

SEVEN YEARS OF IBB

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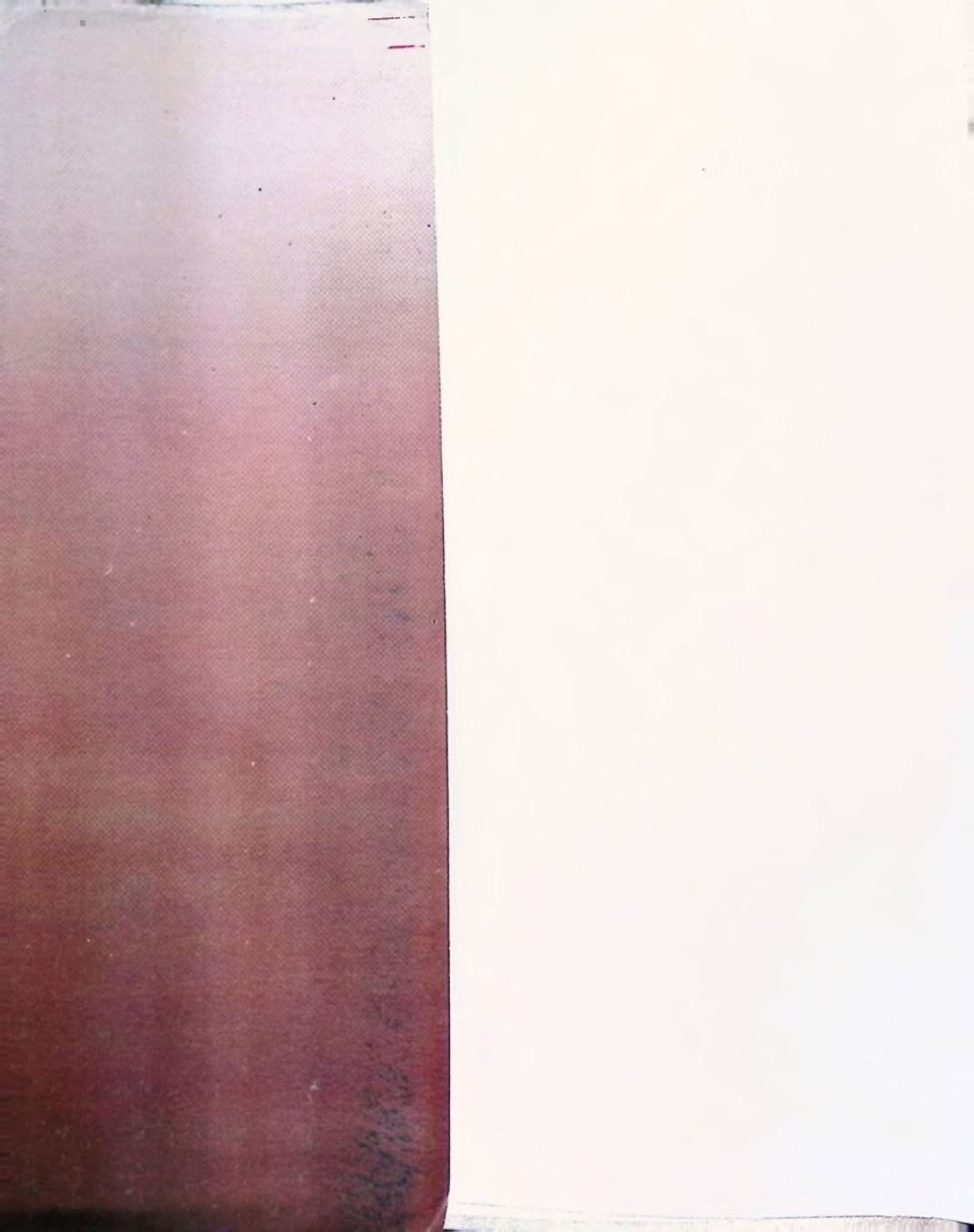
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VOLUME THREE

LABOUR AND
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Edited By Dr. Godwill Ogboghodo



Seven Years of IBB

Volume 3

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Labour & Social Development

Edited by
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FOREWORD

Seven years of IBB is to my mind a most commendable attempt to undertake a comprehensive and detailed assessment of the work and achievements of an incumbent head of state and government. The seven volume work with a picturesque compendium analyses virtually every initiative undertaken by the Babangida administration since coming to power in August 1985.

The contributors to the work have presented a well researched and analytical appreciation of the regime's bold effort at restructuring of the economy; its imaginative political initiatives designed to usher in lasting democracy and the administration's creative reorientation programmes intended to inculcate a new political culture conducive to the survival of democracy, and to the democratic way of life. They have also proffered suggestions on how to remedy the lapses they observed and identified.

The volumes cover Politics and the Transition, The Economy, Foreign Policy, Labour and Social Development, Arts and Culture, Education and Rural Development, and New Political Culture.

The editors have rightly observed that the Babangida Administration more than most embarked on a number of radical reforms in its seven years of existence. Each of the reforms embarked on by the Babangida administration, for example, the Structural Adjustment Programme, or the Transition Programme is major enough to occupy the full time of any administration. Yet the administration had made commendable efforts in realising the objectives of the reforms. The reforms became necessary as a result of the down-turn of the economy since the late seventies and due to the changing political landscape during that time. What must be remembered is that the political environment in the early 1960's soon after independence, was a period of consolidating Nigeria's independence politically and economically rather than indulging in any reform exercise at the time which would not have been acceptable. That is why, understandably, the first civilian political leadership was too preoccupied with maintaining a fragile political system to contemplate introducing anything radically different from what was bequeathed to it by

the colonial regime. Inevitably, the unstable condition brought about a political change early in the life of the nation through military intervention for the first time.

Successive governments, especially our government after the civil war, did try to embark on reforms aimed at building a more united and economically strong and less dependent Nigeria where our economy is controlled by our nationals. The Economic Development Plan, the series of projects we executed and reforms we introduced in the early 1970's for example, our immediate post-war initiative at reconciliation and reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction, the 3R's, the Universal Free Primary Education and the Economic Enterprises Indigenization Policy were all attempts to address some of the questions that the Babangida administration, to his credit, took up with so much courage and decisiveness than his predecessors. Other governments too did recognize the need for reforms and in fact pursued policies meant to realize the objectives of the reforms. Little, however, has been recorded about the contribution of these governments other than what government-sponsored publications have done.

It is in this regard that I find the initiative of the publishers of this very comprehensive study very encouraging. It is an acknowledgement of the great contribution made by a leader to the socio-economic and political development of our fatherland. I hope that similar studies will be undertaken on the tenure of our leaders so that our future leaders will be encouraged to strive to do their very best being conscious of the fact that history is recording them even as they are still on the saddle.

Seven Years of IBB is an essential reading for any understanding of where Nigeria is today and from the foundation laid, what we hope it will be in the 21st Century. My congratulations to the Authors / Editors for a comprehensive work well done.



(Gen. Dr. Chief Y. Gowon)
The Rare Augustus of Ife

AWAITING THE VERDICT OF HISTORY

History is a product of continuous interaction between man and environment. Seven years is nothing much in the life of a nation particularly one with the size and complexity of Nigeria. But a seven year period during which fundamental assumptions were challenged and modified, when phenomenal changes were effected in Nigeria's social, economic and political scene, and during which issues hitherto reserved for the esoteric class, corporate bodies, and campus eggs heads became subjected to public debate and reactions deserve to be carefully documented and rationally analysed. The 1985-92 period is one that will be a fascinating subject in Nigeria's history books. Historians and social scientists will find the sheer weight and volume of decisions taken, their immediate and lasting effect on the country's outlook, economy and body politic too attractive to ignore. Even before the Babangida regime signs off, the men who captained the ship of state the policies they enunciated, the manner of implementation, the intended and accidental consequences are already being studied.

There has so far been a tendency towards an approach that is essentially biographical; one that seeks to explain the actions of the regime in the light of the vision of the leader. In the *Prince of the Niger*; Chidi Amuta analysed the 1985-92 period from the background of the knowledge of General Babangida's biographical condition because according to Chidi it is by so doing that we may be able to appreciate the deeper roots of the decisions that he had to make and policies he had to pursue. The Orphan at fourteen who through dint of hard work and perseverance came to occupy for seven years the highest position in the country's political hierarchy knows the difference between poverty and wealth, ignorance and knowledge, opportunity and the lack of it. Babangida was said to have for a long time been deeply concerned with the problems of Nigeria out of a patriotic commitment and consulted widely even before coming to power with those who ought to know about the

the colonial regime. Inevitably, the unstable condition brought about a political change early in the life of the nation through military intervention for the first time.

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The Rare Argumada of Life

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multidimensional nature of Nigeria's socio-economic and political problems. These along with his personal experience must have influenced his attitude and policies. Events in the life of a nation are no doubt shaped by the perception of the leaders. These perceptions are in themselves influenced by personal experiences.

But it will be misleading to assume that the Babangida factor was the sole determinant of events in the 1985-92 period. Admittedly the regimented command structure of the armed forces compel instant obedience and does not leave much room for arguments and counter arguments particularly with superiors. But Babangida realised that the office of the Chief of Army Staff is not exactly like that of the President. In his maiden address Babangida denounced the Buhari-Idiagbon duo for disregarding the principle of discussion, consultation and cooperation. There was the Armed Forces Ruling Council, the Council of States, the Council of Ministers and the Presidential Advisory Council all of which were consultative bodies at different levels. Even though Babangida left no one in doubt as to who was in charge, the occasional change in aspects of policy formulation and implementation were clearly the result of inputs of individuals and groups to whose opinion Babangida deferred.

There were frequent changes in key personnel of government during the seven year period. But there were a few individuals such as Abacha, Aikhomu, Akilu, Chu Okongwu, Olikoye Kuti, Olagunju and to a lesser extent Jubril Aminu, Alhaji Alhaji, and Bola Ajibola who made inputs into policy formulation and who have clearly influenced events to some degree. Thus if a biographical approach were to be adopted to the study of the 1985-92 period, it will certainly not be complete without a biographical study at least of Vice President Aikhomu and General Sani Abacha. These two individuals will share with Babangida the praise and blame for the successes and failures of the regime.

But whatever judgement is pronounced must be against the background of the circumstances in which Babangida and his team found Nigeria. It is the environment and circumstances that make the man

and the government. It needed a defeated Germany suffering from the implementation of the Versailles treaty to produce a Hitler. Without a regimented and classless society which existed in the Soviet Union, there would not have been any need for Gorbachev to bring about Glasnost or Perestroika. The Babangida era would not have had a "raison detre" had the massive corruption and prostitution of democratic values of the Shagari era not been succeeded by the authoritarianism and lack of proper economic focus of Buhari.

The seven books on seven years of IBB seek to record and analyse the interaction between men, ideas, circumstances and environment in the effort to make Nigeria a better place. The approach here is factual and analytical. It is an attempt to document and interpret actions taken by individuals who believed that the objectives suitable to be pursued in the Nigeria of August 1985 are those economic reconstruction, social justice and self reliance. The emphasis on the Nigerian situation before Babangida is one of the central issues being stressed by the editors and contributors of this series. We believe that any attempt to interpret and analyse contemporary situations should begin with an insight into the past. The present is a product of the past. Any balanced analysis of the Babangida era must take cognisance of the Nigerian situation before August, 1985. We need to know where we are coming from in order to appreciate where we are. Some of the critics of Babangida regime conveniently ignore the fact that by August 1985, a combination of the fall in world oil prices, inadequate policies of the past, and rising debt obligation produced a difficult economic situation which adversely affected both external and fiscal balance, they demonstrate a lack of awareness of the fundamental flaw in the structure of the economy which although made worse by the corruption and incompetence of the 1979-83 era needed much more than the "tough-guy posture of Buhari-Idiagbon". The situation called for a fundamental restructuring of the one legged economy operating within the parameters designed by the Breton Woods institutions as a result of which by 1985 44% of the revenue had to be spent on debt servicing.

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2,6%. Social services and welfare especially education, public health and sanitation rapidly deteriorated. This is why by 1988 about 30 Africa countries had to adopt structural Adjustment Programmes with the support of the IMF and the World Bank. Moreover the mid 80's coincided with the global resurgence of conservative economic and political philosophy and the final act of communism; a period dominated by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. The slogan then was and still is less government in business. What this means is privatisation of many government economic establishments which as has been rightly argued, are best left to the business class. If the former Soviet Union can now be talking of practising a free market economy, the Babangida regime must have right in refusing to get involved with un consequential commercial ventures. It was correct to see its role as that of maintaining law and order and thereby create an enabling environment that would protect investment and encourage productive planning on a sustained basis.

One of the unavoidable consequences of SAP is the economic strain it brought on the middle and lower classes who had to pay higher rates and utility prices arising first from the liberalisation of foreign exchange which devalued the Naira, and secondly the commercialisation of some public parastatals. The government realised the human dimension and the need not to marginalize the greater majority of the population. Babangida was aware that weaker segments of our populace could perish under the yoke of the emergence of a free market regime hence the various ameliorative policies and programmes that they pursued. The President promised that deliberate efforts will be made to ensure that those reform measures that have been put in place to cushion the difficulties at both the urban and rural communities are fully implemented. It was this concern for the welfare of the masses that brought about the establishment of programmes such as the Directorate of Foods, Roads, and Rural Infrastructures DFFRI, People's Bank, Community Bank, National Directorate of Employment and Better Life. Details of the manner of operation and effects of these establishments which have now become established aspects of our national life will be found in the volumes of this project. They constitute what can be described as the "Human Face of SAP" and to a considerable extent

was aimed at solving Nigeria's economic problem at its roots. The administration was of course aware that the positive results of SAP might be long in coming while the immediate effect would bring pains to the populace thus making the government somehow unpopular. But the regime realised that it was necessary to plan for Nigeria's long term future beyond the usual four to five year term after which the "buck is passed on". The situation called for courage to take on the established class who benefitted from the existing flaws in the economic structure e.g. import license and even some elements of the lower and middle class who had been accustomed to the usual 'government by patronage and subvention'.

Babangida's worst critics will find it difficult to accuse him of lack of courage to take decisions "Posterity will forgive us for taking wring decisions but will not forgive us if we fail to take decisions". SAP had not been very popular with the populace. The regime however sees it as central to our national economic and political recovery on the long run. It was prepared to be unpopular in order to bequeath an enduring foundation to the future generation of Nigerians.

The manner of implementation of certain aspects of SAP has been a source of concern. Some of the unavoidable extra budgetary expenses have tended to limit the gains of the programme. The long term nature of the measures taken are such that the positive effects cannot be that much visible as of now. But it will be hard to deny the fact that there is already evidence of a radical change in our consumption habits, an inculcation of maintenance culture, an acceptance of the idea of self employment, an increase in food production, the increase in local sourcing of raw materials, and of fundamental reorientation in the psyche of the Nigerian citizenry.

The domestic and international environment during the end of 80's was such that the only realistic approach to the problems of Nigeria was the adoption of SAP. The state of the Nigerian economy in 1985 was similar to those of many African and third world countries. Between 1985, Africa's economic performance recorded an average annual growth rate of GDP of only 0.4 percent capital income which was already low at the end of the 1970 had steadily declined by about

2,6%. Social services and welfare especially education, public health and sanitation rapidly deteriorated. This is why by 1988 about 30 Africa countries had to adopt structural Adjustment Programmes with the support of the IMF and the World Bank. Moreover the mid 80's coincided with the global resurgence of conservative economic and political philosophy and the final act of communism; a period dominated by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. The slogan then was and still is less government in business. What this means is privatisation of many government economic establishments which as has been rightly argued, are best left to the business class. If the former Soviet Union can now be talking of practising a free market economy, the Babangida regime must have right in refusing to get involved with un consequential commercial ventures. It was correct to see its role as that of maintaining law and order and thereby create an enabling environment that would protect investment and encourage productive planing on a sustained basis.

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an unconscious implementation of African alternative framework to structural adjustment programmes for socio-economic recovery and transformation as advocated by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa ECA.

The manner and style of Foreign policy implementation is one area in which the Babangida regime distinguished itself from its predecessors. While still retaining the essentially Afrocentric focus there has been a clear emphasis on the need to relate foreign policy to the domestic economic situation. The adoption of Economic diplomacy as the policy thrust meant that issues related to trade and investment came into sharp focus. While still placing emphasis on block unity, efforts were made to strengthen economic links with Africa and the diaspora. The volume on foreign policy will show that foreign policy is one area in which it will be extremely difficult to contest Babangida's claim to success. His performance and achievement as ECOWAS and OAU Chairman, and elections into the top positions at both the Commonwealth and United Nations are among the visible proofs. The technical aid corp programme (TAC) Introduced by the regime has brought so much goodwill to Nigeria in the receiving countries. There is virtually no programme that has ever positively projected Nigeria among the ordinary people in foreign countries. The positive contribution of TAC to the economic and social life of the receiving countries has reinforced Nigeria's image as the mecca for all black people and a country which means for all the black people what Israel means to the Jews.

The elaborate political transition programme is predicated on the belief that the Nigerian situation as at August 1985 was directly attributable accountability. Democracy as practised by absence of politicians of the first and second republics could not be described as the government the people, for the people. The administration pledged itself to the establishment of a new political order in which not only the letter but also the spirit of the constitution would be adhered to. There was the realisation that for the dreams of SAP to be realised, a stable political order was a necessity, "Our strategy" said General Babangida "has been to pursue a co-ordinated and multi pronged approach to our developmental problems. Our

economic problems also have their political under currents. You cannot solve one without the other”.

In seeking to create the new political order, there was a clear obsession with getting the system rooted with the majority of Nigerians. Right from the establishment of the political bureau to the inauguration of the constituent assembly, the creation of new local governments and the elections held into the local governments, state and national assemblies, there was this apparent preference for power to be seen to be derived from the people. It was in reaction to the often repeated allegation that the essence of people's power was often lost in the irregularities that feature in the manner in which electoral votes were cast and counted, that the regime opted for the controversial open ballot system. It was also the desire, to ensure that there is no return to the ethnic politics of the past that the regime decreed the formation of two grass root based political parties after dissolving the 13 political associations formed because they were mere recreations of the first and second republics. With the two parties controlling an almost equal number of states and with neither of both parties having a two thirds majority at the national assembly. It is reasonable to expect that the politics of the third republic will be one of consensus and compromise since no side would be able to go it alone.

It is tempting to regard a publication of 7 years of IBB by the DAILY Times as a mere government propaganda. Such an attitude is understandable given the fact of the government's control of majority shares in the company. The editors and contributors of the present volume are aware of the fact that the sheer weight and volume of activities that took place within the past seven years are such that would normally attract observation and comments particularly after the regime might have handed over. This is not an attempt to whitewash the Babangida era.

What we have tried to do has been to present the facts and analyse them as rationally as possible. We believe that whatever criticisms one may have against the regime will have more to do with implementation than the formulation of policies.

It will be difficult to fault the objectives of SAP. It was the only rational option considering the state of Nigeria's economy in 1985. The fact that 30 African and third world countries are implementing structural adjustment policies attest to the inevitability of the programme given our circumstance. The human face of SAP were the ameliorative programmes such as DFFRI, Better Life, NDE, People's Bank, Community Bank. Like all other aspects of SAP the manner of operation of some of these projects could have been better if not for the inconsiderate ambition and greed on the part of some Nigerians. The reckless manner in which loans were dispensed at the People's Bank, the unsubstantiated claims of DFFRI, the general attitude that government money is there for the taking limited the success of the implementation of some of these otherwise well-conceived programmes.

The chapter on DFFRI, while emphasising the revolutionary nature of the concept in articulating a national programme of rural transformation acknowledged the fact that actual implementation of the programmes had been flawed on several fronts and plagued by several implementation failure. But this, does not rule out the fact that DFFRI, established 25,000 ton storage facilities in selected urban locations, facilitated the procurement and distribution of fertilisers, constructed hundreds of thousand of feeder roads, and executed water supply projects. Despite its shortcomings DFFRI brought some of the good things of life to some elements of the rural community. The same goes for the much criticised Better Life for Rural Women Programme. The proposal to get it incorporated within the ambit of the National Commission for Women has the potential of depersonalising the programme and detaching it from the families of state and national political leaders. Whatever might be its shortcomings, the programme has launched 7,635 cooperatives, 997 cottage industries, 1,751 new farms and gardens, 1187 new shops and markets, 419 women's centres and 163 social welfare programmes. Perhaps of more importance is its success in arousing the social and political consciousness of Nigeria's womenfolk. The award of the prize for the sustainable end of hunger to the first lady in August, 1991 accorded the programme the international recogni-

tion and justification that it deserves.

