and Industry; Education and Community Development; Works and Transport; Health and Social Welfare while Home Affairs, Information and Establishment were placed under the Office of the Secretary to the Military Government. The four extra-ministerial departments included the Lagos Executive Development Board, the Ikeja Town Planning Authority and the Lagos Transport Service which were inherited from the Federal, Western Regional and the Lagos City Council governments respectively. There was also an Audit department. It is instructive that by 1977, there were 12 ministries and 8 parastatals and that by 1982 these had increased to some 13 ministries and about 55 parastatals (See Table 2.4).

The Harmonization of The Lagos State Laws and the Local Government System

The State inherited two divergent legal, administrative and financial systems from its federal and Western Regional territories respectively. The two areas had different systems of local government, primary education and taxation. In addition, the type of general laws to which the two areas had been exposed also differed widely. Governor Johnson therefore constituted a Committee on Uniform Laws, comprising eight lawyers under the chairmanship of a Judge of the Federal Supreme Court in 1967 "to study the existing laws applicable in the City of Lagos and in the former Colony Province and to make recommendations on the laws that should apply throughout the Lagos State, including such modifications and amendments that would be necessary to bring such laws in conformity with the constitution of the federation, as

Table 2.4: Ministerial and Parastatal Structure 1968 – 1982

Year	No. of Ministries	No. of Parastatals and Extra-Depts.	No of Local Government
1968	7	4	16
1974	11	4	7
1977	12	8	8
1982	13	55	23

- (1) Excluding Office of the Governor, Secretary to Government and, from 1979, Office of the Head of the Civil Service.
- (2) By 1979 when the civilian government came to power there were only 11 ministries and 7 full fledged parastatals.

modified by various Decrees of 1966, 1967 and 1968".²⁶

The Committee discovered that although a number of the laws had become atrophied since the creation of Lagos State, the majority of the enactments in both territories were common to both although they bore different titles. The committee proposed amongst other things that (a) some 243 enactments (regarded as Schedule I) should be standardized and made applicable throughout the state. These pertained mainly to regional legislation governing regional functions; (b) 200 enactments (Schedule II) were to be discarded outright since they either conflicted or were similar to those already made applicable throughout the state. (c) 4 enactments (Schedule III) were to be promulgated forthwith, one of which was to give legal force to the proposed changes, another dealt with the dissolution of the Lagos City Council and yet another edict created four new administrative divisions in the state comprising Badagry, Epe, Ikeja and Lagos. While the Lagos Division had only one city council, Badagry had three district councils, Epe six district councils and Ikeja three district councils and four local councils. A final decree proposed a new Chiefs law which attached recognized Chiefs to local councils.²⁷ And in an earlier interim report this Committee had proposed a constitution for the Lagos State, patterned after those of the former regions.

The reorganization of the State's local government system was, in actual fact, part of the drive towards the integration of legal and administration institutions in the State. Indeed, the *Committee on Uniform Laws for Lagos State* had indicated the need for an integration of the State's administrative areas and institutions. Hence, the State Governor had stated in his first budget speech for 1968/69 financial year that "most of the (present councils) are too small and poor. As a result they are unable, even if willing, to promote satisfactorily the wel-

fare of the communities for whom they were designed. . . . The Lagos State Government therefore proposes to undertake in the course of the financial year an exercise to reorganize, where necessary, the Local Government Councils in the State into larger and more viable units'.²⁸

Early in 1970, therefore, a Committee of Enquiry under the Chairmanship of Mr. J.S. Ogunnaike was established to study and recommend changes to the structures, finances and role of local government within the new state. Before that time, there were two Divisional, twelve District and four Local Councils in the area carved out of the former Western State which were added to the Lagos City Council to form the bewildering array of local government institutions in the state. The Committee on Uniform Law had successfully persuaded the government to group these local governments into four administrative divisions as already mentioned. This new Committee reported in 1970 and the state government accepted most of its recommendations.²⁹ Not only were the role and responsibilities of local government within the State redefined but the units of local government were also restructured by a merger into seven, single-tier local governments, each with a population ranging from 40,136 (Egun-Awori) to 675,681 (Lagos City Council). All divisional councils in the state were abolished. The new system became effective from August, 1971.³⁰

This structure persisted till August, 1976 when, as a result of the federal government-inspired national reform of local government, local governments in the state were again restructured. This time, eight units were created by a merger of two (the Ajeromi/Awori) district councils into one (Badagry Local Government) and the break-up of two urban councils each into two. Table 2.5 summarizes the structural changes occasioned by these two major reforms of local government in the State.

Two salient facts become evident when a comparative study of these two reforms are made: first, in both cases, the trend generally has been towards merging local government councils outside the metropolis to form larger ones with the sole aim of enhancing their functional and financial viability. The median population for all local governments was 63,701; 120, 360 and 143, 188 for 1968-70 and 1970-76 and 1976-80 periods respectively.

This is the fashion with most reforms of local government elsewhere. While it may be argued that increasing size negates the democratic participation in local government by minimizing inter-personal contact and community interest, the result of most surveys elsewhere, especially relating to electoral participation, actually suggest that the obverse could be the case.³¹ Elections in an age of powerful political party engineering may perhaps be an unfair measure of community spirit and support, which though nebulous, give local government its vital

'local' flavour, colour and virility. No one denies the fact, for instance, that just as there is a minimal population (and resource) required for the local government to be viable, there is also a ceiling beyond which local government is no more local.³²

Table 2.5: The Evolution of the Structure of Local Government in Lagos State

Pre-1970 Local Governments	1963 Popu- lation	1970-1976 Local Go- vernments	1963 Popu- lation	1976-1980 Local Government	1963 Population
Divisions Lagos City Lagos Council	675,781	Lagos City Council	685,681	Lagos Isalnd L.G. Lagos Mainland Local Govt.	342,908 342,908
Ikeja	Mushin District 312,063	Mushin Town Council	312,063	Mushin Somolu E. Local Govt.	156,031
	Agege D.C. Ikeja D.C. 49,923	Ikeja District Council	86,909	Ikeja L.G.	156,031 86,909
	36,923				
Awori	Ajeromi District Council 52,249	Ajeromi/ Awori D.C.	82,023	Badagry	122,159
	Egun/Awori Council 40,136	Egun/Aworj D.C.	40,136		
	Egun/Awori D.C. 29,778				
Epe	Epe D.C. 62,266	Epe D.C.	130,395	Epe	130,345
	Eredo D.C. 24,412				
	Iksoi " 16,434				
	Ibeju " 12,001				
	Lekki " 7,973				
Ikorodu	Ikorodu Local Council 94,952	Ikorodu	120,250	Ikorodu	120,260
	Igbogbo/ Badagry L.C. 15,783				
	Ijede L.C. 9,685				
Eti Osa +	10,135				1,450,593
Total	1,450,593		1,450,593		1,450,593
Average Population	90,662		207,199		181,324
Median Population	63,701		120,360		143,188

Sources: (1) Ogunnaike and Ayanuga *op. cit.* (2) *Lagos State Local Government Reform White Paper* (Lagos Ministry of Local Government, 1976)

Note: + Eti-Osa excised from Ikorodu and merged with the Lagos City Council in 1970.

The 1976 reform of local government in the Lagos State carried this trend towards larger sized councils in the rural areas of the State further by merging the two councils within Badagry division into one. It should be noted here that this was a move that the 1970 reform had rejected on the grounds that comparatively the Ajeromi/Awori District council was viable, no intra-state road linked Badagry town with the other District Council of Egun/Awori and, finally, because the circumstances, challenges and culture of the two areas were markedly different.³³

Second, whereas the 1970 reform could not address the problem of oversized (probably due to statistical deficiency) councils in the urban areas, the 1976 reform on the basis of the estimates which indicated that the two urban councils had exceeded a million population, proceeded to divide them each into two. Four new councils, Lagos Mainland, Lagos Island, Mushin and Somolu were therefore created out of the two former urban councils in the state, namely the Lagos City and Mushin Town Councils respectively in 1976.

This trend towards larger sized councils was reversed by the Jakande administration in 1980 when he created 23 local governments out of the eight local governments he inherited. The effect on the three major goals of local government - popular participation, revenue mobilization and services delivery - are discussed fully in chapter five. But one immediate effect was to reduce the average local government population size by about a half.

Having discussed the backdrop of policy and administration in Lagos State, we devote the next few chapters to the impact of the different policies and programmes of the state government since its inception in respect of the three traditional functions of state level governments of the administration of basic social services, the mobilization of resources and the promotion of popular participation.

Notes and References

1. The world's city-states include Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen (all of West Germany); Basle and Zurich (Switzerland); Vienna (Austria), Caracas (Venezuela) Guanabara (Brazil) and Lagos (Nigeria). All these have partial sovereignties. Those with full sovereignties include Singapore and Hongkong. See D.C. Rowat, *The Canadian Municipal Systems: Essays on the Improvement of Local Government*, (Toronto, Mccland and Stewart Ltd., 1969), pp. 96-97, and D.C. Rowat (ed.), *Federal Capitals of the World* (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1973).

2. Hugo F. Reading, *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences* London, Sociological Publications, 1976), p. 199.
3. Lagos State of Nigeria, *Lagos State Regional Plan, 1980–2000* (Ikeja, Ministry of Economic Planning and Land Matters, 1981), pp. 1–3.
4. Amongst these are: B.A. Williams and A.H. Walsh, *Urban Government for Metropolitan Lagos* (New York: Praeger, 1968); P.H. Baker *Urbanization and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). A.B. Aderibigbe (ed.), *Lagos: The Development of an African City* (Lagos, Longman, 1975). United Nations, *Master Plan for Metropolitan Lagos, Vol. I* (Lagos, Wilbur Smith & Associates, n.d.); and O.J. Fapohunda, et al, *Lagos, Urban Development and Employment* (General, International Labour Office, 1978).
5. Federal Office of Statistics, survey data. The percentage has fallen in recent years, the ports of Burutu and Bonny are now more important export ports because of the growing importance of oil, which is exported through them.
6. O.J. Fapohunda et al., op. cit. pp. 32–36.
7. Federal Office of Statistics, *Industrial Survey, 1970* (Lagos, 1971)
8. Although the present State Government has broken eight local government units created in the state in 1976 as part of the nation-under local government units into 23, the eight unit structure is adopted in this book — see Chapter Five.
9. Lagos State Ministry of Economic Development and Establishment: *Third National Development Plan, Lagos State Programme 1975–80*.
10. H.I. Ajaegbu, *Urban and Rural Development in Nigeria*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), pp. 71–75.
11. 1963 Census figure. See J.S.O. Ogunnaike, and F. Ayantuga, *Report of the Tribunal of Inquiry into the Reorganization of Local Government Councils in the Lagos State 1970*, p. 18, Hereafter referred to as Ogunnaike Report.
12. There is an estimated 20 per cent undercounting of the registration of voters nationally. See, A. Adewuyi and J.A. Ebigbola, "Selection of Population Data Base from the Votes Cast in the 1979 Federal Election" in *Quarterly Journal of Administration*, (Ifc) XV, 3 (April, 1981), pp. 243–253.
13. See for instance, A.B. Aderibigbe, 'Early History of Lagos to about 1850' in A.B. Aderibigbe (ed.), *Lagos, The Development of an African City* (Nigeria, Longman, 1975), pp. 1–26 and L.K. Jakande, *The Case for Lagos State* (Lagos, John West Publications, 1962).
14. B.A. Williams, "The Federal Capital: Changing Constitutional Status and Inter-governmental Relations" in A.B. Aderibigbe (ed.) *Lagos, the Development of An African City* op. cit. p. 66.
15. These were the United Nation's Technical Assistance Commission appointed by the Federal Government (1962) and the Jones Committee commissioned by the Lagos City Council (1963) Cited in L.K. Jakande, op. cit., p. 16.
16. Eme Awa, *Federal Government In Nigeria* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1964) pp. 55–56.
17. L.K. Jakande op cit.
18. Ibid., p. 26.
19. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Panel Appointed by the Federal Military Government to Investigate the Issue of Creation of More States and Boundary Adjustments In Nigeria* (Lagos, 1975), p. 88.
20. Ibid, p. 89
21. *Ibidem*, p. 89
22. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Federal Military Government Views on the Report of the Panel on Creation of States* (Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information,

1976], p. 22.

23. He rose from the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel to Brigadier in this nine-year period.
24. *op. cit.*, pp. 70–71
25. *op. cit.*, p. 72
26. Lagos State of Nigeria, *Committee on Uniform Laws for Lagos State*, (1968).
27. *Ibid.*
28. Colonel Mobolaji Johnson, *Speech on the Budget, Programme and Policy of the Lagos State of Nigeria Military Government, 1968–69*. (Lagos, City-Hall,) p. VI.
29. Although the Committee was divided in its approach and recommendations (two reports were submitted) the Government accepted both reports but gave attention to the majority report. Of the total 46 recommendations made in this latter report, the Government accepted 24 outright, rejected only five and accepted all others pending further administrative enquiries. Lagos State, *White Paper on the Reorganization of Local Government in the Lagos State*: (Ikeja; Government Printer, 1970).
30. Although the new system commenced at this date, the Reform was regarded as having taken place in 1970, that is when government accepted these recommendations.
31. D.Del. Guidicc, and S.M. Zacks, "The Committee on Taxation Made Its Excursion into Regional Government" in L.D. Feldman, and M.D. Goldrick, (eds.) *Politics and Government of Urban Canada*, (Toronto to Methuen, 1970):

"The results of our research indicate that access, as measured by participation at the local level, is not an inverse function of size judging from recent Ontario experience". P.268. See also Frank Smallwood "Metropolitan Political System and the Administrative Process" in S.R. Miles (ed.) *Metropolitan Problems* (Toronto, Methuen Publications, 1970) pp. 323–324. One of the reasons for setting up the Royal Commission in England and Wales was the general apathy of the electorate towards local governments as compared to national politics.
32. The apparent inconsistencies between paragraphs 8–9 and 10 of the Federal Government's Guidelines on reform to State Governments suggest that not much serious thought was given to this issue, especially as it relates to urban areas. Having stated that sample analyses have shown that where the total population range is above 150,000 – 300,000 local government becomes too distant, uneconomic and its bureaucracy, "large and sluggish" it went on to stipulate that local governments in urban areas should not be split whatever their size.
33. Ogunnaike and Ayantuga, *op. cit.*, p. 16. The four principles which guided the commission were (a) community cohesiveness and consciousness (b) common interests. (c) functional and (d) financial viability. Lagos State: *The Lagos State Local Government Training School: It's Background, Aims and Objectives* (Ikeja, 1973) p. 3.

State Policies on Basic Social Services

We have discussed and concluded in Chapter One that sub-national institutions everywhere are charged with the administration of social policy. However, what constitutes 'social' for the purposes of policy has always engendered controversy. After reviewing five possible approaches to the definition of social policy, Diana Conyers (1982) has suggested that 'social' refers to non-economic aspects of policy whose emphasis is on the attainment of intrinsic rights and objectives, especially those related to equality.¹ This conception is not too different from the position of earlier writers such as Professor Titmus and Kenneth Boulding.²

The goals of social policy are material improvement, community integration and the reduction of inequality. This is also the essence of the basic needs approach to development, an approach which is currently being vigorously pursued by many governments and international agencies around the world today. Although not the only strategy, the provision and maintenance of basic services is regarded as one of the most powerful measures by which resource transfers can be effected from the rich to the poor. (Other forms include progressive taxation, evaluation of factor incomes and asset redistribution).³

In deciding on the most appropriate instruments of social policy, policy-makers must wrestle with three major issues, namely: (a) the relationship between social services and the reduction of inequality or mass poverty, that is, the content and likely impact of social policy programmes;⁴ (b) the mobilization and resources for these services; and (c) the appropriate organizational strategy to ensure effective and acceptable services delivery.

Now, let us examine the social policy programmes of the Lagos State government, their content and present impact. For convenience we shall divide the period under consideration (1968-1983) into two. The first period, (1968-78) as we saw in the last chapter, which we may term the military era, is an unbroken ten-year period of military rule

since the creation of the State in 1968. The second period begins the year power was handed over to the civilians in 1979 and ended in December 1983 when the military struck the second time.

Policies and Programmes

This section draws the boldest profiles of development programmes in Lagos State. Generally, we have depended solely on trends generated from expenditure analysis of the different administrations in the State (See Table 3.1).

First, it should be noted that recurrent expenditure has generally been higher than capital expenditure. The overall ratio of recurrent to capital expenditure between 1968 and 1978 was 61.5%: 38.5%. Similarly, corresponding ratio for 1980-83 is 60%: 40%. However, about two-thirds of this recurrent expenditure is generally spent on personal emoluments, the discussion on these items of expenditure are deferred till chapter five.

Right from the start in 1968, the State government has participated in three out of four five-yearly national development plans. The framework for national development plan administration in Nigeria has been discussed elsewhere, and nevertheless it is important to emphasize here that State governments make their own plans based on guidelines from the federal government, and these plans are integrated into the national development plan document.⁵ The formulation and execution of this plan is however completely at the discretion of each state government.

The performance of Lagos State in respect of each of these three plans is reviewed below using Table 3.2. A number of facts become self-evident even at a casual glance at the Table. First, except during the Second National Development Plan (1970-74) when the State's component of the national plan gave prominence to 'economic sector programmes,'⁶ subsequent development plans have focused more on the social/regional sector programmes. The actual percentage allocations to these sectors have risen from 19.1% under the 1970-74 plan to 66.8% and 82.3% under the 1975-80 and 1981-83 plans respectively. Table 3.3 shows these priorities, project by project. The first five items can be regarded as major 'expenditure giants' during military rule (that is, 1968-78). The top four were environmental services (water, sewerage and drainage), general administration, public transportation, and education.

Under succeeding administration this order has been generally maintained except that expenditure on roads and housing have risen considerably and edged education to the fifth position (See Table 3.4). A second fact which emerges from a close examination of Table 3.2 is the massive growth of public capital expenditure in Lagos State. Actual

**Table 3.1A: Lagos State Government: Recurrent and Capital Expenditures
1968 - 1978 (in ₦ Million and percentages)**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Recurrent</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Total</i>
1968	13.58 (96.8)	0.44 (3.2)	14.02
1969	20.56 (95.4)	0.99 (4.6)	21.55
1970	23.40 (89.1)	2.85 (11.9)	26.25
1971	31.20 (64.6)	17.09 (35.4)	48.29
1972	38.42 (50.7)	37.38 (49.3)	75.80
1973	49.71 (47.5)	54.90 (52.5)	104.61
1974	60.54 (55.8)	47.92 (44.2)	108.46
1975	54.22 (57.3)	40.49 (42.7)	94.71
1976	105.87 (61.2)	67.04 (38.8)	172.91
1977	120.95 (54.1)	102.81 (45.9)	223.76
1978	127.96 (79.9)	32.13 (20.1)	160.09
Total	646.41 (61.5)	404.04 (38.5)	1050.45 (100).

Source: Lagos State Government Budget Estimate, 1968 - 80. Percentages appear in parentheses.

Table 3.1B: Lagos State Government: Actual Recurrent and Capital Expenditures, 1981 - 83 (in percentages and ₦ million)

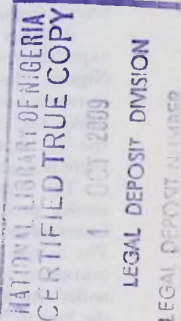
Year	Personal Emoluments (Salaries) %	Other Charges (Maintenance Cost) %	Special Expenditure (New Equipment) %	Total Recurrent %	Capital Expenditure %	Total Expenditure ₦ million
1981	45.9	20.4	0.5	66.8	33.2	365.8
1982	39	17.6	2.3	59.9	41.1	458.1
1983	39	15.9	1.8	56.7	43.3	864
Total	123.9	53.9	4.6	182.4	117.6	1,687.9
Average	41.3	18.0	1.5	60.8	39.2	562.6

Source: Lagos State Government, 1984

Table 3.2: Planned and Actual Expenditure Profiles in Lagos State's Development Programmes 1970 - 1983

Sectors	1970 - 74			1975 - 80			1981 - 83		
	Plan %	Actual %	% Achievement	Plan %	Actual %	% Achievement	Plan %	Actual %	% Achievement
Economic	50.6	61.2	65.7	23.8	15	56.1	2	2.3	51.3
Social	14.1	9.8	37.8	19.1	12	53.6	10.2	8.7	38.7
Regional	8.6	9.3	59.0	50.2	54.8	96.4	76.2	73.6	43.5
Subtotal	22.7	19.1		69.3	66.8		86.4	82.3	
Admini- stration	26.7	19.7	40.1	6.9	18.2	255.4	11.6	15.4	59.6
Total %	100	100	54.3	100	100	88.3	100	100	45.9
₦ million	158.5	86.09		554.5	489.8		1,999.97	900.5	

Source: Lagos State of Nigeria, *National Development Plans and Progress Reports (1970 - 83)*.



capital expenditures rose from ₦86.09 million during the 1970-74 period to almost one billion naira (₦900.5 million) during the fourth national development plan, 1981-83. Even when allowance is made for inflation, this represents 946% growth in overall capital expenditure within two decades. In terms of per capita expenditure, this represents an increase from ₦20.00 to ₦136 per person in Lagos State (using the State's figures) for 1978 and 1983 respectively.

Another point to note is the close fit between planned and actual expenditures. This is an exceptional fate among state governments in Nigeria. The reason, of course, is that the state government is virtually in control of its fiscal instruments. The discrepancy is, however, wider under the civilian government (45%) but this is understandable given the fact that the Fourth Plan still has two more years to go. But overall there is a substantially close fit.

The summary of our findings so far goes this way. First, social service programmes represent the main thrust of the Lagos State Government programmes, at least judged by its expenditure patterns. The actual amount allocated to social services programmes - public transportation, water supply, housing, roads, etc. - has risen from 19.1% under the State's Second National Development Plan to 82.3% under the Fourth National Development Plan.

In the second section of this chapter we shall now examine exactly what approaches have been adopted in implementing these basic social services programmes in the state.

The State of Basic Services in Lagos State

Public Transportation

There have been two major approaches to solving problems of public transportation in Lagos State. The first one to be seriously emphasized was massive road development, either by way of reconstruction of old roads or by the construction of new ones. During the Second Development Plan (1970-74), as can be seen in Table 3.2, roads alone took about a half (47%) of the capital project programme. Roads were seen at this period as a major instrument for integrating the erstwhile Western Region sections into the new State - what was called by state officials a 'spatial integration strategy'⁷. Roads were built to link Epe with Ikoro-du and thus with the rest of the State and smaller villages like Baiyekun and Igbogbo, Mosafejo, Aradogun, Ilado, Imeka, Ojo, Igbadore, Akowonjo and others were also linked with the metropolis. These road links helped to open up these villages to metropolitan housing expansion.

During the Second Development Plan, the emphasis shifted to the metropolitan roads through a coincidence of federal interest. Virtually

Table 3.3: Actual Capital Expenditure in Lagos State 1970 - 80

Activity	<u>1970.74</u> ₦ million	<u>1975.80</u> ₦ million	<u>Total</u>	%
1. Water, Sewerage & Drainage	7.0	189.9	196.9	34.2
2. Administration	17.0	89.3	106.3	18.5
3. Transportation (Road, Waterways, Bus Service)	40.8	13.7	54.5	9.5
4. Education	5.4	32.3	37.7	6.6
5. Industry & Commerce	2.2	35.3	37.3	6.5
6. Town/Country Planning	—	35.6	35.6	6.2
7. Rural Electrification, Cooperatives and Community Development	—	31.6	31.6	5.5
8. Agriculture, Livestock & Fishing	9.7	19.3	29.0	5.0
9. Health	3.0	21.4	24.4	4.2
10. Housing	—	16.6	16.6	2.9
11. Sports, Social Development, Labour & Information	1.0	4.8	5.8	1.0
Total	86.1	489.8	575.9	575.7

Sources: Same as for Table 3.2

Table 3.4: Lagos State 1981 - 83 Actual Capital Expenditure Priorities

	₦ million
Public Transportation	451.27
Water/Roads	129.67
General Administration	88.12
Roads & Drainage	71.49
Education	66.84
Local Government	50.63
Health	8.34
Housing/Planning	8.34
Agriculture	7.91
Finance	6.48
Manufacturing/Craft/Commerce	6.15
Information, Sports & Culture	3.37
Integrated Rural Development	1.88
	900.49

Source: Lagos State Government, 1984.

all the expensive road projects in the metropolis were taken over by the federal government, either as part of a special concession to Lagos (as a national capital) or as part of the Federal Government's Scheme of 'Urban By-Passes and Intra-City Flyovers' throughout the country. The metropolitan expressways linking the Island with different parts of the Lagos mainland were constructed during this period. Indeed, during this plan period, federal investment in Lagos State by way of capital expenditures was 7.9% of total federal planned expenditure and about 473% or almost five times the size of the State's total planned expenditures. Most of this federal expenditure was on the road programme. This explains why federal expenditure on roads was highest in Lagos State during this period (see Table 1.13).

The Badagry-Itoikin Expressway was also constructed to link the neighbouring Benin Republic (and thereby the whole of the Badagry local government area) with Lagos. Similarly, under the Fourth Development Plan, the federal government on the basis of some defence in-

terests in the islands of Lekki, urged the state government to provide a major highway connection with Ibeju-Lekki area (See Plate 1).

It is to be noted, however, that the tripartite diffusion of responsibilities with respect to road maintenance (whereby Trunk A roads belong to the Federal Government, Trunk B and local roads to the State and Local Governments respectively) still obtains in the Lagos State as in other parts of the federation. This leaves a large number of the urban access roads within the Lagos metropolis in very deplorable condition as the state administration has little left for such purposes. The State government has succeeded in repairing only 45 per cent of these roads under its Fourth National Development Programmes.

By the time of the Fourth Plan it had become evident that a different strategy was called for in tackling urban transportation problems in the State. In spite of the vastly improved metropolitan and regional connections, the lot of the majority of road users seemed not to have improved. Those who benefited most were upper and middle classes who rode in their private cars. According to two commissioned reports on the improvement on traffic in the metropolitan area submitted in 1974 and 1976 respectively, increased population and vehicle ownership had complicated the urban congestion problems in Lagos. And when these are combined with the excessive road-side parking and the low level of operation of trains and public buses, 'the cost of these daily congestions and delays have come to reflect heavily on productivity and thus the economy of the city and the nation'.⁸ (See Plate 2).

As a response, attempts have been made to modernize the state-operated bus system and ferry services and also plans are under way to provide a rail-rapid transit system north-south and east-west of metropolitan Lagos. The civilian administration devoted a lot of its energies to these mass transit strategies and only the highlights will be given here.

Bus services were introduced into Lagos by a Greek company Messrs J.N. Zarpas in the mid-fifties as a private venture. The bus service was taken over by the Lagos City Council and according to the state government "the bus service of J.N. Zarpas Limited was a very profitable undertaking. When the Lagos Town Council purchased the service from the Company, it continued to be profitable and it added about ₦400,000 to the revenue of the Lagos City Council every year. However, since 1963-64 the service has ceased to make its contribution. But subsequently it was being run at a loss."⁹

The two major problems plaguing the bus service were the lack of spare-parts and dishonesty and laziness on the part of its staff. New buses were costly while cheaper second-hand buses which were usually purchased often broke down with no one to maintain them.¹⁰

The new administration undertook some changes in these areas. It bought 110 new and smaller buses, and introduced a contract operating



Plate 1: Construction Work on Ibeju-Lekki Highway.



Plate 2: Transportation Problems of Lagos

system for most of its drivers (a re-trained driver is given the bus on a specified route in return for which he makes a fixed return to the Corporation daily). Exploratory studies were also embarked upon with respect to ferry services and the controversial *metroline*.¹¹

Simultaneously, efforts were made to provide new parking facilities all over the Lagos metropolitan area, especially in the core commercial precincts. In addition, the State Government's *Road Safety Corps*, a special core of officials to direct and enforce traffic regulation was established. This institution was also plagued by corruption and inter-governmental conflicts between the federal and state governments, the latter easily at its worst during the 1979-1983 period when different political parties controlled different state governments.

Impressive as these efforts are in solving the transportation problems of Lagos State, they represent only a drop in the bucket. This explains why the State Government up till 1984 was still committed to metroline mass transit system in spite of its huge cost (₦698.45 million).

Housing

The concern of the government with respect to housing is premised on the continued influx of large number of immigrants into the Lagos metropolis, the severe housing shortage and the consequent decline in housing quality. Table 3.5 (a, b and c) and 3.6 show the quality of housing throughout the State on a divisional basis as at 1976. Table 3.5 (A, b, and c) show that a large percentage of the houses in the state are substandard and lack basic necessities for the period. Table 3.6 is a composite of Table 3.5 (a, b and c) and shows that the division that fared worst was Epe which had the largest household size, the worst drainage system and had the largest number of houses without electricity or toilet facilities. However, the access to houses even in Epe Division was regarded as fair. The conditions of its buildings were also better than all other divisions. Generally, it seems that Epe division lacked housing-related community services (drainage, electricity, water and sewerage) compared to other areas but that its buildings were in better condition even as compared to those in Lagos Division. Housing conditions in Badagry and Ikorodu divisions were quite similar to those in Epe. It is, however, important to emphasize that generally housing conditions were not greatly better in the metropolitan division of Lagos and Ikeja when compared to their non-metropolitan counterparts. The former, however, have better roads, electricity and water services than the latter (See Table 3.6).

The strategy with respect to housing has been one-track, namely the direct provision of houses by the government itself. In actual fact, only one organization, the Lagos State Development and Property Corpora-

Table 3.5A: Condition of Buildings and their Surroundings in each Division of Lagos State
(Rural and Urban Areas)

Division	No. of Persons Per Household	Condition of Buildings and Surroundings			Condition of Access Road				Condition of Drainage			
		Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	None	Good	Fair	Poor	None
Lagos	4.2	13.7	53.7	2.6	10.1	46.3	41.7	2.0	6.2	35.3	36.6	2.0
Ikeja	3.5	9.4	50.8	39.8	4.7	25.9	66.9	3.5	2.4	14.3	80.2	3.1
Ikorodu	3.6	2.8	28.2	69.0	2.8	29.1	68.1	—	1.9	5.6	92.5	—
Badagry	3.5	5.7	55.7	39.6	2.5	33.7	62.3	2.5	1.9	26.9	70.4	1.5
Epe	5.6	1.0	77.9	21.1	1.3	58.9	35.8	4.0	1.3	20.1	54.2	4.4
Average	4.08	6.32	53.26	35.5	4.28	38.8	55	2.4	2.74	20.44	66.78	2.2

Source: Lagos State Government, *Statistical Survey of Lagos State, November/December 1976*

Table 3.5B: Toilet Facilities in Households by Division

Division	Water System		Pit Latrine		Pail		No Toilet
	Exclusive	Shared	Exclusive	Shared	Exclusive	Shared	
Lagos	15.4	12.7	0.2	7.1	0.7	49.7	14.2
Ikeja	6.4	12.7	1.1	43.6	0.3	25	11.1
Badagry	0.9	8.1	0.2	26.3	0.2	38.8	25.5
Ikorodu	0.5	—	0.5	62.2	—	0.5	36.5
Epe	0.3	—	20.4	1.3	2.3	5.7	69.9
Lagos State	7.6	10.8	1.4	27.9	0.5	33.6	18.2

Source: Same as Table 3.5A

tion, LSDPC (formerly Lagos Exclusive Development Board, LEDB) has been responsible for this service, and even before the State was created in 1968. There were, however, a few brief experiments to create an alternative organization to deal with the construction of luxury and high-income housing.

The essence of the official policy has been to provide an annual sum of money for the construction of low-income housing as distinct from the development of residential and industrial estates for purchase. In other words, there has been deliberate effort to respond to both the *need* for housing by the poorer classes, as well as the *demand* for housing by the higher income groups. Under the respective Development Plans the following low-income housing units were planned and executed as shown immediately below:

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of Housing Units Planned</i>	<i>No. Actually Completed</i>	<i>%</i>
1970-74	4,000	N. A.	—
1975-80	4,000	1,000	25%
1981-83	50,000	23,352	47%

When these are added to another 10,000 medium-cost houses built by the LSDPC before 1970, it implies that since its establishment (as

Table 3.5C: Electricity and Pipe-borne Water Facilities by Division

Division	(Percentages)				
	Households with Pipe-Borne Water	Households with electricity	Households with both electricity and Water	Households with electricity but no Water	Households with neither
Lagos	55.7	96.7	61.6	37.4	0.5
Ikeja	34.7	94.2	33.7	60.5	5.6
Badagry	10.9	76.4	10.9	76	13.1
Ikorodu	1.9	52.8	1.9	52.8	45.3
Epe	00.7	21.4	0.7	20.7	78.6
Lagos State	33.9	87.0	35.3	54.5	10.0

Source: Same as Table 3.5A

LEDB) in 1955, the total number of public housing provision is some 34,000 over a period of almost thirty years. Yet according to government figures, close to 30,000 housing units are required per year to meet the additional influx of 300,000 persons a year into the city.¹² In other words, what is actually required for one year has taken the government corporation(s) almost thirty years to produce!

This summarizes the dilemma of the state government with respect to housing the poor, namely: the excessive reliance on the government sector to provide low-cost housing. This has proved an impossible job as even the genuinely low-cost houses built under the Jakande administration and in spite of a heavy subsidy cost the prospective owners between ₦4,000 and ₦5,000 and required a deposit of between ₦1,000 and ₦1,200 to even vie for such houses. Research into other public housing programmes show that most of the so-called low-cost houses went to those whose life-time incomes were such as to defray at least ₦77,000 repayment.¹³

Quite clearly, and as evidence from other parts of the world confirm, there is a need to emphasize more genuinely popular programmes of housing (e.g. sites and services programmes) which will incorporate self-help, cheap production and use of local materials. There is also a need to explore housing finance institutions and the need to diversify the city's locational economy. Quite a number of the houses built further away from major employment centres on the Lagos Island, as at 1982 were not being applied for at all by prospective buyers.

Much of what has been said with respect to the state housing programme is true also of the housing programmes of the federal government. Furthermore, as in most other states controlled by differing political parties, the housing sector under the civilian administration in Lagos State was dominated by competition rather than by collaboration between the federal and the state governments.

Environmental Services: Water, Waste, Disposal and Drainage

These four environmental services constitute key health problems confronting the masses of people who live in Lagos State. In the years preceding the creation of the Lagos State, government interest with respect to water and other environmental services was focused mainly on the Lagos municipal area (federal territory). During this time, the Iju waterworks which had a maximum capacity to supply some 45 million gallons per day was about sufficient. However, by 1976 a survey estimated the water supplied daily to the State at 37 million gallons while 89.33 million gallons per day were required, meaning a deficit of 52.33 million gallons per day. As a result, many industrial establishments had to invest heavily in other sources of water supply while some other

Table 3.6: Composite Table of Poor Houses in Lagos State

Housing Condition	% of Poor Houses in:					
	Lagos	Ikeja	Ikorodu	Badagry	Epe	Lagos State
No. of persons per Household	4.2	3.5	3.6	3.5	5.6	3.8
Condition of Building	32.6	39.8	69.0	38.6	21.1	37.5
Access	43.7	70.4	68.1	63.8	39.8	59.6
Drainage	58.6	83.1	92.5	71.9	78.6	73.7
No Electricity or Water	0.5	5.6	45.3	13.1	78.6	10.0
Pail Toilet or None	64.6	36.4	37	64.3	75.6	51.8

Source: Tables 3.5(a, b and c).

(newer and poorer) areas of the state including Ketu, Ijeshatedo, Egun-Awori, Ajeromi, Amukoko, Ijora and Maroko had no pipe-borne water at all.

All these were in the metropolitan parts, while in the non-metropolitan areas it was much worse. Even for many people living in central Lagos, water has still to be purchased in cans from water sellers. In the more prestigious parts of the mainland, families and house-owners still rely heavily on privately-dug boreholes or privately-owned water-tankers. But for the mass of the people potable water remains a very scarce commodity.

A three-pronged attack has been mounted by the different administrations, especially by the Jakande administration, to improve upon water supply situation. First, is the attempt to modernize Iju waterworks to raise its capacity from the present 37 million gallons per day to reach its maximum capacity of 45 million gallons. Second, a system of ten mini-waterworks (boreholes) has been built, each of which has a capacity to supply 3 million gallons a day. At present only six of these are working. These first two programmes have been concluded but even then the total amount of potable water which flows into Lagos is indicated by the table below:

Table 3.7: Average Portable Water Supply into Lagos State, 1982

Waterworks	Average Daily Production				
Iju	37.76	Millions gallons per day (mgd)			
Ishasi	2.43	"	"	"	"
Epe	0.11	"	"	"	"
Ikorodu	0.33	"	"	"	"
Badagry	0.24	"	"	"	"
6 Mini-waterworks (Somolu, Agege, Badagry, Apapa, Aguda and Sasa)	18.00	"	"	"	"
	58.87	"	"	"	"

It is clear therefore that an adequate water flow in Lagos will have to await the completion of a joint project between the Lagos and Ogun States and the federal government to receive at the initial phase 150 million gallons per day of raw water (which will be treated in Lagos) from the Ogun-Oshun River Basin Development Authority. This project (the Adyan Water Works Project) has the capacity of bringing the total amount of water available to Lagos State to 400 million gallons per day.

Unfortunately, as a result of the poor political relations between the federal and the state governments this project did not receive the necessary support and enthusiasm from officials either at the state or at the federal level during the critical years of the project, 1979-1983.¹⁴ Rural water supply projects are also receiving attention. These include the two mini-waterworks in Ikorodu and Epe, federal boreholes (capacity for 2 mgd), rural community wells (1.25 mgd) Eredo and Agbowa water supply schemes and new subsidiary water projects, which include the Maroko waterworks, which could serve Maroko, Ilado and Ilasam.

With respect to *waste management*, a lot has been done to modernize the disposal of liquid waste in the state. Nevertheless, the pail system of liquid waste disposal still persists over much of the central sections of the metropolis. The pail system is still used today by 56 per cent of the state's households. Pit and septic tank systems serve 3.8 per cent and 38.5 per cent respectively. The latter has been increasing but this also poses problems for the state's low underground water level which is estimated at 0.3 metres.

Refuse Disposal used to be the responsibility of the different local governments in the state but this responsibility has since 1978 been transferred to the Refuse Disposal Board. The Board changed its name to Waste Disposal Board in 1979 when it added the responsibility for

liquid wastes to its functions. Three huge incineration plants were purchased by the military administration in the mid-1970s at a cost of ₦45 million. However, due to maintenance and repair problems these plants were hardly put to use. (See Plate 3). The Board has reverted to the dipping method at strategic sites. Although incapacitated by equipments, the level of environmental sanitation in the municipality has improved substantially although such an assertion could not be made with respect to the other parts of the metropolis.

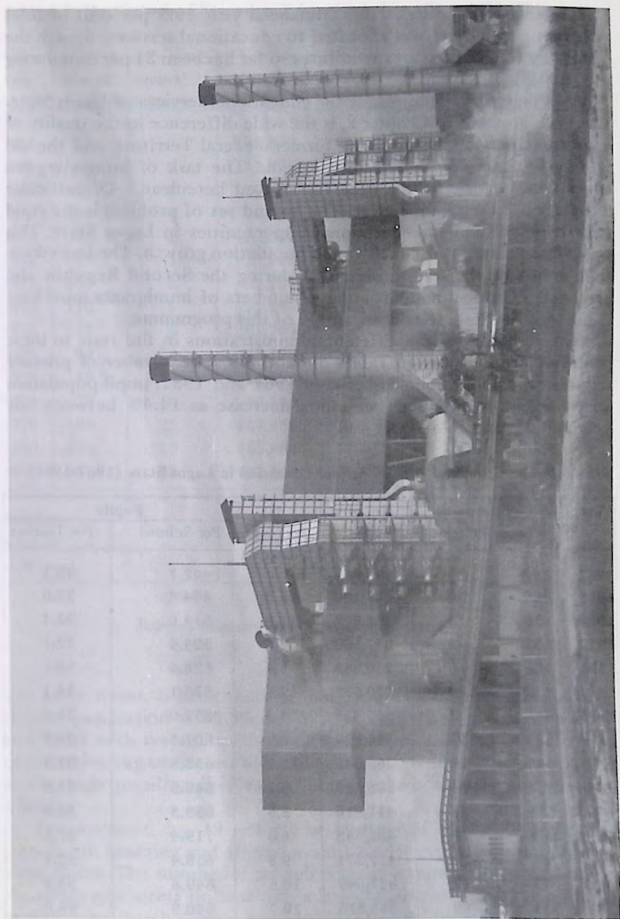
As a result of periodic floods in the city, the state government has been forced to pay greater attention to the construction of drains as part of its road programme. Local government councils as well as the state's Ministry of Works were specially charged with the responsibility for clearing drains, and this was successful in 1982 and 1983 as the extent of flooding was clearly more limited than in the past.

Education

Even though Lagos leads all the other nineteen states in most social and economic characteristics, this leadership position is not extended to education (see Table 1.14). By the very unrealistic and conservative estimates of 1979 population projection, 19 per cent of the State's total population is enrolled in the primary school system. In actual fact, this is an exaggerated proportion of the actual population once it is accepted that, as we found in Chapter 2, the 1978 population of the State was 4.3 million (as against the official 1979 population projections of 2.4 million).

In other words, the actual primary school enrolment by 1978 for instance was 10.1 per cent of the total population (as against an expected 16.3 per cent which was of the 6-11 year age-group). This is also the position with respect to secondary and post-secondary education. For instance, the actual percentage enrolment in secondary schools by 1978 was only 2.1% as against the estimated 17% of the population in 12 to 17 age-group.¹⁵ Also, by the 1977/78 academic session, there were only 235 students of Lagos State origin in all the then thirteen universities in the country. This explains the reason why Lagos State is regarded as an 'educationally disadvantaged state' for higher educational policies.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is important to point out that many residents in Lagos who gain admission to such institutions often prefer to claim their parents' state of origin even though they constitute a part of the Lagos State population. This is part of the wider phenomenon referred to by Professor Akin Mabogunje as the problem of 'social identification' in Nigerian cities.

This is in spite of the fact that education has been one of the greatest revenue-consuming services in Lagos State, and this is particularly so with respect to recurrent as compared to capital expenditure.



Lagos State incineration plant (lying fallow)

For instance, during the 1976/77 financial year 45.5 per cent of total recurrent expenditure was allocated to educational services, though the highest by way of capital expenditures so far has been 21 per cent during the 1980/81 fiscal year.

Two major problems plague the educational services of Lagos State. The first, as noted in Chapter 2, is the wide difference in the quality of educational services between the former Federal Territory and the old Colony Provinces of the Western Region. The task of integrating the educational services in the state has proved herculean. Of particular difficulty are the riverine areas. The second set of problem is the rapid growth of demand for educational opportunities in Lagos State. This was consequent on the equally rapid population growth. The free education policy of the state government during the Second Republic also provided additional impetus as large numbers of immigrants must have come into the State to take advantage of this programme.

The responses of the different administrations in the state to these problems are indicated in Tables 3.8 and 3.9. The number of primary schools have about doubled between 1967 and 1981, pupil population about tripled with as high an annual increase as 14.4% between one year and the other.

Table 3.8: The Growth of Primary School Education in Lagos State (1967-1981)

Year	No. of Schools	Annual Increase	No. of Pupils	% Increase	Pupils	
					Per School	Per Teacher
1967	442		195,655		442.7	30.3
1968	446	4	207,126	5.9	464.4	32.0
1969	450	4	231,572	11.8	514.6	32.4
1970	453	3	237,560	2.6	524.4	32.7
1971	456	3	240,941	1.4	528.4	33.1
1972	472	16	270,533	12.3	573.1	34.1
1973	471	1	309,455	14.4	657.0	33.6
1974	524	53	318,270	2.9	607.3	30.0
1975	544	20	355,645	11.7	653.8	31.3
1976	598	54	388,429	9.2	649.5	33.9
1977	524	28	411,416	5.6	659.3	36.9
1978	555	19	434,543	5.6	719.4	37.5
1979	725	120	477,371	9.8	658.4	32.1
1980	812	87	527,649	10.5	649.8	33.9
1981	911	99	583,816	10.7	640.9	36.9

Source: Ministry of Education, Lagos State.

Table 3.9: The Growth of Secondary Education in Lagos State 1967-1981

Year	No. of Schools	Annual Increase	No. of Pupils	% Increase	Pupils		
					Per School	Per Teacher	
1967	87	—	116,879	—	194	18.8	
1968	82	5	17,296	2.5	211	17.1	
1969	84	2	20,073	16.1	234	19.3	
1970	91	7	25,479	26.9	280	21.2	
1971	90	1	29,357	15.2	326	22.9	
1972	97	7	33,898	15.5	350	22.5	
1973	105	8	37,751	11.4	360	19.4	
1974	110	5	51,265	35.8	466	21.5	
1975	115	5	61,704	20.4	536	27.0	
1976	94	21	75,179	21.8	799	34.6	
1977	79	15	81,539	8.5	1,032	25.8	
1978	79	0	89,584	9.9	1,134	24.7	
1979	104	25	107,835	20.4	1,033	26.5	
1980	223	119	163,862	52	735	22.4	
1981	285	62	197,305	20.4	692	25.6	
Teachers Schools (1981/82)		8	—	8,390	—	1,049	21.8

Source: Ministry of Education, Lagos State

The same trend, a little more pronounced, with an annual increase in student population of 35.8% and 52% respectively are recorded in 1974 and 1980 with respect to the state's secondary schools. The effect on quantitative expansion on the quality of educational service is reflected in the high pupil/teacher ratios, both in the secondary and primary schools.

For instance, by 1978 forty or over a half of the 79 secondary schools ran morning and afternoon shifts and many primary schools ran three shifts. The number of schooling hours was inevitably reduced and the strain and stress on teachers, a large number of whom were hardly qualified to teach, were considerable. These, together with school mergers carried out in 1978 and 1979, are responsible for the shortfall in number of schools in 1978 even though the student numbers increased.

These broad and general statistics do not reveal important details about the quality of structures, building school facilities or of school teachers and in the variations across the different local governments in the state. Generally, a few private schools existed side-by-side with those of the government but these were all taken over in 1973 as part of a new national initiative in education. Indeed, many qualified teachers preferred to teach in the private schools where they were better paid.

When the civilian government of Alhaji Jakande came to power, it set out to implement the first of its four cardinal programmes, namely free and universal education at all levels. As a result, the government went ahead to abolish the payment of school fees in all primary and post-secondary institutions throughout the state. When this was combined with the high expectations of the electorate, which regards education as the passport to well-paid jobs, this policy meant a phenomenal expansion of educational institutions in the state.

Within the first three years of the administration alone, a total number of 306 additional primary schools were built, a figure which is higher than the total amount of increase on the number of schools in the state between 1967 and 1978 (Table 3.8). Similarly, a total number of 206 secondary schools were built in the state within this three year period, a figure which is more than double the total number of secondary schools in the state by 1978. This vast increase in the number of schools also meant a sharp rise in school enrolment in the state, especially at the secondary school level (Table 3.9). The secondary school population more than doubled between 1978 and 1981.

Tables 3.10(a, b and c) show the implications of this rapid secondary school expansion for the different subdivisions of the state-division, local government areas and School Management Committee (SMC) areas respectively. These tables demonstrate that, at least quantitatively there has been an overall improvement in the state's educational system both in the urban and rural areas.

This tremendous increase in the number of schools and pupil/student ratio was necessitated by the abolition of the shift system of schooling, of entrance examinations to secondary schools and all fees in the school system. A total of about 12,000 classrooms were constructed by the state government within its first year to accommodate new intakes. Between 1979 and 1983 a total of 21,294 'functional' classrooms were constructed; 11,522 in 1980; 5,192 in 1981; 2,685 in 1982; and 1,895 in 1983. This policy, however, meant the progressive abolition of boarding schools, replaced by a new system of 'neighbourhood schools'. With respect to teachers' education, although the state government was not able to increase the number of teachers' colleges in the state, the number of student enrolment increased from 6,638 in 1978 to 8,390 in

Table 3.104 Expansion of Secondary Education in the Major Divisions of Lagos State

Division	No. of Schools			No. of Students			Pupils Per School			Pupil Per Teacher		
	1972	1978	1981	1972	1978	1981	1972	1978	1981	1972	1978	1981
Lagos (Lagos Island & Mainland)	51	37 -27.5%	130 251.3%	20,754	32,918 58.6%	68,880 109.2%	407	1,165	646	21.7	23.3	27.3
Ikeja (Alushin, Somolu & Ikeja)	26	31 19%	108 248.4%	9,987	40,470 305.2%	89,271 120.5%	384	1,311	852	22.7	24.9	25.7
Badagry	5	7 40%	29 314.5%	1,605	5,045 214.3%	18,244 261.6%	321	721	629	24.3	20	25.5
Epe	11	10 -9.1%	27 170%	2,628	7,172 172.9%	12,063 68.2%	239	717	447	25.8	32.5	20.7
Ikorodu	5	5 0.0%	26 4.20%	1,337	3,979 197.6%	8,847 122.3%	267	796	340	24.3	28.4	20.8

Source: Ministry of Education, Lagos State.

Table 3.10a The Expansion of Secondary Schools Education in the Local Government Areas of Lagos State 1972 - 1981

Local Government Area	No. of Schools			No. of Pupils			Pupils Per School			Pupils Per Teacher		
	1972	1978	1981	1972	1978	1981	1972	1978	1981	1972	1978	1981
Lagos Island)	7	44	44	20,754	6,623	25,670	407	946	583	21.7	25.6	27.1
Lagos Mainland)	51	19	61	26,295	43,210		1,384	708		21.0	27.5	
Mushin)	11	25	25	15,689	22,366		1,426	895		23.7	25.7	
Somolu)	26	8	33	9,987	10,617	31,439	384	1,327	953		22.5	25.7
Ikeja)	12	50	50	14,164	35,466		1,180	709		22.7	28.4	25.8
Badagry)	5	7	29	1,605	5,045	18,244	321	721	629	24.3	20	25.5
Epe)	11	10	27	2,628	7,172	12,063	239	717	447	25.8	32.5	20.7
Ikorodu)	5	5	16	1,337	3,979	8,897	267	796	340	24.5	28.4	20.8
Lagos State	98	79	285	36,311	89,584	197,305	370	841	692	22.4	24.7	25.6

Source: Ministry of Education, Lagos State.

1981. This was achieved by raising the number of pupils in each school to an average of 1,049 in contrast to 830 in 1978. (It was 596 in 1972). The student/teacher ratio was also reduced from 1:26 in 1979 to 1:22 in 1981.

In higher education, the States' College of Technology was converted to a College of Science and Technology and the state government upgraded its Advanced Teacher Training College to College of Education. Besides, the state government promised to provide bursaries to all qualified state indigenes and made substantial progress by creating a State University.

The educational section, in spite of everything, still faced major drawbacks. In the first place, the government's programme of abolishing payment of school fees in the state was at best, a partial success. The Governor lost a legal battle to proscribe private primary schools in the state, although a number of parents responded to his appeal to transfer their children to the public school so that all efforts could be concentrated on improving them. Even then, the issue of private schools was still a very controversial matter in the state till the administration was removed in December 1983.

Secondly, although there was a remarkable increase in the absolute number of schools and in school enrolment in the state, only a fraction of those expected to be in school (at the primary and secondary levels, that is 13.2% and 2.1% instead of 16.3% and 17% of population in age brackets 12-17 respectively) were in school (See Table 3.11).

Furthermore, although both the urban and rural areas were benefited from the increase in school numbers and enrolment, there is still a general tendency for schools in the metropolis to be highly congested. Table 3.11c shows that the average number of pupils per secondary school in the rural schools is in the range of 250 to 735 whereas the range is 535 to 974 in the metropolitan schools. Similarly, the average number of pupils per primary school in the rural areas is 300, but it is as high as 747 in the metropolitan SMCs (Table 3.12A). Generally too, there is a higher pupil/teacher ratio in the metropolitan schools although this is more pronounced at the primary than at the secondary schools level. However, a close inspection reveals that better qualified teachers generally tend to be concentrated in the metropolitan schools compared with the rural areas (Table 3.12B) and this is clearly discernible in student performance at externally conducted examinations such as the West African School Certificate Examination (WASCE). Although subtle incentives are given to encourage rural teachers, there is clearly a need for a more encouraging policy of incentives for rural teachers, as well as other public servants in the state.