It is obvious that the downturn in the economy which is a world wide phenomenon has resulted in the decline of the quality of social services e.g health and education. Teaching hospitals despite some of them having been designated centres of excellence lack necessary equipments. Some Nigerians have since been in the habit of going abroad to receive medical treatment, Critics of the Babangida administration are inclined to emphasis only this aspect of health sector but will carefully ignore or refuse to mention the fact that the government has been quite successful in its primary health care programme which emphasises the provision of essential medical and health facilities to the community. The primary health care programme deals with diseases and ailments that afflict the majority of Nigerians who live in the rural communities. The teaching hospitals deal mainly with the diseases of the affluence. One is not attempting to justify or rationalise the decline in the quality of health care. What is being said is that the government had tired to focus more on the requirements on the wider populace within the limits of resources available.

The chapter on education makes it clear that the sector took some beating during the Babangida era. But as the editors and contributions of these volumes have pointed out, some the problems which the regime faced and which tended to ignite negative feelings were inherited. The politicisation of university education by which every State Governor wanted to be Visitor started during Shagari era. The Babangida regime regrettably did not arrest the trend. Even State governments that have Federal Universities located in their territories did not feel satisfied until they had their own. Then there came universities of technology and agriculture despite the existence of faculties of engineering and agriculture in the existing ones. Meanwhile the decline in the value of the Naira coupled with the army of competing demands made it difficult for the government to meet its obligation to the universities with regards to funding. Nigeria's best brains left their natural habitat (campuses) either for the private sector or "checked out" to other countries.

With the proliferation of merchant banks and the ease with which less educated Nigerians made money, the value and virtues in reading took a drive. It took a spirited and most constructive industrial action by Dr. Jega led Academic Staff Union of Universities to get the government agree to improve conditions of service of teachers and fund universities adequately.

The important thing is that by agreeing eventually to ASUU demands, the Babangida regime has laid a foundation for the survival of the country's university system. The drift from the country's universities to the other sectors is beginning to cease. As the opportunities for easy money begins to decline, the educated man is likely to get the appreciation that he deserves from the society. It may take some time before the impact of the agreement reached between ASUU and government is felt. This may perhaps be one of the positive effects of the Babangida administration that will take some time to manifest itself on the society.

The Babangida regime had its shortcomings. The situation in the mid 80's till now is such that no regime could do without. In confronting the situations that it met the regime exercised sound judgement particularly in the selection of personnel to face the challenges. With Olikoye Kuti in Health, Jubril Aminu in Education, Ajibola at the Justice Ministry, Kalu Idika Kalu in Finance, Babangida picked those who on paper seemed most qualified for the job. This is not to say that this attitude permeated every section of the public service. But with ministerial appointments Babangida seemed to have been a stickler for quality. As a systemsman, he left most of the implementation to his ministers who on some occasions even initiated policies. Some of the confusions that occurred in some national sectors such as the changing of school calendar, implementation of second tier and fuel distribution are more attributable to the ministers even though as President Babangida takes all the praises and blame.

It has not been an easy seven year period. The problem inherited were formidable. But equally formidable were the determination and resolve not only to overcome the problems but also to lay the

foundation for a greater tomorrow. The editors and contributors have attempted to present the problems and analyse efforts made to confront them. Whatever may be one's individual attitude to the personalities, it will be necessary to remember the magnitude of the problems which were largely inherited before one can be in a position to estimate the success of the efforts made to combat them. There is also the fact that because the regime chose to act with an eye for the distant future and plan for generations yet unborn, the effects of some of the measures it took are not yet discernible. The regime like all others before it will have to wait for the judgement of history.

Prof Ade Adefuye
Nigerian High Commission
London . 1993.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It was ambitious in conception. Seven Books on Seven Years of President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, each having seven chapters, looked like an impossible order, especially when then Managing Director Chief Tola Adeniyi also directed that it be completed within four months.

The idea of the books had occurred to Chief Adeniyi, in London, early in 1992. Before he returned from that trip, his first as "Sole Administrator" of the Daily Times of Nigeria PLC, he had discussed the idea extensively with Professor Ade Adefuye, Deputy Nigerian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. Extensive notes had been made, suggesting book subjects and chapters, as well as book editors and chapter writers. Professor Adefuye was, naturally appointed General Editor of the series. The first announcement of the project was made in the *Sunday Times* on March 1992.

I became involved in the project, when Chief Adeniyi, in a memo, asked me to take charge of the project. After discussions with our then Books Editor, Mr. Paul Akegwure, it was agreed that we needed to mobilise more fully the considerable intellectual power that resides in our Editorial Department, if the task was to be accomplished. A committee that included the Editor, *Daily Times* and most members of the Editorial Board, as well as the Books Editor and the Editor Times Home Studies, was set-up.

Then followed, in consultation with the General Editor, a somewhat drastic revision of book chapters, to cover more areas of the Babangida Revolution, and of Editors and writers on the basis of interest and ability to deliver. Then commissioning and re-commissioning, when some who had accepted failed to deliver. The Managing Director's fascination with the figure 7 was to prove somewhat problematic. But the committee persisted, cajoling contributors and Editors to submit copies, and looking for, and persuading new contributors. on the many occasions we had cause to re-commission chapters.

Co-ordinating this project has been a most educative experience for me. For that, I want to thank Chief Tola Adeniyi, Chairman/Chief Executive of Daily Times of Nigeria PLC for the opportunity. I should also thank our General Editor, Professor Adefuye for his keen interest and advice at every stage of the project. My thanks too to our contrib-

utors, and especially our Editors who had to attend several meetings in Lagos in the process of producing this series. His Excellency General Yakubu Gowon, at our request, wrote the Foreword. I thank him.

But perhaps this project might have been as impossible as it looked at the beginning without the exemplary commitment of members of the committee. Their enthusiasm was touching. So I must thank specially: Gbenga Odusanya and Dayo Alao who oversaw the production of the books; G. G. Darah, Omar F. Ibrahim, Ayo Olukotun, who wrote, edited and constantly revised theirs, and other contributors' copies; Tunji Okegbola, our brilliant and indefatigable Librarian who not only compiled the compendium, but also the indexes of all the books; Mallam Kabir for the cover design, staff of the Times Books & Periodicals Department, for industry and the numerous other colleagues who offered advice, suggestions and sometimes, sympathy.

For all of us who have participated in this project, this has been, I believe, a worthwhile experience. Believing that a good deal of the truly revolutionary programmes of the Babangida administration were either misunderstood or under-appreciated, we had set out to record and analyse the achievements of this period, in an attempt to place them in their proper perspective. It is perhaps indicative of the enthusiasm which developed, that we ended up with eight Books — The Seven Books, plus a Compendium.

It should, however, be stressed here that this is not a government information project. Although government officials, like many other citizens, knew about what we were doing, no government official asked for, or read any part of the series before they were published. Fully conscious that the debate about Babangida's place in history will rage for many years after the man has gone, we made efforts to invite contributors to write on subjects about which they are knowledgeable. What the contributors and the Editors have written represent, I believe, their observations and objective assessment of a period in Nigerian history, about which no patriot can be indifferent. This is our contribution to the prospective debate. I am assured by the General Editor, that Editors and contributors are prepared to bear sole responsibility for all errors of fact and judgement in this publication.

Onyema Ugochukwu,
Chairman,
Co-ordinating Committee.

CONTENTS

Introduction

Chapter 1

Labour Under IBB.....1

Chapter 2

Education in The IBB Years.....32

Chapter 3

Housing Under Ibrahim Babangida s Administration.....51

Chapter 4

Mass Transportation Under IBB.....81

Chapter 5

Women in Development.....96

Chapter 6

National Directorate of Employment and
Employment Generation.....120

Chapter 7

Youth and Sports.....140

Introduction

Introduction

This volume (book) comprises seven chapters, unified by the central theme of "labour and social development". In a critical sense, this volume provides the (soft) underbelly of the Babangida years.

From Segun Matanmi's chapter on "Labour Under IBB"; through Aloy Ejiogu's "Education In The IBB Years"; Felix Ughamadu's "Housing Under Ibrahim Babangida's Administration"; Moji Fasasi's "Mass Transportation Under IBB"; Ngozi Ikeano's "Women in Development"; Chukwu Wachukwu's "National Directorate of Employment and Employment Generation"; to Godwill Ogboghodo's "Youth and Sports"; the reader is introduced to the terrain where the IBB Years matter the most.

The Thrust of Chapter 1 (which is a very insightful contribution) revolves around Matanmi's submission that "Labour... represents the means and the end of national development". Thus, even under Babangida, labour was perceived to have a critical role to play in the development process. That state-labour relations appeared to have been unstable during the Babangida years should lead to the conclusion that "by and large... economic structure is a major determinant of labour relations". On the whole, high points must be awarded to the Babangida administration for the fact it demonstrated in managing the disparate interests and dissenting behaviour which emanated from labour. Nonetheless, the critical challenge remains, as the chapter argues, that only through a vigorous anti-inflation policy can overall development through higher labour productivity be promoted.

In Chapter 2, Ejiogu x-rays " the major educational landmark achievements and problems during the... seven years of Babangida government in Nigeria". Accordingly, the chapter masterfully juxtaposed the tremendous gains under the Babangida administration (in women and special education as highlights) with the continuing crises and losses (in the higher education sector and the alienation of students). The challenge, pointedly, is to close the gap between wellmeaning policies and their faulty implementation.

Chapter 3 focuses on what "has been universally accepted as the second most important essential human need after food", namely shelter. Ughamadu enriches the chapter with rare

expertise. What emerges as summation is the reality that "the provision of housing for the masses of this country has become an arduous task, which requires a collaborative effort by all tiers of government, the private sector and individuals in finding a lasting solution". A careful balance has been provided between the catalogue of government's achievements in the course of the implementation of its housing policy and the enormous problem which housing constitutes because of Nigeria's huge population.

In a fundamental sense, Chapter 4 provides a "transition" from the earlier chapters to the later ones. In a very concise analysis, Fasasi is able to focus on mass transit as "one of the greatest challenges of our time". The chapter asserts that "the task of evolving a dynamic mass transportation system has been a story of unending challenges for the Babangida administration", even though it has "striven to make commendable landmarks in the various areas of the transportation system - road, water, air and rail".

The women question dominates Chapter 5. Ikeano handles the question very successfully and provides persuasive answers in this extremely perceptive piece. To be sure, no longer is "a woman born for subordination and obedience". Nothing demonstrates the coming of age of Nigerian women more vividly than the Better Life Programme (BLP). Its role "in awakening the consciousness of women for the task of nationbuilding cannot be overemphasized". Although "nobody expects the BLP to completely solve all of women's problems within five years of its existence"; it is nonetheless clear that, if the focus of the BLP is not lost, it could very well turn out to be one of the most enduring contributions of the Babangida administration.

If there is a government document in this volume, it is Chapter 6. Dealing as it does with employment generation, it is justifiable. And Wachukwu handles it particularly well. The dilemma which the chapter grapples with is precisely "the disproportion between available job opportunities and available manpower (which has manifested itself in almost all sectors of the economy... while movement in the economy showed a decline, the educational system witnessed a boom with concomitant production of sophisticated job seekers". Indeed, the will of the Babangida administration has been sorely tested in the critical area of employment generation. The

launching in 1987 of the National Directorate of Employment "to promptly and effectively combat unemployment through the design and implementation of strategies to prepare the country's youths for gainful employment" remains a landmark achievement of the Babangida administration; emphasising as it does the three fundamental domains of skills acquisition, self-employment, and job creation through labour intensive works.

Chapter 7 brings this volume to a close. It is a lucid piece written by me. As the editor of the volume, I had to keep my own contribution short; but not before submitting that "Nigeria requires a massive re-mobilisation of the vast talents and energies of its youth to reach for excellence in sports, as well as make advancement in the broad area of national development". That submission notwithstanding, youth and sports development in Nigeria moved significantly forward under the Babangida administration; and the 25th Olympiad in Barcelona proved the point because Nigeria recorded its most accomplished global achievement to date with three silver and one bronze medals. Our forward march has been set in motion.

Finally, it must be stated that this is a very important volume, dealing as it does with Labour and Social Development. The social sector itself is crucial to the overall process of national development. And human development is a key element of social development, not least because "Social Development is the process of continuous improvement of the social structure, institutions and programmes in order to create a societal condition in which the rights of citizens are advanced and protected; their welfare enhanced; and their effective functioning and self-actualisation ensured" (Social Development Policy for Nigeria, 1989:1993). Thus, there is, in this volume, unity of theme organically held together by the strong desire to improve the quality of life of Nigerians.

Godwill Ogboghodo.
November, 1992.

Chapter I

LABOUR UNDER IBB

by

Dr. Segun Matanmi

Introduction

There are so many dimensions to the perception of labour under the administration of President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida . The first dimension is to consider the critical role of labour in a developing economy such as ours in Nigeria. The second is to make a comparative assessment of the relative fortunes of labour under the successive national administrations in Nigeria. Yet another entirely separate issue is that of how labour can survive specifically under a military regime that the Babangida administration represents. In perspective, however, all of these otherwise separate issues are not irreconcilable, and the emphasis in this chapter will be on a careful discussion of these issues within the general scope of the subject matter.

From the onset, it needs no gainsaying the fact that institutional labour in this country has had a chequered past. Thus, the entire labour movement has come a long way. It has passed through an initial era of multiplicity of trade unions and serious organizational and leadership problems to a subsequent experimental phase of labour unification along industrial lines. However, more lately, the emergent features of the labour movement in Nigeria have included the tendency towards a better rationalisation of union objectives, and an increasing sophistication of labour demands as well as the general strategies of operation. It is particularly noted that the structure of collective bargaining has changed following the creation of industrial unions in 1978. This has resulted in the enlargement of union jurisdiction far beyond the traditional enclaves.

Furthermore, it is significant that the 1980's through the 90's have also brought about changes in the fortunes of the Nigerian labour as an institution. The effects of the economic recession and structural adjustment on the labour sector have been largely adverse, resulting in high unemployment and the rapid curtailment of union membership through labour retrenchment and plant shutdowns. All of these recent developments have generally spilled over to the quality of employment per se, to the extent that the quality of working life has dropped. It is against that overall historical backdrop and the longitudinal experiences of labour to date especially within the framework of structural economic adjustment

that we proceed with the elaboration of this chapter.

Role of Labour in development

The role of labour in the development of the economy of a nation cannot be overemphasized. Labour as human resource has the singular distinction of being a highly refined factor of production compared to several other productive factors that are in use at any one time. It is for the same reason that labour markets tend to function somewhat differently from the way other commodity markets actually function. Indeed, labour has the unique characteristic of being physically inseparable from human beings to the extent that particular social considerations tend to influence the negotiation of labour contracts and the activation of labour market processes of education and industrial training in general (Fleisher, 1970: 4-6).

The general ramification of the above is that labour ideally represents the means and the end of national development. This is because the quality of a labour force is a good measure of the productive capacity of an economy and therefore its potential greatness. This basic fact appears to have been appreciated early in the history of this country for, long before the attainment of national independence in 1960, there had been an awareness of the role of human resources in overall economic development. Thus, the former colonial administration also adopted some policy along this line. But, in retrospect, the scope was rather generally limited, and whatever development of the human resource was done meant to service only the existing colonial administrative machinery which as Nigerians later realised was never in favour of real development of the local populace and environment. Rather, the colonial policy on labour or human resource development was one of minimal development that nevertheless served the basic objectives of colonial exploitation.

The post-independence period however ushered in development planning efforts that specially put increasing emphasis on human resource development. For example, at the conception of the first National Development plan (1962-68) the official standpoint was that a serious consideration of the nation's human resources should move away from mere numbers to issues of productivity as determined by the quality of

the labour force. Consequently, high priority was accorded the programmes for the training of young people in such skills that were designed to improve their prospects for employment (See Federal Republic Of Nigeria, Second National Development Plan, 1970-74, portion on the evolution of the first plan, pp 63,261)

Be that as it may, another way of projecting the role of labour in development is by also considering the historical origin of organised labour in this country. The origins of trade unions in Africa generally have been traced initially to the organised reactions to the collective sufferings of native workers during the colonial era. Thus, it has been noted that the early unions in Africa, and in deed Nigeria, were very much associated with parallel activities that complemented the eventual nationalist independence movements in the respective countries. In spite of this, it was however ironical that post-independence relationships generally between African trade unions and national governments were soon constrained by governmental "big stick" often wielded against unions that appeared to be overly critical of the socio-political blunders of the new governments. Needless to say that such union experiences continued up to the present times (see Mesfin, 1988; Otobo, 1988; Fajana, 1989).

By and large, the strategic role of Nigerian labour in the economic development of this country continues to be appreciated. This has often reflected in the official pronouncements that appeal to organised labour to pursue industrial peace and productive enterprise in the overall interest of economic growth and national development (see Fashoyin and Damachi, 1988). It is little wonder since labour, when appropriately perceived as the most refined and critical productive factor, possesses the means for the achievement of productivity and distribution potentials of the Nigerian economy. This is because, one of the functions of every society is to provide some organised way of satisfying necessary material wants for the sustenance of human life therein (see Mokee, 1981). And, the Nigerian labour continues to perform this important responsibility

Unfortunately, however, the character of the early labour movement in the country left much to be desired. Expectedly, the observers of this movement had their first impressions of that era. Thus, Robin Cohen had

attempted a description of the labour situation since the colonial period. He observed that except for only a few short periods of time, the labour movement since the inception of the first central organization in 1943 had nearly always been divided into mutually hostile groupings. He had specifically noted that from that date, the trade unions had witnessed the setting up of some twenty-five union centres or federations, five substantial but unsuccessful attempts at establishing a single central organization, and many more occasions when walk-outs and splinter groups had frustrated moves toward unity (see Cohen, 1974: 47-70).

The same scenario had made other observers to question the maturity of the early Nigerian labour organisation. One of these was Paul Lubeck who studied a section of the Nigerian factory workers in the Kano area. He had employed the theories of Marx and Durkheim to examine what he termed "social class formation" among the workers who were engaged in an industrial dispute with their management over the issue of "Adebo arrears" pay. His findings portrayed the picture of "an unevenly developed urban working class which has developed a limited yet militant class consciousness, but not the organisational apparatus of a mature industrial working class. However, Lubeck had also argued that although communal ethnic and religious tensions were muted in the Adebo conflict by the weight of mutual interests, it was probably wrong to assume that ethnic conflict would not re-emerge as a cleavage (see Lubeck, 1975). Indeed, Lubeck's fear of the disruptive effect of communal, ethnic, and religious cleavages on workers unionism appeared to be well founded in light of its character prior to the intervention by the Federal government that culminated in the proscription of the erstwhile pluralistic labour activists, with the Decree of 17th February, 1977 (see Tokunboh, 1985: 88-92). Precisely, the previous two decades or so of the labour movement were actually characterized by periodic fission and fusion, sectional cleavages and a multiplicity of "mushroom" unions that were based on individual whims and caprices.

At this juncture, it is noteworthy that the contemporary status of the labour movement in Nigeria is a far cry from the pattern of horrendous structural problems of the early beginning. Over the years, the Nigerian labour has been rapidly transformed by an interplay of factors as will be projected in the subsequent discussions in this chapter. These factors will

be unfolded in the following account of the experiences of labour under the successive national administrations in the country to date.

SELECTIVE REVIEW OF LONGITUDINAL TRENDS IN LABOUR RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

As noted earlier in the introduction of this chapter, a more balanced appraisal of the status of Nigerian labour under IBB should also situate the policies and practices associated with that administration within the overall framework of the regimes of successive national governments since political independence in 1960. But, in doing so in the following elaboration, it will be shown how the respective policies and practices on labour matters have always been influenced primarily by the political climate and the nature of the economic environment. This factor, as will be shown later, then becomes a useful common denominator for the comparison of the various governments and the predicaments of labour.

The literature on labour and industrial relations in Nigeria since independence has generally exhibited this observed pattern. Hence, Yesufu (1962) had concluded that, in the immediate period after independence, the existing industrial relations still operated within the framework of colonial institutions that persisted. In two other accounts, Kilby (1967, 1969) had further argued that in spite of the early Nigerian government's adherence to the colonial administration's legislative and administrative measures on industrial relations, the voluntary principle was not applied to wage determination in the public sector. This was because government itself, as major employer of labour, had for a long time formally regulated wages through the mechanisms of periodic ad hoc review by the series of established commissions and boards (see also Diali, 1991). The bottom line is that for the period from early independence to about 1967, the then political administrations were rather faced with such fundamental and general issues of employment relationships in respect of a new labour force. On its own part, labour had also operated within an industrial relations context in which the colonial institutional framework was practically still intact.

Thereafter, the extended period from about 1968 to around 1977 represented a different political era, and the various regimes of government

that were associated with that period had operated within a structurally transformed political milieu and under different or varying economic conditions. All of these environmental conditions had their concomitant effects on general status of labour, and on the social and economic experiences in the circumstances, such as the quality of working life, the political attitudes toward labour and its various demands from the State as well as the private employers. It should be remembered that the civil war experience and subsequent programmes of reconstruction and rehabilitation occupied the greater part of the 1968-1977 broad period. Hence, labour and industrial relations assumed greater importance initially particularly as a result of the demands of the war period, but also in view of the elaboration of national development objectives such as a policy of accelerated industrialisation which then prompted the government to become more visible in the sphere of industrial relations in the country.

Unfortunately, by the mid-seventies, the trends in labour organisation in Nigeria had prominently featured a regular existence of mutually hostile groupings in the entire labour movement. The consistency of this pattern of organizational problems ever since the first central labour organization in 1943 obviates any further explanation (see Cohen, 1974). This was to culminate in the organization of the movement by government and the birth of industrial unions around 1978. In view of this, the apparent installation of a new union structure represents a watershed in the history of the Nigerian labour. From that point onwards, it is therefore meaningful to examine available documentary longitudinal data as measures of labour relations climate under successive governments from Murtala/Obasanjo (which had ushered in the new era of industrial unionism) to the present. The data in Table 1 below roughly cover this broad time period.

If the relative absence of industrial action through trade disputes and employee strikes is a reasonable measure of labour relations peace, then the years 1977, 1978, 1982, and to some extent 1988-89 are comparatively turbulent years as Table 1 reveals. On the whole, those years have generally accounted for substantial frequencies of trade disputes in particular. However, as further exhibited by that statistical table, the total impact of these disputes tended to vary depending on the size of workers

involved and the corresponding person-days (or man-days) that were lost. By contrast, the years 1978, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987 and also to some extent 1989 relatively portrayed modest characteristics of labour relations calm and stability. But, it should be pointed out that inadequate record-keeping and/or the unwillingness to declare trade disputes for various reasons may produce a distorted and incomplete picture of the true climate of labour relations for the entire period under review. Moreover, it is further noted that an apparent reduction in the number of trade disputes as indicated for the year 1978, 1979 and 1989, just as some examples, is not necessarily correlated with a corresponding reduction in the aggregate number of workers that are involved. The implication is that, even fewer trade disputes but which involve large numbers of labour, as indicated by Table 1, often resulted in huge labour days lost. Therefore, the period 1978-1982, particularly 1982, stands out as the comparative peak of labour productivity wastage as demonstrated by the profile of data under review in that table.

TABLE 1

LONGITUDINAL PROFILE OF LABOUR RELATIONS CLIMATE

S/N	DESCRIP.	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
1.	Trade Disputes	377	142	155	355	258	341	184	-	77	87	65	156	144
2.	Work Stoppages	190	78	755	265	234	253	131	-	40	53	38	124	80
3.	Workers Involved	39,608	105,525	204,742	221,088	323,700	2,874,721	629,177	-	71,732	157,165	57,097	55,620	157,342
4.	Man-days lost	249,260	875,137	2,038,855	2,350,998	2,218,223	39,652,400	404,822	-	193,322	461,345	142,506	230,613	579,968

Some specific policy programmes and measures were conceived during the budget year also within the above period under review that warrant mention. For example, although industrial relations had deteriorated in 1979 during the last phase of the Obasanjo administration when com-

pared to 1978, certain measures had been taken during 1979 to improve the welfare of workers. Thus, the daily paid system of employment was abolished in all Federal and some State institutions and establishments.

The compulsory retirement age was also adjusted upwards from 55 years to 60 years.

Note: Data in respect of 1984 were missing from the collection that were examined at the time of writing this contribution.

Source: Data were collapsed from the usual three yearly accounts provided by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity. Lagos spanning the period 1977-1989. (See Central Bank of Nigeria, Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the same number of years).

In addition, a decree for employee housing scheme was promulgated in that year which made it mandatory for employers with a minimum of 500 workers to provide them with accommodation. Another significant welfare measure was the granting of maternity leave with full pay to women workers. Alongside with these, the 1979/80 budget also prescribed specific guidelines on prices and incomes. For example, any establishments granting increases in salaries, wages or fringe benefits to their workers were urged not to pass on such increases to consumers through higher prices. Furthermore, employers of labour were persuaded not to grant increases in the salaries, wages and fringe benefits to employees on grades level 07 and above in the public sector as well as those on equivalent grades in the private sector (see Central Bank of Nigeria, 1979: 28-29, 7-8).

In the final analysis, it can be said that by the end of 1979, labour had benefitted from some additional welfare packages. The accompanying policy prescriptions on prices and incomes were also intended to curb inflation, although the combined effects of inflation and the curtailment of salary and wage increases to certain categories of employees appeared to have further clipped the purchasing power of labour.

By 1980, the incomes policy had restored collective bargaining within certain limits. For example, from 1980-82, the negotiations for adjustment in wages and salaries were not to exceed 15% for the low and 10% for the

high income categories in the private sector. In particular, such rate of increases were to be tied to productivity improvements in the respective enterprises. Also, it was significant that at this time the minimum wage rose from N720 to N1,200 per annum, in addition to the normalisation of transport and house rent subsidies for all workers.

By and large, the relative improvement in the climate of labour relations as portrayed for the year 1981 is again attributable to the attention to labour welfare by the government, including the decision to pay the national minimum wage of N125.00 per month (see CBN, 1980-1981).

Be that as it may, the environment of the Nigerian economy had generally started to change by turn of the 1980s. Thus, far from the brightened fortunes and the improvements in labour conditions that were achieved for the greater part of the 1970s as a result of the oil boom, the economy had shown signs of deterioration by 1981 (see Fashoyin, 1989: 168-169). Therefore, part of the effect of the economic recession was the slow-down of investment activities which consequently resulted in a lull in the creation of new jobs. The total effect of the embargo that had been placed on employment, especially that of junior workers in the public sector, had also by this time aggravated the problem of unemployment. It is little wonder then that industrial relations had worsened by 1982. Moreover, the accounting factors included the non-payment of salaries and fringe benefits, among other issues (CBN, 1982).

The foregoing unfavourable economic climate continued into 1983, with the problem of unemployment further heightening in the face of the slow-down in the construction industry. The lifting of the embargo on employment in 1982 by the Federal government did not have much impact as job-creation had fallen short of the rate of expansion of the labour force, particularly as the private employment sector shrunk due to labour retrenchment, while the college exodus also increased phenomenally. It was therefore ironical that labour relations was more peaceful in that year compared to 1982 (again, see Table 1). But, the environment of labour relations provided a plausible explanation as the fear of unemployment or lockout in the prevailing circumstances very much restrained any extreme labour reaction (CBN, 1983).

The economic fortunes of 1984 through 1985 were not any better, as the

mid-1980s actually witnessed the compounding of the structural problems of the economy. For instance, by this period, there had been a sharp fall in oil demand and revenue to the extent that foreign exchange income had plummeted from a robust US\$26.0 billion in 1980 to a comparatively meagre U.S. \$7.0 billion in 1987 (see Fashoyin, 1989 Okongwu, 1987). During the Buhari administration (1984-85), the economic predicament had attracted the imposition of an austerity programme. This was further accompanied by rationalizations particularly in public sector employment. The general atmosphere of labour relations during this period was charged as labour unrest was rife. The protests by airline pilots and air traffic controllers in 1984, as well as by the Nigerian Medical Association and the National Association of Resident Doctors in 1985 were cases in point (see Fashoyin, 1989). Thus, labour was also very much at the receiving end of the considerable hardship that characterised the same period.

Labour employment and the IBB administration

The Babangida administration emerged on the Nigerian labour relations scene in August 1985 with a bang. It is on record that ever before any policy programmes of this administration were mobilised, the proclaimed commitment to the humane philosophy of the guarantee of human rights in this country had immediately endeared the regime to the general populace. It is also significant that organised labour had partaken in the initial euphoria and elation that ushered in the IBB administration. This is understandable for labour that had been practically devastated by the emasculation generally suffered from previous regimes, and in particular, the immediate predecessor - the Buhari administration. But, the same new administration was soon to be perceived in unfavourable stereotypes by the populace, including labour, principally because of the daring economic revolution it subsequently embarked upon in the form of a structural adjustment programme (SAP) that has also generated serious reverberations across the national economy. And as will be argued later in this chapter, it is perhaps futile to blame the IBB administration for the trials and tribulations of labour under SAP; nor can we blame labour for its often well calculated attacks on this administration, given that the externalities of SAP have created horrendous and probably historically unsurpassed social and economic hardship particularly in the labour sector.

(a) *SAP in perspective*

In July 1986, the IBB administration initiated a programme of structural adjustment as an economic recovery strategy. It has embodied a battery of policy measures aimed at finding effective solutions to the country's economic problems. Some of these had been overdependence on crude oil as the major export revenue earner, lack of self reliant growth and development, budget deficit, low productivity, and stagflation (see phillips, 1987) This predicament has however, not been peculiar to Nigeria. In fact, the present economic problems in the whole of Africa can generally be explained and understood in the context of a complex of domestic and external variables. The domestic variables have originated from structural defects which also have roots in the historical experience (such as under colonialism) and the human of the countries (the World Bank 1981:2-8) In this category some specific factors have been indentified as poor performance of investment in critical sectors largely as a result of poor financial, economic artd social measures, and the additional adverse impact of lack of clear planning and development policies (ILO, 1986; also see Fashoyin and Damachi, 1988: 48).

On the other hand, the major external factors that have generally constrained the economic prospect of these African countries include the natural disasters (drought, famine) and international political economy, which makes practically all developing countries prone to the shock effects of the fortunes and /or decline of the international economy and the often concomitant external crisis (see The world Bank, 1986: ILO Studies; Fashoyin and Damachi, 1988: 48-49). Thus in the Nigerian case, many of the economic problems of the country had reached crisis proportions by the turn of the 1980's. For example, while oil revenue rose by 13.2% or comprised 69% oil the Federal revenue in the 1983-84 period, it declined by 24.5% or represented only about 58% of total federal revenue between 1985 and 1986 (Fashoyin, 1987). One implication of such fluctuations in receivable oil income was that a traditionally monocultural economy, such as Nigeria's characteristically suffered from serious liquidity problems.

From the beginning of the 1980s, the distortions in the structure of the Nigerian economy had clearly produced complex macro-economic problems for the country. Considering that "distortions" represent

"deviation of the economy from the ideal path of economic development", the associated problems had been in form of price instability, high inflation, high rates of unemployment and under-employment, high industrial capacity under-utilisation, and an amazing debt burden (see Communiqué, 28th Annual conference of the Nigerian Economic Society, Calabar, May 13-16, 1987). Therefore, by the end of 1985, it was evident that a radical policy programme was needed to alleviate many, if not all, of the foregoing economic problems. Among other things, it was specifically necessary to reverse the tradition of over-dependence of the Nigerian economy on the oil sector and correspondingly step up the philosophy of backward integration" involving renewed attention to the agriculture (rural) sector, towards stimulation of growth. It should be remembered that for a long time in the past, the mass exodus of rural farm labour, and the compounding effects of attendant and other natural disasters had deteriorated the output and value of Nigeria's agricultural sector.

Furthermore, it is also significant that the structural adjustment programme has been distinguished from, various other previous efforts to solve Nigeria's economic problems. This time around, an adjustment programme is comprehensive, broad and of greater depth as well as radical orientation, in view of its concern about removing perceived distortions in the Nigerian economy. These are then reflected in the scope of the following objectives of SAP, summarised as:

- (a) restructuring and diversifying the productive base of the economy in order to reduce dependence on the oil sector and on imports;
- (b) achieving fiscal and balance of payments viability over the period;
- (c) laying the basis for a sustainable, non-inflationary or minimal inflationary growth; and
- (d) Lessening the dominance of unproductive investment in the public sector, improving investments in the public sector and improving the growth potential of the private sector (see Philips, 1987).

Essentially, that was the scenario of the Nigerian economy and the attendant recession at about the time of entry of the IBB administration into the political scene. Therefore, for a regime with clear vision and a mission to achieve meaningful development as espoused in its maiden broadcast, the packaging of a programme of structural adjustment was an innovative mechanism that was intended for re-creating basic economic structures and to particularly jolt the entire economy into action by positively turning it around. And as the subsequent discussions in this chapter will reveal, the total experience from that juncture in July 1986 to the present has been a mixed bag, especially for the Nigerian labour since this is the specific focus here.

(b) Policy Reverberation on labour and employment.

Ever since the introduction of SAP in 1986, the component sectors of the Nigerian economy have been jolted in many respects. More specifically, the labour of employment sector appears to have been more seriously affected. For example, there has been a substantial reduction of the working force and a concomitant increase in unemployment. Moreover, some of the economic recovery measures that accompanied SAP appear to have been inflationary, as the general levels of prices have continued to overshoot average wage levels, causing tremendous hardship to labour (see Funmilayo, 1990: 14). The total effect of all of these experiences has also been the palpable reduction in the living standard of the average worker in the country. In a bid to substantiate some of these experiences, a labour leader in the oil industry had illustrated with the following specific explanations:

(1) "..... Gone were the days when the oil worker was given the privilege to buy, through balloting, 3-years old "scrapped" peugeot cars for less than N300.00 apiece".

(2) "..... The construction of the very popular elitist staff housing estates located in all the oil operational zones across the country has also fizzled out with advent of SAP" (see Kokori, 1990).

If what is reported here was experienced by workers in a "choice" industry such as oil and gas, it can be imagined what the generality of

workers in the other less buoyant and attractive sectors of the economy have contended with since the introduction of SAP. By and large, a more fundamental necessity of the SAP experience has been the emergent concern with employment security to the extent that most workers and their labour organisations have since been increasingly more interested in how to keep their jobs and basically survive in light of a tight labour market and generally rising price levels. In that process, labour cannot receive the best treatment from the point of view of improved conditions of employment (also see Iji, 1990).

In the final analysis, some more constructive outcomes of the economic recovery measures have further been perceived by organised labour in the country. One of these has been identified as the expansion of the scope of negotiations and discussion at the plant levels. The implication is that the more aggressive unions have been able to achieve modest additional improvements in the welfare benefits for their members, without necessarily altering already agreed salary and fringe benefit structures. Some details of such welfare items are reported to include: improved medical facilities, subsidised canteen/lunch vouchers, sales of company products to staff/free gift of company products, provision of staff buses/company vehicles for official assignments, interest-free loans to staff, and improved long service awards. It is significant therefore that necessary considerations of how to cushion the hardships of the new economic environment, and the attraction of increased labour productivity have often influenced the agreement between management and labour on these extended welfare benefits. Besides, another welcome development in the context of SAP has been the cultivation of the spirit of social partnership as a survival strategy by the workers and their employers. Such collaboration has been perceived to be instrumental in the negotiation of cost-saving schemes in the collective interest of work organisations (Iji, 1970). Again, the essence of this development is that there appears to have been a re-orientation of typical labour strategy from direct confrontation especially under economic boom to one of cautious and inter-organisational relations in a period of economic adversity.

Be that as it may, the general nature of the economic recession and

adjustment measures which were described earlier in this section have had direct effects on the terms of employment relationships lately in the country. If the perceived indicators of the quality of work experience are to be applied to the recent and present experiences of organised labour, then it is logical to conclude that the quality of working life has suffered an adverse impact in most of the formal work organisations. The reasons are not far fetched. The survival of employing organisations has been and is still presently threatened by the changes in fortune inflicted by the economic recession and structural adjustment. And, indeed, structural adjustment in Nigeria to date has personified economic belt-tightening as well as deregulation and a free market system.

Besides, there has been the effect of government legislative control on the behaviour of work organisations (or employers of labour), especially under SAP and this has tended to also affect the relative fortunes of labour. For example, much as wages and salaries were frozen between 1983-1987 as a result of which collective bargaining on wage and salary became impossible, the income guidelines were only partially relaxed in 1987, allowing for negotiations on fringe benefits. However, in line with the policy thrust of the SAP, the five years of wage freeze were ended with the 1988 income guidelines. This had generally resulted in an upward review of wages, salaries and benefits of employees in the formal sector in 1988. The intention was to inflate the economy and increase consumer spending power (see Matanmi, 1988: 1, 4). But, the wage and salary aspect of the 1989 Federal Budget had further curbed the (wage and salary) gains of 1988. For instance, certain fringe benefits for some categories of civil servants were rationalised (Baiye, 1989): 9). It has been suggested that such benefits were rationalized because they had led to past abuses and unduly large public expenditure (Omolayole, 1989). However, it is noted that labour unions had protested the adoption of these measures as the National Public Sector Negotiating Council not only rejected the cuts in fringe benefits but "instead wanted government to introduce an upward review of salaries in the face of biting economic hardships faced by workers" (The Guardian, February 5, 1989). Nevertheless, there were later moves to resolve such grievances, through dialogue and mutual understanding. In addition, government also had subsequently adopted measures that ostensibly aimed to fine-tune

certain aspects of the SAP in view of the already perceived social costs (see *The Guardian*, Friday, June 9, 1989; and Saturday, June 10, 1989).

(c) **Specific reactions of labour to SAP measures**

It is no exaggeration to say bluntly that organised labour in Nigeria had, without reservation, made its opposition to SAP and all it stands for known from the onset. Thus, the various measures such as the devaluation of the naira, the reduction in public sector employment and labour (or working) conditions, the reduction in the subsidies on state produced goods and services, and also the pursuit of deregulation with all the implications of commercialisation and privatisation, have been persistently criticised and actually sometimes protested through extreme mob action, as will be further explained here shortly thereafter.

As an example, the devaluation of the naira, which had up to December 1985 exchanged with one U.S. dollar, has become increasingly serious over the years. By December 1988, eight naira were being exchanged for one U.S. dollar, and now in mid-1992, upwards of eighteen naira are exchanged with one U.S. dollar. Although this massive devaluation has been caused by the recent deregulation of foreign exchange and bank interest rates in March of this year, the longitudinal effects of devaluation with consistently rising costs of consumer goods in particular has apparently increasingly reinforced a fatalistic attitude in the working class who mostly have resigned themselves to hopeless fate in the sense that they are convinced that "they are riding their last cars", or even that "they may never own a car, or own a house", etc. (see Akin Aina, 1989: 178).

Another form of labour reaction to the SAP has been the perceived change in attitude to public sector work. The recent studies on this by Akin Aina (1989:179) have revealed the problems of "low work morale, and the dwindling of commitment to public work employment of the idea of the nation". The general consequences have been variously the increasingly widespread practice of either moonlighting, or inter-sectoral career changes in favour of the very few sectors of the economy that are still comparatively attractive (e.g. banking

and finance). The other responses have been in the form of increasing patronage of international occupational migration particularly among the highly skilled professionals - with the resultant problem of brain drain and all the development implications for a young nation such as Nigeria. Furthermore, there exist individual feelings of bitterness and utter psychological confusion which apparently are emotional time bombs, especially in terms of mental balance and overall mental health.

Quite another prominent source of vicious attack on the SAP by organised labour has been wage and salary. And, one major reason for this has been the perceived comparative stagnation of these relative to the periodic rates of inflation in the country. Thus, as far back as early 1988, the Nigeria Labour Congress had complained that even the then (new) elongated salary structure "had not redressed the catastrophic collapse of wages in the face of devaluated currency, possible removal of subsidy, inflation and growing unemployment market" (Aremu, 1988). This issue was later pressed with government in terms of a fresh demand for a realistic review of the minimum wage. This will be discussed further later.

If the above reactions to SAP measures have mostly reflected probably the introverted feelings of individuals or the organised labour groups, it is significant to report that there has been more extreme and rather extroverted responses. More specifically, there was a spate of civil disturbances (and which presumably involved members of labour) in April-May 1989 in some parts of the country including Lagos which were believed to be very much induced by SAP and the accompanying social hardships. The impact of this civil unrest was the prompt response by this administration which introduced some relief package in the public sector in order to alleviate the attendant hardships of the SAP measures that were being protested or resisted. The concession of a package of measures by the federal government in June 1989 was a direct policy admission that structural adjustment has social cost. This package was an extra-budgetary fund that totalled 494.9 million and meant for the provision of employment opportunities which potentially is in favour of labour, the improvement of health care delivery, and reduction of transport difficulties. The specific elements of the programme were the

following:

(a) N65.0 million to the National Directorate of Employment for the employment of 62,000 graduates and non-graduates nationwide

(b) N22.0 million to the Ministry of Works and Housing for employment of 10,120 workers and 612 graduates;

(c) N4.4 million to the Ministry of Education for recruitment of science, mathematics and technical teachers, etc. (CBN, 1989).

Unfortunately, the initial silence of the same government on the fate of workers in the private sector of the economy as far as these relief provisions were applicable had further generated actual industrial conflict in many industries in the private sector. In the latter, the attendant disputes in 1989 were variously due to the agitation for upward review of fringe benefits and better working conditions, the non-implementation of the SAP relief package that had been announced by the Federal government, and the well-founded fear of job displacements arising from the logical implementation of privatization and commercialization of some public enterprises (CBN, 1989). Perhaps the only oases of industrial peace in that year as far as the so-called SAP-induced riots were concerned were the financial institutions. In spite of the fuzziness of the early government pronouncement on the labour/sectoral scope of the SAP relief, the financial institutions had particularly shown understanding by promptly increasing certain fringe benefits as part of the relief package to their employees (Funmilayo, 1989: 14).