A third problem area for the Lagos State educational system is the deplorable environmental condition of most of the metropolitan schools

Table 3.10C: Secondary Education Situation in Lagos State, 1981 by School Management Committee Areas

Local Government Area	Schools Management Committee	No. of Schools	No. of Students	Pupils Per School	Per Teacher
Lagos Island	Lagos Island	29	17,652	609	26.9
	Apapa/Ajeromi/Ifelodun	15	8,018	535	27.9
Mainland	Ebute Metta	30	22,319	744	24.2
Lagos Id	Surulere	31	20,891	674	32.2
Somolu	Somolu	33	31,439	953	25.7
Mushin	Mushin	12	11,691	974	25.1
	* Agege	13	10,675	821	26.4
Ikeja	Ikeja	36	24,790	689	25.6
	* Agege	14	10,676	762	26.3
Badagry	Badagry+	10	3,745	375	22.4
	Ojo	19	14,499	763	26.5
Ikorodu	Ikorodu+	10	6,416	642	21.8
	Irepodun+	6	2,431	405	18.6
Epe	Epe+	7	4,003	572	23.6
	Ibeju Lekki+	4	1,097	274	14.8
	Agbowa+	16	6,963	435	20.6
TOTAL		285	197,305	10,227	25.6

Source: Ministry of Education, Lagos State.

Note: * Agege SMC is split between Mushin and Ikeja Local Government Areas.
+ Rural S M C S.

and the lack of basic facilities such as water, toilets, laboratories, recreational facilities, decent access to the school, shortage of suitable classroom and lack of room for possible expansion (See Plate 4). Most of these problems are attributable to the overcrowding of the schools in 'compounds' or school villages and the poor quality structures of the functional classrooms. We quote extensively from the report of a recent

Table 3.11: Population and School Enrolments in Lagos State, 1978-81

Local Government Area	Population 1978	Pry Schl Enrolment (1978)	% of Popu- lation	Pry Schl Enrolment (1981)	% of Popu- lation	Sec Schl Enrolment (1978)	% of Popu- lation	Sec Schl Enrolment (1981)	% of Popu- lation
Lagos Island	572,600	35,511	6.2	125,079	21.8	6,628	1.2	25,670	4.5
Lagos Mainland	571,700	54,458	9.5	126,899	22.2	26,295	4.6	43,210	7.6
Mushin	1,192,600	42,966	3.6	79,992	8.2	15,689	1.3	22,366	1.9
Somolu	516,400	16,600	3.2	57,929	11.2	10,617	2.1	31,439	6.1
Ikeja	642,900	20,017	3.1	77,975	12.1	14,164	2.2	35,366	5.5
Ikorodu	173,100	7,344	4.2	20,572	11.9	9,979	2.3	8,847	5.1
Epe	169,200	10,427	6.2	26,875	15.9	7,172	4.2	12,063	7.1
Badagry	463,200	36,218	7.8	50,737	11.0	5,045	1.1	18,244	3.9
Total	4,300,000	223,541		566,058		89,584		197,305	
Expected	-	-	16.3	-	16.3	-	17%	-	17%

Source: Population figures from the 1976 Land Use Survey, School figures from the Ministry of Education, Lagos State. The 16.3% and 17% expected were the estimated age categories 6-11 and 12-17 respectively. See Wilbur Smith *et al.*, op.cit.

Table 3.12A: Teacher/Pupil Ratio in Lagos State Schools by School Management Committee Areas (June 1982)

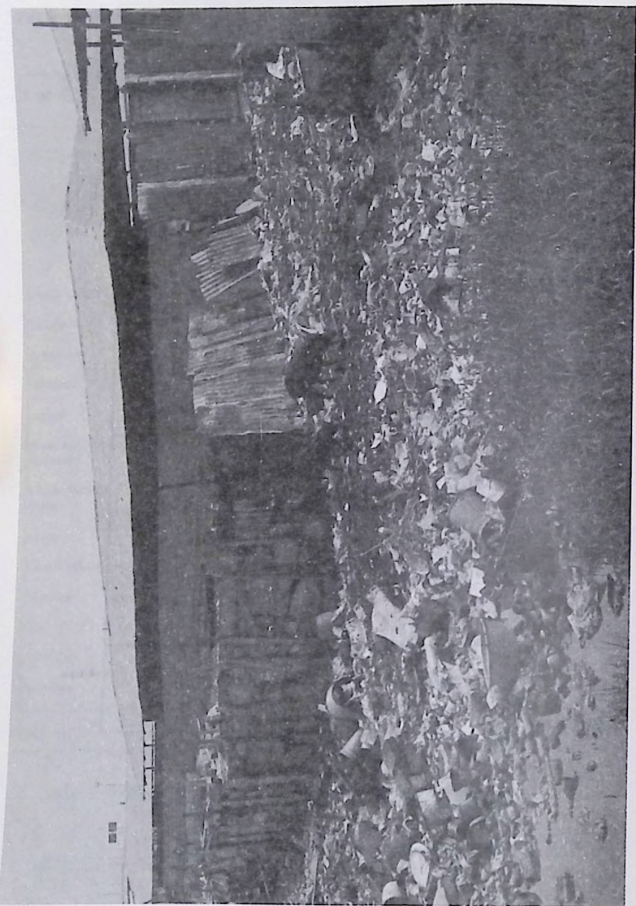
S. M. C.	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	Pupils Per School	Teacher/Pupil Ratio
<i>Rural</i>				
Agbowo/Fredo/Ejinrin	36	8,613	239	1:21)
Badagry	46	13,163	286	1:25)
Epe	35	13,158	376	1:26) 1:23.
Ibeju Lekki	30	5,104	170	1:19)
Ikorodu	32	15,103	472	1:27)
Irepodun	21	5,409	258	1:20)
<i>Urban</i>				
Agege	85	59,748	702	1:35)
Apapa/Ajeromi/Ifelodun	75	67,843	905	1:52)
Ebute Metta/Yaba	75	60,602	808	1:43)
Ikeja	64	48,101	752	1:35) 1:40.
Lagos Island	90	57,236	636	1:43)
Mushin	87	68,118	783	1:39)
Ojo	71	37,574	529	1:37)
Somolu	76	57,729	760	1:34)
Surulere	81	66,297	819	1:38)
TOTAL	904	583,816	646	1:37)

Source: Office of the Special Adviser on Education, Lagos State

Table 3.12B: Qualifications of Teachers in Lagos State Primary Schools by Local Government Area 1980 - 1981

Local Government Areas	Total Number of Teachers	Teachers with Grade III and above	Percentages	1976 Local Governments
Lagos Island	1045	939	89.9	Lagos Island
Eti-Osa*	286	164	57.3	
Ikoyi	272	251	92.3	
Apapa	239	236	98.7	Lagos Mainland
Ebute-Metta	1895	1486	78.4	
Surulere	1338	1266	94.6	
Mushin	1068	761	71.3	
Itire/Ikate	320	237	74.1	Mushin
Oshodi/Isolo	710	576	81.1	
Odi-Olowo	878	736	83.8	
Shomolu	1027	858	83.5	Shomolu
Kosofe	503	416	82.7	
Agege	1185	988	83.4	Ikeja
Ikeja	441	377	85.5	
Alimosho*	239	162	67.8	
Ikorodu	443	348	78.6	Ikorodu
Irepodun*	218	150	68.8	
Badagry	479	424	88.5	Badagry
Ajeromi	1184	862	72.8	
Ojo*	858	600	68.9	
Epe	453	327	72.2	Epe
Ibeju/Lekki*	243	104	42.8	
Agbowa/ Eredo/Ejirin*	350	264	75.4	

Source: Ministry of Education, Lagos State
 Percentages of qualified Teachers (Grade II and above) in:
 6 Rural Local Governments* 63.06%
 17 Urban Local Government 83.02%
 5 Pre-1980 Metropolitan Local Govt. 81.62%
 3 Pre-1980 Non-Metropolitan Schools 71.13%



Environmental conditions of secondary schools in Lagos State under the 'New' Education Policy.

review of the educational system to obtain a more comprehensive picture:

Among the primary schools (visited in an area of Badagry division), there is a school with an average of fifty-eight (58) pupils, in a class and there is a case where Primary 3 and 4 are merged as a result of shortage of teachers. Another school has 160 pupils in Primary Class One with only one teacher.

In the Secondary School, the situation is also deplorable. There is a school established in 1983 with 222 students headed by a Principal with only one teacher who has a Higher School Certificate qualification in Biology, Chemistry and Economics. The teacher teaches Maths (Sic) and General Science. Pupils in both Primary and Secondary Schools look very dirty and rough. Many of them are over-age. The degree of staff shortage in those schools is more than what obtains in other schools.

The functional classrooms which abound in the complex are in a state of disrepair. Desks and benches are not adequate. Many of the pupils have to sit on concrete blocks and planks, and some on mats or the bare floor. Majority of the pupils have no textbooks. Toilet facilities are non-existent in this complex where there are 22 schools. There is no provision of light, water, fence, library and laboratory. Assembly halls are non-existent and the staff rooms are small and ill-equipped. None of the 14 Secondary Schools has a school van.

Finally, a low priority is accorded to adult literacy programme in spite of its prospects as a complementary strategy for rooting out illiteracy within a short time. The present educational programme focuses mainly on the young rather than adults, despite the proven advantages of adult education in promoting mass literacy. At present, adult education activities are carried out by the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development rather than the local governments which seem better equipped for undertaking such a task. Unfortunately adult education teachers are paid pitifully small salaries.

Health

We have included health services not because of its expense as such but because it is one of the major basic services usually required by the citizenry. Its facilities also complement those of other services particularly education, housing, and environmental services. The health sector is an area of responsibility in which the Lagos State has been quite fortunate. The state has the largest number of hospital beds throughout the country but most of these are owned either by the federal government and its agencies or by private individuals.

The Health sector, however, has two severe setbacks. First, most of the health facilities are concentrated in the metropolitan parts of the state. Much more seriously as with health services in other former colo-

nics, the emphasis of the health sector has been mainly curative.¹⁸ The consequence of these two facts is that health services are skewed away from the areas of greatest need, either in terms of location or diseases. The majority of the people, both in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan parts of the state, require preventive and simple health facilities and this is often not available.

Unlike the Lagos State Government's educational programme, the achievements with respect to health services have not been as spectacular. The main achievement is that whereas the state had only two hospitals and three health centres in 1967, these had increased by 1982 to eight hospitals and eleven health centres. Four additional health centres are under construction. However, it must be remembered that the state has one of the lowest population to hospital/bed ratios in the country, but many of the hospitals and health centres are owned and maintained by the federal government and private organizations.

It is also important to note that virtually all the 143 private hospitals and nursing homes (a total of 1,343 hospital beds) are located in three of the metropolitan local governments of Lagos Island, Mainland and Mushin. In addition, many of the federal agency hospitals (a total of 3,449 hospital beds) are specialist hospitals catering for special classes of government employees – the military, the universities, the prisons etc. These two categories of health institutions (the private and specialist hospitals) are generally used by the upper and middle income classes and represent about 40% of total hospital beds and medical staff in the state. The mass of the people are therefore dependent on the state government's general hospitals and health centres and local government health clinics.

The state government's hospitals and health centres are shown in Table 3.13. These figures show that there was a 42 per cent increase in the total number of hospital beds in the state between 1977 and 1982. Furthermore, contracts for 13 additional health clinics and 3 primary health centres and an hospital for Ikorodu had been awarded (1982). In addition, the introduction of the 'free health scheme' in 1979 encourage more people to patronize the hospital and health centres constructed throughout the state, but the initial enthusiasm was dampened by the acute shortage of drugs in the hospitals and health centres. Hence the out-patient attendance fell from 5.1 million to 4.2 million between 1980 and 1981.

Having said this, it must be remembered also that Lagos State has the lowest population per doctor ratio throughout the country. The state's figure is 2,594 persons per doctor out of a national average of 22,228 persons per doctor. By 1979, the state had a total of 379 doctors which was about a quarter (24.9%) for the whole country or more than the share of ten other states. The reason for this trend is self-evident:

Table 3.13: Lagos State Health Institutions

Health Institution	Local Government Area	No. of Beds	
		1977	1982
1. Lagos Island Maternity Hospital	Lagos Island	428	500
		48	
2. Lagos General Hospital	Lagos Island	270	300
3. Massey St. Children's Hospital	"	89	80
4. Ikeja General Hospital	Ikeja	106	200
5. Mainland General Hospital	Lagos Mainland	54	150
6. Badagry General Hospital	Badagry	—	80
7. Epe General Hospital	Epe	—	80
8. Harvey Rd. Maternity Annexe	Lagos Island	—	60
9. Onikan Health Centre	Lagos Island	67	60
10. Isolo Health Centre	Mushin	48	60
11. Apapa Health Centre	Lagos Island	69	75
12. Surulere Health Centre	Lagos Mainland	73	70
13. Ikorodu Health Centre	Ikorodu	12	12+
Total		1216	1727

Source: Lagos State Ministry of Health.

Note: + Ikorodu Health Centre is being upgraded to an hospital. There are additional 209 hospital beds in the Infectious Disease Hospital (157) and the Lagos Tuberculosis Service (52).

Lagos represents the greatest attraction for doctors and other para-medical staff - in terms of availability of basic social and hospital infrastructures as well as the opportunity the city presents for private medical practice.

In spite of this relative abundance of doctors and other para-medical staff, however, 34% of all maternity cases were handled by traditional medicine practitioners or midwives between 1974 and 1975 alone. This is to emphasize the fact that a substantial proportion of the state's population are not catered for by the large number of medical institutions located in the state. A Traditional Medicine Board was established by the defunct civilian administration in 1980, but exactly how it will relate to the more modern health care systems remains to be worked out.

A recent appraisal of the state government's health programmes shows that the following problems remain unresolved.¹⁹ First, there is a very high implementation gap, with the result that the state was, as at 1982 far from realizing its expected (1985) target of providing a Health Clinic for every 80,000 population. This was to reduce the travel distance to such clinics to one kilometre; a Health Centre for every 300,000 population within a two kilometre walking radius and one hospital bed for every 1,000 persons. Under the modified Basic Health Services Scheme, the state is supposed to provide 35 health clinics, 22 primary health centres and 14 comprehensive health centres during the current plan period. In addition, the plan also provides for the modernization of Epe, Ikeja and Badagry hospitals and the construction of a new one in Ikorodu. However, only one hospital and five health centres (4 are still under construction) were built by the state government during the plan period. The result is that the outer metropolitan areas as well as the rural areas are still not as effectively covered as they should be since they are supposed to benefit more from the basic health services schemes (see Table 3.14). It is therefore not surprising that the distance travelled by the average patient to the hospital is not lowest in Lagos State (the state is fifth among the twenty-one states), even though it has the highest number of hospital beds per person.²⁰

Second, the shortage of drugs in the state's hospitals and health centres has probably led to frustration and decrease in the number of patients as mentioned above.

Overall Appraisal of the State Government's Social Services Programmes

The general point is that the major preoccupation of state governments is the provision and maintenance of basic social services programmes for

Table 3.14: Hospital Bed by Local Government Areas in Lagos State, 1982

Local Government	Population (1978)	Hospital/Health Centre beds	Population per hospital bed	Private hospital beds, 1977.
Lagos Island	572,600	1,075	533	295
Lagos Mainland	571,700	220	2,599	589
Mushin	1,192,600	60	19,877	172
Shomolu	516,400	—	516	117
Ikeja	642,900	200	3,215	111
Ikorodu	173,100	12	14,445	N. A.
Badagry	463,200	80	5,719	59
Epe	169,200	80	2,115	N. A.
Total	4,300,000	1,727	49,019	1,343

Source: Lagos State, Ministry of Health.

their citizens. This might have been particularly so in the case of Lagos state arising from its peculiarly metropolitan and cosmopolitan character.

Even though the state government has been spending about 40 per cent of its total expenditure budgets annually on salaries and personal emoluments of its staff, the rest of its budget commitments both with respect to the recurrent and capital outlays have been expended on the provision and maintenance of basic social services programmes. These programmes have become more expensive over the years. With respect to capital expenditure, the highest allocations have gone to public transportation (roads and mass transit), Housing, the environmental services (water, waste disposal and drainage) education and, to a much lesser extent, health services. These programmes constitute basic social services and the question has been raised here as to the extent to which these services help in meeting the needs of the poor in Lagos State. It was found that most of the services are still unevenly distributed between different areas of the state, and also between the wealthy and the not-so

wealthy classes. This is the central problem of the basic needs approach to development. According to a one-time World Bank President, 'the basic problem of poverty and growth in the developing world can be stated simply. The growth is not equitably reaching the poor. And the poor are not significantly contributing to growth.'²¹

We have here only touched upon the first of these two maxims. Quite clearly, more efforts need to be made by policy-implementers to really reach the masses with these basic services, whether it be fast and cheap transportation, schools, water or health services. In the next chapter, we examine the other part of the above statement, that is, how are resources generated to finance these huge and costly social services programmes? Who bears the brunt of the programmes?

Notes and References

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2. R. M. Titmus, *Commitment to Welfare* (New York, Pantheon Books, 1968) and K. E. Boulding, "The Boundaries of Social Policy" in *Social Work* 12, 1 (Jan. 1967) pp. 3 - 11.
3. M. P. Todaro, *Economics for A Developing World* (London, Longman, 1977), pp. 161 - 164.
4. Usually, there is a wide gap between social policy and its administration. This situation is however not peculiar to Nigeria. See, J. S. Larson, *Why Government Programmes Fail*; also, Sar A. Levitan, *Programs In Aid of the Poor for the 1980s* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).
5. See, Albert Waterston, *Development Planning Lessons of Experience* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), pp. 293 -368. See also, E. O. Adeniyi, "National Development Planning and Plan Administration in Nigeria", *Journal of Administration Overseas* 1, 19 (1978), pp. 160 - 174 and Edwin Dean, *Plan Implementation In Nigeria* (Ibadan, Oxford University Press, 1976).
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7. Lagos State, *Second National Development Plan 1970 -74; Lagos State Programmes* (Ikeja, 1976).
8. Lagos State, *Fourth National Development Plan, 1981 - 85; Lagos State Programmes* (Ikeja, 1981) p. 34.
9. Lagos State, *Fourth National Development Plan, 1981 - 85; Lagos State Programmes* (Ikeja, 1981), p. 35.

10. The Scania-bus scandal shows some of the darkest sides of the management of such buses. See Dele Olowu, "Some Cases of Bureaucratic Corruption In Nigeria and Implications for the Search for a Panacea", Mimco, (University of Ife, Department of Public Administration 1982).
11. The metroline, as initially conceived, was to be a four-way light rail rapid system on an elevated viaduct with a speed of 100 kilometres per hour and passenger carrying capacity of 44,000 in each direction. The colossal amount involved in implementing this project has inevitably made it controversial and the subject for a Projects Review Committee led by Professor O. Aboyade, formerly of the University of Ibadan.
12. Lagos State of Nigeria, *Lagos State Regional Plan, 1980 - 2000* (Ikeja, Ministry of Economic Planning and Land Matters, 1981), p. 3.
13. See for instance, Tony Seymour, "Housing Policy and Income Distribution in Kaduna", *Nigerian Journal of Public Affairs*, (Zaria) 7, May/October, 1977; Association of Housing Corporations of Nigeria, "Low Cost Houses at Ibadan" in *Nigerian Housing Development* No. 6 (October 1978). For other similar Third World experience See, World Bank, *Housing Sector Policy Paper* (Washington D. C., 1975), p. 4.
14. "Interview with the Military Governor of Lagos State" in *Sunday Times* (Lagos) of June 10, 1984.
15. These percentages are based on the estimates made in the State's Regional Plan. They will certainly be much higher if the 1963 census figures were used.
16. Only Cross River and Lagos belong to this category amongst the 'Southern' States. The others comprise some seven northern states. These (nine) states' indigenes are given preferential treatment in the administration of federal scholarships, admissions into federal secondary schools and higher institutions and pre-university assistance.
17. Lagos State Government, *Report of the Committee on Review of the Educational Programmes, Policies and Procedures in Lagos State* (March 1984)
18. See for instance, World Bank, *Health Sector Policy Paper* (Washington, D. C., 1980); S. MacPherson, *Social Policy in the Third World* (Sussex, John Spiers, 1982); Klaus Godel, "Health Basic Need and Prerequisite for Economic and Social Development" *Development and Cooperation* (Berlin), 3, (May/June 1984) and A. G. Onokherhoraye, *Social Services In Nigeria: An Introduction* (London, Kegan Paul International 1984), pp. 101 - 147.
19. Dele Olowu, *The Administration of Basic Services and Infrastructures In Lagos State*, Research Report (Ile-Ife, 1982).
20. Figures based on survey carried out by the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER) in 1979. See A. G. Onokherhoraye, *Ibid.*, p. 126.
21. Robert S. Macnamar, 'Preface' to World Bank, *The Assault of World Poverty: Problems of Rural Development, Education and Health* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

Mobilization of Financial and Human Resources

Since basic social services must be provided for every family and indeed every person, they are characterized by the high cost of meeting demands for them and the ever rising demands for more and better services. This is what is meant when the assertion is made that social services are elastic to population pressures. As we saw in chapter two, Lagos State's population has been rising in leaps and bounds, not only due to the high rate of migration into the metropolis but also due to a high rate of natural increase.

The questions taken up in this chapter are: how does the state generate financial resources not only to pay for these services but also to hire staff to provide and maintain such services? Who bears the brunt of these services — is it the nation at large through federal government's subventions and grants, or is it the people of the State? If it is the latter, which of the classes bears the greater burden of social development, is it the less or more privileged citizen? These questions are posed both with respect to capital as well as recurrent receipts. Finally, it should be of interest to see the kind of relationship which exists between financial and human resources in view of such causal relations determining the success or failure of organizations.¹

Financial Resources

Recurrent Revenues

Recurrent or ordinary revenues are often distinguished from capital receipts for reasons already explained in the last chapter. In Lagos State, however, the hallmark of revenue mobilization has been the deli-

berate attempt to diversify the state's resource base from the usual dependency on either the grants or taxes imposed on the salaried classes. This was brought to a climax under the last civilian era.

Table 4:1 shows that with respect to recurrent revenues, there has been a 3,000% or thirty-one-fold increase in revenues between 1968 and 1983, and when allowance is made for inflation this will probably come to a 2,000% increase.² At the same time, however, the state government has managed to reduce its dependency on grants from almost 50% (47.1%) in 1968 to just a little under 30% in 1983. The overall grant dependency in the first eleven years of the state's existen-

Table 4.1A: Lagos State Actual Recurrent Revenues and Sources 1968 - 78

Year	Personal Income tax	Federal grants (statutory and non-statutory)	Others	Total ₦ million
1968	9.28 (34.2)	2.77 (47.1)	5.05 (18.6)	27.10
1969	12.90 (37)	14.76 (43)	7.04 (20)	34.70
1970	15.76 (40)	14.71 (35)	8.88 (25)	39.35
1971	18.24 (40)	15.16 (33)	11.88 (26)	45.28
1972	23.43 (49)	11.32 (24)	12.88 (27)	47.63
1973	24.99 (45)	15.78 (28)	14.86 (27)	55.63
1974	29.86 (38)	32.32 (42)	15.60 (20)	77.79
1975	36.27 (36)	54.01 (44)	20.87 (20)	102.15
1976	43.94 (38)	48.36 (42)	22.81 (20)	115.11
1977	73.23 (47)	50.87 (33)	31.09 (20)	155.19
1978	96.21 (48.5)	70.98 (35.7)	31.41 (15.8)	198.59
Total	384.11 (42.7)	332.04 (37.0)	182.37 (20.3)	898.52 (100)

Sources: Lagos State *Budget Estimates* 1968 to 1980

Note: a) Budget Estimates normally carry over *actual* budgets of the year before the last.

b) Figures in parentheses are percentages. They may not total 100 exactly because of rounding.

ce was 37%. This was reduced to 35% in the succeeding four years of civilian administration.

There are three major explanations for this phenomenon, each one of them tied to one of the three main revenue sources. The first, which is readily self-evident, is the *personal income tax* which alone averaged 42.7% of total recurrent revenue in the first eleven years of the state's existence, almost contributing a half of total recurrent revenues in 1978 (48.5%). As we discussed in Chapter Two, the rates for this tax are fixed by the federal government but the tax is administered by the states. The large concentration of workers, both federal (over 40% of federal civil servants reside in Lagos — the figures for officials of British

Table 4.1B: Lagos State Government: Actual Recurrent Revenue 1980 - 1983
(₦ Million and Percentages)

Year	Personal income tax	Federation grants	Others	Total
1980	97 (39.2)	95.6 (38.6)	54.9 (22.2)	247.5
1981	145.8 (39.1)	133.2 (35.8)	93.5 (25.1)	372.5
1982	171 (34.3)	144.4 (34.0)	109.0 (25.7)	424.4
1983	175.1 (33.4)	129.2 (29.7)	131.1 (30.2)	435.4
Total	588.9 (39.8)	502.4 (34)	388.5 (26.2)	1479.9 (100)

Source: Lagos State Government, 1984.

or United States' governments residing in London or Washington D.C. respectively are only 25% and 12%)³ and state, as well as the large number of industrial and commercial establishments in the Lagos metropolis, ensure that this tax forms a major revenue source. To the extent that this tax was paid largely by salaried officials the brunt of the state revenue is being borne by the more privileged social classes of Lagos. It was only during the last civilian administration that deliberate efforts were made to ensure that some contribution was made to the state treasury by the self-employed and quite a large number of private establishments in the state through direct assessment and the income rate. A total of 17 million *naira* (or about 10%) of total tax revenue was raised in this way in the 1983 fiscal. This explains why there has been a higher annual percentage increase in the tax under the civilian period (76.8% per annum) as compared to the eleven years of military rule

(9.4% per annum).

Grants from the federal government were of two types, the statutory and non-statutory. The former is a constitutional obligation while the other is mainly monetary transfers in respect of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme. The latter was only ₦17.5 million or 24.7% of the State's federal grants which totalled approximately ₦71 million in 1978. Grants as a whole have declined steadily, though not proportionately, from 47.1 per cent of total revenues in 1968 to 35.7 percent in 1978 and to 18.8% in 1982.

Since the 1981 Revenue Allocation Act was signed into law, culminating in changes in the nature of grants (in the direction of consolidation into a general statutory grant) in the allocational criteria (more emphasis being given to equality and population factors), and in the proportionate share between the federal and state governments as a whole (from 75:25 per cent ratio to 60:40 per cent), the absolute amount of money coming into the state coffers has increased though not as substantially as during the earlier years of the state's existence - an annual increase of 246.3% per annum between 1968 and 1976 and only 11.7% between 1980 and 1983.

The grants, even though consolidated into a general statutory grant, still has two components today, namely the statutory grant proper and the federal government's contribution to the State's pension scheme. The latter amounted to ₦5.1 million naira in 1983. Other grants, especially to local governments, are also made through the state governments but this will be discussed more extensively under capital receipts.