Finally, it appears that one remaining major and direct affront to the IBB administration from labour also as a response to SAP, and as mentioned shortly previously, has been the pressure for a new national minimum wage. In 1988, the Nigeria Labour Congress had submitted a proposal for the federal government on the desirability of review of the existing minimum wage of N125.00 per month, and had further demanded for a monthly minimum of N1,490.00. The magnitude of labour's minimum demand was an obvious reference to the incredible rate of inflation in the

country at the time of demand. But it took the federal government about one year to respond to labour's demand by establishing the Tripartite Committee on the national minimum wage on 30 January 1990. The result of the activity of this committee was included in the 1991 Budget Speech in which the federal government had announced a rate of N250.00 per month and had defined "minimum wage" as total emolument. Much as labour, by so doing, had achieved a 100% rise in the minimum wage from the 1981 rate of N125.00, the interesting paradox of this was that many employers already paid more than the new minimum. Nevertheless, the fact that labour made a move to request for a structural change in the country's compensation system in face of the hardships of SAP was a political achievement at least on the part of labour leadership. This was moreso when labour had pressured the federal government into revising its earlier stand on the minimum wage as total emolument, by merely interpreting the new wage floor of N250.00 as "baseline" (according to the clarification provided by President Babangida at the 82 Division in Enugu in January 1991) (see also Giwa, 1991).

(d) Balance Sheet

In spite of the Structural Adjustment Programme, it is submitted that the balance of sheet of labour relations under IBB does not necessarily put that administration literally in the red. This is because a careful balance of the labour relations policies and programmes/practices under IBB will definitely show a mixture of assets and liabilities. Thus, if labour groaned much under this administration as a result of the externalities of SAP, and if a military regime, that it is, has not been too tolerant of organised labour resistance or excesses - as it had always been with all the previous military governments, it would amount to an over-simplification to have ignored certain credits of this administration, with reference to labour. These will be elaborated in the following segment of the chapter:

(i) Employment and Labour Development Policies

On the whole, the IBB policies and programmes on employment and labour development have been appealing because even under SAP,

various action programmes have been thought out for example particularly in favour of the creation of self-employment opportunities and the stimulation of the development of the informal sector, but generally with the intention of fostering greater employment and improving the general welfare of the populace - and by implication, the labour sector. A case in point is the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), which is one outcome of several reactions by the federal government to various social dislocations that have been caused by the implementation of the adjustment programme - particularly in the area of labour employment. And, in order to control the crisis of unemployment that has resulted from the decline in industrial and commercial activities, the NDE was created in November 1986. Therefore, President Babangida in his 1987 Budget Speech had also directed the Directorate to concentrate efforts on the reactivation of public works, promotion of direct labour, promotion of self-employment, the organisation of artisans into cooperatives, and encouragement of a culture of maintenance and repairs. To date, the NDE has implemented four schemes of practical programme which are for:

- (a) youth employment and vocational skills development,
- (b) small-scale industrialisation and graduate employment,
- (c) agricultural sector employment, and
- (d) special public works (NDE, 1990).

The policy success of the NDE - which is beyond the immediate scope of this chapter - is yet to be determined with empirical and rigorous statistical evidence. But, the scope of operations has suggested that it has the potential capacity to reasonably curtail the high unemployment levels in the country. Besides, our optimistic perspective is that the economy would turn around and, in the long-run, generate reasonable employment to reduce the present unemployment levels. Furthermore, from all indications, the urban informal sector of the economy appears to now provide a viable policy option for the creation of employment. It is noted that the informal labour sector

by nature possesses a vast potential for growth and an enormous capacity for the absorption of labour. Significantly, the present official policy of encouraging the development of that sector, especially small-scale manufacturing, will serve well the pressing need to generate more future employment.

(ii).Productivity Consciousness of the IBB administration

One of the legacies of this administration is the singular demonstrated commitment to the issue of productivity. And for, once, this issue is managed professionally with the creation of the National Productivity Centre (NPC) by an enabling decree No. 7 of April 1987. The statutory mandate has been to stimulate productivity consciousness among Nigerians and to articulate programmes that are directly aimed at the improvement of productivity generally in the various sectors of the economy. The priority has obvious implications for the development of labour and industry in a developing and industrialising country such as Nigeria. It cannot be over emphasised that the variable of productivity is a necessary condition for positive and sustained growth and development of the national economy: Therefore, the IBB administration has also done well in this regard. More lately, in a further pursuit of its philosophy on productivity, the President had again given a mandate to the NPC on the necessary installation of productivity schemes in some model work organisations in the public and private sectors of the economy (from personal communication with the NPC). The expectation is that the culture of productivity sectors of the nation's economy and necessarily launch the latter into the tempo of the upcoming 21st century in terms of the capacity to produce desired social goods and services for quality of life and economic prosperity.

In addition to the foregoing, the existing stipulation that any wage increase must be rationalised with a detailed productivity plan as a condition for its endorsement by the superintending Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity (see Giwa, 1991) has further underscored the official policy on anti-inflationary measures even in the efforts to stimulate economic development through high labour productivity. It is one effective way of curbing runaway inflation in the long run.

(iii)

New wage policy and decentralisation of collective bargaining.

The kernel of a new wage policy by IBB is contained in the President's budget speech of January 1991, the relevant portion of which is reproduced below:

"Government accepts that the time has come for collective bargaining to take firm root and for wage fixing to reflect varieties and differences in the ability to pay, as between the federal government, the State Government, Local Government and the Parastatals. The representatives of these various tiers of government and agencies will negotiate directly with their appropriate industrial unions at the level of federal, state, or local governments and the parastatals, but always bearing in mind the ability to pay and the imperatives of a good remuneration policy. The federal government will cease to issue general circulars with universal applicability with regard to wages, fringe benefits and conditions of employment to all public agencies " (President's Budget speech, 1991).

Obviously, the foregoing is a radical departure from the tradition of centralised wage determination that dates back to 1948 when collective bargaining was first introduced to the public sector under the Whitley Councils (Fashoyin, 1991: 1). The new orientation is now in favour of the deregulation of wage bargain, in the sense that an employer is free to negotiate the payment of an affordable rate. Another specific concomitant of the new policy is the modification of the structure of bargaining in the public sector, which now makes it possible for any variations to exist between the three tiers of government (i.e. federal, state, local government) particularly on the basis of ability to pay. The overall implication of the foregoing is that "the era of glacial, global, centrally-determined wage arrangements and adjustments with accompanying fanfare and unnecessary publicity" (Giwa, 1991) is over as far as the Babangida administration is concerned. It is also a recognition of the critical role of the mechanism of collective bargaining in employment relationships and the necessary pursuit of industrial peace. The principle of collective bargain-

ing is operated on the basic belief that labour must receive a fair share of the rewards of production, while capital must also achieve appreciable returns on investment. Therefore, a policy of meaningful collective bargaining mutually encourages negotiation and dialogue in wage determination, without undue government intervention other than the necessary provision of guidelines for the scope of negotiations.

(iv) Successful creation of positive atmosphere for the 1991 minimum wage negotiations.

One of the amazing characteristics of the negotiations that ultimately produced the 1991 minimum wage was the manner in which the tripartite comported themselves with mostly favourable attitudes and actions, as well as appreciable understanding and maturity. According to an insider's opinion on the general conduct of the negotiations, the federal government or its representatives had promoted continuous dialogue among the tripartites and "with total sense of commitment and loyalty to the good of this nation" (Giwa, 1991: 20). Thus, it was a successful experiment in trilateral concertation, and a positive demonstration of the applicability of the principle of collective bargaining generally in favour of industrial peace and economic progress.

(v). Provision of SAP relief.

Like any socially responsive and rational administration, the Babangida regime has exhibited moderate sensitivism to the human pangs of SAP, and so had intermittently always introduced relief and welfare measures as cushions for the externalities of that process of radical adjustment of the economy. Thus, in 1989, 1990 and, lately, 1992 respectively, special relief packages were introduced generally for the benefit of the entire populace, as well as for specific projects that benefitted or could benefit labour through the creation of basic employment and the development of necessary social infrastructures. It is perhaps through careful research that we may eventually determine the real impact of these relief measures, not only on the populace but more specifically on labour. For now, it is noted that organised labour is among the recent beneficiaries of the IBB urban

mass transit programme. The current Labour Transport Service owes its existence to the enabling credit provided by this administration for the support of mass transit, and reduction of transportation problems. It is possible that critics may argue that the relief measures had been provided only after spontaneous and perhaps often violent civil protests. Nevertheless, it is clear that to grant or concede these measures in the first instance is an indication of leadership sensitivity to the suffering of the masses, including the working class.

An Overview

So far, an attempt has been made to appraise the status and social experiences of labour under IBB. The exercise has been rewarding in that it has been possible to compare and contrast the relative fortunes of labour under different political (national) authorities. It has been revealed that labour is strongly perceived to have a critical role in the development process. From all evidence, it is clear that a military administration is as attentive to the yearnings of the populace (including organised labour) and also committed to their welfare or well being. The outstanding contributions of the IBB administration to the promotion of good labour relations among the industrial relations triparties, such as in the area of productivity awareness, wage policy, and the institution of collective bargaining, among other purely welfare-oriented measures, have been mentioned earlier in this work. However, the structural adjustment programme which the IBB administration has implemented has actually compounded the task of labour resource management as well as confounded the labour's overall perception of the relevance of this administration in the circumstances of the attendant hyperinflation and a generally harsh working environment that have unfortunately been more associated with the political period. At the extreme, such unfavourable stereotypes had often created labour unrest and, consequently, the determination by government to deal decisively with any attendant chaos (as in the case of NEPA - National Electric Power Authority - senior staff in the recent years and more lately in 1992 the ASUU - Academic Staff Union of the Universities). In fact the ASUU was proscribed on 21st July, 1992, for the second time by this administration.

By and large, the lesson is that economic structure is a major determinant of labour relations. The overall climate of such relations in turn is a function of political expediency and tact, in managing any disparate interests and dissenting behaviour. And, hence, all political authorities in this country, whether military or civilian must equip themselves especially to tolerate reasonable dissent or confrontation in the interest of labour peace. Labour, on its own demand or overt behaviour to the extent that they are more rational in their demands as well as in the exhaustion of due process of the law in grievance and conflict resolution. This is equally a lesson for any overly strike-happy labour groups that often ended up under the sledge hammer through proscription.

But, the allusion to proscription here is a satire. This is because an indiscriminate use of such statutory weapon can backfire on the very climate of labour relations by producing a chilling effect. Therefore, there is no known alternative to an understanding of the diplomacy of collective relations and the limitless usage of dialogue coupled with a fundamental commitment by the triparties to the idea of fair labour practices.

In the final analysis, the orientation of our conclusion is that there is need for social concertation in labour and industrial relations in Nigeria. The implication is that labour must be carried along by management (or employers) and government (both as an employer and political authority) in the continuous search for effective solutions to the mammoth socio-economic problems of development in this country. Having stated the foregoing, there is also a need especially on the part of the State for a semblance of policy consistency and continuity if meaningful development is to be achieved with respect to the labour sector. This sector is very sensitive and should be so carefully managed by any political administration.

In conclusion, if the structural adjustment programme in Nigeria amounts to an economic razzle-dazzle that has stunned the generality of Nigerians who have groaned under the crushing effect of incredible market inflation and the attendant adversity of a tight labour market, among other things, it is still argued that a long-term

stabilisation of the positive aspects of SAP should ultimately offset the existing but otherwise negative side-effects. In itself, this should also ultimately produce the desired development of the Nigerian economy and hopefully create favourable conditions additionally for the development of labour - which is basically necessary for sustainable development in this country.

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Chapter 2

EDUCATION IN THE IBB YEARS.

By – ALLOY EJIOGU, Phd.

Analysts and careful observers of the historical evolution of education policies, programmes and achievements in the post-independence era would undoubtedly agree with me that the Babangida administration marks the watershed of dynamic and purposeful education developmental policies that have drastically changed the past chequered history to one of careful planning backed with momentous implementation achievements.

Prof. Aliu Babatunde Fafunwa

Introduction

The statement quoted above is culled from Professor Fafunwa's "Foreword" to a Federal Ministry of Education publication on its Achievements Under Babangida's Administration (August 1985 - December 1991) in his capacity as Nigeria's Honourable Minister of Education. As would be expected of every "loyal" public officer, the Honourable Minister in the "Foreword" under reference extolled the inestimable virtues of his Employers in the area of educational policy formulation and implementation.

Contrariwise, writing under the auspices of Daily Champion's "Anniversary Essays", (October 1, 1992) Leke Salau in his article titled "Education With tears" lamented that the Nigerian educational system "has been overwhelmed by the vagaries of social disintegration." Without mincing words, Salau wept that laudable, as the 6-3-3-4 system of education sounds on paper the implementation has been haphazard. Said Leke Salau: "the alarming deterioration of educational standard has encouraged many people to develop a negative attitude towards education. Our national educational foundations are seriously being threatened by a rising tide of mediocrity which portends a gloomy future for the generations to follow. The conditions of public schools is appalling, to say the least.

Classrooms are dilapidated; the condition of their floors are rough; deplorable; the walls of the school buildings are bare and the surroundings are crowded and overgrown with weeds. Today there are about 3.5 million pupils across the country that are lacking teachers and classrooms. About 446,000 teachers are required to meet the approved teacher-pupil ratio recommended by the Federal Ministry of Education.... A survey conducted by the Federal Ministry of Education last year (i.e. 1991) showed that out of 102,000 technical teachers required in the system only 5,598 were available..."

A casual reader would think that Professor Fafunwa and Mr. Salau were writing about two different educational systems, but they were not. Nigerian educational system under the administration of General Babangida was their theme. Could it then be that Fafunwa was merely echoing "His Masters Voice" or that Salau was an alarmist? Readers should be able to answer this question much more precisely at the end of this write-up which is intended to x-ray the major educational landmark achievements and problems during the past seven years of Babangida government in Nigeria.

Primary Education.

During the "Oil boom" years of Obasanjo Administration, the Federal Government was ever willing to fund primary education all over the country. Along with launching of the Universal free Primary Education (UPE) nationwide in 1976 came also the Local Government Reform of 1976. While the Federal Government funded the UPE programme, state and local governments merely implemented it. Regrettably much money was wasted on the programme as the management or administrative mechanisms were not properly streamlined and coordinated. For, although the funds were ever available, no specific body was charged with the responsibility for effective control and management of primary schools. And, for as long as the oil boom was on and the Federal Government was able and willing to pay the bills, the weaknesses in the system were not obvious.

In the face of dwindling resources, the Shagari Government in 1981 set up a revenue allocation Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Pius Okigbo, a world-renowned economist. The Committee proposed and the Federal Government accepted a new revenue formula (1981) which

increased the shares of the State and Local Governments. The reduction in the Federal Government's share was predicated on the assumption that the state and local governments would now be responsible for the funding and management of primary schools. In fact, these two low tiers of government were expected to allocate 15% of their respective revenues to primary education. Invariably the Federal Government seemed to have been let off the hook and so it withdrew entirely from giving any assistance to states for primary education. Federal Government's withdrawal was even in accordance with the 1979 Constitutional provision which left the funding and management of primary education in the hands of state governments with the provision that the Local Governments would also participate.

The effect of Federal Governments's withdrawal was chaotic. Primary Education all over the country faced imminent collapse, some states owed teachers salaries for upwards of six months, there were not enough books and adequate teaching-learning aids and some schools held classes under trees. The picture was dreary and uninspiring as hordes of children and their impoverished teachers scurried from one dilapidated building to another in search of shelter that never was.

Then came President Babangida whose Administration, realising that for 40 per cent of primary pupils, primary education was terminal and that for socio-economic development and enlightened citizenry primary education was sine qua non, accepted to intervene in spite of its constitutional absolution from financial responsibility for this level of education.

Barely a year of coming into power, the Babangida Administration in 1986 released N105 million for rehabilitation of primary school buildings and provision of instructional materials. In 1988, the Federal government released a further sum of N30 million to assist primary education; N40 million for the purchase of school books. Although well intentioned, these "gift", albeit extra - budgetary were not enough. Some more enduring and better synchronized arrangement had to be put in place. And so on 31st August 1988, the federal Government published Decree No 31 setting up a NATIONAL PRIMARY EDUCATION COMMISSION as a Category A Parastatal of the Federal Ministry of Education. Inaugurated on April 24, 1989 with the Hon. Minister of Education as its Chairman, secretary Dr. Abdussalaam Sambo; and state representatives

of 5 states as full-time, among other members.

One of the functions of the National Primary Education Commission was to manage and disburse funds accruing to the National Primary Education Fund into which the Federal Government would contribute annually 65% of the calculated cost of primary school salaries, this amount being taken directly from the Federal government's own share of the Federation Account. From the main National Primary Education Fund, 20% would be set aside regularly for ten years into the primary Education Interim Development Fund which will be distributed to the 12 named educationally disadvantaged States adjudged to be in the greatest need. The remaining 80% would be shared among all the then 21 States on the bases of (a) equality of all the states and (b) the total population of each state. Each State and each local Government will similarly contribute to the fund.

Within two years of its existence, 1989 and 1990, the National Primary Education Commission made some notable achievements among which were: ensuring accountability on the part of the three tier of government register of teachers; a pilot book aid scheme for the procurement of few class copies of english and mathematics textbooks; design of model classroom for different geographical environment; design of test items to support teachers in their Administration of continuous assessment; the design of parameters for relationalizing school budget.

In January 1991, the Federal Government unwittingly abolished the Commission in a bid to grant Local Governments autonomy. Having granted them a marginal increase in their share of the national revenue the Federal Government decided to give back to them responsibilities for the funding and maintenance of primary education in their areas of jurisdiction. The result is that today the gains made between 1989 and 1990 have vanished. We are back from where Babangida enthusiastically started: delay/non-payment of primary school teachers' salaries; lack of teaching-learning aids; high employee turnover; low personnel morale and, of course, their concomitant falling standard. The question on everybody's lips is: Should Babangida have handed back primary education funding to local governments? Even in the knowledge that Primary Education is the bedrock of any educational system and national development!

Nomadic Education

Although the UPE launched in 1976 was intended "to cater for all sons and daughters of Nigeria", this was not feasible as the sons and daughters of the cattle-rearing Fulbe, the Bororo could not benefit from the scheme. The conventional school system did not suit these nomadic children, their needs and circumstances differed substantially from those of the sedentary population. The National Policy on Education affirms, inter alia, that "education is the birth right of every Nigerian child, and should be brought close to the environment of the child." If we were not to pay mere lip service to that affirmation, Nigerians should therefore design a system of education that would also suit the mobile occupational circumstances of the children of the nomads.

It was this consideration that led to the enactment of Decree No. 41 of 12th December, 1989 establishing a National Commission for Nomadic Education. The Commission was empowered to formulate policies as well as provide funds for all developments relating to nomadic education as well as the establishment, organization and management of primary schools for the Nomads. A Chairman and an Executive Secretary for the Commission were appointed in April 1990.

By the end of 1991, the Commission had made a number of significant achievements including the opening up of about 505 functional nomadic schools in 18 states and Abuja with a pupil population of 30,971. A total of 1,279 teachers were employed and deployed to these schools. Mobile collapsible classrooms were also provided during the period. In addition the Commission has sponsored 7 nomadic young men to acquire university education at Jos, Zaria and Maiduguri, and 48 for OND at National Veterinary Research Institute, Zaria.

The institutionalization of Nomadic Education in Nigeria has been severely criticised at various quarters as irrelevant, and a calculated attempt by the initiator, Professor Jibril Aminu (then the Hon. Minister of Education), to drain the federal money to his kits and kins in Northern Nigeria. I think that such critics are quite uncharitable, to say the least. For example, some of the critics have suggested the resettlement of the nomads as a more viable and efficacious alternative to the very expensive arrangement to educate them. In other words, sedentarization of the nomads should be a prerequisite to their receiving formal education and that in a conventional schooling system. I consider it a negative posture

to suggest that the Bororos should not be given any formal education until they are permanently resettled. As we know settlement processes and programmes are usually long, complicated and even very expensive. It involves a process of cultural change and may take more than ten years to accomplish. Must the education of the nomadic children be halted for so long?

In fact, I consider the introduction of Nomadic Education belated. Did the National Policy on Education (1977) not take cognizance of problems such as theirs when it stated, inter alia:

Whenever possible, arrangements will be made for such children to assist their parents in the morning, and go to school in the evening. Special and adequate inducement will be provided to teachers in rural areas to make them stay on the job...

Even the much more advanced Great Britain by the Caravan Act of 1968 made a special plan of action to help her wandering gypsies - a minority group that needed to be provided for, just like Nomadic Education is intended to provide for the educational needs of the Fulbe (the Nomadic Fulanis) or the Bororos of Nigeria.

To make special school arrangements for the nearly 6 million Bororos in Nigeria is laudable and ought not to be treated with cynicism. Here we give a pass mark to the Babangida Administration, while warning the executors of this apparently laudable programme to ensure that all monies allocated to it are utilised judiciously, effectively and efficiently.

Education of the Handicapped (Special Education)

Section 8 of the National Policy on Education (1981) identified the objectives of Special Education as follows:

(a) "to give concrete meaning to the idea of equalising educational opportunities for all children, their physical, mental and emotional disabilities notwithstanding; and

(b) to provide education for all handicapped children and adults in order that they may fully play their roles in the development of the nation." The Policy also stated some specific policy directives such as to: set up a coordinating body; carry out a census of the disabled; maintain a data on the handicapped; make provision for the production of highly trained and efficient personnel for the education of the handicapped; integrate the handicapped as well as introduce elements of special education into the regular school system; establish special schools for those who are not able to benefit from the regular system...etc.

Although these policy statements were enunciated first in 1977 and later revised in 1981, not much was done until this later part of Babangida Administration. Even at that, not much seems to have been achieved in this direction as yet.

Perhaps a major landmark or break-through is the publication of a Blue Print on Education of the Handicapped in Nigeria by the Federal Ministry of Education. The Blue Print accepted that "for many years the education of the handicapped has been given a low priority not because Government has not shown sufficient concern for the handicapped but because there is a general feeling that the handicapped are already 'down trodden and out' and therefore any effort made to pull them up is money pushed down the drain" (p.2).

The Blue Print went on to define the target group as including: the physically handicapped; visually impaired; speech and hearing impaired; behaviour disordered; learning disabled; and mentally retarded. Other issues touched upon in the Blue Print are guidelines on the establishment of special schools; implementation strategies (Census of the handicapped, physical facilities for the handicapped, special equipment and materials, personnel.); administrative structure; and more importantly, the establishment of National Board for the Education of the Handicapped (its membership, functions, funding and functional relationships with other bodies or agencies.

This blueprint approved in 1990 when effected is most likely to bring about desirable changes and achievements in the delivery of special

education in this country. It is hoped that the successors of the Babangida Administration would carefully study and implement the recommendations in the blueprint. For a lot is yet to be done in this very much neglected aspect of our national educational system.

The Gifted Programme

Like Nomadic Education, Education for the Gifted programme was conceived by Professor Aminu as the first Minister of Education under Babangida. Also, like Nomadic Education, the programme of Education for the Gifted has been brutally criticised by many Nigerians, the well-informed and the non-informed. The critics do not see why a few "gifted" children would be selected and so much spent on them; they would rather prefer an "egalitarian" system of education catering for everybody. They often cite the notion of equality of education opportunities as a justification for discarding the gifted programme.

Here one must quickly point out that equality of educational opportunities does not stop at merely providing education to everybody; more importantly it includes providing education that is commensurate with the abilities and potentialities of everyone of school age.

Gifted children are unique and ought to be treated likewise. Correl writing on the Teaching The Gifted and Talented (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundations 1978) explains the psycho-educational needs of gifted children for specialised educational services as follows:

- (a) "Gifted and talented youth are a unique population differing markedly from their peers in abilities, talents, interests and psychological maturity.
 - (b) "They are the most versatile and complex of all groups served in schools, yet are the most neglected group when it comes to special education needs.
 - (c) "Their sensitivity to existing school environment, which is focused on the average student, makes them especially vulnerable, with the result that they are likely to conceal their giftedness."
- Even the critics cannot deny the idea of "giftedness" itself. Even the

National Policy on Education (1981) recognizes the need "to provide opportunities for exceptionally gifted children to develop at their development."

The Babangida Administration must be given accolades for initiating the implementation of this programme (that seemed to have been abandoned hitherto) in the establishment of Suleja Academy to take care of these "gifted" children.

What is not certain is whether these children at Suleja Academy are indeed gifted or not. The children at the Academy should be only those who give evidence of high performance capability in areas such as intellectual, creative, artistic, leadership capacity and who indeed require services and activities not ordinarily provided in regular schools. The post-Babangida regime must build on strength, ensuring that the mode of selection into the Suleja Academy is not marred by such considerations (now alleged) as "quota system" and "Federal Character". And as Mr Taiwo of the Federal Ministry of Education once advised, the Suleja Academy must be sufficiently prepared to respond in a propitious and professional manner to the gifted children's needs through well developed and comprehensive syllabi and procedures for dealing with selection of instructional and library resources. Similar programmes are working elsewhere, they ought to work in Nigeria if only the managers of the programme are sincere, honest and responsibly responsive.

Women Education

It was not until the Babangida Administration that a Woman Education Branch was created in the Federal Ministry of Education. Its mission is to adequately prepare women through education and training to meet up with the prevailing socio-economic and political changes and challenges. Barely a year in office, on November 27, 1986 to be precise, the Federal Government under the leadership of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB) launched the campaign on Women Education Branch of the Federal Ministry of Education organized a national workshop on promotion of Science, Technology and Mathematics Education among girls and women in Nigeria.

This special attention to Women Education in Nigeria is predicated on certain evidences namely: that at all levels of education in Nigeria fewer girls than boys are enrolled at school despite the slight numerical advantage of females in the assumed national population (before the official figure of 1991); and that educational wastage is higher among girls than boys-more girls drop out of school than boys due to pregnancy, early marriage and domestic chores and demands. Also, during the early days of education in Nigeria, Science subjects, even Biology that had to do with human reproduction, a women's area of concern, was not taught in girls' schools. Besides it was erroneously felt and believed that educated women do not make good (i.e. submissive) wives, that they are generally promiscuous and that they are prone to barrenness. These assumptions, we know, are wrong and prejudiced and yet even the professional educators and "social critics" kept quiet. It took someone of the calibre of IBB to take the bull by the horns and so everyone today is saying one thing or the other about Women Education in Nigeria.

Activities and achievements in the area of Women Education include:

- the organization of a four-day training programme in leadership and cooperative education and income generating activities all over Nigeria between June and November, 1988;
- the commissioning on December 16, 1988 of the Lagos State Women Education Model Centre at Obele-Oniwala by the Honourable Minister of Education;
- the launching on May 25, 1989 of the Nigerian Association of Women in Science, Technology and Mathematics, and award of scholarship valued at N1,200.00 to each of the deserving female students from the country's secondary schools;
- the establishment in 1989/90 of three more Women Education Centres thus bringing to 88 the total number of such centres all over the country;
- the organization, between July 16 and 20, 1990 of a workshop on "Constraints to Female Education in Nigeria: Strategies for Research, co-sponsored by Rockefeller Foundation and the World Bank; and
- the organization in August, 1990 of a three-week pilot scheme of the

Youth Education Programme for young girls who had just completed their secondary education and were awaiting admission into institutions of higher learning.

It is not unlikely that someone easily writes off these activities as mere rhetorics and too modest to be applauded. But I disagree. Such workshops and seminars would act as catalysts, awakening the consciousness of both the women and accepted the women the same way we behave to the male in educational provisions and processes. For, as UNESCO recommends in its "Measures to Provide the Access of Girls and Women to Secondary Technical and Vocational Education in New Zealand (ED-87/WS/40 of 1987):

Because it is desirable that women seek wider participation in all kinds of occupations outside the family and domestic activities, they should have the same educational opportunities available to them as men in order to prepare for an occupation and should be encouraged to take advantage of these through appropriate legislative measures and wide-spread distribution of information concerning these opportunities.

It is imperative to have "women education" as a special area of concern as recognized by the IBB Administration. Besides the need to expose female students to the same subject disciplines as the boys, they need those special motherhood skills necessary for the upbringing of healthy and useful "future leaders." Public opinion must be reshaped to encourage women to go to school and to participate in development. And recognizing that the efforts at promoting women education are not mere flash in the pan and academic rhetorics, President Babangida established the National Women Commission in 1990, a move one hopes his successors will sustain and improve upon.

Secondary Education

The activities of the Federal Government in the area of secondary education, apart from issuing national policy guidelines, are restricted to the Unity Schools. As of today, there are 45 of such Federal Unity Schools.

Notable achievements by the Babangida Administration include:

- the decentralization of decision for admissions into these schools whereby in 1991 state governments were made responsible for 85% of placements made into JSS I classes;
- the admission of 183 Namibian students into these schools between 1985 and 1991, thus giving credence to Nigeria's avowed commitment to being the "big brother" to other African countries;
- the phasing out in 1990 of Advanced Level GCE programme in line with the dictates of the 6-3-3-4 system; and
- the conversion of the former Colleges of Arts and Science at Ogoja and Sokoto respectively into Federal Science Colleges so as to enhance, the study of science and technology at the Senior Secondary Level.

This is one sector many people suggest that the Federal Government should hands-off. I agree, except that the civil servants would fight to retain them as a sort of fringe benefit for themselves, relations and friends.

Higher Education

Professor Jibril Aminu in 1988 in his capacity as the Federal Minister of Education described Nigerian Universities as "Centres of competent thought, lofty behaviour and places where genius blooms best... venues for transmitting culture and values, for training the inheritors of the society to manage future."

That was well said and no right thinking person would challenge the truism of that eloquent statement on the ideal role of an ideal university. In this section of the paper we shall investigate how the Nigerian universities and other institutions of higher learning have been enabled during the IBB Years to function as defined by the Hon. Minister Aminu.

Delivering a Chairman's address at the 33rd Meeting of the National Council of Education held in Bauchi on the 21st of January 1988, Professor Aminu, then the Minister of Education asserted, inter alia,

“Over the last year one subject dwarfed all others in relation to the Universities and that is Management. The Visitation Panels to five of the six oldest universities were essentially performance audit exercises ... Meanwhile Government has certainly done well with a recurrent grant of N500 million, which is about eight per cent of the total Federal Recurrent Budget. . Combining Capital and Recurrent Grants expectations the Universities are taking 51 per cent of the total Education for the year. I cannot see how any reasonable observer can state that the Federal Military Government is under funding the universities...”

Was Aminu honest and sincere in this camouflaged vituperation? In 1984 shortly before the coming of IBB, Recurrent Appropriations of Nigeria's federal universities stood at N439.92 million. But in 1985, the beginning of IBB Years, the recurrent grant fell to N432.54 million, in 1986 it dwindled further to N394.96 million and down again to N304.47 in 1987 and so on. The story is the same for Capital Appropriations. For example, whereas the Capital budgets under the Civilian Administration were as follows: 1979 - N117 million; 1980 - N210 million; 1981 - N350 million, 1982 N 210 million, and 1983 - N133 million; the budgetary pendulum swung to an all time low of N55 million in 1985, rising to N143 million in 1986 and fell to N119 in 1987.

How does one explain this? Definitely the younger an establishment the more funds it would require for its capital development. And also the older an establishment, the more it would cost in terms of refurbishments, repairs, and replacements. Besides, given the dwindling fortunes of the Naira in international market economy since September 1956, one would have reasonably expected much higher Capital and Recurrent Appropriations from then on. But the reverse seemed to have happened. Worse still the dwindling financial resources to the Universities are countermatched with astronomical rise in student enrolment which rose from 77,791 in 1980/81 to 180,871 in 1989.

Is it not a matter of regret that the capital grants to all the universities in any one year has been far less than the cost of building one highway

in the country same year? Is this not a case of misplaced priority even in the face of scarce resources?

Here one must recall the fact that the Federal Government even before IBB has never accepted the budgetary requests of Universities nor any of the recommendations of the National Universities Commission (N.U.C.) a body set up by government to liaise between it and the universities.

The table below speaks for itself.

T A B L E I

Recurrent Grants Requested by Universities,
Recommended by NUC
and Received by Universities, 1985-1989

Year	University Requests	NUC Recommendations	Federal Grants Thro' NUC	Student Enrolment
	N'm	N'm	N'm	
1985	695	471	433	135,783
1986	721	500	395	151,967
1986	731	523	304	160,767
1988	805	740	445	169,174
1989	1,061	779	506	180,871

Source: NUC Statistical Digests.

In 1990, the Federal Government allocated N655 million as recurrent grant to Universities, amount which the NUC itself admitted was grossly inadequate to bail out the universities from their financial mess. As one would observe, the difference between NUC recommendations and actual government grants have been on the increase even though such NUC recommendations to government fall short of what the universities themselves propose by as much as 30 to 40%.

The catalogue of woes is endless. Perhaps that was what led Dr. Pius Okigbo to lament in his lecture, Crisis In The Temple delivered at the University of Lagos in March 1992. According to Okigbo:

If the Military Administrations in this country have been eminent in nothing else in the twenty two out of thirty-two post independence years, they have at least been eminent in their obstinate and mistaken belief in their superior patriotism and self-righteousness. Under their supervision these twenty-two years especially in the universities we seem to have lost our soul, to have enthroned mediocrity, to have not only banished excellence but also repudiated knowledge and experience. We have desecrated the Temples (of learning) and turned them from intellectual citadels to a purely political market place.

Even Labaran Maku in his "A Nation in Transition" (Sunday Champion August 9, 1992 p.5) was quite unhappy that "ever since the advent of the current military regime some seven years ago, this nation, its polity and economy have been subjected to fatal experimentation based on observations and hypotheses of doubtful intellectual integrity and substance." For how does one justify the reluctance of government to even accept its NUC's recommendation on funding - - recommendations that fall far short of the needs of the universities?

The average Nigerian lecturer has "no more ego to protect, just their bare skin all covered with delicate boils.." (Ngozi Anyagbunam, "My Own Reality" Sunday Times, August 2, 1992).

Leke Salau in his "Crisis Management in Universities" (Daily Champion, November 1, 1991) was not less blunt when he asserted:

"To acquire education in Nigerian Universities today is equivalent to pain-inflicting exercise. University communities that used to be centres of Models in those days have turned into centres of hardship, deprivations, sufferings and other forms of humiliation. Students go about their academic pursuits with empty stomachs. What does the nation get in return?..."

Of course it would be grossly unfair to blame it all on the government of Babangida. I dare say that the IBB regime is much more aware of all these deficiencies than other governments before him since Gowon's obnox-

ious order to eject lecturers from their quarters in 1975. IBB merely inherited this deterioration process. And to show his awareness of the need to resuscitate our ailing university system, IBB on the 5th of December, 1990 inaugurated Commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria (popularly known as The Longe Commission). The Report was hardly published mass University lecturers all over Nigeria engaged the government in a rough dialogue on the funding of the universities and staff welfare. The despatch with which IBB acceded to some of the demands of University lecturers is praiseworthy. One hopes that the agreement would be faithfully implemented for uprooting the "boils" of the university system one after the other.

Equally noteworthy are this Administration's establishment of six new Federal College of Education (Technical) at Asaba, Umunze, Gusau, Bichi, Omoku and Potiskum; the establishment in May 1989 of the National Commission for colleges of Education for planning and coordinating teacher education below university level throughout the country; the establishment of an Arabic Centre and a French Village to cater for the needs of students of these languages in higher institutions of learning who would have done soon a high cost one year training abroad; and the enactment of an amended decree in 1989 empowering the NUC to set minimum standards for universities and accredit their programmes. The first of such accreditation took place in 1990/91 session. One only hopes that all these laudable ventures are implemented realistically, effectively and efficiently.

Conclusion

Honestly that higher education in Nigeria has not totally collapsed is attributable to the efforts of IBB administration. One only hopes that the gains so far made, however less the impact, should be sustained and improved upon by IBB's successors.

One of such areas in which IBB's efforts must be improved upon is that of relating to students. Sadly enough, argues Okeowo in 1988, "students unionism on Nigerian campuses is at cross roads; it has been beaten and battered into an emancipated comma by several civilian and military administrations through seasonal police massacres, rustications, expulsions and scape goating."

In his educational policies IBB meant well; he exhibited meaningful awareness. But there was always a widening gap between policy formulation and implementation. And whose fault, shall we ask?

Chapter 3

**HOUSING UNDER IBRAHIM BABANGIDA'S
ADMINISTRATION**

BY

FELIX UGHAMADU

INTRODUCTION

Shelter has been universally accepted as the second most important essential human need after food.

House is the physical structure that man uses for shelter and provision of basic infrastructure i.e., portable water , sanitation, drainage, electricity, good access roads and access to employment.

Housing is important to the development of society in both economic, social and welfare terms. It typically constitutes 15% to 30% of household expenditures for all but the wealthy, it is usually the major goal of family saving efforts. Investment in housing represents up to 20% or 30% of fixed capital formation in areas with vigorous housing programmes, and it is increasingly recognised as a profitable investment item yielding a flow of income. For some of the self-employed, housing is also the place of work. In areas with substantial underutilized labour, material and financial resources, housing can make such resources productive at low cost. The import content of housing construction is usually relatively low so that multiplier linkages tend to be substantial. Housing has of shelter from the elements, sanitation facilities and access to health and education services. Improved health and education and better access to income earning opportunities can lead to higher productivity and earnings for low income families. It is thus for sound economic reasons that after food, housing is typically the largest item of household expenditure for poor families, and that they are willing to go to great lengths to obtain housing at locations with access to employment, even if this means incurring the risks of illegal squatting. A positive housing policy can thus make a substantial contribution to economic development and social welfare. The relationship of housing to employment, social services, recreation and other aspects of urban life is spatially important. Access to employment for several members of a family is particularly important for the poor, and so is access to other urban facilities, particularly education . Also the importance of housing could be manifested in the multiplier effect its development into an industry can have in the creation of employment opportunities for many like artisans, building contractors, building material merchants, professional designers, architects, land quantity survey-

ors and Estate surveyors etc.

The task of accommodating the unprecedented increase in the number of Nigerians and improving their living standards poses a major challenge not only for urban development and housing policies, but for national development in general. With each passing day the problem assumes a much intractable dimension considered against the background of spiralling inflation, shooting prices of housing inputs and a burgeoning rate of population growth.

With an annual average growth rate of real gross domestic product (GDP) of about 4% as against an estimated national population growth rate of about 2.5% it would be expected that housing deficit will be on the decline as per capital income increase. This is however, not the case as a result of ineffective housing policy in the face of rapid urbanisation. One of the consequences of urbanisation is housing shortages in both quantitative terms as the supply response to the heavy demand pressure in the housing market is weak. More seriously affected is the lower income group who have been marginalised if not completely priced out of the market. The results are slums, homelessness, overcrowding, increase in rate of crime and prostitution and a general deterioration of neighbourhoods due to excessive pressure on available structures and spaces.

Although the housing problem in Nigeria is more of an urban phenomenon, it exists in the rural to a lesser extent. This is particularly in the form of poor quality shelter, inadequate infrastructure and social amenities. The appalling housing conditions in urban centres is perhaps, most evident in metropolitan Lagos where the average net residential density is up to 400 persons per hectare. The situation is similar in most other cities. Available statistics from the Federal office of statistics shows that 85% of households in the urban areas of Nigeria live in single room apartments while in the rural areas the percentage is 70%. In the urban areas 17% of urban homes had no toilet facilities whatsoever while in the rural areas 54% of households have no toilet facilities. 58% of urban household enjoy treated pipe-borne water. 75% of urban households enjoy electricity supply while in the rural houses required substantial improvements, 90% were obsolete, while only 20% were habitable. 50%

of urban houses require substantial improvements, 18% were obsolete, while 45% were habitable. In Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, Onitsha, Kano, Port-Harcourt, Owerri and Kaduna, a family of between four and six share one room. The situation is similar in most other cities in the country. In this single room is parked all the family possessions. Ventilation is therefore extremely poor. The parents can have neither peace nor privacy to themselves, nor can the children have or be allowed ample scope of recreation and physical mobility which are indispensable for their healthy growth.

The rental value of accommodation is usually determined by the forces of supply and demand for the accommodation. Experience has shown that rentals can not be effectively fixed by legislation. For instance, the amount of rent tenants pay for different types of accommodation in most cities in Nigeria by far exceeded the stipulated rents by the rent control laws - they are about four or more times higher. Table I shows the rental values of three-bedroom flats, bungalows and duplexes in some selected cities in the country. Usually, flats are middle income earners type of accommodation while bungalows and duplexes are for the upper-income earners.

The degree of appreciation in the rental values of each category of accommodation surely vary from city to city depending very much on the population size, economic activity and supply vis-a-vis demand for the accommodation. Lagos has the highest concentration of people, industries and commercial activities in the country and as such experiences the highest up-thrust in the rental values appreciation. Also the high rate of immigration into Abuja sequel to the movement of the federal ministries and Departments, the seat of Government and other private and public companies that offer complementary services has caused the new Federal Capital City to experience explosive demand for accommodation over the very low rate of supply. This accounts for about equal rates of rental appreciation on Abuja as in Lagos. The property owners in most of the urban centres have not only upward reviewed the rents on their properties in the past 12 months but have as well tightened the conditions and terms of letting. Prior to 1988/89 when the depression hit the lowest ebb, property owners accepted advance rent payment for 3 - 6

months for newly completed buildings. But these days, the norm is advance rent payment for 2 to 3 years for newly completed buildings and at least 1 to 2 years for old buildings re-let to fresh tenants.

Currently and for the foreseeable future, the property market remains the "suppliers market", the prospective tenants have little or no option as the competition is very high. Due to the cut throat competition amongst the prospective tenants, some estate agents are also having windfalls these days. They now ask for and receive commissions at equal rates from both parties - the landlord and the tenant, in a letting deal they handled.