The *other sources* represent a wide array of taxes, the most notable of which is the capital tax; user charges especially on land during the last civilian administration and a host of fines and fees. Whereas this was only a third and least contributor to revenue sources during the military administration, it had become a much more important contributor to state recurrent finances, even though it still retained its third position. Between 1968 and 1978 it recorded a 52.2% per annum increase but this rose to 112.9% per annum under the last civilian administration. Development charges on land alone provided 10.9% of total recurrent revenues during the 1983 fiscal. The major revenue contributors to the 'other revenue' fund during that year are as listed below in order of their importance:

	₦ Million
*Proceeds from transactions on state land	— 47.3
Interest on short term/fixed deposits	— 14.1
Motor vehicle licences	— 13.4
*1 2½% withholding tax on rent	— 6.8
Sales tax	— 5.1
*Processing fees on building plans	— 4.1

Proceeds from parastatals	—	3.1
Pools betting fees	—	2.4
Hackney permits	—	2.7
*Stamp duties	—	2.2
Parking authority	—	1.1
Cainin houses	—	1.1
Dividend from general investments	—	1.0
		106.6

*Land-Related Items.

According to the above data, land-related items under this revenue category add up to 60.4 million naira during 1983 yet this is not a comprehensive list. On the whole, the recurrent revenues of the state has shown a consistent increase, an annual percentage increase of 63.2% and 25.3% under the military and civilian governments respectively. This resilient revenue position puts the Lagos State in a comfortable position not only in maintaining its services - by hiring competent and qualified staff on the highly competitive Lagos labour market and to equip them - but also to make substantial revenue contribution to its capital programmes as we shall see shortly. It was no wonder that the current (1984) Head of the Federal Government once asserted that Lagos was the only viable state in the Nigerian federation.

Capital Receipts

Revenue for financing capital expenditure seemed to be derived from three main sources as contained in Table 4.2. These are revenue contribution, loans and grants from the federal government. Over the first eleven years of the state administration (1968-78) revenue contribution was responsible for about a half of total capital receipts. Under the civilian administration this proportion rose to almost 60%. Next to recurrent revenue contributions are loans (30.2%), mainly internally raised but this proportion has dropped to (14.2%), a distant third position under the civilian administration, trailing after grants (28.3%; 20.6% under the military).

Revenue Contributions has two components: the ordinary revenue and interest accruing on short-term deposit. The latter was very well developed under the civilian administration and accounted for ₦160.4 million out of the ₦167.26 million (or 95.9%) contributed by this source in the 1983 fiscal. However, this was an unusual year as the previous year's contribution was much lower (₦8 million).

Grants paid into the capital fund are special purpose grants such as federal government's subventions to the universal primary education scheme up to 1980 and other centrally - initiated programmes such as

the basic health services or housing programmes. Total central grants in 1980 were to the tune of ₦5.3 million naira. In later years, grants coming under this category have not been so high but the state government won a special concession from the now defunct National Assembly in 1980 for an annual grant of ₦20 million naira assistance for the maintenance of environmental services in the Lagos metropolis, on the basis of its being the capital of the federation. Except for 1981 fiscal, this amount has not been paid in full to the state government - in 1982 and 1983 ₦15 million and ₦12.3 million were granted respectively.

Table 4.2A: Lagos State: Receipts and Sources, 1968 - 1979
(₦ million)

Year	Revenue Contribution	Internal Loans	Grants	Total
1968	6.4	0.4	—	6.8
1969	10.0	0.4	—	10.4
1970	N.A.	N.A.		N.A.
1971	24.3	3.1	1.0	28.4
1972	16.4	3.2	0.9	20.5
1973	12.0	12.7	3.9	28.6
1974	12.0	9.1	7.7	28.8
1975	20.3	26.6	16.4	63.3
1976	12.0	15.7	15.1	42.8
1977	25.0	16.6	20.7	62.2
1978	30.0	15.7	4.9	50.5
1979	—	—	14.9	14.9
Total	168.4	103.5	70.6	342.2
%	(49.2)	(30.2)	(20.6)	

Source: Lagos State Budget Estimates, 1968-81.

Table 4.2B Estimated and Actual Capital Receipts 1980 - 83 (₦ million)

Year	Revenue Contribution	Grants	Loans	Total
1980	47.0 (67.4)	15.8 (18.7)	(11.78 (13.9)	84.58
1981	65.00 (46.7)	58.94 (42.4)	15.12 (10.9)	139.06
1982	107.08 (52.5)	62.8 (32.3)	29.65 (15.2)	199.53
1983	167.26 (63.3)	52.6 (19.9)	44.4 (16.8)	264.26
Total A	396.34 (57.5)	190.14 (28.3)	100.95 (14.2)	682.43 (100)
B	572.29 (36.5)	820.31 (52.4)	173.84 (11.1)	1566.46(100)

Source - Lagos State Govt., 1984

Note - B = Budgeted (estimated) revenue

A = Actual Revenue

Percentages in parentheses

The other major source of grant, capital revenue, is the contribution of the federal government to the local government system. This has been quite substantial especially since the 1981 Revenue Allocation Act ensured increasing amounts. In 1980, such contribution came to ₦10.5 million, ₦38.7 million in 1981, ₦47.8 million in 1982 and ₦39.9 million in 1983. In actual fact, this should not be regarded as state government revenue but as we shall see in the next chapter, the local government system is such an integral part of the state administration as to make such accounting defensible.

Loans, the other source of funds, have come from both private and public internal sources. With the exception of a World Bank loan to finance a project jointly sponsored by the former and the Lagos state government (and this was underwritten by the federal government), the Lagos state government has eschewed external borrowings. In recent years, one major source of internal borrowing for the state government has been the federal government's loan stock. This is distributed among all the state governments on the basis of the same criteria for distributing statutory grants to them. The reason why the Loan Stock has become more important has to do with the federal government's restrictive money supply policies, which include pegging commercial bank borrowing at a high interest rate and generally tightening controls on external borrowings of state governments.⁴

Personnel Resources

The availability of financial resources in itself cannot assure the success or failure of an organization. Experts in organizational development agree that financial resources for an organization are useful only to the extent that they enable that organization to attract competent, qualified personnel who are committed to the goals of the organization. This section will deal briefly with key issues in respect of the management of human personnel, their recruitment, utilization and development – persons who are charged with implementing the Lagos State government's policies and programmes. Inevitably, the following observations are based on the author's on-the-spot observation of the personnel management practices in the state government. Most of what follows therefore relates more to the civilian period.⁵

Staff Management in the Lagos State Public Service

The responsibility for staff management in the state civil service is shared between three organizations; the Civil Service Commission which recruits and deploys all officers on Grade Level 08 to 12, the Ministry of Establishment which assists the departments in managing staff

matters for employees on Grade 01 to 07, and the Office of the Head of the State Civil Service.

The Office of the Head of the Civil Service is by far the most powerful of these 'trinity of powers' in staff management. It not only manages the Senior Management Level, Grade Level 13 to 17, it also centrally deploys all those in the executive (with the exception of those in accounting, internal revenue or audit) and Secretarial Classes. It is also responsible for monitoring the whole of the Public Service; for training and purchases of all vehicles required by the Public Service centrally.

For the parastatals, each one of them is responsible for managing its staff except that this must be done with the knowledge of one of the relevant departments mentioned above, depending on the grade level. In reality, most senior staff in the parastatals are drawn from the Civil Service and are still responsible to it. Virtually all Secretaries of Parastatals are Senior Civil Service.

Local government staff matters are managed mainly by the Local Government Service Commission and the power over level 01 to 04 employees are delegated to Local Government Executives. A new office of Head of Local Government Service was created in 1982 to be responsible for training, monitoring and staff policy with respect to local governments. This Office was abolished in 1983 after the change of government. In practice local government officials could be transferred to the Civil Service and vice-versa.

Recruitment, Retention and Utilization

A full discussion of the different branches of the Lagos public service is deferred till the next chapter. Here, we shall only highlight vital issues that assist our understanding of the recruitment, retention and utilization of staff in the state public service.

The critical parameters in determining the need for additional staff are the vacancy rates and the structure of the civil service in terms of the ratio between the major classes of staff in the service. Table 4.3 shows the relative size of the Lagos State Public Service. A total of 68,462 staff were actually employed by the state government by October 1982 (the establishment was 80,053). Between the major divisions of the public service, teachers were the highest (34.9%) followed by the local government councils (23.9%), parastatals (20.6%), the Civil Service (19%) and the judiciary (1.6%).

As for vacancy rates, there was a 14.5% vacancy rate in the public service in 1982. The highest vacancy rate was in the judicial branch of the public service (42.5%) followed by the teaching service (28.4%) and the least was found in the local government (0.3%) and civil service/

parastatals (4.3%). These are, however, broad generalizations. For instance, the administrative cadre of the Civil Service is the pivot of the state administration. Generally, recruitment into the administrative cadre of the Lagos state civil service is based on merit as judged by performance

Table 4.3: The Composition of the State Public Service (1982)

Category	Actual Strength	Establishment	Difference
Teaching Service	23,922 (34.9)	33,420 (41.7)	9,498
Local Government	16,351 (23.9)	16,404 (20.5)	53
Parastatals	14,103 (20.6)	28,318 (35.4)	1,227
Civil Service	(12,988) (19.0)		
Judiciary	1,098 (1.6)	1,911 (2.4)	813
Total	68,462 (100)	80,053 (100)	11,591

Sources: Lagos State of Nigeria, *Recurrent and Capital Estimates of the Lagos State Government 1983*; Lagos State of Nigeria, *Recurrent and Capital Estimates of the Lagos State Local Government Councils 1981*.

- Note: (1) Establishment figures of local government are for the 1981 Budget.
(2) Percentages are shown in parentheses.

in a competitive examination organized by the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON), extended interview and Civil Service Commission Interview. This rigorous entrance procedure into the administrative cadre may be partly responsible for the high vacancy rate amongst this level of officers throughout the service (See Table 4.5. For other reasons see Chapter 5) Many officials in the executive and professional classes who have an eye on the administrative cadre have to wait for their turn.

With respect to structure, that is, the relationship between different categories of the public service, no comprehensive data of actually employed officers for the whole of the public service is available. However, the data for local government staff (Table 4.4) indicates that a ratio of 1.8 exists between intermediate (Grade levels 07 to 12) and junior staff (Grade Levels 01 to 06) while between the senior management class (Grade Levels 13 to 17), the ratio is 1:23. Comparative figures for the federal civil service (1982 establishment, not actuals) is 1.10 and 1.6 respectively. The implication of these figures (assuming that the

Table 4.4: Composition of the Lagos State Public Service and Federal Civil Service Contrasted (1982)

Grade Level	Local Governments (Actual)		Lagos State Civil Service Establishment		Federal* Service % Civil (Establishment)	
01	337)		2,475)		153,787)	
02	6,637)		4,084)		16,366)	
03	2,869)	87.9	6,522)	74.1	61,502)	84.6
04	2,449)		5,530)		52,247)	
05	1,375)		2,019)		21,896)	
06	706)		1,760)		25,962)	
07	617)			1,510)	14,271)	
08	653)			2,267)	18,752)	
09	344)	11.6	1,541)	23.3	11,712)	14.0
10	173)			1,106)	7,173)	
11	—		—)		644)	
12	103)		588)		4,045)	
13	42)		304)		2,443)	
14	17)		239)		1,663)	
15	19)	0.5	161)	2.6	867)	1.4
16	10)		90)		446)	
17			35)		158)	
Total	16,351		30,229		403,415	

Source: Lagos State of Nigeria, *Recurrent and Capital Estimates of the Lagos State Government, 1982 Op. cit.* and Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Revenue, Recurrent and Capital Estimates of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1982* (Lagos, Government Press).

Notes: *Lagos State Public Service does not include the Teaching Service and the Local Government Service. Similarly, Federal Public Service includes only the Ministries and Extra-Ministerial Departments.

above figures are representative for the rest of the Lagos State public service) is that the average senior management staff is supposed to supervise 23 intermediate staff, each of whom in turn supervises the work of about eight junior staff.

Such a structure is not conducive to effective performance from a management point of view. Assuming a span of control of 1:4, the ideal ratios of junior: intermediate and intermediate: senior categories are 1:4 and 1:16 respectively. The figures therefore suggest a high level (100%) of overstaffing at the junior level and 44% overstaffing at the intermediate level. This 'scissor's problem' of overstaffing at the junior cadres and understaffing at the senior management cadres, according to the World Bank's *World Development Report, 1983* is quite characteristic of the public service structure in developing countries. There is therefore a severe strain of supervision on the top leadership of the Lagos State

Table 4.5 Actual Staff Strength of the Administrative Cadre of the Lagos State Public Service (as at October, 1982)

Ministry/Department	Establishment (E)	Strength (S)	Vacancy (V)	Vacancy Rate % (V/E)
House of Assembly	9	3	6	67
Governor's Office	33	19	14	42
Deputy Governor	14	5	9	64
Secretary to State Government	27	12	15	56
Head of State Civil Service	45	12	33	73
Finance	7	5	2	29
Justice	5	1	4	80
Agriculture and Cooperative Works	9	6	3	33
Sports, Youth and Social Welfare	9	5	4	44
Trade and Industry	8	3	5	63
Education	10	5	5	50
Schools Management Board	15	5	10	67
Health	4	3	1	25
Health Management Board	10	4	6	60
Local Government & Community Development	8	4	4	50
Employment and Civil Service Matters	22	8	14	64
Economic Planning and Land Matters	20	10	10	50
Environment	18	7	11	61
Public Transportation	8	4	4	50
Judicial Service Commission	8	4	4	50
Civil Service Commission	5	2	3	60
State Electoral Commission	17	9	8	47
Local Government Service Commission	3	1	1	17
	6	5	1	17
	320	145	177	55

Source: Office of the Head of the State Civil Service, Lagos State.

Public Service, a strain that is not in the least mitigated by the long embargo on employment as a result of the nation's economic problems and the rigorous staffing procedure of the senior management category already mentioned above.

In order to retain the staff, especially at these higher levels, special attention is paid to three strategies of personnel motivation; market conscious remunerations including fringe benefits, a dynamic staff development programme and the personal involvement of the Chief Executive in personnel matters.

Remuneration and Fringe Benefits

In recognition of the market conditions in which Lagos State public servants operate, the Governor harmonized the salary conditions of Permanent Secretaries and their immediate subordinates with those of their counterparts in the federal civil service in October 1980. Since the reforms of the public service in 1975 following the Udoji Report of 1974, the salaries of all state officials had been placed on step below those of federal officials. This readjustment generally affected officers on Grade Levels 14 to 17. Its aim of ensuring that senior management perform and are retained in a very competitive labour market such as Lagos State's has been largely achieved. Staff turnover at the top level of the service is low. Besides, the Chief Executive has also made efforts to ensure that civil servants have access to car and housing loans and promptly implements income policy guidelines and with proposals from Federal Government.

Nevertheless, other public officers outside of the civil service do not appear as fortunate with respect to these perquisites. The teachers, although they have not gone unpaid in any month as in other states of the federation, are particularly critical of their lot. Similarly, members of the judicial branch had their salaries harmonized with those in the federal service in October 1982, two years after this was done for their counterparts in the main civil service. It is therefore expected that this measure will go a long way to reducing the high vacancy rate already

Staff Development

The Office of the Head of the State Civil Service has also devised an elaborate staff development programme of which a total of 200 staff benefited from short-term management and professional training in 1982, mostly in educational institutions throughout the country. The number of such courses in which the state's staff participated has increased from 6 in 1980 to 22 in 1981. The staff development division of the Office of the Head of the Civil Service is responsible both for approving study leave for all staff (except professionals) and civil service training. Promotion prospects are also generally bright in the state civil service. Deserving officers can expect a promotion every two years, though this period might be substantially reduced for 'high fliers'.

Morale

The monthly briefing with Governor Jakande by each Ministry (quarterly with respect to parastatals and local governments) is generally regarded as a powerful management weapon. Since each Commissioner comes

with his retinue of senior management staff to these briefings, the Governor is able to assess the performance and ability of each of his most senior staff. This is said to be a powerful weapon for getting quick results.

Such personal contacts between employer and employee also adds morale and impetus to the civil servant's work. It is, however, surprising that neither the Head of the Civil Service nor the Secretary to Government goes with their immediate subordinates to the respective weekly briefings with the Governor. In return, the Governor has been full of accolades and appreciation for his public servants. The civil service in Lagos State, is not scape-goat of the Chief Executive, as it is in many States. Rather it is regarded by him as one of the most powerful tools for the success of his administration as he regularly points out in his press briefings. One other effect of this is to induce their members of the political class involved in the administration to accord due respect to civil servants.

The Special Case of the Senior Management Group

A few words will be in place here in respect of the Senior Management Group (all officers on Grade levels 13 to 17) given their critical leadership role. Generally, members of this group are recruited mainly on merit as the Civil Service Regulations provide. Hence, the group comprises a large number of people from outside the State, especially from the old Western Region. Therefore no attempt is made to promote intra-ethnic balancing as suggested in the suspended 1979 constitution (Section 14(4)). Perhaps, the work of administration in a peculiar state such as Lagos would have been made more difficult if this constitutional provision had been complied with. The senior management group includes officers in the civil service, the parastatals and (until recently) in local government, and are centrally deployed and managed from the Office of the Head of the State Civil Service.

The following facts are also noted in the deployment of permanent secretaries in the State. First, merit and specialization of each incumbent are primary factors, the deployment of permanent secretaries to head Ministries. For instance, the Ministries of Health, Agriculture, Youth and Sports, Justice, Trade and Industry, and Transportation out of a total of thirteen ministries are headed by qualified professionals. Second, permanent secretaries hold their departments for a generally long period of time. Barring a specific need to re-assign specific officers in light of resignation of some misdemeanour, there is no across the board movement of permanent secretaries in the state civil service. This ensures that such permanent secretaries would become repositories of knowledge concerning their respective ministries. This is to be commended.

Third, permanent secretaries are the Heads of Departments and accounting officers for their departments. They not only lead their departments, they provide necessary leadership for the parastatals attached to their Ministries. Finally, however, the Chief Executive exercises complete discretion in choosing his permanent secretaries from among the senior management group irrespective of status, age, or experience. For instance, three of the state permanent secretaries appointed by the Governor in 1979 were relatively in junior positions (levels 12 and 13) but were selected because of their proven competence and/or loyalty. These are generally younger civil servants in their early 40s or late 30s. On the other hand, a number of the older permanent secretaries (about five of them) left soon after the civilian administration (and its untypical 'action' style) came into power.

Summary and General Impressions

In summary, the Lagos government's finances seem reasonably sufficient and this has made it possible for the government to vigorously pursue its social services programmes, hire very highly qualified officials to man these services in stiff competition for skilled labour with the federal government and its agencies as well as the organized private sector. The government is also the least dependent on grants either for its capital or recurrent revenues. Indeed, the latter continues to be the primary source of its capital funds. This revenue buoyancy was given a special impetus by the last civilian administration between 1979 and 1983. Whereas previous military administrations generated ₦898.52 million recurrent revenue within the first eleven years of the state (approximately ₦81.7 million per annum), this amount rose to ₦1,479.8 million (approximately ₦369.95 million per year) between 1980 and 1983. Similarly, capital revenues increased from ₦342.2 million (approximately ₦31 million annually) to ₦682.43 million (or ₦170.6 million per annum). Even when allowance is made for inflation this should still constitute a substantial increase. In order to achieve this objective, a deliberate effort has been made to diversify the state's revenue base, both from federal grants as well as the PAYE tax. Other revenue sources especially in land, stocks and other taxes and user charges have been sought.

In spite of this, however, the state's revenue base (both capital and recurrent) is still firmly anchored on the PAYE tax. Fortunately, this is a fairly progressive tax regime and the state government has tried to widen its coverage, especially in respect of self-employed individuals, private individuals and private companies. This combination of luck and hard work has made the finances of Lagos State different from those of others at least in two respects. First, it has made long-term

Table 4.6: Revenue and Expenditures (Recurrent and Capital) in Lagos State 1968 - 78 (Actuals)

Year	Recurrent & Capital revenue	(₦ Million) Recurrent & Capital expenditure	Difference
1968	33.9	14.02	19.88
1969	45.1	21.55	23.55
1970		26.25	—
1971	73.68	48.29	25.39
1972	68.13	75.80	-7.67
1973	84.23	104.61	-20.38
1974	106.59	108.45	-1.86
1975	165.45	94.71	70.74
1976	157.91	172.91	-15.0
1977	217.39	223.76	-6.37
1978	249.19	160.09	89.1
Total	1201.57	1024.19	177.38

Source: Same as for Table 1. Total is for 1968 to 1978 excluding 1970 for which complete data is not available.

	Revenue ₦ Million	Expenditure ₦	Balance ₦
Recurrent	1479.00	789.50	691.50
Capital	682.00	900.50	-218.50
	<u>2161.00</u>	<u>1688.00</u>	<u>473.00</u>

planning possible as heavy investments in major service areas can be programmed over time. An obvious illustration of this fact is the huge investments in mass transit (the metroline is to cost ₦10 billion over a ten-year period), water supply, education programmes, waste disposal etc. Another index of this fact is that there is usually a close fit between estimated and actual revenues in the state. For instance, between 1968 and 1975 actual recurrent revenues in the state exceeded estimated revenues and generally throughout the time of military administrations in the state there was a close fit between estimated and actual revenues. This conferred on the state another and a second attribute namely, it allow deficit budgets. Table 4.6 tries to show that over the eleven-year period of military rule there was remarkable success in balancing the revenue and expenditure sides. This is important when one realizes that state governments in Nigeria have generally been prone to incurring heavy debts.⁶

Under the civilian administration, however, there was a wide gap

between estimated and actual revenues. For instance, the estimated revenues over the 4-year period was ₦2031.6 million even though as we have seen above only ₦1479.8 million was actually generated (some 73%) in respect of ordinary revenue. Similarly, only 43% of estimated capital expenditure could be made throughout the period. Even then, it should be pointed out that this gap was moderate when compared with other states throughout the country. Moreover, the balance sheet of the civilian administration given below shows that it broke-even during the period.

A final issue which often attracts the attention of writers on social services is that of social burden. With respect to the Lagos State experience, the salaried classes subject to PAYE tax (which is a steeply progressive tax) bear the greatest brunt of the social burden for social programmes of the State government. Under the civilian administration, deliberate efforts were made to ensure that more of this burden was borne by the more affluent groups through direct assessment for tax purposes, greater emphasis on land development taxes and fees (including a reorganization of the property rating machinery – See Chapter Five).

It would have been different if like other states, the state government was dependent on grants from the federal government. It would then have been argued that these were funds released to the state government which could have been used directly by the federal government to improve the condition of the mass of the people generally, the Lagos state inclusive. The evidence here, though rather tentative, indicates that the burden of social development is borne directly by the people of Lagos State. The charge of parasitic existence of the Lagos State's social programmes cannot be proved. But if we take into consideration the heavy investments made in the state by the federal government, either directly or indirectly as shown in the previous chapter, then this charge may be sustained up to a point.

With respect to human resources, even though the various governments in the state, with particular reference to the only civilian regime made genuine efforts to adopt highly-rated personnel methods in managing its staff, there would still be areas where substantial improvements could be expected. Over 60% of the recurrent expenditure is devoted to personal emoluments and as we have already shown recurrent expenditures have been consistently higher than capital expenditures almost throughout the period. It can thus be argued that a substantial amount of public resources is devoted to servicing the government itself, leaving only less than 40% of resources to service the people. This calls for a drastic review of the size and structure of the Lagos State public service. For instance, we have shown in this chapter that a high vacancy rate still exists at the higher echelons of the civil service proper. Moreover,

we have suggested that the structure of the public service as at 1982 was not conducive to effective supervision and management. Two types of structural reforms seem possible: a reappraisal of the overall staffing situation in terms of real needs of the service for particular skills, and one which ensures adequate numbers to ease the burden of supervision on the next higher cadre. A second approach is decentralization to other units of the public service away from the civil service proper. This is the purpose that parastatals, local governments and a number of other bodies already established in the state are supposed to serve.

Notes and References

1. Dele Olowu, "Resources for Local Development: Human and Financial", University of Ife, Department of Public Administration, 1982.
2. This is assuming that there has been a 1,000% inflation on the local currency within the 15 year period. The inflationary pressure may be a bit lower than this but there is no reliable way of estimating this.
3. The figures for Britain and the United States of America are extracted from R.G.S. Brown & D.R. Steel, *The Administrative Process in Britain*, (London, Methuen & Co, 1979), p. 67 and Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Study Team on the Management of Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Administration Systems* (Lagos, Government Printer, 1983), p. 15. Estimates for Nigeria's based on Federal Office of Statistics, *Digest of Statistics*, Volume 28 (June 1981), p. 18 and A.E. Ogunna, "The Managerial Behaviour of the East Central State Civil Servants during the Military Regime, 1970 - 76" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1979).
4. Dele Olowu, "Nigeria: State Budgets Face Reality", *West Africa* (London), 30 July 1984.
5. This was August to October 1982. The only drastic change made especially since the return of the military were the reduction of ministries from 13 to 9, local government from 23 to 8 and a reclassification of parastatals with the intent of pruning down their number. A number of offices and establishments under the civilian administration have also been disbanded.
6. Dele Olowu, "Nigeria: State Budgets "Face Reality" Ibid.

Public Participation in Social Policy and Administration

In order to carry out their huge programmes of public expenditures, governments have to try to maximize the twin goals of efficiency and popular acceptability of their programmes. Public participation, defined as the privilege or ability of the ordinary citizens to successfully influence public policy and/or its implementation, is a major factor in ensuring the popular acceptability of any government programme or project. Often, the goal of participation may conflict with those of governmental efficiency. This is a dilemma facing all public sector organizations and marks them apart from other social institutions which have a single purpose, namely profits conquest, salvation of souls, etc. The structure of governmental organization often reflects attempts to reconcile these two equally strong demands on public sector institutions.

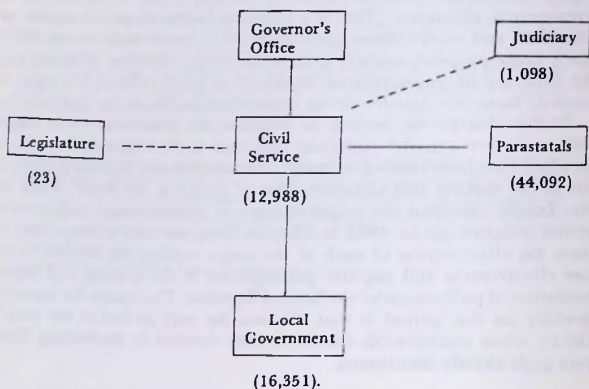
In this chapter we intend, to examine the structure of the Lagos State public service, with particular reference to the organizational devices which have been created to ensure effectiveness and popular participation in the making and administration of policy in the State. Since we have briefly sketched the major changes in administrative and governmental structure up to 1983 in Chapter Two, we only attempt here to assess the effectiveness of each of the major institutions created to ensure effectiveness and popular participation in the making and implementation of policies under the Second Republic. The reason for focusing specially on this period is that this was the only period in the state's history when considerable resources were devoted to promoting those twin goals already mentioned.