Analysis of Nigeria's housing sector reveals certain major weaknesses in the housing delivery system. These may be categorised as:

- (a) Gross inadequacy in the total quantity of housing resulting from very low level of production;
- (b) High cost of construction causing decline in effective demand for affordable housing;
- (c) Poor quality of structure of dwelling units and related infrastructural services;
- (d) Lack of access to housing finance for low and medium income households
- (e) Practical difficulties in obtaining land for average households, despite the land use decree.

The identification of these problems and their implications provided a basis for strategic responses which might be considered to determine the policy options for a desired housing delivery system.

From available statistics, the magnitude of the housing problem in the urban areas of the country is such that 5 million new housing units will be required to meet existing and future needs up to the year 2000 A.D. the housing situation in the rural areas where about 70 percent of the Nigerian populace reside is even more unsatisfactory. Available statistics show that about 32 million new housing units are required to meet the housing needs in the rural areas of Nigeria by the year 2000 A. D.

However, it is realised that the housing problem in the rural areas is mainly that of qualitative improvement in terms of sanitation and infrastructure for the existing housing stock in these areas. The amount of the essential services may be approximated to the equivalent cost of producing about 3 million new housing units. This brings the total housing needs of the country in urban and rural areas to some 8 million housing units. Considering that Nigeria cannot isolate itself from the international community, the goal of the National Housing Policy must reflect the United Nations resolution which calls for shelter for all by the year 2000 A.D.

Consequently, Nigeria must produce some 700,000 housing units per annum, if the country is to meet the target of 8 million units by the year 2000 A.D. The achievements of Babangida administration in the area of housing will be elaborated upon subsequently.

ANNUAL RENTAL VALUES OF RESIDENTIAL ACCOMMODATION IN SOME CITIES													
City (Choice Neighbourhood)	Accommodation Type	Year and Rental in N'000 p.a.											
		1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Enugu	Duplexes	14	12	12	12	10	10	12	14	15	18	20	25
Onitsha		14	12	12	12	10	12	14	15	18	20	25	30
Lagos		100	100	120	120	100	100	120	150	180	200	250	300
Abuja	3-BedRoom	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	120	150	180	200	320
Enugu		1.20	1.44	1.80	1.80	1.80	2.00	2.40	2.4	3.6	4.2	4.8	5
Onitsha		1.44	1.50	1.80	2.0	2.40	2.40	3.00	3.00	3.60	4.20	6.80	7
Lagos		12.0	12.0	15.0	15.0	18.0	20.0	20.0	25.0	25.0	28.0	30.0	35
Abuja		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30.0	35

HOUSING FINANCE

Housing Finance which some see as covering financing at all stages in the development and sale of housing - from land purchase to construction. Installation of on-site infrastructure and mortgage credit, should be broadened and clearly seen to include not only the financing required to bring new housing into being and into the hands of their purchasers but also to secure for it adequate structural, environmental, aesthetic, economic and functional life. In other words, housing finance should encompass financing of new houses and the improvement of existing ones.

Nigeria is beset with the twin problems of inadequate supply and extremely high cost of housing finance. This lack of credit and high cost of housing finance is a major impediment to the provision of shelter and is particularly acute in the case of longterm Mortgage credit. Table 2 shows the pattern of Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN) lending rate.

Finance is crucial to any meaningful efforts in housing without a well organised and efficient housing finance system, it would be difficult to mobilise substantial financial resources for channeling funds into the housing sector. A major impediment of adequate housing delivery in Nigeria is the shortage of funds supply to the housing sector and lack of access to the available funds on the part of the majority of households which are low income earners. No matter how simple or sophisticated a project may be and whether it is an individual dwelling or a vast housing estate, it will remain either on the drawing board or stay uncompleted in the absence of the necessary funds. Financing such projects becomes totally important in any housing attempt, be it for an individual, an estate developer, a housing co-operative, or a government sponsored programme.

Most housing development in Nigeria has been financed with domestic capital alone. The Federal Mortgage Bank, Commercial banks, Merchant Banks, Insurance Companies, Savings and Loan Associations have worked to mobilise domestic savings and generate investment for housing in the formal sector. In the informal

sector, personal effort, Rotating Credit Associations, family loans and local money lenders have served the some purpose. With the exception of the world Bank (IBRD) loans under the Nigeria states urban development project, external borrowing has played no role in housing development.

Of the major pillars of National Housing Policy, finance constitutes a fundamental centre-piece. Without a well organised and efficient housing finance system, it is difficult to mobilise substantial financial resources for channeling funds into the housing sector.

A key characteristic of housing finance is the ability to combine three partially conflicting objectives of affordability for households, viability for financial institutions, and resource mobilisation for the expansion of the housing finance sector within the framework of the national economy. It is important to also note that the financing of housing presents a number of specific problems:

- i) It involves individuals and developers requiring long term lending as against business on short term basis.
- ii) It requires significant intermediation efforts because housing finance institutions are expected to lend on a long term, even though their funds may be mobilised on a short term basis.
- iii) Given the long term nature of lending for housing development, intermediation in housing finance is extremely sensitive to inflationary environment.
- iv) Perhaps the most serious weakness of housing finance institutions is their limited ability to mobilise resources effectively for low income housing.

Nigeria's present housing finance system is severely underdeveloped and ill-equipped to mobilise and channel savings to the housing sector. Although a Federal Mortgage Bank has been created to

essentially serve as a wholesale and apex institution, the other institutional components of the finance market in terms of primary mortgage institutions such as Building societies (Savings and Loan), Housing Associations, credit unions, Housing Cooperatives are just beginning to operate in the country. Thus, the Federal Mortgage Bank has concentrated largely on retail functions of lending to individuals.

The above review of the existing housing finance system reveals its under-developed nature. There was therefore, the need to create a vigorous housing finance system that could effectively perform the following functions:

- i) Mobilise savings into mortgage institutions
- ii) Allocate the supply of loanable funds among house holds to include self-employed and low income earners.
- iii) Provide incentives for the Capital Market to invest in property development.
- iv) Provide policy controls over the allocation of resources between the housing sector and the other sectors of the economy.
- v) Stimulate the adoption of realistic designs for the construction of houses.
- vi) Facilitate the flow of domestic and international resources into the priority housing areas such as the low income housing.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

In order to realise the above, the Babangida administration promulgated the mortgage institution Decree No. 53 of 1998 which established a two-tier housing finance structure. This classifies the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN) as the apex institution of the housing finance sector and establishes a decentralised network of primary mortgage institutions such as Building Societies, housing co-operatives, etc which form the Second tier.

With the new structure, the FMBN as the apex institution, is responsible

for policy formulation to guide the establishment and regulate the operation of primary mortgage institutions, subject to the overall directive of the Minister of Works and Housing. In this regard, the Federal Mortgage Bank has various functions among which are:

(1) To receive and evaluate all applications for mortgage institution licence and make recommendations thereon to have a plan to acquire the financial, human and material resources to enable them live up to the challenges of innovative, efficient and effective mortgage operation posed by the National Housing Policy. Already about 50 such institutions have been licenced as at August, 1992. A lot more applications are being considered by the FMBN.

(2) To determine, issue and enforce guidelines as necessary from time to time to ensure that the institutions operate along the spirit of the National Housing Policy.

(3) To periodically examine the books and affairs of the mortgage institutions so as to make sure that the institutions conform with regulations and guidelines binding on them.

The apex institution will also mobilise funds through the National Housing Fund for wholesale lending to mortgage hand, will engage in retail mortgage functions, including savings mobilisation from the grassroots and granting of loans and advances to individuals for the purchase, construction, improvement or extension of a dwelling house. On January 31, 1992, the Babangida administration took another significant step towards making housing for the masses not only a reality but also at affordable price. Towards this goal the Federal Government under the leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida has promulgated the **National Housing Fund Decree No. 3 of 1992**. The Decree which was promulgated on framework will ensure a continuous flow of long term funding for housing development in Nigeria. The objectives of the fund are to facilitate the provision of incentives for the capital market to invest in property development, to encourage the development of specific programmes that would ensure effective financing of housing for low income workers, to provide proper policy control over the allocation of resources between the housing sector and other sectors of the Nigerian

economy as well as to provide long term loans to mortgage institutions for on-lending to contributors of the Fund.

The resources to fund the scheme are financial contributions by the Federal Government, investment by commercial and merchant banks and contributions by Nigerians in both the public and private sectors. Nigerians who earn more than N3,000 in the public and private sectors are obliged to contribute 2.5 percent of their basic monthly salary deductible by their employers to the fund at an interest rate of one percent above the interest rate payable on the current accounts by banks. Insurance companies, are to invest a minimum of 20 percent of their non-life funds and 40 percent of their life funds in real property development of which not less than 50 percent shall be paid into the fund at an interest rate not exceeding four percent yearly.

Interest at the rate of 4% per annum shall be paid on contributions to the Fund. Contributors to the Fund are entitled to mortgage Loans obtainable through licensed primary mortgage institutions at relatively low interest rate. Refund of contributions to the Fund shall be made to the contributors within three months on attaining the age of 60 years or retirement from his employment and becomes incapable of continuing the contribution to the Fund. Contributors to the Fund who for any reason has not benefited from the Loan Scheme of the Fund will be entitled to refund of total contributions plus interest on due date at prevailing market rate or at such rate as may be prescribed from time to time by the Honourable Minister of Works and Housing .

Making false statement or representations and noncompliance with the decree are offences, punishable by fine or imprisonment or both. The proceeds from these diverse sources will be devoted to funding exclusively housing development. The National Housing Fund shall be managed by the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria.

As welcome as this welfare-oriented scheme is, it unfortunately became law without the benefit of inputs by a wide consultative forum of society. This has opened the avenue for criticisms of the housing policy. Insurance companies, are already complaining of the great tax burden that the new law imposes. The Banks are unhappy that the new tax is not on profit but on a percentage of loans

and advances. Other complaints are that the 2.5 percent mandatory contribution for workers earning over N3,000 in the light of current prices leave them with little or no disposable income. Even corporate institutions are reluctant to commit resources that will attract a charitable rather than commercial rate of interest. Many questions are also left unanswered by the new legal framework. For example it is not clear how the loans available to be drawn by members of the public will become accessible to low and average income earners. There is little, if any assurance at all, from the law that the retailing mortgage institutions will not find high net worth individuals, including corporate bodies, more attractive customers than the average or low income earners. There is no mechanism to prevent the tide of market forces from over-flowing acceptable social bounds and flooding this well-conceived scheme.

Nor is the link between contributions and benefit clear. Not everyone would exercise the right to benefit, of course, but every contributor is a potential beneficiary. Yet, the decree is silent on what happens where a mortgage institution refuses the application of a contributor, even for bad reasons, Left to the commercial devices of mortgage institutions, the social benefit of this new legislation may well be nebulous with major beneficiaries being the shareholders of the mortgage Institutions.

Table 2 shows the pattern of Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN) lending rates from 1977 - 1992.

TABLE II

**PATTERN OF FMBN LENDING RATES
(PERCENT) ON TYPE OF LOAN**

Year	Social	Economic	Commercial
1977	3	4	5
1978	5	7	8
1979	5	8	10
1980	6	9	11
1981	6	9	11
1982	7.5	9.5	11.5
1983	7.5	9.5	11.5
1984	9.5	11.5	13
1985	9.5	-	13
1986	9.5	-	13
1987	13 - 15*	14 - 16*	15 - 18*
1988	15	-	17
1989	15.5	-	17.5 - 20*
1990	19	21	23
1991	16.5	21	21
1992	18	20	20

*Changed during the year

Source: FMBN Journal Vol. 3.

reconstruction, creation of states and the oil boom.

INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT FUND (IDF)

The decision by the Babangida administration to create an Infrastructure Development Fund (IDF) in conjunction with the World Bank and local merchant banks is an innovative approach to financing urban infrastructure that may inspire similar efforts in other countries. The project agreed upon by the Nigerian government and the World Bank which aims at improving urban infrastructure and services and strengthening subnational finances, revolves largely around state, rather than local governments. The Federal Ministry of Works and Housing as well as the Federal Ministry of Finance will also continue to play key roles in securing the success of the project. At present infrastructure in most cities is so weak that many private industries operate their own water, power, and communications systems. When the State and Local governments lack funds, the first visible sign is likely to be deteriorating municipal infrastructure. Planned improvements are postponed, and existing roads, sewers, drains and water supply networks are not maintained. Inevitably, economic efficiency suffers and the physical works and equipment derived from previous investments begin to crumble.

The new project, will experiment with an innovative approach - bringing the country's merchant banks into the process as intermediaries. This is the first attempt to use private sector institutions both to co-finance such a project and to help identify, manage and monitor the subprojects. The idea is for the World Bank to serve as a "whole saler" of resources, working through the merchant banks, which will serve a "retailing" function. The World Bank will loan funds directly to the merchant banks, which will then oversee subproject work in the State that wish to borrow for improvements to municipal infrastructure.

Five of Nigerian's largest merchant banks have been selected to participate in the project. The banks operate on strictly commercial criteria, and they have the reputation of being among the most profitable and efficiently run organizations in the country. A World Bank loan of \$69.5million (N1.3 billion) will help establish the development.

Infrastructure Development Fund (IDF), which is actually a line of credit rather than a "Fund" administered by a central authority. The State governments are to provide 20% of project funds and the merchant banks will finance 10% of the cost of each subproject they approve. The total cost of the project is estimated at \$96.8 million (N1.8 billion).

STAFF HOUSING LOAN SCHEME FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The Federal Government under the leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida has raised the housing loan ceiling for Federal Civil Servants from N80,000 to N200,000. This means public officers in the Federal Civil Service could now obtain a maximum housing loan of N200,000 each to build or acquire their own houses. The over 100 percent increase in housing loan in the public sector took effect from June, 1992. The loan which is open to all civil servants in the Federal Civil Service is repayable over a period of 30 years.

The increase in the housing loan ceiling is part of the Federal Government effort at ensuring that the goals and objectives of the February 1991 National Housing Policy became realistic. This is part of the strategies being adopted by government to ensure that the global target of shelter for all by the year 2000 is achieved in the country.

The Federal Housing Board is a major guarantor to Civil Servants negotiating loans with the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN). The loans are repaid through the Board in monthly instalments. The interest rate has always been 3%, while only confirmed officers are entitled to the loan. The Federal Housing Board is an arm of the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing. It acts as an intermediary between Civil servants and the FMBN. Qualified Civil Servants are now entitled to N200,000 housing and land loan, a scheme introduced in 1974 to enable those categories of workers acquire land and build their own houses.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The idea of establishing a bank to finance urban development projects

was first announced by President Ibrahim Babangida in the 1992 Budget, planned to operate like the World Bank as regards loans to developing countries for execution of urban development projects, the Urban Development Bank of Nigeria (UDBN) will be expected to promote the growth and development of Nigeria's urban centres, through the provision of financial credit on a long-term basis to states, local governments and private developers for urban financing.

The bank will be expected to source its funds from various institutions, including the Federal, State and Local governments; institutional and corporate depositors such as pensions funds and insurance companies, the Nigerian Capital Market, as well as deposits in form of special levies on urban based industries. Its main off-shore sources of funds will be World Bank, the African Development Bank (ADB), the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the European Investment Bank (EIB).

Specifically, local governments will be the largest contributors as they will be expected to contribute 40 percent of the bank's N800 million total equity, while the private sector and the Federal Government will equally contribute 20 percent each. The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) along with the State government may each contribute the balance of 20 percent. These organisations will also be expected to form its major clients, since the nature of projects to be financed fall within the precinct of these contributors. Hence, urban infrastructure projects for instance, tops the list of schemes to be financed by the bank. Such urban infrastructure projects will include: water supply, sewage and sanitation, solid wastes management, roads and storm, water drainage, as well as transportation and traffic engineering. The bank will also be expected to finance urban renewal projects involving the comprehensive improvement of core and unplanned urban areas, as well as economic development projects for the provision of markets, commercial or business centres, industrial estates, abattoirs and motor parks. Also social projects which include schools, clinics, parks and stadia for recreation and programmes for institutional developments like the strengthening of state and local government capacity, and the training of manpower

Only long term deposits will be accepted by the bank due to the nature of the projects to be funded-according to the projections of the implementation task force set up to ensure a successful take-off for the bank, which expressed the hope that "The bank will render an appreciable service to its clients and ensure a reasonable level of returns to its shareholders. The implementation committee, set up by the Federal Government is made up of officials drawn from the Finance and the Works and Housing Federal Ministries, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and the Nigerian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NCCI). The bank, according to the proposals, will operate with five departments namely: operations, which will comprise the physical planning and development, engineering and construction divisions, finance and disbursement, general administration comprising personnel, legal and public relations divisions, research and data management and internal audit.

BUILDING MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION COSTS

A major constraint still facing Nigeria is the rising cost of building materials and construction costs. The country imports about half of the materials used for official construction which is between 5 and 8% of the country's national import. Building materials and components between fifty and sixty percent (50%-60%) of the total cost of construction input. Consequently this sub-sector cannot be left to develop haphazardly. To stem the current indiscriminate importation of building materials, local capabilities and resources must be developed.

The upward trend in the cost of basic building materials began after the civil war and other major increases coincided with the Udoji award and the mismanagement of the economy during the last civilian administration. During these periods, sharp rises were recorded for all categories of building materials. In more specific terms, the major causes of high construction cost can be identified as follows:

- (i) High demand for building materials arising from post civil war

- (ii) Adoption of high space standards, costly specification and over design.
- (iii) Massive importation of building materials.
- (iv) Over priced contract costs.
- (v) Inefficient distribution system aggravated by middlemen and high transport costs.
- (vi) Insufficient building materials.
- (vii) Absence of programming of award of building project and inadequate pre-planning by developers leading to excessive variations and attendant price increases.
- (viii) Massive intervention of government in direct housing consultants.
- (ix) Use of incompetent and inexperienced contractors and consultants.

Nigeria should gradually and systematically develop appropriate capabilities to reduce construction cost and achieve self sufficiency in the production of basic building materials and components from local resources at affordable cost by the year 2000.

The oil boom and its consequential affluence coupled with increasing ratio of educated people in the society brought about tremendous sophistication in the housing needs and tastes of the citizens. The popular housing type of flats, bungalows and duplexes for residential accommodation are developed with partly locally and partly foreign source construction and building materials. The high import tariffs, local currency devaluation, high lending interest rates and galloping inflation have collectively sky-pushed the cost of construction. Table 3 shows the estimated cost of construction per square metre of various building types over the period of 1980 to 1992. These cost figures exclude the value of the bare site.

The consequential effects of the high costs of building construction have been on steady decline in the rate of new accommodation supply and high incidence of abandoned uncompleted building projects in the cities. It also brought a change in the real estate investor's philosophy. Many investors now prefer to buy existing buildings instead of undertaking the rigours of new building construction. This phenomenon was hitherto almost a taboo in the real

estate market in the country. Investors would rather choose than to develop their buildings to their tastes and special appeal.

The 1992 federal budget of Babangida's administration contained some provision designed to stimulate the building industry and ipso facto reduce the cost of building materials. In order to reduce the prohibitive cost of cement, the Federal Government in the 1992 budget reduced to zero percent the import duty on the following inputs for cement manufacturing: All types of cement, mill liner plates, siln, refractory bricks, gypsum, cell conveyors, belt conveyors and grinding media.

The removal of tariff on imported cement and its raw materials, will eventually bring down the cost of cement. While encouraging importation as a temporary measure the Federal government also took steps to enhance capacity utilisation in the nation's cement factories. This was done by extending the zero tariff to imported spare parts for production machineries.

Also contained in the 1992 Federal budget is the commitment of the Government towards encouraging the development and utilization of other alternative local raw materials such as clay bricks in the building industry towards the facilitation of the expansion of the local building industry. This is a way of bringing down the cost of building materials in the country. If this is vigorously pursued, the new national housing policy of the Federal Government will not be a dream but a reality.

The materials which are already sourced should be utilized. At the moment, Nigeria has 24 brick plants which have almost closed down from lack of patronage. The Government should endeavour to reactivate these industries to step up production. The government should also take the lead in using these materials. Bricks have been successfully utilized in Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Kenya and has succeeded in bringing down the cost of building and the reduction of the use of cement.

One effective way to achieve the goal of affordable housing for all is to drastically reduce our dependence on foreign building materials by concentrating our energy on the intensive development and

promotion of the use of locally produced materials such as burnt clay bricks, lime in place of cement, timber and fibre roofing sheets all of which have not been hitherto optimally utilized. In this connection, functionaries of government responsible for housing delivery should continue to give necessary incentives and support of the expansion of indigenous building material industries throughout the country. Information on workable deposits should be disseminated as much as possible and concessionary rights be granted for exploitation of the deposits where feasible.

Even with the provision of land, many people still find it difficult to build a house of their own because of the high cost of building materials. Table 4 shows the comparative prices of some selected building materials from 1987 - 1992.