The Structure of the Lagos State Government During the Second Republic

The Nigerian 1979 Constitution provides for six organs of government

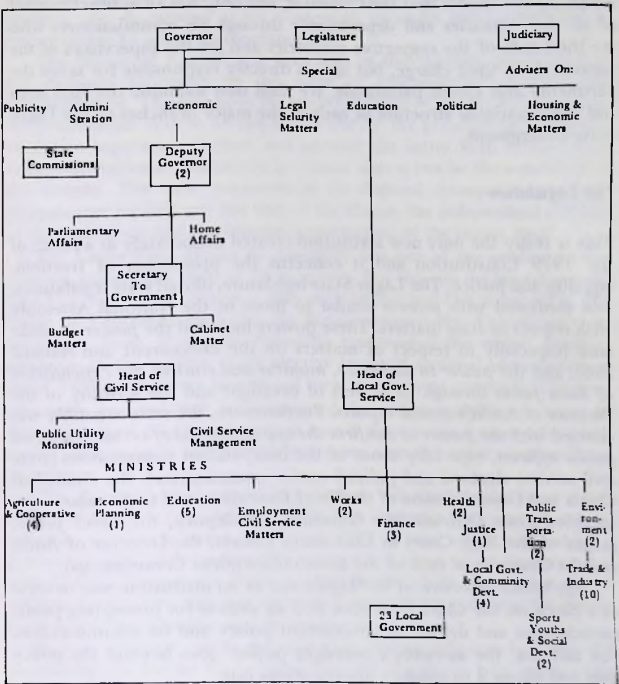
at the state level.¹ These are the legislature, the executive, the civil service, parastatals, local governments and the judiciary. Figures 3 and 4 show the formal relationships between these different organs and the relative size of each of the major segments of the State's public service. Figure 3 shows that the Civil Service is the nucleus of the public sector service and is the major weapon for effecting control over every other organ of government in the state. This has been particularly so as there were no independent service commissions for parastatals and for the legislature. And even though special commissions existed for the judiciary and local government, the civil service wielded tremendous power over their respective staff commissions. These factors made the Civil Service especially powerful and remain the hub of the public service in Lagos State. The first was the fact that the Governor's Office was staffed by civil servants and was therefore regarded as part of the civil service outfit. The second factor was the concentration of skilled administrative staff in the civil service. These two factors explain the considerable 'nestling' that occurred in terms of the actual relationships between the six organs of government identified above. This is explained in greater detail below:

Figure 3 The Size and Structure of the Lagos State Public Service.



———— Direct Line of Control.
 - - - - Indirect line of Control.

Figure 4 An Organization Chart of the Lagos State Public Service.



Source: Lagos State of Nigeria, *Two years of Civilian Administration In Lagos State, 1979 - 81*.

- Note: (1) The Deputy Governor's Secretary to Government's Head of the Civil Service's are not subordinate to one another but are each responsible for certain aspects of governmental co-ordination and are directly responsible to the Governor.
 (2) Figures in parentheses stand for number of parastatals supervised by each department or ministry.

Figure 4 shows the diagrammatic structure of the state's public service. It also shows that the Governor, not only has an indirect control of all the ministries and departments through his commissioners who are the heads of the respective ministries and are the supervisors of the parastatals in their charge, but also is directly responsible for seven departments and eleven parastatals. We shall now examine the functions and organizational structure of each of the major branches of the Lagos State government.

The Legislature

This is really the only new institution created deliberately as a result of the 1979 Constitution and it concerns the promotion of freedom, equality and justice. The Lagos State legislature, like all state legislatures, was conferred with powers similar to those of the National Assembly with respect to state matters. These powers included the *power to make laws* (especially in respect of matters on the concurrent and residual lists), and the *power to authorize, monitor and control the expenditure of State funds* through its powers of oversight and the scrutiny of the Director of Audit's annual reports. Furthermore, the state assembly was charged with the *power to confirm the appointments of certain specified public officers*, especially those of the independent commissions (state civil service, electoral and judicial service commissions); the council of Chiefs and Commissioners of the Chief Executive; and to *fix salaries for specified State Officials* (the Governor, his deputy, the Chief Judge, judges of the High Court or Customary Courts, the Director of Audit and the Chairmen of each of the three independent Commissions).

The broad objective of the legislature as an institution was to serve as a check on the Chief Executive and an avenue for promoting public participation and debate of government policy and its administration. For instance, the assembly's oversight power goes beyond the policy level and allows it to conduct investigations into

⁴(a) any matter or thing with respect to which it has power to make laws and (b) the conduct of affairs of and person, authority, ministry or government department charged with or intended to be charged with the duty of or responsibility for (i) executing or administering laws enacted by the House of Assembly and (ii) disbursing or administering moneys appropriated or to be appropriated by such House⁴.

The intent is to ensure that it can correct any defects within existing laws with ease and secondly to enable it 'to expose corruption, inefficiency or waste in the execution or administration of laws and in the disbursement or administration of funds appropriated by it'. The House

or its Committee is therefore, given police powers to procure such evidence on oath or to summon any person in Nigeria to give evidence or produce any document in his possession or under his control' and to issue warrant to compel attendance.

The House of Assembly is thus seen as the bulwark against executive excesses especially in the areas of *appointments, finance and administration*. This has been the traditional role of legislatures, although the presidential system attempted to clarify the principle of executive-legislative separation further and provide the latter with means other than constitutional guarantees to ensure that it can be the watchdog of the people. The new resources at its disposal (compared with the Westminster model) are the size of the House, the independent staffing of the legislature and the internal organization of the House itself.

The Lagos State House of Assembly was one of the smallest in the country, comprising only of 36 members. But this was the largest gathering of its representatives as it had only twelve and five members at the House of Representatives and the Senate respectively. This meant that the Lagos State House of Assembly represented the widest possible spectrum of the society at all elective levels of national administration (as of 1982 there were no elected local government councils). This size advantage ensured that it represented the widest possible spectrum of the society and thus could serve, at least in theory, much more effectively as the conscience of the government more than any other representative institution.

The Assembly had something to show for this popular expectation in the form of large number of bills (the largest in the country) and resolutions passed. Between 1979 and 1982, a total of 52 bills had been passed into law and another 367 house resolutions taken. Furthermore, with 17 Committees of a House of only 36 members, the average size of a House Committee was just about five, meaning that committee discussions should be effective and thorough.

It has, however, been asserted that passing bills into law does not necessarily do credit to a legislature except those bills achieve the primary objectives of those who made the bills.⁵ Be that as it may, 50 of the 52 bills passed by the Lagos State House of Assembly were sponsored by the Executive and were mainly meant to enact legislation for the establishment of new parastatals, local governments or the regulation of the existing ones. Similarly, most of the resolutions were complaints in respect of social facilities or demand for inquiries into the allegations of fraudulent practices in local government (see Table 5.1).

The impression is easily created that the Lagos State legislature was a mere rubber stamp for the Executive branch. There is some truth in this resulting from the role of the Party and its caucus in the House, the force of pre-1966 legislative tradition and the monthly meeting between

the Executive and the legislature comprising the Governor, (as Chairman) members of the Governor's cabinet and all the 17 Chairmen of House Committees.

Table 5.1: Laws and Resolutions Passed by The Lagos State House of Assembly up to October 1982

Year	No of Laws Passed		No of Resolutions	
	Lagos State	Ogun State	Tabled	Passed
1979/80	10 *	7	295	274
1980/81	29	16	102	70
1981/82	13	10	32	23
(up to October 1982)				
Total	52	33	429	367

Source: Lagos State Government *Daily Proceedings of the Lagos State House of Assembly* (First Assembly, First Session, 1979 - 80) and Enquiries from the Lagos and Ogun States' Houses of Assembly.

*The average number of days it took for a bill to go through the three Readings and Report Stage during this period was 17 days: it ranged from 2 to 64 days for the two subsequent years.

It may also be argued that the ease with which the legislature is dominated by the Executive may be due to the comparatively lower qualifications of members of the State House of Assembly as compared to the members of the Governor's cabinet, and, in fact, other State Houses of Assembly in the country. The three criteria most commonly used to assess the calibre of politicians are age, educational qualification and professional attainment before entering politics.⁶ In Tables 5.2, we tried to compare the calibre of Lagos State legislators with the Governor's Cabinet and with members of the Ogun State House of Assembly. The Tables show that if we assume that age 30 to 60 years is the prime of one's ability in politics, legislators in Lagos and Ogun State fall within this 'active' category just as the same is true for the members of the Lagos State Executive Cabinet. However, the Lagos State House of Assembly has a relatively disadvantaged distribution on account of age. First, it has about 17 per cent of its members in the 30 to 39 age bracket compared with the Executive cabinet which had none in this category.

Table 5.2A: Age Distribution (1982) Among Legislators in Ogun and Lagos States and Members of the Lagos Cabinet

	<i>Lagos State Cabinet N = 15</i>	<i>Lagos State Legislature N = 36</i>	<i>Ogun State Legislature N = 36</i>
20 - 29	—	—	—
30 - 39	—	6 (16.7)	2 (5.6)
40 - 49	11 (73.3)	17 (47.2)	23 (63.9)
50 - 59	4 (26.7)	9 (25.0)	8 (22.2)
60 - 69	—	3 (8.3)	1 (2.8)
70 +	—	1 (2.8)	—
Average Age	(100) 49	(100) 47	(100) 46

Source: Field Notes 1982

Note: Lagos Legislators were 33 by October 1982, One was expelled from the party, one died and the third was made a commissioner in the Governor's Cabinet.

Age difference is a significant consideration in Nigerian society and its politics, the younger generally being made subservient to the elder. This is particularly so among the Yorubas who constitute 100% membership of the Lagos State House. Secondly, the Lagos State more than has the highest number of its members in the relatively 'inactive' category (60).

Also, with respect to basic educational qualifications and professional attainment, the quality of Lagos legislators is relatively lower than either those of the Lagos State Cabinet or of Ogun State legislators. Above all, legislators' remunerations were much lower than those paid to other top public officers of the Government. (See Table 5.3) This is not, however, peculiar to Lagos State.

Table 5.2B: Educational Attainment of Legislators in Ogun and Lagos States

	<i>Cabinet</i>	<i>Lagos State Legislature</i>	<i>Ogun State Legislature</i>
<i>Qualification</i>	<i>N = 15</i>	<i>N = 36</i>	<i>N = 36</i>
None	—	—	—
Primary	—	4 (11.1)	—
High School	1 (6.7)	10 (27.8)	16 (44.4)
Teacher Training/ Professional Diploma	4 (26.7)	16 (44.4)	8 (22.2)
University or Degree Equivalent	10 (66.7)	6 (16.7)	12 (33.3)
	15 (100)	36 (100)	36 (100)

Source: Same as for 5.2A

The Executive Branch

There is no doubt that the Chief Executive occupies a very central position under the Nigerian 1979 constitution both at the federal and at state levels.

The constitution states clearly in Section 5(2) that the executive powers of a state shall be vested in the Governor of that state. He is also enjoined to execute and maintain the constitution as well as the laws made by the House of Assembly of that state. He may also choose to carry out these duties himself or engage his representatives or those of his Deputy (with whom he was elected into office) to exercise these powers on his behalf.

This broad executive power together with other delegated powers make the Governor the most important institution within the State public service. The Governor's functions can be categorized into five major types of responsibilities.

First, he is charged with the *direction of the state's public policy*. In doing this he not only initiates legislation, he programmes the execution

Table 5.2C: Highest Profession of Lagos and Ogun State Legislatures Before Entering House of Assembly

Qualification	Lagos State Cabinet	Lagos State Legislature	Ogun Legislature
1. Professionals/ Semi P. S.	13 (86.7)	15 (41.7)	19 (52.8)
2. Top level Business- men	2 (13.3)	10 (27.8)	7 (19.4)
3. Contractors, Salemens etc.	—	5 (12.9)	3 (8.3)
4. Mid-level Public Servants, Trade Unionist	—	3 (8.3)	4 (11.1)
5. Trader, Transporters Shopkeeper. etc. Bakers	—	1 (2.8) 2 (5.6)	1 (2.8) 2 (5.6)
6. Tailors, Plumbers etc.	—	2 (5.6)	2 (5.6)
7. Others.	—	—	—
	15 (100)	36 (100)	36 (100)

Source: Same as 5.2A

of such bills once they become law. The governor may also use his veto to delay or stop a bill becoming law, especially where the legislature cannot muster the required two-third majority vote to pass such bills. In this respect, the Governor has been the *major domo* in directing public policy in Lagos State as indicated in the last section. His position is also particularly enhanced by the wide powers accorded him by his party's constitution and the respect he has earned from the mass of party members in the state.

Another instrument of directing state policy which can be utilized by the Governor are the local governments of the state whose administration and regulation are made the primary responsibility of the state government. The absence of democratic election at the local level up till the end of the first term of civilian government particularly

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Legislature	Executive	Civil Service	Judiciary
Speaker	Governor	Head of Civil Service	Chief Judge
¶15,500	¶20,000	¶14,500	¶16,500
	Dep. Governor	Director of Audit	Judge
	¶17,000	¶12,996	¶15,500
	Sec. to Govt		Chief Magistrate
	¶14,500		¶6,000
	Commissioners		
	¶14,500		
	Special Advisers		
	¶14,500		
Clerk of the House			
¶14,268			
Deputy Speaker			
¶13,500			
Parliamentary Leader			
¶13,500			
Members of the House			
¶13,000			
			Member, Judicial Service Commission
			¶4,800

Source: Lagos State of Nigeria, *Recurrent and Capital Estimates of the Lagos State Government 1983*.

This salary structure is about the same in all the 19 States.

strengthened the hands of state governors. This will be treated more elaborately under a different heading in this chapter.

Secondly, the governor is empowered to *present an annual budget* showing the expected sources of revenue and the patterns of recurrent and capital expenditure for each financial year before the House of Assembly. In this way, the Governor is able to use the fiscal resources of the state to pursue legislative and executive priorities. The governor may withdraw money from the state's Consolidated Revenue Fund pending the approval of his annual budget.

The use of a centralized executive budget also places additional powers of control over the whole public service in the hands of the state governor. In the Lagos State, the Governor was fortunate in not having a hostile legislature for the reasons suggested in the last section. His budgets have always sailed successfully through the House of Assembly. If there was any problem at all, it was in the 1981 financial year when the House increased the Executive budget by about 43 million naira.

A third source of power for the State Chief Executive is his *power to make appointments* not only of a political nature (Commissioners, Secretary to the Government, Special Advisers, Members of State Commissions and Councils and Governor's personal staff) but also within the public service (the Head of the State Civil Service, the Director of Audit, and Permanent Secretaries). Although the Governor is limited with respect to the fact that he requires the House of Assembly's approval to appoint or remove some of these officers as already discussed, these wide powers of appointment facilitate gubernatorial co-ordination and loyalty throughout the public service. In addition, besides the independent commissions and Traditional Councils, there are also other commissions, parastatals (and in the meantime) the local governments which the Governor appoints people for without legislative approval. One additional result of these wide powers of appointment is that it makes the Governor a very powerful focal point with respect to party management and the award of rewards and sanctions to its members.

Fourthly, the Governor is the representative of the state at the federal level especially on two powerful national institutions - the Council of State (COS) and the National Economic Council (NEC). The former body is responsible for advising the President on major national issues such as population census, prerogative of mercy, national honours, the Federal Electoral Commission, the Federal Judicial Service Commission, and public order; while the NEC is charged with advising the President on the national economy and "in particular on measures necessary for the co-ordination of the economic planning efforts or economic programmes of the various Governments of the Federation".⁷ The

Governor also nominates persons to federal bodies such as the National Population Commission and the Federal Electoral Commission.

Finally, the government can *pardon offenders* committed under State laws. This was a very important power during the heady political days leading to the 1983 elections as it enabled Governors to release their political supporters from the hold of federal security officials.

In order to effectively carry out these functions, the Governor is assisted by three Special Advisers, one each in respect of security, housing and education. There are also four other principal officers of the state government. These are the Secretary to Government whose office is responsible for budget and cabinet matters, the Office of the Deputy Governor (responsible for House and Parliamentary Affairs respectively) and the Offices of the Head of the State Civil Service and of a newly created Office of the Head of Local Government Service. Each of these is responsible for monitoring, training and management of the civil and local government services respectively. All these eleven departments and offices report directly to the Governor. Table 5.4 shows the delineation of functions to each of these bodies connected with the Governor's Office. The Governor's Office itself is grouped into four main departments of economic, political, general administration and publicity.

All the departments, including the 'offices' of the Special Advisers are staffed by Civil Servants. All divisions with the exception of the offices of the Special Advisers are concerned with co-ordination or the State Public Service. For instance, the Economic and General Administration Departments co-ordinate economic and social services ministries/agencies respectively while the Publicity Department co-ordinates publicity institutions; the Deputy Governor's Office, Executive-Legislative relations; the Secretary to Government, financial and cabinet matters.

Special Advisers Offices were regarded as part of the civil service in Lagos State under the Jakande administration. Their functions often involved close liaison with the regular departments or parastatals responsible for discharging these functions. The only difference was that Special Advisers' offices were thinly staffed and the Advisers themselves as heads of their different offices never attended the cabinet meetings like the commissioners. The idea of the Special Adviser, however, was to ensure that the Chief Executive had access to alternative expert opinions, besides those of the Higher Civil Servants, in reaching policy decisions. The latter, the civil servants, were generally reputed to be clandestinely powerful through their permanency of tenure and technical expertise.⁸

Table 3.4 Assignment of Responsibilities to Departments Within the Governor's Offices

General Administration Department	Economic Department	Publicity Department	Office of Special Adviser on Political Affairs	Office of Special Adviser On Legal or Security Matters	Office of Special Adviser on Housing and Economic Affairs	Office of Special Adviser On Education
1. Co-ordination of Administrative Agencies	1. Co-ordination of State Programmes/Projects	1. State Broadcasting Corporation	1. Political Intelligence	1. Legal State Security Council	1. Housing	1. Education Statistics
2. General Administration of the Governor's Office	2. Land Use and Allocation Committee	2. Public Relations of Government	2. Political correspondence	2. Relationship with Law Enforcement Agencies	2. Legal State Development and Property	2. Legal State College of Technology
3. Civil Service Commission	3. Public Accounts Committee	3. Public Enlightenment	3. Relationship with political parties	3. Public Complaints involving legal or security issues	3. Legal State Building Materials Company	3. Legal State College of Education
4. Local Government Service Commission	4. Audit of Public Accounts	4. Relations with the Printing Corporation	4. State Electoral Commission	4. Security Intelligence	4. Liaison with the Legal State Building Investment Company	4. Monitoring of Education Programme
5. Public Complaints Commission	5. Financial Review	5. Miscellaneous Matters	5. Political appointment	5. Pressure Groups	5. Liaison with State Tender Board	5. Liaison with Ministry of Education
6. Protocol	6. Revenue Research Committee		6. Relationship with religious organisations, social groups, youth, students and market women Leaders	6. Liaison with the following Ministries: 1. Ministry of Justice 2. Ministry of Public Transportation	6. Technical Committee for the Awards of Contract	6. Liaison with Schools Management Board
7. Liaison with the following Service Ministers and their related Boards and Corporations:	7. New Towns Development Authority		7. Public Relations (Political)			7. Education Research
	8. Special Technical Committee on Land Use					

The Civil Service and The Parastatals

With only a few exceptions, parastatals in Lagos State were indistinguishable from the rest of the civil service; in fact, civil servants are posted back and forth to service regular ministries, the legislature, the governor's office, parastatals and the local governments as and when the need arises. Also, with but a few exceptions, the secretaries of the parastatals were civil servants, and the 'Administrative Guidelines for Parastatals Organization' provided that each parastatal (except the Commissions) should send the minutes of its meetings to the Office of the Secretary to the State Government. The conditions of service in the parastatals were essentially the same with the rest of the Civil Service.

In addition, each parastatal is attached to a supervising ministry, and, in many cases, the commissioner of the supervising ministry was the chairman of the parastatal. There was also a deliberate policy of subordinating parastatals to their supervising ministries in terms of finance and staffing. Generally, parastatals could not undertake an expenditure involving ₦50,000 and above, such payment being made only after an approval from the Governor through the supervising ministry. Also, there was a deliberate attempt to ensure that the most senior staff of parastatals were at least one step below the permanent secretary of the supervising ministry. The relationships between ministries and parastatals in the Lagos State government according to the Head of the Civil Service include the following:⁹

- (a) the role of a ministry *vis-a-vis* its parastatals, will continue to be that of the supervisor - giving general policy direction, planning and monitoring of programmes, projects and policies. In appropriate cases, the ministry will also play the role of consultant to the parastatals;
- (b) the role of the parastatals is to execute projects, programmes and policies;
- (c) a ministry must ensure that the parastatals, which it supervises, do not make avoidable mistakes, *not only on policy issues, but also on administrative and management matters*. In this connection, it is imperative that circulars and agenda for meetings of governing councils and their committees should be sent to the supervising ministry, at least, three days before the meetings; minutes, of the meetings should also be forwarded to the ministry not later than 14 days after the meetings;
- (d) in order to foster the exchange of views and ideas, on matters of common interest to a ministry and its parastatals, regular meetings of senior officials of the two agencies should be held at various levels;

- (c) the channel of all official communications between a parastatal organization and its supervising ministry and vice-versa, should be in accordance with the organization chart of each ministry;
- (f) discussions between the commissioner of the supervising ministry and the chairman and members of the governing body and officials of a parastatal organization should be attended by the permanent secretary of the ministry or an official deputed by him, unless the commissioner decides otherwise;
- (g) in financial matters, the ministry, as part of its supervisory role, should moderate the budget proposals of its parastatals before the proposals are forwarded to the Budget Department of the Office of the Secretary to the State Government. The Ministry should also participate in the budget discussion of the proposals before the Budget Department;
- (h) the governing body of a parastatal organization may make payments of up to ₦49,999, but payments of ₦50,000 and above will continue to be routed through the supervising ministry to the Governor for approval.

Table 5.5: Parastatals of Lagos State Government and Their Supervising Ministries

Ministry/Government Department	Number
1. Governor's Office	11
2. Deputy Governor's Office	2
3. Ministry of Trade & Industry	10
4. Ministry of Public Transportation	6
5. Ministry of Education	5
6. Ministry of Agriculture & Cooperatives	4
7. Ministry of Local Government and Community Development	4
8. Ministry of Finance	3
9. Ministry of Works	2
10. Ministry of Environment	2
11. Ministry of Health	2
12. Ministry of Sports, Youth & Social Welfare	2
13. Ministry of Economic Planning & Land Matter	1
14. Ministry of Justice	1
	55

Source: Office of the Head of State Civil Service.

As of October 1982, there were 55 parastatals and these were classified into three categories: 4 commissions, 30 commercial parastatals and 21 non-commercial parastatals (See Table 5.5). It was not possible to discover how truly functional these categories were because, most of the parastatals were heavily dependent on government support. Only a few of these parastatals were not full-fledged autonomous bodies, the few being advisory or special committees.

Commissioners and permanent secretaries play a crucial role in the management of the Civil Service and parastatals. According to Dr. Olu-femi Lewis, the delineation of responsibilities between the two officials seemed similar to that which exists between the chairman and managing director of a progressive company.¹⁰

The permanent secretary is the chief adviser of the Commissioner on all matters pertaining to the functional responsibilities of the ministry and on official matters in which the Commissioner has interest. He is the accounting officer and in that capacity is accountable for the disbursement of funds allocated to the ministry. He is in charge of staff and establishments matters and co-ordinates the activities of all departments in the ministry. Subject to the general direction and control of the Commissioner, he is responsible for supervising the implementation of government policies and programmes entrusted to the ministry.

The Commissioner is the political head of the ministry and in that capacity assumes responsibility for taking decisions on policy matters and for issuing general policy directives on the administration of the ministry and the execution of approved government policies and programmes. He is the chief public relations officer of the ministry and represents the ministry at meetings of the State Executive Council. The relationship which exists between the commissioner and permanent secretary is not that of master and servant, it is one of partnership in the smooth functioning of the ministry in such a way that the programmes and policies of the government can be effectively implemented.

The Teaching Service

The Teaching Service was and is still the single largest sector of the Lagos State public service. Even though its existence was not specially provided for in the constitution, it became a very important aspect of governmental work in Lagos State as in most other states.

Four major institutions were charged with the administration of the educational service in Lagos State: *the Ministry of Education* for planning policy development; *the Schools Management Committees (SMCs)* for the administration of schools and teachers in all the state's local government areas. All the SMCs (fifteen in number) were responsible to the *Schools Management Board (SMB)* which co-ordinates their activities and is directly responsible to the Governor. There was also the *Office of the Special Adviser on Education* which, as we had already seen, was

responsible for education statistics, research and the monitoring of the implementation of the free education programmes of the government.

Education has been a very touchy and important matter to most parents, hence a deliberate attempt was made through the management committees to directly involve local citizens in the management of the educational sector. This was the idea behind schools management committees. It was also felt that they would make possible a decentralized administration of the educational service. However, as we shall read shortly, even the educational sector is dominated by the Executive through the SMB.

The Judiciary

The Judicial Service Commission is the sole agency responsible for recruiting staff to fill the State's High Courts, Magistrates, and Customary Courts. However, the judiciary in Lagos State has suffered a severe shortage of staff. As at September 1981, the vacancy rate was as high as, 51.6%. In order to attract more candidates to this branch of the government, the state government in 1982 approved new remunerations and allowances for the chief judges and magistrates in the state bringing them at par (as the State's top Civil Servants since 1980) with their federal counterparts.

One possible reason for the problem experienced by the judiciary is the fact that the Commission did not start operating until about six months after the new administration was sworn in, lacked essential office space and since it did not control its funds, it has been made to be dependent on the Ministry of Justice, as in other parts of the federation.

Each of these institutions — the legislature, the executive, the parastatals, the teaching services, the judiciary — was supposed to promote the value of public participation in the making and administration of policy. In almost every case, however, each was incapacitated, and hardly made any effective contributions to policy or the implementation process. One other institution, the local government, is taken up for a closer study since it provides us with an opportunity of seeing the possible roles played by these other institutions described above.

Local Governments and Field Agencies

In the drive to ensure efficiency and participation, governments embarked on decentralization measures. Of the two types of decentralization strategies, namely to field agencies (deconcentration) and to local governments (devolution), the latter is the style most favoured for ensuring the widest possible participation. Local Governments have therefore continued to be an enduring aspect of Nigerian public

administration, and except for a brief period of the post-civil war years in some parts of the then Eastern Region, no attempt has been made to dispense with local governments altogether since the early 1950s. The nationwide military reforms of the system in 1976 clearly stated that the objective of Nigerian local government should be:

- (a) to make appropriate services and development activities responsive to local wishes and initiatives by devolving or delegating them to local representative bodies;
- (b) to facilitate the exercise of democratic self-government close to the local levels of our society, and to encourage initiative and leadership potential;
- (c) to mobilize human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in their local development;
- (d) to provide a two-way channel of communication between local communities and government (both state and federal).¹¹

The experience of several developing countries attests to the dilemma they face with respect to decentralization. In almost every case lip-service is paid to devolution, while local governments are run as extensions of the state bureaucracy.¹² In order to forestall this development in the Second Republic, the 1979 Constitution as we earlier indicated, made the existence of a 'democratically elected local government system' mandatory for the state governments. Also their responsibilities under the constitution, unlike in most other federal constitutions, were clearly spelt out (See Appendix 1 for the summary) and independent revenues were to be provided by all three levels of government to sustain the local government system.

We discussed in Chapter Two the major developments in local government administration up to 1980. In the remaining parts of this section we shall examine the extent to which the local government system constituted a veritable constitution for popular participation in the administration of basic services.

The Legal Framework

As soon as the civilian administration was sworn in October 1979 and persuaded that the eight-unit structures were too large and remote from the people, it proceeded to break them up into twenty-three smaller units. Two of the former eight-unit structure (Lagos Island, and Mushin) were divided up into four local government areas, Ikeja, Badagry and Epe were each divided up into three new local government areas; Lagos Mainland, Somolu, Ikorodu were divided up into two new local government units each (see Table 5.6). In addition, Community Development Committees (CDCS), into which each of the new local governments

were subdivided, were supposed to be the focus of community development activities in the different communities, within each local government area. They were, however, organically linked to the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development for their operations rather than to the local governments to which they are connected only

Table 5.6: The 'New' Local Governments in Lagos State, 1980

1976 Local Govts.	New Local Govt. Area (1980)	Approximate Population (1978)	No. of District- Communi- ties	Size of Council
Lagos Island	Lagos Island	343,560	9	30
	Eti-Osa	114,520	9	20
	Ikoyi	85,890	8	20
Lagos Mainland	Apapa	28,580	9	—
	Ebute Metta	400,190	15	30
	Surulere	171,510	8	25
Mushin	Mushin	357,780	9	30
	Itire/Ikate	357,780	10	25
	Oshodi/Isolo	238,520	9	25
	Odi-Olowo	238,520	11	30
Shomolu	Shomolu	309,840	15	30
	Kosofe	206,560	10	21
Ikeja	Agege	225,015	15	30
	Ikeja	225,015	13	20
	Alimosho	192,870	15	20
Ikorodu	Ikorodu	103,860	12	20
	Irepodun	69,240	37	20
Badagry	Badagry	138,960	10	20
	Ajeromi	185,280	14	21
	Ojo	138,960	17	25
Epe	Epe	67,680	2*	25
	Ibeju/Lekki	50,760	6*	25
	Agbowo/Eredo			
	Ejinrin	50,760	4*	30
		4,300,000		

Source: Ministry of Local Government, Lagos State.

Note: Asterisked numbers stand for districts rather than communities.

for budgetary purposes. The relevant sections of the Local Government Law (1980) stipulate that:¹³

1. Every Council shall establish Community Development Committees each of which shall be a unit of administration below the council. The Council shall delegate to such Community Development Committees, with or without restriction and condition, any function exercisable by the Council with respect to the area of that CDC except the power to make bye-laws, approving estimates, levying community taxes or rates or borrowing money but a CDC may with the approval of the council impose a special levy on its community for a special purpose and may be appointed by the Local Government Revenue Board to collect revenue on its behalf with the area of jurisdiction of the Committee.
2. A CDC shall cater for a population not less than 500 persons and not more than 50,000. It shall comprise a General Council of which all adult persons within the Community may be members and an executive committee elected by the General Council.
3. Each CDC shall prepare its annual budget and submit to its council for approval and inclusion in its own budget. Fifty per cent of the approved expenditure for each approved project of CDC shall be paid out of the CDC. Such matching grant shall be a sum equal to the amount collected or spent by the CDC on each particular project from other services.

This Local Government Law was a considerable source of political controversy and civil litigations especially from the ruling party's opponents in the state. The question centred on the procedure for creating new local governments. Protagonists of federal rights held the opinion that since the 'areas' described in the First Schedule to the constitution were the 1979 local governments, no new local governments could be created without amending the relevant section of the constitution.¹⁴ On the other hand, protagonists of state rights over local governments appealed to the unitarist control of local governments in the past and claimed that the constitution drafters did not anticipate a radical departure from that position.¹⁵ To them, the central problem was procedural: how and who should create local governments at the state level?

It would be from this point of view that Justice A. L. Baiogun's judgement on the legal suit brought before him to contest the Local Government Law of 1980 and the subsequent instruments that purported to create twenty three local governments out of the eight-unit structure should be seen.¹⁶ His judgement has since become a landmark and other states took note of it in creating new local governments. Justice Balogun was of the view that State Houses of Assembly had powers to create new local governments according to section 4 (7) of the Constitution which conferred residual powers on them to make laws for the peace, order and good government of their states or any part thereof. However, this power was not unlimited. It did not include powers to make laws on the registration of votes or the procedure for

regulating elections, powers which were conferred under the Constitution on the National Assembly. Furthermore, the House of Assembly was confined as to procedure. The law on local government must be democratic and must also provide for a person charged with the power and sole authority 'to prescribe the area over which a local government council may exercise authority'. This could not be the Governor as the Local Government Law of 1980 was said to imply because according to the constitutional provisions for gubernatorial electoral contests, the Governor to be declared winner, must have at least twenty five per cent of votes cast in each of at least two-thirds of all the local government areas in the state. The Governor was therefore an interested party. Besides, if the Constitution intended the Governor to be the 'person authorized by law', such a clarification would have been given as in section 274 of the Constitution.

The Judge further held that the proper procedure for changing the area of authority of any local government should include the following:

- (a) publication in the Official Gazette of the State of Notice of the proposal;
- (b) notice in writing to the local government councils in the areas to be affected calling for their views;
- (c) holding of a public inquiry to be held by or presided over by a High Court Judge (or a judge of not less than an equivalent rank);
- (d) written report of the Inquiry recommending all or some of the proposals.

The learned Judge had invoked the principles of the Local Government Law of the erstwhile Western Region. The Local Government Law of 1980 was defective in this respect and was therefore nullified.

The House of Assembly passed another Local Government Law in 1982 and this has since been amended to incorporate this procedural requirement. However, even this amendment took the twenty-three local government structure as given and it was again challenged by political opponents. The government was forced to refer to these councils as Management Committees until the new military government's directive that nationally all local government units should revert to the position as in the 1979 constitution (first schedule).

The councils, however, became a veritable part of the Lagos State public service. Each council had as its Chief Executive a Council Manager who was charged with the general administration of the council and the co-ordination of the work of other departments. Generally, there were five major departments as shown in Table 5.7. Each council in theory had a council of between 20 and 30 members. However, throughout the life of the civilian administration, the local governments (or management committees) were managed by a committee of management

Table 5.2B: Educational Attainment of Legislators in Ogun and Lagos States

Council Chairman's	Council Manager's (Chief Executive)	Treasurer's	Works Department	Public Health Department
1. Chairman's Office	1. General Administration and Co-ordination of all Departments	1. Preparing the draft budget and ensuring budget control	1. Civil, Mechanical Electrical Engineering works	1. Preventive & Curative Health (Environmental Services control, Food inspection and administration of health clinics)
2. Supervisory Councilors for Health, Works & Education	2. Secretary to Council (Secretariat maintenance).	2. Collection of the Councils revenues from slaughter slab fees Market and motor park fees.	2. Supervision of capital projects construction of road, drainages, culverts and slaughter fees.	2. School health service
3. Finance and General Purposes committee	3. Advertisement control	3. Liaises with the Local Government Revenue Board for the collection of tenement rates, liquor fees and grants from other governments.	3. Traffic control (motor licensing fees)	3. Maternal health service
4. Public Relations for the Council	4. Issuing of liquor licence, NICE R permits.			4. Child health service
	5. Market administration			
	6. Revenue enforcement			

who were appointed for a twelve-month period at a time by the Governor. With the absence of elections into local government all over the federation since the expiry of the life of the 1976 Councils in December 1979, this power to appoint Management Committees at periodic intervals made available to Governors veritable weapons of political control, not only over their local government but in terms of inter-party and intra-party squabbles.

Staff Management

In the Lagos State, the management¹⁷ of local government staff is supposed to be a shared responsibility between the State Government, specialized agencies controlled by the state government and the local governments. Table 5.8 shows the profile of the total number of staff in the Lagos State local government system as of 1982. The Lagos State Local Government Commission (LGSC) is entrusted with power to appoint, promote, deploy and dismiss all officers in all local governments. It may also delegate its responsibilities, with the approval of the Governor, to the Council Manager or any other staff of any Council. The Commission comprises of a Chairman and four other members all of whom are appointed (or many be removed) by the Governor.¹⁸ Furthermore, the Secretary to the Commission is a civil servant as well as all other permanent officers of the Commission. The LGSC delegated the management of staff on levels 01 to 05 to the Council Managers of each Council. The Chairman of the LGSC is also the Chairman of the Local Government Staff Pension Board, the latter which is charged with the responsibility of making administrative arrangements for the efficient collection, contribution and the payment of pension benefits. This 'Pension Fund' is made up of intergovernmental contributions from the federal, state and local governments. The federal government has been making regular payments in this regard (at least to all states that furnished the Executive Office of the President with their audited returns), but the state government's contributions have been limited (under the nullified 1980 Local Government Law) to covering the administrative expenses of the Pension Board while local governments contribute fifteen per cent of their total annual expenditure on personal emoluments, which are deducted at source through the Local Government Revenue Board (See below).

Sometime in 1982, an Office of the Head of Local Government Service was created, charged with the management of the local government service, training and monitoring at the local government level. This Office is, however, not directly related to the Ministry of Local Government but to the Governor, being placed almost at par with the Office of the Head of the Civil Service. The Office was created as a follow-up to the report of a High-powered Committee (set up by the

Table 5.8 Profile of Local Government Staff in Lagos State, 1982.

Grade Level	Number of Staff	% In Category	
17	—	—	
16	10	0.06	
15	19	0.12	
14	17	0.10	
13	42	0.26	0.5
12	103	0.63	
11	—	—	
10	173	1.06	
09	344	2.10	
08	653	3.99	
07	617	3.78	11.6
06	706	4.32	
05	1,375	8.4	
04	2,449	14.98	
03	2,869	17.55	
02	6,637	40.59	
01	337	2.0	87.9
	16,351	100	100.0

Source: Lagos State, Office of the Head of Civil Service.

Governor) comprising the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government as Chairman, the Secretary of the Local Government Service Commission, representatives of the Ministries of Local Government, Health, Works and Employment and Civil Service Matters. This Committee went ahead to recommend the redeployment (as appropriate) of over-staffed or non-productive staff throughout the local government.¹⁹ It is important to note that, commendable as this action was (indeed there is a need for an institutionalization of periodic audits), the membership of the Committee did not include any local government official or council member. More importantly, the Council itself as subsequent events showed (after the coup of 1983) was in a great need for such an audit itself.²⁰

A word would be in place here with respect to the role of the Ministry of Local Government. This ministry traditionally co-ordinates the

work of local governments and relating the activities of local governments with that of the state government. The Ministry is also saddled with the responsibility for chieftaincy matters, community development and the supervision of three parastatals (the Market Development Board, the Local Government Revenue and Pension Boards).

The Ministry amongst other things:

- i) vets the budgets of all the 23 councils annually through an eight-stage approval process level (see below) causing unnecessary delays in Local government budget cycle in the state;
- ii) disburses (later in collaboration with the Local Government Revenue Board) - rather than the State Joint Local Government Account as provided in the constitution - state and federal grants to local governments;
- iii) sets training policy and runs the Local Government Training School for training clerical and sub-clerical officers for executive responsibilities;
- iv) is empowered (even though it is not performing this function effectively due to poor staffing situation) to attend all council and committee meetings, have access to and be entitled to inspect all books, accounts and records of a council and advise any council with regard to any of its functions. It also inspects local government projects and receives complaints and petitions on local governments;
- v) provides legal services for the councils;
- vi) is responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the Community Development Committees and directly funding them and their programmes especially in the area of self-help, adult literacy and home management courses.

The Management of Local Government Finance

As a result of the 1976-79 local government and constitutional reforms, which finally culminated in the 1981 Revenue Allocation Law earmarking ten per cent of total federation account for local governments nationally, the mandatory transfer of 10% of State budget to their local governments, there has been an absolute increase in revenues available to all (not just the metropolitan ones as in the past) the local governments in Lagos State (See Table 5.9A and B). In addition, some notable improvements have been recorded in the administration of the property rates as a result of its centralization in the Local Government Revenue

Table 5.9A: Federal Government Allocation to Local Governments in Nigeria
1976 - 81

Year	Amount (in ₦ million)	% of Federal Revenue
1976	100	1.7
1977	250	4.2
1978	150	2.2
1979	300	2.5
1980	273	2.3
1981	1,423	10%

Board (See Table 5.10).

Nevertheless, the management of these grants is such that the local governments are treated more like part of the state civil service than outside it. In the first place, the constitutionally prescribed intergovernmental body was not established until July 1982. Until then local government grants were disbursed by the Local Government Revenue Board (comprising all the Chairmen of the Local Councils with the Commissioner for Local Government as Chairman) but in practice by the Ministry of Local Government. Secondly, the state government proved to be unlike other states who defaulted in paying their mandatory allocation to their local governments; it paid but always in one-yearly arrears. More seriously is the fact that both its own and federal grants (especially the latter) were all used as instruments of control over the budgets of the council. For instance, as Table 5.11 shows, local government budgets goes through an eight-stage process before they become finally approved by the state government, long after the individual councils have approved their respective budgets. Besides, extensive guidelines were given to the councils on the operation of their budget. Some of these guidelines were to ensure that local government activities were integrated with state government programmes, especially in the field of education, health service and road maintenance. However, some guidelines made impossible demands on the local governments, such as the directive that all their recurrent expenditure must be met from their domestic revenue. While the motive may be commendable as an attempt to ensure cost-consciousness in local government, Table 5.12 shows that this was an impossible task for virtually all the local governments. Even if this rule applied only to personal emoluments of the local governments, only ten councils (Apapa, Ikoyi, Ebute-Metta Osodi/Isolo, Odi-Olowo/Ojuwoye, Ikeja, Agege, Shomolu, Ojo and Ajeromi/Ifelodun)

Table 5.9B Comparative Data on Actual Local Government Finance in Lagos State

Revenue sources (Years)	Lagos Island	Lagos Mainland	Mushin	Somolu	Ikeja	Ikorodu	Badagry	Epe	Total
Grants									
1973	31.3%	—	16.2	—	33.3	57.5	—	72.7	42.2%
1978	34.4%	43.9	60.0	60.1	50.4	84.1	56.5	96.1	60.7%
1981	55.4%	63.9	73.7	77.8	76.2	89.3	70.4	95.6	69.2%
Property Rates:									
1973	59.1%	—	63.8	—	35.8	12.6	—	3.9	35.8%
1978	15.5	50.3	23.6	23.9	40.3	4.5	12.7	0.8	26.0%
1981	30.6%	21.9	9.1	4.1	14.5	3.3	12.4	1.5	16.9%
Other Local Sources									
1973	9.6%	—	20.0	—	27.9	29.3	—	23.4	22.0%
1978	14.0%	5.8	16.4	16.0	9.2	11.4	30.8	3.1	13.3%
1981	14.0%	3.5	17.1	18.3	9.4	7.5	17.3	2.9	14.5%
Total in * million									
1973	** 13.4m	—	1.7	—	0.9	0.2	—	0.06	16.3
1978	** 19.3m	7.1	5.1	2.9	4.4	1.5	2.2	3.8	36.3
1981	** 19.6m	11.8	14.0	6.5	9.1	4.7	8.1	6.3	80.2
In %									
1973	82.2	—	10.4	—	5.5	1.2	—	0.5	100
1978	25.6	20.0	14.1	8.0	12.1	4.1	6.1	10.5	100
1981	14.7	17.5	8.1	11.4	5.9	10.1	7.9	7.9	100

Source: Ministry of Local Government, Lagos State and Local Government Budgets, 1973-1981.

Table 5.10 Actual Total Collection of Property Rate In Lagos State 1971 - 1982

Year	Property rate ₦ million
1971	4.8
1973	7.9
1978	12.5
1980	12.7
1981	24.8 (including ₦4.14 million Public Sector contribution)
1982	13.6 (January - September)

Source: Ministry of Local Government, Lagos State.

out of the 23 Councils could have met this condition. A third point is the whole range of deductions made at source from the local government grants, such as the pension fund, training fund, payments to the Water Management Board, the Local Government Revenue Board, the Waste Disposal Board and the Market Development Board. Detailed instructions would also be given to local governments with respect to their personal emoluments, other charges and, especially, their capital expenditure.

A fourth and final observation is the new criteria worked out for distributing grants to local governments. Under the military, the same criteria for distributing grants to local governments at the national level also was used in all the states, but since 1979 each state took the initiative in working out what seemed most appropriate to its circumstances. From this point of view then, the new criteria in Lagos would seem to be an improvement (even though minimal) both on the military and the 1982 Federal Revenue Allocation Law (See Table 5.13). First, it has accorded a smaller percentage to such an uncertain and unverifiable factor (in the Nigerian situation) as population (from 60% under the military to 40%). Equity remains the same but two other factors added were social services provided (10%) and revenue generations effort (10%). For a predominantly metropolitan state, these two factors clearly become important. However, it can be argued that these two factors, internally generated revenue effort and social services provided, may work out more to the advantage of the more populous urban local governments and thereby bringing the ratio back to the old 60: 40

Table 5.11: The Budget Process For Local Governments in Lagos State 1981/82*

March/April 1981	Approval of draft estimates by Local Government Management Committee.
July 1981	Ministry of Local Government (MLG) sends call-circular to local governments to submit estimates within one month.
August-Sept/Nov. 1981	Processing of draft budget in the MLG with local governments heads of department taking turns.
December 1981 2nd	Draft sent to state cabinet committee comprising 2 commissioners of related ministries and other essential state officials. (heads of department of local government defend budget in turns)
January 1982	Third draft of budget sent to State Executive Council with a council memorandum form MLG.
February 1982	State Executive Council under chairmanship of the Governor examines each council's budget in turn.
March 1982	Councils produce 'approved' copies of budget and sends to Governor's Office for assent.
April 1982	Councils begin to implement budget and starts the procedures for 1983 budget.

*Source: Ministry of Local Government, Lagos State.

formula. Assuming this is so, at least other surrogates (social services responsibilities and internally generated revenue) other than crude population estimates are used, and to that extent it is better. This is in line with the 1982 National Revenue Law but then Lagos State accords, quite rightly, more weight to internally generated revenue. It may, however, be equally necessary to include a factor (land area, agricultural productivity etc.) which will be clearly weighted in favour of the more needy and poorer rural local government areas of the state. There is no doubt that the creation of new local governments has raised recurrent costs (1981 level stood at 73%) but this seems compensated for in the higher revenues generated from areas which hitherto contributed less. A good example of which is Ajeromi/Ifelodun in the erstwhile Badagry Local Government (See Table 5.14).

Table 5.12: Actual Local Government Expenditure in Lagos State, 1981

Local government	Domestic revenue ₦ Million	Recurrent expenditure ₦ Million	Total - Total revenue expenditure (Surplus or Deficit) ₦ Million	Total expenditure (TE) ₦ Million	Personal emoluments ₦ Million	Recurrent expenditure as % of TE
Lagos Island	3.41	6.90	0.54	8.52	4.61	81
Eti-Osa	0.25	1.94	0.08	2.33	0.96	83
Apapa*	2.32	3.32	0.07	4.00	1.58	83
Ikoyi*	3.61	2.90	1.91	3.41	1.93	85
Sub-Total						
Ebute-Metta	2.69	4.07	0.77	6.48	2.37	63
Surulere						
Sub-total	1.62	2.89	0.35	4.20	2.39	69
Mushin	1.06	1.69	1.64	2.73	1.25	62
Ibeju/Ikate	0.56	1.33	0.72	2.49	0.65	53
Oshodi/Isolo*	0.80	1.54	0.9	2.96	0.65	65
Odi-Olowo	1.32	2.25	0.7	3.10	0.87	73
Sub-total						
Ikeja*	1.41	1.72	0.98	2.62	0.89	66
Agege*	0.61	1.85	0.71	2.64	0.93	70
Alimosho	0.30	1.39	0.42	1.70	0.70	82
Sub-total						
Shomolu*	0.92	1.64	1.5	2.15	1.01	76
Kosofe	0.55	1.57	0.20	2.63	0.98	60
Sub total						
Ikorodu	0.39	1.18	1.14	1.73	0.57	68
Ibejodu	0.15	0.94	0.44	1.40	0.56	66
Sub-total						
Badagry	0.38	1.33	0.38	2.00	0.67	67
Ojo*	0.92	1.47	0.19	2.84	0.77	52
Ajeromi/Ifejodu*	1.13	1.69	0.21	2.44	0.75	69
Sub-total						
Epe	0.18	1.03	0.65	1.59	0.60	65
Ibeju/Lekki	0.03	0.92	0.56	1.36	0.42	68
Agbowa/Eredo	0.09	0.87	0.81	1.57	0.44	64
Sub-total						
Grand total	24.70	48.44	14.07	66.1	26.4	73

Source: Ministry of Local Government, Ikeja.

Note: * Councils whose domestic revenue can finance their personal emoluments expenses.

Responsibility of Social Services

Although allusions have been made to the responsibilities of local governments under the 1979 Constitution (especially in Chapter One), Table 5.15 classifies these responsibilities into three broad categories. The Lagos State Local Government Law of 1982 expatiated on these and made a few additions to these responsibilities, including sanitary inspections, sewage/night-soil disposal, provision of public libraries, rural and semi-urban water supply, fire services, control of pollution and the operation of commercial undertakings. All the activities in category A are carried out by local governments in Lagos State. A few of these, notably market development, water supply, rates collection, refuse dis-

Table 5.13: Present Formulae for Sharing Federal/State Grants Among Local Governments In Nigeria (Post - 1979 Legislation, Selected States).

Factors	National Assembly %	Bendel State %	Ondo State %	Oyo State %	Ogun State %	Lagos State %
Population	40	40	30	80	60	40
Equality	40	50	35	10	40	40
School enrolment (social services)	15	—	25	10	—	10
Land Area	—	10	10	—	—	—
Internal revenue effort	5	—	—	—	—	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 5.14: Actual Local Government Revenue Sources in Lagos State, 1981

Local Government	Property Rates	Fines & Fees	Grants State	Grants Federal	Total Actual #million	Total Estimates #million	Actual as % of Estimates
Lagos Island	18.4	24.3	14.6	42.8	7.98	17.74	45
Eti-Osa	4.3	6.6	24.9	64.2	2.25	3.89	58
Apapa	47.7	9.3	11.3	31.7	4.07	6.29	65
Ikoyi	52.1	15.8	8.9	23.2	5.32	7.31	73
Subtotal: Lagos Island	30.6	14.0	14.9	40.5	19.63	35.23	56
Ebute Metta	18.5	18.5	17.4	45.6	7.28	11.32	64
Surulere	25.2	10.3	17.3	47.3	4.55	7.03	65
Subtotal: Lagos Mainland	21.9	14.4	17.4	46.5	11.84	18.35	65
Mushin	8.1	20.0	19.9	52	3.77	6.33	60
Ibeju/Lake	7.5	9.9	24.2	58.3	3.21	4.88	66
Oshodi/Isale	7.5	17.1	21.2	54.2	3.26	4.39	74
Odi Olowo	13.4	21.2	17.9	47.3	3.80	5.30	72
Subtotal: Mushin	9.1	17.1	20.8	52.9	14.04	20.9	67
Agege	6.2	12.0	26.4	55.4	3.35	5.93	57
Ikeja	27.4	11.8	17.6	43.2	3.60	6.89	52
Alimosho	9.8	4.3	35.1	50.8	2.12	4.77	44
Subtotal: Ikeja	14.5	9.4	26.4	49.8	9.07	17.59	52
Kosofe	4.7	14.8	25.3	55.2	2.83	6.70	42
Shomolu	3.4	21.7	24.4	50.5	3.65	7.94	46
Subtotal	4.1	18.3	24.9	52.9	6.48	14.64	44
Ikorodu	2.8	10.7	33.1	53.4	2.37	6.75	43
Ibejidan	3.8	4.3	31.4	60.5	1.84	5.06	36
Subtotal: Ikorodu	3.3	7.5	32.3	57.0	4.71	11.81	40

Table 5.14 contd.

Local Government	Property Rates	Fines & Fees	Grants		Total Actual ₦million	Total Estimates ₦million	Actual as % of Estimates
			State	Federal			
Badagry	3.0	13.1	26.4	57.6	2.38	4.93	48
Ojo	19.7	10.6	18.0	51.7	3.03	6.18	49
Ajeromi/Ifelodun	14.4	28.2	23.6	33.8	2.65	6.25	42
Subtotal: Badagry	12.4	17.3	22.7	47.7	8.06	17.36	46
Epe	2.0	5.9	33.4	58.7	2.24	5.08	44
Ibeju/Lekki	1.0	0.6	36.0	62.4	1.92	4.31	45
Agbowa/Eredo/Ejirin	1.6	2.3	30.4	65.7	2.18	3.90	56
Subtotal: Epe	1.5	2.9	33.3	62.3	6.34	13.29	48
Grand Total	16.3	14.5	21.1	48.1	80.17	149.15	54

Source: Ministry of Local Government, Lagos State.

posal are carried out by state government agencies. The most significant involvement of local governments since 1979 has been in the area of road surfacing and drainage. Others are street lighting installation and the construction of minor markets. Each of these responsibilities attracted ₦28.8 million, ₦4.5 million and ₦4.0 million respectively, about 66% of total budget capital expenditure for the 1982 financial year. Another major capital item for several local governments was the construction of permanent secretariats; seven local governments were on temporary sites by 1982.