Research effort should be intensified while adequate attention should be given to the training of manpower applicable to the construction industries. The effort of both the Nigerian Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) established by the Babangida administration and the Nigerian Building and Road Research Institute for promoting the use of locally produced materials in the construction of model houses in the rural areas within the context of their rural housing scheme is commendable. Such effort is worthy of emulation if we are to arrest the trend of over-indulgence and dependence in the use of imported materials from the developed neo-colonial countries.

TABLE 3 COST OF CONSTRUCTION ESTIMATE

BUILDING TYPE	CONSTRUCTION COST PER SQ.METRE IN					
	1980	1982	1985	1988	1990	1992
MODERN BUNGALOWS	180-200	250-350	400-450	500-750	800-950	1800-2300
DETACHED House(duplex)	200-250	300-350	350-450	500-850	900-1200	2000-2800
Blocks of flats (luxurious)	250-300	350-400	450-600	800-1500	900-1700	2500-3000
Highrise Office Blocks	300-450	500-650	700-1000	1200-1500	1750-2000	3000-3500

SOURCES: Survey of Construction Costs, and Federal Government of Nigeria, Ministry of Works and Housing. publications and Benyok Consilt.

TABLE 4

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF
BUILDING MATERIALS

ITEM DESCRIP TION	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
1. Cement- per 50kg	20	25	45	41	70	86
2. Gravel-per tipper load	160	180	280	430	680	1400
3. Zinc- per bundle	120	300	470	400	555	950
4. Cement block- 9x6x18	1.30	1.80	2.40	3.40	5.30	6.50
5. Ceramic Tiles- 12x12 per pack	65	75	100	120	180	350
6 Louvre (plain) 3" length per piece	6.40	7	10.50	12.50	16	18.50
7. Louvre (obscured) 3" length per piece	8.30	8.80	11.50	10.00	16.50	24

Source: *Business Times*

27th January 1992 page 16

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING POLICY

The Federal Government is already abiding by the provisions of the new Housing Policy which President Ibrahim Babangida launched in February 1991. The giant strides taken following the historic launching of the policy document have left no one in doubt that the Babangida administration meant business. Virtually all the promotional roles expected to be played by Government in achieving the goal of shelter for all by the year 2000 A.D. have been implemented. Thanks to the untiring, progressive and pragmatic efforts of the Minister of Works and Housing, Major General Mamman T. Kontagora whose ministry has the responsibility for the implementation of the housing policy.

The ultimate goal of the National Housing Policy is to ensure that all Nigerians own or have access to decent housing accommodation at affordable cost by the year 2000 A.D. To attain this goal the government is required to vigorously pursue the following policy objectives:

- Encourage and Promote active participation in housing delivery by all tiers of governments.
- Strengthen institutions within the system to render their operations more responsive to demand.
- Emphasise housing investments which satisfy basic need and
- Encourage greater participation by the private Sector in housing development.

In order to accomplish these objectives, government has noted some specific areas for immediate action. These include:

- Restructuring all existing public institutions involved in housing delivery at the Federal and State government levels with a view to making them more effective and responsive to the need of Nigeria.
- Reviewing laws and regulations such as Land Use Decree, Planning laws, etc. in order to facilitate housing delivery;
- Mobilising private sector participation in the provision of housing;
- Restructuring the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria to serve as an Apex Housing Finance Institution;
- Mobilising savings through the establishment of the National Housing

Fund;

- Improving the finances and strengthening the executive capacity of local government to enable them contribute more effectively in housing delivery;
- Encouraging research into and promoting the use of locally produced building materials as a means of reducing housing costs;
- Improving the quality of rural housing, rural infrastructures and environment;
- Adopting functional design standards to reduce costs and enhance socio-cultural acceptability, safety and security; and
- Increasing the quantity and improving the quality of the man-power needed in the housing sector.

Since the launching of the housing policy, the Federal Government had taken the following decisions in implementing some of the provisions enumerated above.

- The establishment of the Housing Policy Council.
- The transformation of the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria into an Apex Mortgage Institution which will concentrate on wholesale lending.
- The registration and licensing of some primary Mortgage institutions.
- The construction of prototype houses in Festival and Satellite towns including Isheri in Lagos and Gwagwalada in the new Federal Capital Territory.
- The first phase of the Federal Government sites and services programme had been implemented with a total of 8,083 plots allocated in Enugu, Anambra, Lagos, Kano, Kwara, Ondo, Imo and Rivers States.
- The National Housing Fund has been established.
- The allocation of land to interested private estate developers wishing to develop housing estates on commercial basis.
- In order to improve access to land, the controversial Land Use Decree is currently undergoing Legal Surgical Operation under the auspices of the Law Reform Commission to rid the decree of its ailments, which have incapacitated its successful implementation.

As an incentive to mobilise and enhance active participation of the private sector in housing delivery any property developer can easily apply for land allocation any where in the Federation for housing development on commercial basis. In reference to the serious problem of private housing in Abuja, the new Federal Capital, accelerated home

ownership scheme is being facilitated through the establishment of Real Estate Development Companies which are capable of building houses for sale within a specified period of time.

In addition, registered Housing Co-operatives will henceforth enjoy the benefit of their strength in unity by having the privilege of applying for direct allocation of cement from the Cement Companies. This strategy will no doubt augment housing supply if religiously and honestly implemented by Housing Cooperative Societies.

The moribund Decree No. 54 Employees Housing Schemes (Special Provisions) of December 1979 has been reactivated through the inauguration of the National Housing Facilitation Council by the Minister of Labour, Employment and Productivity in the last quarter of 1991. The National Housing Facilitation Council was charged with the implementation of the Provisions of the decree in order to attain the laudable objectives of the housing policy. The contribution of all employers of labour to successful implementation of the policy should not be compromised. If workers can contribute their labour both mentally and physically to the sustenance of their employers economic ventures, it behoves that employers of labour should therefore reciprocate by making the welfare of their workers in terms of housing, healthcare etc., a "second-to-none" priority.

It is pertinent to state here that under the new housing policy there are some incentives and benefits, which employers of labour stand to gain. These include capital allowances on residential buildings, land allocation for housing development, tax abatement and exemption for employers of labour developing staff housing estates and access by workers to concessionary funds under the National Housing Fund through primary mortgage institutions.

Government is well aware of the fact that the lack of adequate monitoring and evaluation system contributed in no small measure to abysmal failure of past housing programmes implemented by previous administrations. To avoid a recurrence of such failure, greater emphasis has been placed on monitoring and evaluation in the new policy. An institutional framework for monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation has been set up through the establishment of the Housing Policy Council

(HPC) by the Minister of Works and Housing, Major General Mamman T. Kontagora (rtd) in May, 1991.

To facilitate the monitoring role of the HPC, the Council is required to implement the following terms of reference within the framework of policy objectives namely:

- To study the strategies enunciated in the national housing policy and to monitor their implementation
- To monitor the promulgation or amendment to the relevant decrees, on the various aspects of the policy implementation.
- To ensure that the implementation is consistent with the text and aims of the national housing policy.
- To monitor the promulgation or amendment to the relevant decrees, on the various aspects of the policy implementation.
- To ensure that the implementation is consistent with the text and aims of the national housing policy.
- To monitor regularly the flow and disbursement of funds into the national housing fund.
- To facilitate the establishment of a National Housing Data Bank for the purpose of storage and evaluation of shelter performance indicators such as units of housing, occupancy ratio, physical attributes of housing stock, cost index, affordability new construction, etc.
- To monitor the participation and performance of the private sector in the provision of housing
- To monitor strict compliance with the regulatory aspects of the policy.
- To highlight any noticeable lapses in the implementation of the policy and suggest corrective measures
- To monitor the performance of relevant agencies and institutions involved in housing delivery as identified in the national housing policy, with a view to evaluating the success, failure and constraints being encountered by these agencies.
- To publish annually "SHELTER SECTOR PERFORMANCE REPORT" in order to indicate how effective the policy meets its goals and objectives.
- To carry out all other assignments that are relevant or incidental to the above stated terms of reference
- The Council shall present annual reports to the National Council on housing.

CONCLUSION

The provision of housing for the masses of this country has become an arduous task, which requires a collaborative effort by all tiers of government, the private sector and individuals in finding a lasting solution. The Nigeria Labour Congress being the 'mouth organ' of Nigerian Workers is at an advantage to properly educate its members on the benefits derivable from setting up primary mortgage institutions. In order for such institutions to have a national spread, the NLC can encourage member unions to set up at least one primary mortgage institutions. Nigeria's housing problem is enormous relative to our population, this assertion should not weigh us down. Rather, it should be a challenge for a more purposeful action to eradicate homelessness throughout the Federation. By national consensus, a housing policy has been formulated, the problems have been identified, solutions have been proffered, strategies for successful implementation have been mapped out and all the principal facilitators have been identified and assigned their specific roles.

The actions taken by Government and the catalogue of achievements recorded so far in the course of policy implementation should be complemented by State and Local Governments, the private sector and Philanthropic organisations. The ball is, in every body's court. The excuses for inaction associated in the past with lack of policy direction, difficulty in land acquisition, paucity of housing finance and government incentives are no more tenable under the new dispensation. The horizon for easy land acquisition, access to concessionary funds, government support for local building materials industries and other concessions for the construction industries, has now been broadened than hitherto. If the National housing policy is implemented with dedication, the housing delivery system in Nigeria will be revolutionized.

The right to adequate housing is universally recognised by the community of nations. Inadequate and insecure shelter wherever it may be will lead to social and political instability and will hamper economic development. It is the duty of any responsible and progressive government to ensure that her citizens are adequately housed. The Babangida administration has tried its best within the resources available to it.

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National Housing Policy For Nigeria

Chapter 4

MASS TRANSPORTATION UNDER IBB

- *By Moji Fnsasi*

One of the greatest challenges of our time is to conceptualise, design and operate workable systems by which the mass of humanity inhabiting various human or urban centres can move around and attend to their numerous preoccupations and social obligations with relative ease. President Ibrahim Babangida while declaring open an international workshop on the development of long-term perspective plan for urban mass transit in Nigeria, May, 1992.

For the past few decades, transportation in Nigeria has been a major bottleneck which successive governments, over the years, have often found intractable. In spite of several concerted efforts to find a lasting solution to our transportation problems the situation has been growing from bad to worse. Consequently, huge investments in the transport sector by successive administrations have become a common phenomenon. Since independence, this vital sector has consumed billions of resources in an attempt to evolve a stable and result-oriented transportation system. Over the years, considerable percentage of the total capital outlay for the public sector has been sunk into transportation. Records show that in the development plan for the years 1962-68, the transport sector gulped one-fifth of the total capital outlay while the 1970-74, development plan consumed one third. Also in the years 1975-1980, another one fifth of total capital budget went into transportation.

However, these investments appear to have been mere drops of water in the ocean as very little appreciable improvement was recorded in the area of transportation. The ascendancy of other socio-cultural and economic phenomena like high population growth rate, the oil boom occasioned by rural-urban drift and the consequent overcrowding of Nigeria's major cities, as well as the ultimate downward trend of the economy, among other factors, have consistent aggravation of our transportation.

Since its inception in August 1985, the Babangida administration has never minced words in its recognition of the vital role played by

transportation in the social, economic and political development of the country. Without an efficient and dynamic transportation system, movement of goods, services and manpower development would be a herculean task, thereby paralysing the nation economic activities. Transportation is also a significant tool in the communication process. Non-implementation of vital political and economic programmes within and outside the country would therefore become inevitable in the absence of a smooth transportation.

The Nigerian transport system consists of road, rail, air, inland water ways, coastal and ocean shipping as well as pipe lines. For a first-time visitor to Nigeria, perhaps the most glaring aspect of our existence as a nation that would be easily noticeable is the fact that movement of people and goods from one point to another is indeed an unending story of frustration, disappointment and hardship. In the past few years, the transport sector has been facing serious problems in virtually all the different areas of transportation. Road transportation has been greatly hindered by high cost of vehicles and spare parts, bad roads, and lack of adequate investment by the private sector. As a result, transporters throughout the country have been battling with maintenance costs on their vehicles, faking of spare parts which damages vehicles and inadequate funds, to meet the ever-rising demand for more vehicles. Commuters on the other hand have been the sole recipients of the transporters problems as they are daily saddled with the traumatic experience of arbitrary fare hikes and the endless struggle for space in overcrowded buses, or worse still, trekking long distances in frequent cases of non-availability of transport.

In the case of air, sea and rail transportation, the story is not different as these areas are also contending with high cost of aircraft, locomotive engines, coaches, ferries and ships. In recent times, these problems have assumed rather monstrous dimensions as a result of the scarcity of foreign exchange occasioned by the depreciating value of the naira. The March 5 deregulation of the country's economy has contributed largely to this pathetic situation as prices of goods and services have greatly skyrocketed.

In realisation of the enormous challenge in the transport sector, the present administration has taken great strides to inject new life into the various aspects of the transportation system in the past seven years. The Babangida administration has been even more articulate in the demonstration of its deep concern over the daily plight of Nigerians regarding the nightmarish nature of the country's transportation.

As far back as 1988, the Federal Military Government had appointed a committee of experts on the National Transport Policy. The committee was charged with the responsibility of evolving a comprehensive policy framework to address the crisis in the transport industry. The idea of a National Transport Policy was mooted by the Minister of Transport and Communication, Commodore Lamba Gwom (rtd) but the impact of the committee could not be felt because his successor, Air Commodore Tony Ikhezoboh, did not give the issue the necessary priority. However, in January, 1992, the new Transportation and Communication Minister, Olawale Ige decided to reactivate the committee with some medications.

It was observed that the absence of a National Transport Committee had created a lot of confusion and enhanced the chaotic nature of our transport system. As a result of lack of a well articulated Transport policy, transport operators in the country were continually subjected to conflicting directives from different ministries connected with transportation.

Therefore to eliminate this confusion, the policy is aimed at monitoring transportation activities with a view to getting feedbacks as well as carry out periodic reviews of the transport system for corrective purposes. The decision of the government to expedite action on the National Transport Policy would appear to be a timely response to the yearnings of the people as observers were quick to point out that the policy was long overdue. The need for a mission oriented National Transport Policy to provide a common framework for all modes of transportation activities in the country informed the swift preparation of the Draft National Transport Policy in March, 1992. Speaking at the opening of a 10-day exhibition on transport, the

Transport and Communications Minister Olawale Ige expressed the commitment of the Babangida administration to meeting the challenges of the transport industry in the 1990's and beyond. According to the minister, the policy is aimed at eliminating the sufferings of the people by achieving adequacy, efficiency, safety, reliability and self reliance. The National Transport Policy, which is scheduled to become effective before the handover in January, 1993, is expected to bring about a better organised transport sector. The provisions of the policy would include, among others, a rational allocation of traffic among roads, rail, water and air at minimum costs, as well as proper guidelines for future investments in the transport sector.

As part of its efforts to address the transportation of Nigerians, especially inhabitants of urban centres, the Federal Government also introduced the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme (FUMTP) in 1988 with a view to providing far-reaching solution to the chaotic and turbulent situation. The FUMTP was charged with the following responsibilities:

- a) To plan and advise on the orderly and efficient implementation of the urban mass transit programme and related projects,
- b) To offer financial and technical assistance to mass transit operating agencies at federal and state levels, as well as the organised private transport operators where and when feasible and
- c) To develop and issue operational guidelines that will facilitate coordination and orderly programme implementation by the executing and operating agencies.

Since its establishment, the FUMTP has contributed tremendously to road transportation in the country. In the past four years, both federal, state and local governments have invested huge sums of money to acquire vehicles to boost road transportation. As at October, 1990, the FUMPT had provided a total of 2,500 buses for public transportation. By 1992, the number of FUMTP buses throughout out the country had risen to 4,500.

In the area of water transportation FUMTP had by 1990, assisted with full repairs of a total of 19 formerly broken down ferries of the

inland waterways department. In addition, the agency also purchased two new ferries to ease the pains of commuters. Apart from these, the FUMTP has also extended its supportive arms to water transportation by providing additional infrastructural aid terminals in collaboration with Nigerdock. It is worth noting however, that although the Federal Government set up the Mass Transit Programme to ameliorate the sufferings of Nigerians, the FUMTP is still miles away from the realisation of the goals of the Babangida administration as far as mass transportation is concerned. It is a sad irony that despite the huge financial investments in the programme since its inception, the urban populace are yet to feel its impact as the transportation nightmares still persist in Nigerians major cities today.

To begin with, most of the numerous vehicles purchased to enhance urban transportation under the mass transit programme are no longer on the roads due to poor maintenances or total lack of it, poor management and acute shortage of spare parts and adequate man-power to run the transport system.

In many states of the federation for instance, standard workshops for vehicle maintenance are yet to be established while the non-availability of vital spare parts has resulted in most of the vehicles being grounded. Poor management of the mass transit agencies nationwide has contributed to the problems of the scheme in terms of inability to control malpractice and irresponsible conduct of the operators of the transport system. Coupled with these is the poor salaries and working conditions of most mass transit workers throughout the country factors which have been largely detrimental to the smooth-running of the mass transit programme at both federal and state levels.

Another dimension to the poor state of most mass transit vehicles, lies in the suspicion that many of the vehicles were imported from foreign junkyard, hence their inability to stand the test of time. This may explain why many of the vehicles have had to be disposed of by some state governments, having out lived their usefulness after only a few months. Consequently, the task of moving millions of Nigerians from one point to another still remains as our bus-stops are perpetually

filled with millions of hapless commuters in search of the elusive transportation.

In spite of the short-comings of the mass transit programme, officials of the FUMTP are quick to point out that the agency has indeed made appreciable impact in the past few years. The problem, they say, lies mainly with congested cities like Lagos where the magnitude of the population tends to tender mass transit efforts fruitless. The FUMTP is however not unmindful of its limitations and teething problems which, according to FUMTP officials, have constituted great hindrance to the successful implementation of the mass transit programme. These include lack of adequate funding and private sector involvement, inadequate maintenance back-up, inefficient cost-recovery measures, as well as man-power constraints. Perhaps taking cognizance of the FUMTP's inability to shoulder the transportation burden alone, the People's Bank launched its mass Transit scheme in 1990 with a N3 million World Bank assisted loan scheme. The People's Bank utilized the funds on the purchase of 20 buses at 150,000 each to augment on-going efforts in Mass transportation. The buses were given out on lease to officials of the Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria (RTEAN). However, the People's Bank efforts were soon visited by similar administrative problems as recorded in the case of the FUMTP.

In that same year, the Federal Government extended the 270 million dollars World Bank loan to RTEAN to enable the association purchase more vehicles to ease the transportation crisis. Available records of government expenditure on the transport sector in the past 7 years lend credence to the laudable efforts of the Babangida administration. In 1991, the Babangida administration further demonstrated the high priority position accorded the transport sector with a N100 million revolving loan announced in that year's Budget. The loan was awarded to trade unions and transporters to help cushion the biting effects of the Structural Adjustment Programme. Although there was a hitch in the disbursement of the loan by FUMTP, N50 million had been disbursed before the end of the year as soft loan assistance to organised labour unions to enable them provide urban transport services for their members.

According to reports, over 120 units of buses were allocated to several trade union. These include NURTW, Association of Senior Staff of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions and the Labour Transport Services Sponsored by the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) under the scheme, the NLC received 15 buses worth N11 million on behalf of the Labour Transport Services, the NURTW was allocated 25 J5 buses worth N1.5 million. The buses were distributed among various states of the federation. The RTEAN could not secure any allocation due to its internal crisis at the period.

In the 1990 Budget, a whopping sum of N822.6 million or 2.07 percent of the total budget for the year was allocated to the transport sector. Apart from this, the President had earmarked N50 million being proceeds from the withdrawal of fuel subsidy to be allocated to the mass transit scheme. Coupled with these transport sector during that year, such as the cancellation of the general duty exemption on importation of commercial vehicles and spare parts as well as the control of second-hand vehicle importation. The Babangida administration was informed by the need to encourage indigenous vehicle manufacturers to produce commercial vehicles on a large scale and enhance profitability in the process.

Also, in the 1992 fiscal year, the Federal Government approved a N150 million loan programme for private sector transport operators and urban mini-bus transport co-operative association. Concerned about the unenviable plight of the Nigerian worker, the government announced relief measures following widespread disturbances across the country fuelled by fare hikes and fuel shortage in May, 1992. The relief measures also included the complete removal of duties on imported second-hand vehicles, as well as the removal of duties on spare parts and completely knocked down (CKD) parts of commercial and passenger vehicles.

Considering the relative importance which the Babangida administration has consistently attached to the transport sector, especially road transportation, and the millions pumped into the sector, it is amazing what little impact has been recorded so far. The fact remains that road transportation is still characterised by acute shortage of vehicles,

lack of adequate spare parts, arbitrary fare hikes by transporters and persistent sufferings and hardship by the masses. Transporters have heaped the blame on the state of the economy which has led to skyrocketing cost of purchasing vehicles and spare parts, exorbitant maintenance costs as well as the pressure from transport owners for increased daily returns on vehicles as well as adequate funding for the sector.