Table 5.15: Functions of Nigerian Local Government Under the Constitution (1979)

A. Mandatory Local Government Functions

1. The collection of rates (including tenement rates) radio, television and non-mechanically propelled vehicle licences.
2. The establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds, homes for destitutes, infirms, markets, motor-parks, public conveniences, roads, drains, and recreation facilities (including play-ground and parks).
3. Control and regulation of outdoor advertising and boardings, pets, shops, kiosks, restaurants and laundries.
4. Registration of all births, deaths and marriages.

B. Functions in which Local Governments are to Participate

1. State Economic Planning and development of the state.
2. The provision and maintenance of primary education.
3. The development of agriculture and natural resources (other than the exploitation of minerals).
4. The provision and maintenance of health services.

C. General

Any other functions that may be conferred by the state assembly.

Source: Federal Republic of Nigeria: *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*, (Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, 1979). Fourth Schedule.

However, it is with the category B responsibilities, that the involvement of local governments are controversial, namely in development planning, primary education, agriculture and the provision and maintenance of health services. Their participation in development planning is quite substantial and Chairmen of Councils are theoretically members

of the Economic Planning Board as stipulated in the constitution. The Board is a purely advisory body. Local government roles in this area (notably projects for health centres, clinics, maternities, dispensaries, libraries, reading room, town halls, motor-parks, markets, recreation centre (see Table 5.16) are highly circumscribed and controlled by the Ministry of Local Government or any other ministry it might recommend as its agent.

With respect to the administration of primary education, health services and agricultural programmes, these activities are regarded as basic to the community. The following observations are pertinent:²¹ First, generally, local governments are minimally involved in the performance of these activities throughout the state. For instance, with respect to primary education, local government did not seem involved until January 1982 at all in the management of any formal educational service except indirectly through its representation by the Supervisory Councilor for education in all the State's fifteen Schools Management Committees. It was only on 1 January 1982 that the responsibility for *minor maintenance* of schools in their areas of authority was transferred to the local governments. This includes repair - works to all structures and fixtures, water connections, sewage systems and electrical works. Similarly, in the field of agriculture, no link exists between the Ministry of Agriculture and the local governments, the latter are considered relevant only for ceremonial purposes such as agricultural shows.

Even in the Rural Integrated Development Project, local governments were only minimally involved. Finally, in the field of health service, local governments, as discussed already, are very much involved in running their own health clinics, maternities and dispensaries especially in the rural and semi-urban parts of the state. However, the role assigned to local governments under the nation-wide Basic Health Services Scheme (BHSS) in terms of managing basic health clinics has been transferred to the Health Management Board. Nevertheless, the field remains, amongst the three services discussed, the greatest area of inter-governmental collaboration and co-operation. For instance, the state's Ministry of Health is involved in assisting local governments to centrally purchase the drugs needed for their maternities and dispensaries and also to train paramedical personnel (health-maids) for local government health centres.

A second observation is about the extensive use made of parastatals as an instrument of decentralization. For instance, the Ministry of Agriculture has three parastatals, of which two are boards and one a company. These are the Fish Board, the Agriculture and Livestock Board and the Livestock Production Company. All three are directly responsible to the Commissioner who in turn is responsible to the Governor. Similarly, the Ministry of Education has three boards, the School

Table 5.16: Local Government Capital Programmes in Lagos State under the States Fourth National Development Plan, 1981 - 1985.

Local Government	Economic		Social	Administration		Total N. Mill.	% of Grand Total
Lagos Island	98.2		0.8	—		20.36	—
Eti-Osa	66.7		33.3	—		2.69	
Apapa	—		67.9	32.1		1.11	
Ikoyi	67.2	(58%)	32.8	(33.7%)	(8%)	8.66	(48.5%)
Ebute-Metta	20		46.7	35.3		1.50	
Surulere	—	(10%)	100.0	(73.4%)	(16.7%)	2.40	(5.8%)
Mushin	—		85.1	—		3.56	
Ibeju/Lkate	8.2		91.8	—		1.23	
Onodi/Isolo	17.8		67.2	—		2.81	
Odi-Olowo	—	(6.5%)	66.4	(77.6%)	(15.9%)	1.17	(19%)
Ikeja	36.4		39.6	24		1.10	
Agege	45		27.0	28		1.11	
Alimosho	—	(27.1%)	75.3	(47.3%)	(25.6%)	1.06	(4.8%)
Shomolu	—		55	45.0		1.34	
Kosofe	47.6	(23.8%)	33.3	(44.2%)	(32%)	1.05	(3.5%)
Ikorodu	11.8		86.6	1.6		1.69	
Irepeodun	6.0	(8.9%)	76.7	(81.6%)	(9.5%)	4.30	(8.8%)
Badagry	36		44.0	—		1.07	
Ojo	3		100	—		1.01	
Ajeromi/Ifeelodun	—	(19.9%)	96.2	(80.1%)	(10%)	1.30	(5.0%)
Epe	44.6		43.5	11.9		3.24	
Ibeju/Lekki	24.4		31.0	44.6		2.05	
Agluwa/Eredo	10.0	(36.3%)	44.8	(40%)	(23.9%)	1.92	(10.6%)
Grand Total	25.8		58.5	15.7		67.78	(100%)

Source: Lagos State of Nigeria, Fourth National Development Plan, 1981 - 85

Note: Economic Projects include: Markets, Motor parks, Estate development transportation & commercial activities.
Social Projects include: Health centre, Maternities, Clinics, Dispensaries, Cemeteries, Town Halls, Public toilets and grants to community Development Committees.

Administrative Projects include: Customary courts, staff quarters, council offices.

Management Board, the Scholarship Board and the Library Board. Each of these is responsible directly to the Governor through the Commissioner for Education. In the same way, the Ministry of Health has two boards, the Health Management Board and the Traditional Medicine Board. Each of these boards carries omnibus responsibilities. For instance, the functions of the Schools Management Board includes the personnel management responsibilities for all teaching and non-teaching staff in all primary and post-primary institutions in the state, 'the inspection of all primary and post-primary schools, the preparation of annual estimates and the establishment of proposals, the building of schools and laboratories in all schools and the furnishing, equipping, repair and supply materials for them' and 'such other functions as may be conferred or imposed upon it from time to time by the Governor, the Commissioner or the Executive Council in relation to teachers or institutions in the State'.²² Similarly, the Health Management Board is res-

possible for equipping all hospitals and clinics in the State and for the bulk purchase of drugs to maternities and dispensaries maintained by the state and local governments. Whatever dangers these might pose in terms of organizational politics have been dealt with by the regulations on procedure and relationships between ministries and their parastatals already cited. Also, with the harmonization of salaries of top level officers of the state government with those of their federal counterparts in 1980, secretaries of the boards were graded a rank below those of permanent Secretaries.

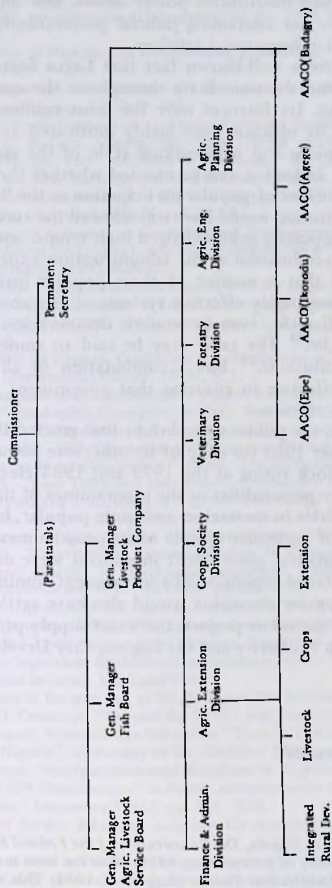
A third and final observation is that, virtually each ministry and parastatal has its own field organization, not necessarily on 'council basis'. For instance, the Schools Management Board has fifteen Schools Management Committees (SMCs) which manage the schools on their behalf. The enabling law which set up the Board stipulates that the management committees should be established on the basis of "council areas". The fact that there are only fifteen instead of twenty-three such SMCs probably indicates that a twenty-three committee structure will be wasteful. Although supervisory councillors of education in all the local governments are usually members of the SMCs, the enabling law does not make it mandatory for the supervisory councillor for education in a particular area to be a member of the SMC. Normally, the secretary of an SMC is a grade level 15 officer. It is important to note here that the maintenance of school buildings and premises used to be the preserve of the old eight local governments before the take-over of government by the civilian administration.

Figure 5 shows the organizational chart within the Ministry of Agriculture and its parastatals. It shows clearly that the administration of agricultural services has nothing to do with the local governments.²³ There are four main Field Commissions which are located in each division (with the exception of Lagos divisions). Each division is headed by an Area Agricultural and Cooperatives Officer (AACO). Below him are other staff of the ministry who are deployed into zones, and sub-zones of the division. All these are administratively under him but, each relates professionally to his/her sectional head at the headquarters. The Health Management Board also has its own district health management committees although these are not functional at present. Nevertheless, in no case is any of these field agencies related directly to local governments in the state.

Overall Assessment of Institutions for Public Participation

Overall, the institutions for public participation in Lagos State government have not been as effective as they ought to be during the Second Republic. Of all the institutions, the Executive was the most powerful

Figure 5: Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (Lagos State) Organization Chart



but there was no doubt also that the Civil Service was its veritable ally. Between these two institutions power rested, and not even constitutional guarantees nor restraining judicial pronouncements could hold back the sway of gubernatorial activism.

It is of course a well-known fact that Lagos State was by far the most effective and dynamic State throughout the country during the Second Republic. Its finances were the most resilient (as we saw in Chapter Four); its officials were highly motivated and high-achievers given the exemplary and hardworking style of the gubernatorial political leadership. Indeed it can be mooted whether the involvement of too many institutions of popular participation in the State as envisaged under the constitution would have still allowed the state government to move with its popularly acknowledged high tempo and ensured the relative ease of co-ordination as the administration experienced. It must be remembered that a number of these popular institutions are not noted for ensuring highly effective systems of citizen input into public affairs. The parliament, even in western democracies, is a shadow of what it should be.²⁴ The same may be said to some extent of local government institutions.²⁵ But a combination of all the institutions usually prove effective in ensuring that government decisions reflect organized public opinion.

Nevertheless, the public opprobrium that greeted the exit of the regime in December 1983 (in spite of its otherwise popular political support - 95% of block voting at the 1979 and 1983 elections) has to do, not with the key personalities or the programmes of the administration which were laudable in themselves and quite popular, but with the style of prosecution of particular aspects of its programmes and their consequences. For instance, government intentions were misunderstood on the rapid quantitative expansion of a government dominated educational system. More popular discussion would also have settled the questions raised about the metroline project, the water supply project from Ogun/Osun River Basin Authority and the Lagoon City Development Scheme.

Notes and References

1. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (Lagos, Ministry of Information, 1979). This has been modified by Suspension and Modification Decree (Lagos) of 1984. This chapter treats the Lagos Public Service under the Second Republic. Quite a few changes have been made to this structure as a result of military rule. The present tense is

therefore retained in the description that follow

2. Public Service includes the civil service, local governments, parastatals and other agencies of the government according to the 1979 Constitution (Fifth Schedule).
3. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *The Constitution*, Preamble.
4. *Ibid.*, Section 120.
5. S.E. Finer, *Comparative Government: An Introduction to the Study of Politics*. (Middlesex, Penguin, 1970), P. 182.
6. O. Oyediran, "Town Councillors: A Study of Elected Representatives in Three Councils in Western Nigeria, *Quarterly Journal of Administration* 7, 4 (July 1973), pp. 453 - 462 and O. Oyediran, "The Chosen Few: Policy-Makers in the New Local Government System in Western Nigeria", *Quarterly Journal of Administration* 8, 4 (July 1974), pp. 397 - 408.
7. *The Constitution* Third Schedule, Part 1, No. 11.
8. L. Adamolekun, "Leadership in Governmental Administration in Nigeria: Politicians, Political Technocrats and Higher Civil Servants", Conference Paper, (Ibadan, NISER, 1984), mimeo.
9. A. Olufemi Lewis "Regulations and Structure of the Lagos State Civil Service" Paper read to the Seminar on Local Government Administration in Lagos State (Badagry, ASCON, 1982), mimeo pp. 11 - 21.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 9 - 10.
11. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Guidelines for the Reform of Local Government* (Kaduna, Government Printer, 1976), p. 1.
12. Attempts to explain this administrative paradox have been made by V. Subramaniam, "Developing Countries" in D.C. Rowat (ed.) *International Handbook on Local Government Reorganization* (Westport, Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 582 - 593, Diana Conyers, "Decentralization. The latest Fashion in Development Administration?" *Public Administration and Development* 3, 2 April - June 1983 and Dele Olowu, "Strategies for Decentralization within Developing Countries: A Nigerian Case-Study" in L. Adamolekun, Dele Olowu and M. Laleye (ed.), *Local Government in West Africa Since Independence* (Lagos, Lagos University Press, 1984), and Dennis A. Rondinelli, "Government Decentralization in Comparative Perspective: Theory and Practice in Developing Countries", *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 67, 2 (1981), pp 133 - 145.
13. Lagos State of Nigeria, *Official Gazette*, Volume 13, No. 3 (Lagos, Government Press, 11 January, 1980). This contains both the 1980 Local Government Law and the Local Government Electoral Regulations of 1980. There were four major legislation (including 2 amendments) on the State's Local government system between 1980 and 1982.
14. This for instance is the position of Mr. J. Wayas, the Senate Leader (1979 - 83). See also O. Omoruyi, "Beyond the 1976 Local Government Reforms" Conference paper, National Conference on "Twenty Years of Public Administration in Nigeria", University of Ife, (October 1980).
15. See A. Gboyega, "Intergovernmental Relations in Nigeria: Local Government and the 1979 Constitution" in *Public Administration and Development*. 1, 4, (October - December 1981), pp. 281 - 290.
16. This section of Justice Balogun's judgment is extracted from A. Gboyega, *op. cit.*
17. For different systems of local government personnel management, see United Nations, *Local Government Personnel System* (New York, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1975). For application to the Nigerian environment see, Dele Olowu, "Personnel Management and Local Government

- Effectiveness in Nigeria" in *Ife Social Sciences Review* 4,1 & 2, pp. 13-26.
18. Lagos State of Nigeria, "A Law to Make Provisions for the Establishment of Local Government Councils in Lagos State and for Purposes Connected Therewith", *Official Gazette*, Vol. 13, No. 3 11 January 1980, Section 42.
 19. Lagos State Government, "Report of the High-Powered Committee on Staff Complement in all the Departments of the 23 Local Government Councils in Lagos State". Vol. 1. *Main Report*. (September, 1980).
 20. A total number of about 3,300 public servants were purged from the Lagos State public service in the massive purge of the public services throughout the federation that followed the military takeover in 1984.
 21. See Dele Olowu, "Strategies for Decentralization Within Developing Countries: A Nigerian Case-Study" *op. cit.*
 22. Lagos State of Nigeria, "A Law to Provide for the Establishment of the Lagos State Schools Board" (Law No. 9 of 1980).
 23. Both the Federal and State Governments carry out their agricultural programmes through agencies other than local governments. See Dele Olowu, "Local Government and Rural Development in Nigeria" *Nigerian Journal of Local Government Studies* 1, 1 (June 1983), pp. 48 - 55.
 24. See for instance, H. Young and Anne Sloman, *No Minister: An Inquiry into the Civil Service* (London, British Broadcasting Corporation, 1982); L. Adamo- lekun, *On Administrative Power* (Ile-Ife, University of Ife Press, 1982), Inaugural Lecture Series; and S.E. Finer, *Comparative Government Op. cit.*, pp. 157 - 158.
 25. This is particularly so in developing countries as already explained (see footnote 12). Even in the developed countries, great dangers are posed to whatever remains of local autonomy. See for instance, J. Conford, *The Failure of the State, On the Distribution of Political and Economic Power in Europe* (London, Croom Helm, 1975).

Summary and Conclusion

The objective of this final chapter is to summarize this study and draw lessons (both positive and negative) for Lagos as well as other states from our analysis thus far. We also discuss the implications of some of our findings for the future of Nigerian federalism.

Summary of Findings

In the foregoing chapters we have succeeded in characterizing the development process of Lagos State. We have suggested that its foci, socio-economic improvement and nation-building, are meant to be promoted by all national institutions but especially by sub-national institutions through their responsibility for basic social services. First, because these services represent social transfers from the rich to the poor, they assist the process of socio-economic improvement. Second, because state governments are popular participatory institutions they promote national integration. We have also discovered, however, that these basic services and infrastructures are costly and fast expanding. Yet state revenues are often highly inelastic and state governments have had to rely on conventional and non-conventional forms of raising finances, either through a skilful management of inter-governmental relations and/or the generation of more revenues internally.

We also found that succeeding governments in Lagos State have tried to wrestle with some of the peculiar environmental problems in the State, such as limited, developed land area, rapidly increasing population size and the concentration of all economic activities and population in a small portion of the State's landed area. These peculiar environmental problems impinge directly on

the state government's ability to meet its people's basic needs. This problem had become compounded by the dearth of any reliable socio-economic data throughout the country. The combination of these factors constitute for successive governments a daunting task in their bid to ensure that major basic services are made available to the mass of the people.

We found in Chapter Three that the main programmes of the different governments in Lagos State have been mainly in the area of providing and maintaining basic social services. Items on which considerable resources have been devoted during the thirteen years of military rule were the environmental services (water, sewerage and drainage); transportation services (roads, bus services and water ways) and education. This pattern was sustained generally by the civilian government. Even though these basic services were far from being adequate, the cost of the services were found to have increased quite substantially over a ten-year period. For instance, a total actual expenditure of ₦86.1 million was spent under the 1970-74 plan but this had risen to almost a billion naira (₦900.5 million) during the 1981-83 period. These include programmes for water-supply, mass transit systems, mass education, health services and housing.

In Chapter Four we examined the major sources of funding both for recurrent and capital expenditure. Even though a vigorous attempt has been made to diversify the state's fiscal base, especially in more recent years, the major revenue producer, both for recurrent and capital expenditure, remains the Pay as You Earn (PAYE) tax. This is quite unlike other states in the federation which are almost completely dependent on federal statutory transfers. The other major sources are grants and revenues from land and landed property. The latter was particularly exploited during the civilian administration in the state, together with attempts to widen the scope of tax-payers. It was argued that the sum of these pattern of programme financing and the more recent developments was to ensure that the burden of those social programmes were borne largely by the middle and upper middle classes respectively. This is because the PAYE tax is a steeply progressive tax. The availability of financial resources can, however, not guarantee performance in view of the stiff competition for skilled personnel in the Lagos area - from the federal government and its many agencies and from the organized private interest - most of which in both respects are concentrated in the Lagos metropolis. We therefore, examined some of the strategies utilized by the state government to attract and retain senior management staff. These strategies include a commitment to merit, the pay-

ment of competitive salaries, an elaborate programme of staff development and the exemplary leadership of the civilian governor which served as additional motivation during the years of civilian administration (1979–83).

In Chapter Five, we examined the structure of the public service under the civilian administration to enable us understand what opportunities exist for public participation in government's policies and programmes. We discovered that, even during the Second Republic, there was not much opportunity for the type of popular participation envisaged by the 1979 Constitution. Such policy generation and implementation as obtained were dominated to a high degree by the Executive through the civil service. Even though this facilitated speed in governmental action, it tended to bring a number of these programmes into unnecessary controversy and with the return of the military, even into opprobrium.¹

Lessons of the Lagos State Experience

There is no doubt that the Lagos State administration, since it began some sixteen years ago, has shown considerable vigour in tackling its multifarious social problems, most notably in the area of the provision and maintenance of basic services and infrastructures. In spite of the inadequacies of quite a number of these services up to the present, it can yet be asserted that the Lagos State experience has been that of a modest success in the mobilization of human and material resources, and the maintenance of a well-oiled administrative machinery. This has enabled the administration to chart a pioneering course in state administration in Nigeria, especially with respect to the provision of a variety of social services for its teeming population; and to widen its own resource base, and all these in spite of an unfavourable political, physical and social climate. Its political climate has been clouded by the reluctance of the national government to make long-term commitments to Lagos in view of the decision to shift the federal capital, and the political differences between state and the federal government during the period of civil rule. The physical constraints as discussed in Chapter Two include its small size and overconcentration of economic activities in one narrow corridor of the state even though vast underdeveloped land exists. The social climate is conditioned by the intense problems associated with rapid population growth and the dearth of any reliable means of either monitoring, predicting, or controlling such rapid growth. So what are the major lessons of the Lagos State experience in government and administration?

Commitment to Social Services Programmes

The commitment of the Lagos State government to social services has been sustained throughout the period of study. As we have tried to show in the first chapter, this is the main focus of state government responsibilities. Of course, different circumstances may seem to dictate otherwise. For instance, a state government with a predominantly rural population will need to invest in economic programmes, such as agricultural inputs. Even then, as has been argued elsewhere, it might still be better for the state government to concentrate on rural infrastructures such as rural roads, clinics, schools and agricultural input centres rather than invest directly in agriculture.²

The dilemma of most state governments is that these are services which do not generate financial returns in the short-term. Hard-pressed for funds and completely reliant on federal statutory transfers, other activities with a shorter gestation period seem more attractive. Furthermore, infrastructural projects are not as prestigious as industrial or commercial projects. So how do they get the additional resources necessary to maintain costly and rapidly expanding social services? Two suggestions usually made are the transfer of more revenues from the federation account to the states and the generation of more internal revenues from traditional state revenue sources. The former suggestion will be taken up under the implication of this study for Nigerian federalism while the latter suggestion is discussed next.

The Management of Financial and Human Resources

It is often argued that the wealth of Lagos can be attributed to its peculiar position in the country's economic and political system. This may indeed be responsible for its higher level of internally generated revenues, as compared with other states of the federation. However, two main lessons can be derived here. First, if the foregoing thesis is accepted, it should be relatively easy to argue that internally generated revenues should be a rough measure of a state's socio-economic status, but apparently this is not the case today. The reason being that most states adopt a lackadaisical attitude to the collection of internally generated revenues given the ease with which they collect grants from the federal government and the fact that this factor, internally generated revenues, plays a very insignificant role in Nigeria's revenue transfer system. The Lagos State administration has succeeded in establishing a strong independent revenue base for itself not just because of its

natural or economic vantage position (which is real) but also because it has systematically attempted to broaden its revenue base and to improve even on these traditional revenue sources such as the income tax at the state level, property rates and liquor licenses at the local government level. These sources have been found more dependable than the widely oscillating federation accounts grants on which most state governments are dependent.

There has been a much more persistent effort to develop these internal revenue sources much more than one observes in most other state-level administrations in Nigeria. It took the economic recession of 1983 and military intervention to impose this option on most state governments in Nigeria.³ The reluctance of most states and local governments to effectively tap opportunities offered by property rating in the larger towns and cities in Nigeria even up till now is another example. Furthermore, the Lagos State administrations have made a more consistent effort to plug waste and discourage bureaucratic corruption than most other state governments in the country. With regards to the latter they have been more fortunate than most other state governments in terms of effective press coverage and as for the former, an extensive and very elaborate network of funds' monitoring and expenditure has been one of the most enduring features of the Lagos State administrative system.⁴

Much to be commended also is the approach to public sector personnel management. Vigorous attempts are made within the Lagos State public service to utilize the basic principles of personnel management and development. However, no effective system of personnel auditing and monitoring takes place with the result that there is the usual substantial overstaffing at the base and a high degree of staff shortage in the higher reaches of the administration. This paradox was brought to a head under the civilian government of the Jakande administration, when institutions, especially parastatals and local governments, rapidly increased in number without any obvious improvements in public participation but with great shortages of senior management personnel strength throughout the public service.

Public Participation is Important in the Policy and Implementation Process

We have discussed this point at some length in the last chapter. It is first important to underscore the fact that the merit of public participation is that it makes government policies and intentions better understood and supported. In actual fact, public participa-

tion is often participation by a number of strategic interest groups; but it is often in the interest of the government, given its limited resources, to attempt to try to conciliate the majority of these strategic groups.⁵ This is where the basic services strategy experiences its major intellectual and institutional obstacle. Most of the beneficiaries from basic social services programmes are under-privileged groups who are usually too disadvantaged to influence public opinion. Yet all governments must be supported by an *organized public opinion*. Besides, it is the privileged classes that have to bear the actual burden of social services, as we have shown in this book. This dilemma was particularly and clearly demonstrated in the Lagos State's programme of mass education based on an exclusively publicly-owned schools. Much as the privileged classes were ready to support mass education, they could not support the abolition of private schools altogether. They consider that to be too high a cost to bear for 'public interest' as defined by the government. A genuine opportunity for public participation would certainly have dictated a less ambitious social programme in the field of education. Indeed, but for the military intervention, the state government and the privileged classes in Lagos, and interests represented by the Catholic Church, seemed on a collision course on this issue.

Even for efficiency considerations, we have suggested in Chapter Five that, genuine decentralization of authority and responsibilities to parastatals and local governments should have made for a more efficient public service, rather than the concentration of immense power and responsibilities in the Lagos State Civil Service. First, it would ensure the better utilization of available staff, reduce duplication and overlapping administrative responsibilities and thereby cut waste.

With special reference to local governments in Lagos State under the civilian regime, we have suggested that they were effective even though they were not as independent as outlined by the constitution. Perhaps it was better they were not. Nevertheless, it can be argued that efficiency would have been higher if the local governments were given a wider latitude of autonomy even within a decentralized framework. The budget system for instance could have been made less stifling and cumbersome than it is presently. There is no doubt that the number of budget hearings, even now, can be substantially reduced.

Size and State Performance

It is often argued that one of the causes of the apparent prosperity

of Lagos State is the combination of its wealth with its small size. We have shown, however, that Lagos is not as wealthy as it is often thought to be. The State ranks third in terms of absolute budget size amongst Nigeria's nineteen States (now 21 in number). Nevertheless, it is true that Lagos is small, both in terms of its area (the largest state in the country has a size which is fifteen times that of Lagos State) and its official population figures. We have shown that, in reality, the population of Lagos State by 1979 is more than double the official estimates made by the National Population Commission, 4.68 million instead of the official figure of 2.4 million. If this more realistic estimate of the Lagos State population (4.68 million) is accepted, then Lagos is not as small as one is at first tempted to think; it will rank eighth instead of the sixteenth position accorded to it according to the federally accepted figures.

Essentially and realistically, therefore, the challenges facing the Lagos State Government are no less real than those facing other states with a larger territory but with much smaller population. If anything the Lagos State case is more problematic than those other states, first because of the rapid population growth rate (and the implications for provision and maintainance of services) and second, because of the special problems posed to the democratic political management of such polities. The arguments on both sides in respect of this latter consideration are summarized in Table 6.1. When this is also coupled with the relatively high level of urbanization in the Lagos State area, it is evident that Lagos State citizens are not only more astute, more politically aware and that in the absence of a strong community cohesiveness, urban or metropolitan government has to meet the challenge of providing an ever-expanding array of social services to a densely settled, highly mobile and intelligent community. These essentially are the challenges posed to urban governments and they far outweigh any advantages they may have over their rural counterparts.⁶ For instance, the average length of roads in a physically large State like Oyo State may be higher than it is in Lagos State, but road density will inevitably be higher in the latter. The same goes for schools, health services and any of the other services. It is for this reason that the state per capita expenditure, using more realistic population data, is really ₦104.6 (5th position) instead of ₦204 (a second position).

One central problem in a correct appreciation of the development problems confronting the Lagos State, as well as other states, is the availability of accurate and nationally acceptable data. Since population censuses have failed to produce the required data, recourse must be made to alternatives.

Table 6.1: Problems of Managing Small and Large States in a Democracy

Small Polities

The smaller the scale of the society, the likely it is that:

1. An ordinary citizen can deal directly with a top leader if he chooses to do so.
2. Leaders gain their information about citizens' wants by direct observation and communication.
3. Leaders directly oversee the actions of sub-leaders.
4. Communication between citizens and leaders is reciprocal.
5. Top leaders communicate directly with one another.
6. Top leaders are less functionally specialized: they accumulate roles.
7. Top leaders have occupations or roles outside of politics that provide them with opportunities to engage in politics but less than full-time.

Large Polities

The larger the scale of the society, the more likely it is that:

1. An ordinary citizen cannot deal directly with top leader but must go through various channels of communications.
2. Leaders depend on subordinates or groups who summarize information about citizens' wants.
3. Sub-leaders acquire autonomy *de facto* and *de jure*.
4. Communication is a symmetric: top leaders communicate directly by electronic means with more and more citizens, whereas an increasing proportion of citizens cannot communicate directly with top leaders.
5. Top leaders communicate with one another through intermediaries, if at all.
6. Top leaders are more functionally specialized; they occupy particular roles.
7. Top leaders are professional politicians whose main occupation is politics, and nearly all of whose roles are political.

Source: R.A. Dahl and E.R. Tufte, *Size and Democracy* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1973), p. 82

Implications of the Study for Nigerian Federalism

In view of the country's current economic and political problems, many observers have started the search for alternative political structures for the Nigerian political systems. Some have suggested *confederacy*, a rather loose kind of federation among states/regions.⁷ Such a system, they suggest, will stimulate healthy competition without retarding the progress of any region or state. However, with the conclusion of the civil war in 1970 and the creation of more states in 1976 and 1987, a strong case for confederation can hardly be made today. It seems that option is squarely behind us as a nation.

Some others have suggested a *unitarist* federalism, such as was practised under the military. Such people often point to the remarkable social and economic achievements of the military interregnum as basis for such a suggestion. However, unitarism (under whatever guise) is feasible in Nigeria only with a military government and even then it is never so easy as the popular reactions to General Ironsi's Decree 34 of 1966 and the memoirs of military personnel in government show.⁸

The only option left then is *federalism* as defined by the 1979 Constitution. However, with the clamour for more states, a total of 50 new states were demanded out of which 29 were ratified by the defunct National Assembly (the whole process was arrested and the creation of states movements disbanded by the military as soon as they came to power in 1984). Many are questioning the wisdom and the future role of states in Nigeria's federal arrangement. Evidently, the creation of many more new states will not only make the federal government much stronger *vis-a-vis* the state governments, (and a return to the federal-unitarism of 1975-79) it will encumber an already overloaded public administration system with additional administrative overhead costs. However, the demand for more states is based on certain essential attributes of states' performances. These are:

1. Increasing Financial Dependency

Whereas Nigeria's regional governments were dependent on federal source to the tune of 60% in 1960, they were, by 1980, on the average, dependent to meet as much as 87% of the expenditure commitments from federal statutory grants. Among the states some are not able to raise more than five per cent of their expenditure commitment (Niger, Kwara, Rivers, Gongola) while only our case-study state (Lagos) is able to raise more than fifteen per cent

of its revenues (the estimated percentage internal revenue for that state in 1979 was 41.3%). Unfortunately, however, even the federation revenue source is dependent on a declining oil revenue (royalties, profit tax and rent) to the tune of 83.7% (1980). It is, therefore, not surprising that the overall deficits of the states budgets reached ₦2.2 billion in 1980.

2. *Disproportionate Investment in Urban Areas*

Although about 60-70% of the Nigerian population resides in the rural areas and agriculture engages 65% of the labour force, all the state governments spent only approximately 12% on agriculture and agriculture-related activities during the Third National Development Plan.⁹ The rest were invested in urban centres and urban-related activities such as manufacturing, power, information, education and health services. Even for social services such as health, governments prefer to invest in the more impressive hospitals (usually in urban areas), rather than the basic health service units such as maternities, health centres, etc.¹⁰

3. *High Administrative Costs*

Recurrent expenditure is often as high as, and in many cases higher than, the capital expenditures of the states. For instance, in Chapter Three we reviewed the expenditure profile of the Lagos State Government (perhaps the most financially prudent state in the whole federation), since its establishment in 1968. We found that between 1968 and 1978, capital expenditures exceeded recurrent expenditures only in 1973 (six years after the state was created). This trend was increased under the civilian government: at least 60% of total expenditure went to recurrent items and over two-thirds of these were meant for personal emoluments. Besides, the vote for general administration in capital expenditure was considerable. Invariably, most of the expenditures on administration are spent in the headquarters, reinforcing the neglect of the mass of the people who live in rural and semi-rural communities.

Three major implications flow from our study of Lagos State in thinking of correcting the above-mentioned operational problems of State governments. First is the fact that there is a need for a proper articulation of the roles of each of the three governmental levels in the country. Too much attention has been diverted to a continuous tinkering with the nation's administrative and political units with the result that this creates an element of uncertainty which is counter-productive to organizational performance.

What is required is to allow all levels of government to have a clear perception, over time, of the areas of their organizational specialization which they should devote their maximum resources and energies to promoting. For instance, as we have argued in this study, the federal government is charged with the management of the national economy — agriculture, industrialization, mineral resources extraction, inter-state communication and commerce — but the state government (and to a lesser extent, the local governments) is charged with the responsibility for basic social services and infrastructure, roads, education, housing, health, water supply and other environmental services. As these represent two aspects of the same problem of overall national development, a recognition of the interdependency of the two broad areas of responsibility is bound to forge a more likely atmosphere for meaningful and dynamic inter-governmental relations. It will also enable temporary public officials to recognize that public office is as much a *management* as well as it is *political* position.

Political leaders at the state and local government levels will readily recognize the two major development challenges confronting them: the mobilization of resources (both internal and external) and the provision and maintenance of basic social services and infrastructures both in the urban and rural areas. One of the current problems facing state governments is the misplacement of their priorities for short-term political benefits. An example is the construction of universities and television stations at the expense of paying primary school teachers' salaries.

The *sine qua non* for doing this, however, is the availability of reliable socio-economic data. As we have shown here, this is often lacking but are not as difficult to come by as it seems. Many universities across the country, besides consultants, both domestic and foreign, can assist state governments in generating reliable socio-economic data concerning state territories. Perhaps the best solution, however, short of a successful and acceptable population census through the National Census Board, is for federal and state authorities to collaborate in urgently generating comprehensive socio-economic data on state and local government basis.¹¹ The Lagos State study covered here has suggested, among other things, that the quality of the response of the political leadership to development issues might in fact be a function of their access to necessary information.

A second implication of our study for Nigerian federalism is the need to sustain strong and relatively administratively efficient state-level institutions in the discharge of their responsibilities. This becomes important as we realize the fact that these institu-

tions bear the greatest burden of the country's social services and no nation, whatever its economic ideology, can afford not to be bothered at all by the quality of its social services programmes. We have reviewed some of the strategies adopted by different federations. These include the take-over of major aspects of social services programmes, either its policies as in West Germany or its financing as in Canada and the United States of America. In some cases, direct federal agencies are located throughout the country to monitor state or direct federal administration of these programmes. In the Nigeria case, even though the 'take-over' strategy was utilized under the military, 1970-79, it seems we have now settled for a strategy of general revenue sharing and statutory transfers from the federal to the state and local governments.¹²

Even though the sum-total of the developments in inter-governmental finance in Nigeria has been in the direction of making more money available for state and local governments than they had previously, a very strong case can be made for a review of the present revenue allocation system in three important respects. This case is based on the generally recognized paradox in almost all federations, namely: a situation of the federal governments' more elastic revenue sources as against their relatively inelastic responsibilities and the highly elastic revenue sources. This phenomenon is discussed in some depth in Chapter One and is termed an *inter-governmental relations paradox*.

First, there is a need to increase the amount available to state and local governments for the more effective prosecution of their social programmes. Let us take a simple example of road maintenance to illustrate this fact. By an arrangement dating back to 1927, Nigerian roads were divided up into three categories: Trunk A (to be maintained by the federal government); Trunk B (by the state governments); and Trunk C (by the local governments). On the whole, state and local government roads are by far more important within each state than federal roads. The latter has only 16.9% of total road density while the former has 83.1% (see Table 6.2). Even though federal roads are quite important in terms of inter-state commerce, Trunk B and especially local roads are very crucial to progress in much-needed agricultural and rural transformation. Similar observations can be made in respect of the other basic services.

Instead of making such additional funds available directly to the state (and local) governments, two other strategies are suggested here. First, such additional funds can be set aside as low-interest loans for development assistance in state and local government areas. Alternatively, such funds could be set aside by the federal

Table 6.2: The Distribution of Road Densities by States
Nigeria 1978/79 Or Road Densities

State	Federal Roads Metres	State Roads Per Km ²	LGA Roads	All Roads
Anambra	50	82	47	179
Bauchi	22	12	60	95
Bendel	41	92	195	328
Benue	27	24	65	111
Borno	25	9	10	45
Cross River	48.23	96.01	227.28	371.52
Gongola	25.9	13.4	54.8	94.1
Imo	70	94	202	366
Kaduna	25	18	27	70
Kano	28	37	93	158
Kwara	31	18	38	88
Lagos	79	111	519	709
Niger	32	20	78	130
Ogun	48	55	393	496
Ondo	48	130	183	357
Oyo	25	20	168	215
Plateau	32.2	40.8	64.5	138.1
Sokoto	22	11	31	63
Total	679.33	883.21	2455.58	4018.12
%	17	22	61	100

Source: F.S. Idachaba et. al. *Rural Infrastructures in Nigeria: Basic Needs of the Rural Majority* (Lagos, Federal Department of Rural Development, 1981), p. 24

government (out of its own funds) to assist state governments in *specific* projects in such areas as education, agriculture, roads, water supply or other projects which the federal government at the time may consider as a top priority in relation to the Third National Development Plan.¹³ The sum-total of these additional

transfers would be to make at least some 46.5% of total money in the federation account available to state (and local) governments to provide social services throughout the country. These proposals are summarized in Tables 6.3A and B.

Table 6.3A: Models of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria

<i>Level of Government</i>	<i>Actual Transfer 1976 - 1979 %</i>	<i>Revenue Allocation Law %</i>	<i>Recommended %</i>
Federal	60.7	58.5	48.5
State	36.2	26.5	26.5
Local	3.1	10.0	10.0
Special Fund	—	5.0	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: The additional 10% is to be set aside for special basic social services projects, either as grants or loans among the states, administered by the federal government.

A second means of assisting the states through the present revenue sharing mechanism is to use revenue sharing as an incentive mechanism for ensuring the optimum generation of internal revenues at the state level. As of now, the revenue is shared amongst the States on the basis of population (40%), equality (40%), primary school enrolment (15%) and internally generated revenues (5%). In other words, of the three major factors utilized, population and related factors, equality and internal revenue, the latter carries the most insignificant weight. It is suggested here that the position be substantially reversed such that tax-effort and need become the critical criteria. Thus, the grants will serve as an incentive for the generation of internal revenue (on a worked out proportion of potential) and will limit the pressure for more states only to genuine cases.

A third recommendation in respect of revenue sharing will be the need for the creation of an Independent Fiscal Commission which will regularly compile relevant socio-economic data in

Table 6.3b: Criteria for Sharing Grants (amongst States)

	Actual 1979 - 80 %	Revenue Allocation Law, 1982 %	Recommended %
1. Population	32	40	20
2. Equality	32	40	20
3. Internally Generated Revenue	—	5	25
4. Derivation	36	—	—
5. Others (Population sparsity, Urbanization, Social development, land area, absorptive capacity, school enrol- ment etc.)	—	15	35*

Source: A.O. Philips, "State Creation, Revenue Allocation and Nigeria's Development", Nigerian Institute of Management (1983) and Dele Olowu, "Self-Reliance and State Governments: A Critique of Present Revenue Allocation System", University of Ife, (1984)

*Agricultural Productivity and Rural Development Needs.

respect of revenue allocation, assess state/local government resources and suggest proposals for review of any adopted formula every five years.

A final implication of this study is *the need for decentralization of governmental operations and investment*. These two operations and investments go together. An effective local government system will probably promote both goals. In the absence of this type of institutions however, budgets and development plans at federal, state and local government levels should show how much is to be spent in the different regions, states, local governments and communities in the different parts of every political governmental jurisdiction. That way government will be closer to each person without necessarily overburdening the economy with an unproductive bureaucracy. It would also have met one of the most unnoticed constitutional requirements on all governments which states *inter alia*:

The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such

manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need for national unity.

The composition of the government of state or a local government council or any of the agencies of such government or council and the conduct of the affairs of the government or council or such agencies shall be carried out in such manner as to recognize the diversity of the peoples within its area of authority and the need to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among all the peoples of the Federation.¹⁴

To translate these into reality, especially, the aspects relating to the 'conduct of the affairs of the government or council', may require an enabling legislation at the federal, state and local government levels.

References and Notes

1. Even though many observers had expected that Alhaji Jakande, the State's immediate past civilian governor would be the first to be set free by the military tribunals on public corruption, Alhaji Jakande was not released until after almost one year. A number of his programmes have been put under public scrutiny. In particular, there have been some official expression over his handling of the state's educational system, parastatals, water project and local governments. See "Interview with the Military Governor of Lagos State" in *Sunday Times* (Lagos) of 10, June 1984.
2. See F.S. Idachaba et al., *Rural Infrastructures in Nigeria: Basic Needs of the Rural Majority* (Lagos, Federal Department of Rural Development, 1981); A.E. Ekukinam, "The State of the Nation's Economic and Social Development" *Management in Nigeria* (Lagos, June 1980).
3. See Dele Olowu, "State Budgets Face Reality" in *West Africa* (London) 30 July 1984, pp. 1521 - 1523.
4. See Dele Olowu, "The Management of Basic Services and Infrastructure Programmes of the Lagos State Government", Report of Attachment Submitted to the Lagos State Government and the University of Ife, 1982. See also Dele Olowu, "Some Cases of Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria and Implications for the Search for a Panacea" Seminar Paper, NASMET, 1982.
5. The issue is very competently discussed with special reference to Britain, U.S.A. and France by S.E. Finer, *Comparative Government: An Introduction to the Study of Politics* (Middlesex, Penguin Press, 1970).
6. United Nations, *Administrative Aspects of Urbanization* (New York, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1970).
7. The mood is summarized in M.A. Adediran, "Nigeria, Still in Search of a

- Unifying System of Government: Federation or Confederation?", Seminar Paper, Department of Public Law, University of Ife, 1984. Mimeo
8. See for instance, David Jemibewon, *A Combatant in Government* (Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books, 1978).
 9. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-85* Vol. 1 (Lagos, National Planning office, 1981).
 10. International Labour Office, *First Things First: Meeting the Basic Needs of the People of Nigeria*. (Addis Ababa, Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, 1981). This issue is the theme of Micheal Lupton's book, *Why Poor People Stay Poor: A Study of Urban Bias in World Development* (London, Temple Smith, 1976).
 11. See Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Study Team on the Management of Inter-Governmental Relations in Federal Administration Systems* (Lagos, Executive Office of the President, 1982) Chapter 4.
 12. See Eme Awa, "The Role played by Federal and State Governments in the Administration of Social Services" and Dele Olowu, "Local Governments and Social Services Administration in Nigeria: The Impact of Urbanization" in Dele Olowu (ed.), *The Administration of Social Services in Nigeria* (Ile-Ife, Local Government Training Programme, 1981), pp. 25-45.
 13. Most of the issues raised in this section are more elaborately discussed in Dele Olowu, "Self-reliance and State Governments: A Critique of Present Revenue Allocation System", Seminar Paper, Department of Public Administration, University of Ife, mimeo, 1984. See also A.O. Phillips, "State Creation, Revenue Allocation and Nigeria's Development" Nigerian Institute of Management Annual Meeting(1983).
 14. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*, 1979 (Lagos, Ministry of Information). Section 14 (3 and 4). Emphasis added.

Postscript

Since this book was written, the new military administration which came to power on 31 December, 1983 had not identified any major departures in terms of the state's policies with respect to the social services programmes discussed herein. Nevertheless, a number of decisions have been made which modify the state's social services programmes and the organizational machinery for delivering them. These will only be mentioned briefly without being discussed as they are yet relatively fresh.

First, the organizational changes. As it is the practice of most military regimes, the legislative arm of the government has been suspended. Ministries have been reduced from thirteen to nine and local governments have reverted to their 1976 units of eight instead of the twenty-three units created by the last civilian administration*.

Sole Administrators, which comprise senior members of the State Civil Service, now direct the activities of these councils. The Report of a special Committee on the reorganization of the State's Parastatals (the Fadina Committee) is expected to be released shortly. As a result of these reorganizations, the budget department is now part of a larger Plan, Programmes Monitoring and Budget Department in the Governor's Office; the Office of the Head of Local Government Service has been cancelled and in line with the national policy of the new federal military government, even the offices of the Secretary to Government and Head of the Civil Service have been merged into one.

With respect to social services programmes, the new military administration has continued with the last civilian administration's policies on education. The free education policy has continued, at least up to the secondary school level, though the government recently announced its intention to phase out the 22,000 functional classrooms constructed by the civilian government. To this end, in the 1985 fiscal year the state government has announced its intention to build 30 science laboratories and 4,500 classrooms. The Lagos State University has opened and registered its first set of undergraduates, and has graduated same.

There has been no major departure with respect to the other services. However, only very recently and shortly after the state government announced its 1985 budget, which included its commitment to the Metroline projects, that the government announced its

Four new local governments were created in 1989: Agege, Eti-Osa, Lekki/Ibeju, and Ojo to bring the total number to twelve.

cancellation of the project. The government should shortly announce its alternative proposals to solving the serious transportation problems of the budding metropolitan State. Beside the mass transit programme being introduced naturally by the Babangida administration, the present Lagos State administration has revived the metroline project.

It is expected that improved relations between the federal and the state government since the military take-over may make possible feasible and less costly alternatives to the state government since such would be worked out jointly between the two governments. Similarly, the Adiyari Water project which was stalled because of the poor relationships between the two governments during the civilian period has made some progress since the commencement of military administration in the state in January 1984.

Property handled, the opportunities presented by this improved relationships between the state and the federal government may turn out to be the major asset of military rule to the Lagos state this time around.

Appendix I

Table 9A Allocation of Responsibilities Under The Constitution: A Schematic Summary

Exclusive Federal	Current	Local Government
1. Transportation: air, shipping, railways & trunk roads	1. Revenue allocation (to each of the three levels of government.	A. <i>Mandatory</i> 1. Collection of rates (including tenement rates), radio, television and non-mechanically propelled vehicle licences.
2. Communication: posts, telegraphs & telephones, wireless, including broadcasting & television regulation	2. Taxation (other than incomes profits & capital gains).	2. Cemeteries, home for destitutes, & Infirm.
3. Banking currency, bankruptcy & borrowing.	3. Antiquities and monuments.	3. Markets, motor-parks, public conveniences, local roads, drains & recreational facilities
4. Defence & security; arms & ammunition control.	4. Archives.	4. Regulation of outdoor advertising, hoardings, shops, kiosks, laundries and pets.
5. External Affairs including diplomatic, consular & trade representation.	5. Electoral law (including local government election.)	5. Registration of births, deaths & marriages
6. Police, prison.	6. Electric power (including dam construction, generation, transmission and distribution of power).	Functions to undertake in Collaboration with State Government
7. Taxation (incomes, profits & Capital gains.	7. Cinematography (film control)	7. Primary education
8. Customs duties: Ex-	8. Industrial-commer-	8. Agriculture and

Table 9A continued

cise, export and Stamp Duties.	cial, agricultural development.	natural resources development (other than exploration of mineral).
9. Meteorological surveys	9. Scientific & technological research.	9. Health services.
10. National archives.	10. Statistics.	
11. Labour matters.	11. University, technological & post-primary, education.	C General (Any other function conferred by the state assembly).
12. Mines & minerals.		
13. Insurance.		
14. Trade & commerce (including inspection).		
15. Water & resources management (inter-state waters).		
16. Weight & measures; drugs & poisons.		
17. Enforcement of fundamental objectives & directive principles of the constitution.		
18. National minimum standards of education at all levels.		
19. National youth service		
20. Public complaints		
21. Marriages (other than those under Islamic and customary laws).		

Appendix II

Major Developments in Nigeria's History with Special Reference to the Nigerian State System and Status of Lagos

- 1900 Bringing together of the 3 separate units comprising Lagos Colony/ Protectorate, the Niger Coast Protectorate and the Niger Territories previously under different British administrations.
- 1906 Amalgamation of Lagos Colony with Southern Nigeria. Separate administration for Northern and Southern Protectorates. Lagos, seat of Southern Protectorate.
- 1914 Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates. Seat of central Government in Lagos. Most domestic responsibilities administered at protectorate level. Nigeria divided into 19 administrative provinces.
- 1922 Clifford Constitution. Formalization of a unitary government even though administration of Protectorates remained separate. A centralized Budget. Lagos retained colony status and remained national capital.
- 1939 Division of Southern Protectorate into two Regions: West and East. Northern Protectorate renamed Northern Region.
- 1946 Richard's Constitution. Regions no longer administrative divisions but constitutional units of the national political system. Unitary but decentralized national administration retained.
- 1951 Mcpherson Constitution. First federal constitution, but only partially so. Regional executives and legislatures created but a single judiciary and public service remained, Regions subordinated to centre. Lagos merged with Western Region but headquarters of national government.
- 1954 Lyttleton Constitution. Separation of all political and administrative institutions between centre and regions. Strong regional emphasis. Residual powers resided in regions. Lagos separated from Western Region and conferred special status as federal capital territory.
- 1957 Constitutional Review: Adoption of a Westminster parliamentary governmental system at both federal and regional levels. Lagos represented at House of Representatives, Senate and in the Federal Capital, Special Ministry for Lagos Affairs created.
- 1958 Minorities (Willink) Commission established. First time case for a separate Lagos State presented. Rejected by the Commission together with all other demands.
- 1960 Independence Constitution: Westminster model. Lagos remained federal capital but colony area merged with West.
- 1963 Republican Constitution. Lagos remained federal territory. Creation of Mid-West State after favourable referendum.
- 1966 First Military *coup d'etat*. Return of Unitary Federalism.
- 1967 Creation of 12 States out of the 4 - Region structure, including Lagos State.
- 1976 Creation of a 19-State structure for the federation. Government rejected recommendation of report of States' creation panel to the effect that Lagos State be merged with the present Ogun State to

- form a new Lagos State.
- 1979 Presidential Constitution. Restoration of Civil Rule. Election of the first Civilian Governor of Lagos State.
- 1982 Movement of the first batch of federal officers to new National Capital, Abuja.
- 1983 Second Military take-over of governmental power from constitutionally elected civilian government

Appendix III

Summary of Proposal in Jakande's Booklet

Background

1. For eighty-nine years, Lagos (with or without the Colony Province) was governed as a separate administrative unit.
2. For sixty-eight years, Lagos and Colony Province were governed together until 1954 when Lagos was separated from Colony Province.
3. Lagos and Calabar were granted the franchise long before the rest of Nigeria was enfranchised.

Present Status

4. At present, the Federal Government is the regional government for Lagos and the Lagos City Council is responsible to the Minister of Internal Affairs. In reality, the Council is only an appendage of the Ministry.

Criticisms of Present Status

5. The federal government, as the regional government of Lagos, is too remote from the people it governs. The interests of Lagos have suffered and Lagosians have been utterly neglected.
6. There is a muddle in the administration with so many authorities imposed on the City and no co-ordinating authority.
7. The former Ministers of Lagos Affairs did not understand the need of the people. The Federal Government, as the Regional Government for Lagos, is foreign to the citizens of Lagos; it is not responsible to them and they are not adequately represented in it.
8. The present system of government falsely assumes that Lagos is no man's land. The citizens of Lagos are partially disenfranchised and denied all the benefits, material and otherwise, which other citizens enjoy from their regional government and legislature.
9. Lagos is cheated of its revenue and compelled to contribute more than its fair share to the national coffers while the City Council suffers.
10. There is a clear antipathy in Parliament to any expenditure on Lagos.
11. As a result of the foregoing, the progress of Lagos has been arrested and the Territory is being treated as a Colony of the Nigerian Government.

Solutions

12. To increase the number of Lagos seats in Parliament would be objectionable on various grounds and would not solve the existing problems.
13. To return Lagos to the West would be the natural thing to do if Nigeria disintegrates.
14. To raise the status of the City Council to that of a Regional Government will, in principle, meet all the objections to the present system. But govern the Federal Territory without its adjacent areas where a great percentage of Lagosians live.
They recommend a single authority for the area of greater Lagos or Metropolitan Lagos, parts of which are now in Ikeja and Badagry Divisions.
15. It is recommended, therefore, that the proposed Lagos State should include parts of Colony Province. This will have the blessing of history since the two areas have been so administered for sixty-eight years.
16. The creation of a Lagos State will not prejudice the position of Lagos as the Federal Capital.
17. It is not necessary to make Lagos Federal Territory in order to protect Federal Properties in Lagos. A federal Capital Commission may be established to control and administer these properties.

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Post-independence politics in Nigeria, intra-elite rivalry and competition create conditions in which political accommodation is often in the form of deliberately created regional and local administrative units enjoying varying degrees of autonomy.

In *Lagos State*, Dr Olowu explores the critical impact of formal Constitutionalism on socio-economic development in Nigeria, with one of the 21 political administrative units as a case-study.

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Dr Dele Olowu is an emerging authority on Local Government studies in Nigeria. Senior Lecturer in the Department of Public Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. He has published extensively both in local and international journals.

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