To thus, observers have noted that it may be necessary for government to discontinue direct funding of the transport sector since it appears to be swallowing substantial funds without commensurate result. Indeed, the tremendous investments of the Federal Government in the transport sector would seem a wasteful venture in view of the negative impact so far recorded. The Mass Transit programme was reported to have gulped a sum of N560 million in 1990 alone. By July 1991, the federal government was said to have expended another N450 million on the transport sector yet improvements have not been noticeable. Hence when the federal government mooted the idea of a Transport Development Bank in February 1991 to alleviate financial problems in the transport sector, the idea was warmly received by all concerned. The bank is expected to promote balanced development of both the public and private sectors of the transport system through the provision of loans and grants.

Although transportation experts and observers have lauded the efforts of the Babangida administration in its quest to effect a positive turn-about in the country's transportation system, there have been criticisms of the government's seeming over-concentration on road transportation. The Federal government has been called upon to explore other transportation modes. But the government's stance appears to have been informed by the fact that over 70 percent of Nigeria's estimated 55.8 million population travel by road, hence the focus on road transportation. In order to achieve its goals therefore, the Babangida administration established the Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) and charged the body with the responsibility for opening up rural areas and forge better road transportation links nation wide. Considerable progress has been recorded in this area but it is worth noting that the DFRRI roads require serious maintenance efforts they are to have long

lasting impact, especially considering the importance of effective movement of essential foodstuffs, goods and raw materials within the country. Furthermore, during the Babangida regime, the nation witnessed tremendous improvement in road network throughout the country. The construction of Federal trunk roads to link national, regional and inter-state routes is one of the many commendable landmarks recorded in the mass transportation efforts of this administration. Transportation experts have however noted that better standards need to be achieved in the drainage and surface design of our roads if they are to meet the demands of the rapidly increasing traffic volume.

Rail transportation is perhaps one equally vital area of our transport sector which has not witnessed much development for the past decade. As a result, one of Nigeria's oldest parastatals, the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) has been continually under threat of extinction due to inadequate locomotive engines, coaches, wagons and other essential equipment. As in other mode of transportation, the perpetual problem of finance constitutes the buck of the NRC's troubles.

According to observers, the rail system would be the most far-reaching solution to the transportation hassles encountered by both government and citizens of this country, but unfortunately, the road system has been favoured by successive government to the detriment of the rail mode of transportation. Based on the contention that the nation needs a mode of transportation capable of hauling thousands of people and goods to their various destination at a go, commentators on the transport sector have expressed the view that the rail system would be a more desirable option. But the turbulence and chaos which characterised the operations of the railways in recent times tends to dampen the possibility of realising the glorious advantages of this significant haulage system. Apart from the obvious ailments of the rail workers and government has had greater input in the epileptic functioning of the system in the past few years. Operations of the NRC have been halted several times as a result of strikes by railwaymen in protest of the consistent irregularity of salaries and non-payment of meal subsidy and allowances. Lack of rail expansion

to parts of the country and the inability of tracks due to lack of funds have been part of the stumbling blocks in the effective functioning of the rail system . These factors among others, have been largely responsible for public partly towards the rail system as prevailing conditions do not guarantee safe and pleasure rides on the trains.

In December 1991, the then minister for Transport, Air Commodore Tony Ikhazoboh (rtd) recognised the ineffectiveness of previous short-term approaches to the resolution of the crisis in the Nigerian Railway Corporation. He saw a more result-oriented solution in the proposed commercialization of the corporation by the Transport ministry in conjunction with the Technical Committee on Privatization and Commercialization (TCPC). The Nigerian Railway Corporation, it will be recalled was a booming transport sector until a decade ago, when its operations began to decline due to the global economic recession of the 80's, the ascendancy of air transportation and the growth of the road haulage system in the country. Hence the rail system in Nigeria had assumed a critical condition characterised by maintenance burden and declaiming locomotives among other alarming developments

In 1989, the Federal Government appointed Dr Samuel Ogbemudia, former Governor of the defunct Bendel state as Sole Administrator for the Corporation. Ogbemudia's tenure was a starting point in the injection of new life into the ailing Corporation as a three-year revitalization programme was unmediately set in motion for the corporation . As at this period, the NRC had only 36 locomotives operating on both long and short distance routes. This was a far from the 307 locomotive engines in the corporations stock set its former peak performance period. The situation of the NRC was worsened by the fact that not less than 75 percent of its 36 locomotives were in a state of depletion and virtually off the tracks. In appreciation of the pathetic state of the country's rail system, therefore, the Babangida administration's determination to return the Nigeria Railway Corporation to its old glory. As a step in this direction, the Samuel Ogbemudia's three years rejuvenation programme consisted of a N600 million proposal out of, which the Federal Government had disbursed N400 million by 1990 for the acquisition of new locomotive

engines and spare parts for a more effective running of the corporation. Hence in 1991, the Nigerian Railways Corporation expended N240 million to order a total of 10 locomotive engines from West Germany. According to the Managing Director of the corporation Mr Rufus Wilcox, the dearth of locomotion had been the bane of the corporation

The acquisition of the new locomotives was therefore aimed at enhancing the revenue base of the Corporation. The ten locomotives which arrived in batches-one in February 2, in March 6, in May and the last delivered in June - did, as expected provide the needed boost to the operations of the Nigerian rail system. In addition to these, the NRC, according to reports, claims to have rehabilitated 22 old locomotives within this period. Yet another significant development recorded in the rejuvenation of the rail system is the launching in 1991 of the "IBB Revolution" which produced the first made-in-Nigeria locomotive engine. The Nigerian Railway Corporation, courtesy of government assistance has also built a 500 KVA unit capacity engine for short distance running at Enugu as well as a 1050 KVA engine which was built at Zaria.

The drive to revamp the rail system has also received the support of the World Bank and the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme of the Babangida administration. In May, 1992 the World Bank, offered a 100 million dollars grant (about N1.9 billion) to the Nigerian Railway Corporation as soon as its commercialization becomes effective. The World Bank proposal came as a welcome relief to the transport sector and consequently received the consideration of the federal government. According to officials of the Nigerian Railway Corporation, the fund would assist in the procurement of necessary spare parts and other vital equipment, as well as laid the capital restructuring rail maintenance and communication efforts of the corporation. The FUMTP on its part, has offered to assist in evolving a viable and stable rail transportation in the country by providing diesel multi-unit set engines estimated at 2.3 million dollars each, with a capacity for 250 persons.

With these developments, and with the proposed commercialization of the corporation new rays of hope are being introduced into the

mass transportation goals of the Babangida administration. A restructuring of the Nigerian Railway corporation has however been identified as a fundamental necessity in the commercialization process. In this regard, the NRC is to be split into three companies. These are: The Nigerian Railway Limited which will compete with private transportation companies in the mass lifting of goods and people; The Nigerian Railway Engineering company which will control major workshops to be engaged in the building of coaches, wagons, locomotives and other equipment, and the Nigerian Railway Track Authority which will be charged with the responsibility for maintenance and development of rail tracks nationwide. Having observed that the rail system has solved mass transportation headaches in many countries, the Babangida administration has been responding to calls from Nigerians to take meaningful strides in this direction.

In the area of air transportation, significant progress have been made despite the high cost of aircraft and inadequate aviation equipment in most Nigerian airport. The past seven years have witnessed an upsurge in the operation of private airlines to compete with the government-owned and operated airline. As a result , the Nigeria Airways has been compelled to strive towards the improvement of its services. In order to ensure profitability and eliminate the bottlenecks in the aviation industry, commercialization machinery have also been set in motion by the government in respect of the national airline. However, air transportation has equally been bedeviled with problems of fare hikes managerial inefficiency as a result of which air passengers have been undergoing rough times at our air ports, among others . Also, it has been observed that lack of proper co-ordination of air transport functions has greatly hampered smooth running of air transportation in the country. According to experts, the assembly and distribution functions of the country's airfields and aerodromes are yet to be realised. There is also need to reduce time wastage which is a common feature of air transportation in the country today. The lack of proper implementation of the transport policy has been identified as the cause of these irregularities.

During the Babangida regime however, the issue of the supply

of equipment to support air and flight operations as well as ensure safety has been pursued with vigour. Also with the creation of the Civil Aviation Authority as a separate and autonomous body the Babangida administration has forged a stabilization of the aviation equipment control system.

The need to encourage water transportation through reactivation of waterways has also been articulated by the present administration. Against the background of the government's realisation of the futility of relying on one or two modes of transportation efforts have also been directed at exploring the enormous potentials of the waterways. In recognition of this fact, the Head of Water Transportation of the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme, Dr Aliyu Abubakar drew awareness to the need for full utilisation of our waterways in 1991. According to him, an estimated 2 million tons of raw materials require transportation to Ajaokuta on a yearly basis. These include iron, manganese, bauxite, limestone and imported cooking oil. The growing demand on the transport sector is also apparent in the need to move other raw materials from the various ports to our numerous iron and steel complexes throughout the country.

As part of efforts to ensure the development of improved waterways to facilitate movement of goods and provide relief for our roads and other transportation modes, the FUMTP has provided tremendous assistance to waterways transportation. Apart from the provision of necessary infrastructure by building jetties and terminals throughout the country, the agency has also procured new ferries and assisted in the repairs of discarded ferries.

Also in 1991, following the disclosure by NIGERDOCK that 50 additional ferries were required for water transportation, some state government forwarded proposals to the company for the local construction of more ferries to enhance water transportation in the various states.

No doubt, the task of evolving a dynamic mass transportation system has been a story of unending challenges for the Babangida

administration. The progress made so far would appear insufficient on the surface but judging from the input into the Mass Transit programme over the past few years, a more efficient operational machinery and proper utilisation of existing resources would yield the desired results.

Also, a proper consideration planning and implementation of the metroline project would go a long way in translating our transportation woes to history. Although the Mass Transit Programme has been greatly limited in its mission, the fact remains that the Programme, within the scope of country's finances, striven to make commendable landmarks in the various areas of the transportation system - road, water, air and rail.

Chapter 5

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

By Ngozi Ikenno

"A Woman is born for subordination and obedience: to her parents to begin with, to her husband, then to her child later and to duty always."

Of course, this declaration by Alexandre Dumas, a writer, dramatist and son of the author of "The Three Musketeers" is now archaic and has long been jettisoned by the world since the beginning of modern civilization following the changing world view of women. It is now known that apart from their primordial duty to the family women are also veritable human resources for meaningful development.

Nevertheless, Dumas' statement gives a glimpse of how women, not least of all the African woman, were viewed several decades of years ago. In those forlorn years women were regarded more or less as a beast of burden, literally like a dummy dressed up for admiration only or window shopping in a China ware shop. They were to be seen, not heard. But just as the world was once fooled into believing that the earth was flat until light was later shed unto the fact that the world was indeed round, mankind now knows that Alexandre Dumas' statement which was regarded as gospel truth in his time is not entirely correct. It is now known that women have a higher calling, that apart from their sacred duty to their homes they can contribute no small measure towards national development especially since they constitute over half (51.9 per cent of Nigeria) of the population. It is a fact that the standing or status of women in a country is a yard stick for gauging that nation's progress. In other words, the destiny of a country so to speak, lies in the hands of its women folk. But for women to be able to contribute meaningfully towards national development they need to be equipped through proper education, access to health care and other social amenities. And a first step towards this is through mobilization and enlightenment to awaken women's self awareness of their higher goal.

There is no gain saying the fact that today's Nigerian woman is different from her grandmother for she is now more visible in public life. Whereas prior to independence in 1960 Nigeria, women confined themselves to being primarily housewives and doing other traditional duties as subsis-

tence farming they can now be found in areas considered as men's preserve. There are women professors, engineers, industrialists, etc. Many women now crave for paid employment. According to statistics about 18 per cent of total staff in the Nigerian public and private sector are women. Although this figure is relatively low compared to what obtains in developed countries, it is nevertheless significant for a nation whose women like those of other Africa nations had suffered several decades of neglect and discrimination of various forms, including disenfranchisement and where the cultural barrier which weigh heavily against women are hard to break. But as a Chinese proverb goes, a journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step. Women in Nigeria have been making slow but steady progress.

Asserts Otunba Bola Kuforiji-Olubi, Chief Executive of Bewac PLC, "By the year 2000, intelligent erudite, impeccable, warm-hearted Nigerian women in places of authority will be a sight as common as women in beauty parlours... this will come with the assurance that our daughters will continue the on-going trend of Nigerian women in high power leadership positions". This changing role of Nigerian women is attributable to among others, the declaration of 1975 to 1986 by the United Nations as the Decade for women, the structural adjustment programme, the activities of various women's organisations and the increasing consciousness of Nigerian women themselves. The role of the latter factor in the new evolution cannot be overemphasized. For all the other factors would have come to nought if there was not that "self-awareness" among women themselves. It is this self-awareness more than anything else that has seen women breaking new grounds. And in this connection the role of the Better Life Programme (BLP) in awakening the consciousness of women for the task of nation-building cannot be overemphasized.

More than ever before, educated women with earning powers of their own are sought after as partners-in progress, in marriage and even in the professions and business. "In the wake of the economic reform measures, many women have had to go out to work, to support their families while it is not uncommon now to see a woman as the breadwinner in the home. Many men are now acknowledging that for their wives, they would not have been able to make ends meet, they would not have been able to survive the hard times.

Of course, before the advent of the Better Life Programme, there had been notable Nigerian Women who contributed immensely to their communities as "saviours of their societies". There were others who pioneered the fight for the social rights of women, described as "heroines of the women's war." Then came the mass women's organisations which sought to be a rallying point for articulation of women's cause. All these were evolutions towards integrating women into the development process, like a flight of steps that are to lead to the promised land. The BLP has given added impetus to the rising profile of women, it has literally sought to continue where the other women pioneers left, its strategy being in tune with the dictates of these times which demand that women be partners in progress. Women who play the role of "Saviours of their societies" lived mainly in the burgeoning period of our history, at a time when war was a common phenomenon among our various communities. Although not all of these women could be traced out because some of them are "virtually legendary characters who existed in the dim recesses of Nigerian history", historians have nevertheless been able to single out three such women. They are: Inkpi, Moremi of Ile-Ife and the Queen of Daura. Inkpi an Igala Princess, offered herself as a sacrifice to enable her father Ayabgba, win the war with the Jukun. Professor Balanle Awe recounts that Anyagba's success brought to an end Jukun overlordship of the Igala. "Peace was declared and the boundary between the Igala and the Jukun was clearly demarcated. With the removal of the external pressure from the Jukun, Ayagba was able to start the work of internal consolidation and the unification of the nine principalities into what became known as the Igala Kingdom.

Moremi of Ile-Ife was another saviour of her people in those days of war. Says Awe of her:

"Moremi, a woman of Oduduwa group consulted the goddess of the Esinminrin stream and promised to give her what she prized most if she could help her people. Thereafter she allowed herself to be captured in the next Igbo raid and while living among them

discovered that their covering was nothing more than bamboo and the highly inflammable Ekan grass. Therefore she escaped back to Ile-Ife and revealed this Igbo secret to her people. When the Igbo next carried their raids to Ile-Ife, lighted torches were set to their dresses and they were completely routed. Moremi went back to fulfil her vow to the goddess of Esinminrin and the goddess demanded of her, her most prized possession, her son, Oluorogbo. In great sorrow she sacrificed her son and thus helped to establish on a permanent basis the Oduduwa hold in that region”

Recalling the salient features of the story of the Queen-of Daura, Professor Awe states:

According to the traditions, Abuyazid a prince from Baghdad, came to settle in Bornu after having a disagreement with his father. The ruler of Bornu gave him his daughter, Magira, in marriage. It gradually dawned on the ruler however, that Abuyazid was a powerful prince with a large following who might constitute a threat to his continued stay on the throne of Bornu. He therefore decided to kill him. Magira however, got to know about the plot and divulged the plan to her husband. They escaped westward, first to Gabas ta Buram where his wife had a son. He left her behind and continued westward with his concubine to the small state of Daura. In Daura he asked an old woman for water and was told that water could only be got on Fridays because a snake in the well prevented the inhabitants from drawing water except on that day. Abuyazid killed the snake and so made it possible for people to draw water from the well at anytime. In appreciation the queen of Daura offered him half of her kingdom as she had promised she would anybody who killed the snake. Abuyazid however preferred her hand in marriage and he moved into her palace.

Awe continues: "The union of Abuyazid and Daura had one lasting and significant effect on the Hausa speaking people. Through the instrumentality of Daura and Abuyazid, a common link was forged among all Hausa speaking people which was to persist until very recent times. Daura became the mother of all Hausa states and their spiritual home". These women of valour and gallantry, saviours of their societies are today honoured in various ways: through erection of monuments, observance of festivals in their names, etc. Professor Awe concluded of their roles in the following remarks:

The significant factor is that in the developments that shaped the nature of their societies and their future histories, these women played star roles. Indeed many of the changes they effected were far-reaching. For instance on the political plane they participated in the events that brought new dynasties and governments into power, on each occasion they displayed a tremendous sense of patriotism and sacrificed their most prized possessions; they played the part of the saviours of their societies in preventing disaster and hardship... Thus the lives of these women helped to strengthen the foundations of their societies at a time when those societies were in a state of flux and poised for change and through the activities commemorating their achievements paved the way for their future development.

Other women who left an indelible mark on their communities include Queen Kambassa of Bonny, Nana Asma'u, and Queen Amina of Zaria. According to historians, Kambassa was the first woman ruler of Bonny. No woman has ever ascended the throne ever since.

Professor E. K. Alagoa, President of the Nigerian Association of Oral History and Traditions says of her:

In a sense, Queen Kambassa may even be said to have given Bonny some of its most characteristic institutions. According to some of the traditions, she is

credited with starting the history of Bonny wars of expansion and influence over her neighbours. She built up the first fighting force to set up a formal sphere of direct influence around Opuoko (KO) in the Ogoni country.

And of Queen Amina of Zaria, Professor Sa'ad Abubakar, former Vice Chancellor of the University of Maiduguri remarks:

She was a very remarkable ruler not only in the state of Zazzau but in the whole of sub-saharan Africa in the 16th century. A contemporary first of Muhammed Shashere and later Muhammed Zaki of Kano, Amina by building up a strong military force in Zazzau succeeded in making her state one of the most famous in the Western Sudan. While both Kano and Katsina were bogged down by rivalry and conflicts as well as external threats from the Kwararafa, Zazzau under Amina extended its frontiers considerably and prospered tremendously through increased trade which was made possible by territorial expansion. Her achievements for Zazzau were no fewer than these for Borno under another contemporary of hers, the Mai Idris Aloma.

The years of those wars in our early history over, society settled down to an organized, stable life. And here too women distinguished themselves. One of these was Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura who made a mark in Commerce. "Her path to success in Ibadan was through hard work in the world of trade. She realised the needs of that period for the interchange of goods between the different parts of the Yoruba country and gradually established a commercial empire which covered a large part of that country. Without any knowledge of reading and writing she managed a successful business empire and in Ibadan of her time accumulated the type of property which only the most distinguished could command. In her, Ibadan therefore produced one of that tribe of distinguished women traders like Madam Tinubu of Lagos and Abeokuta and Kakawa of Lagos, the ancestors of the modern market women whose business acumen has

given them undisputed influence not only in the world of commerce but also in the political and social life of the country.

But Nigerian women soon found that they had to embark on another fight. This time it was battle for their social rights, including the right to vote. This was the beginning of the mass mobilization of women for their rights and the evolution of women's organisations. Among women in the forefront of this struggle were: Madam Margaret Ekpo who led other women in the famed Aba riots of 1929, to protest against unfair taxation against women, Mrs A. D. Shehu who was a champion of the cause of northern minorities, and women's rights. Mrs Shehu a member of the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) was later to become the Secretary-General of the Northern Elements Progressive Union Women's Wing. Mrs Ransome Kuti fought for women's educational rights and also led the famous protest to the Alake's Palace against heavy taxes imposed to peasant women. She was the only woman delegate to the 1947 constitutional conference in London. Other women activists include Hajia Gambo Sawamba leader of the women wing of NEPU and Laila Dongoyaro.

Ultimately this increasing activism of women and sprouting of women's organisations led to the formation of an umbrella organisation for all women's groups-the National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS). Mrs Emily Aig-Imoukhuede, president of the Council narrates its genesis.

"It started in 1957. It took off finally in 1958. The Council is a federation of women societies. Up till 1957 everybody was operating on her own, the professional groups, cultural groups, the market women and everyone. What actually brought us together was when they started having interactions with the government. In the West, a group will go to government and say 'you must do this for us' Or 'we are attending a conference overseas we need your assistance' then another group comes for the same thing. It was kind of unwieldy. It was actually Oba C. O. Akran, then the Minister of Information in the West who mooted the idea of bring us together. He said, 'why don't you come together and have a united front; come together, establish a council or federation; you can reach government, where you can reach the outside world'. And that was how the

council was born, first in Ibadan and it was taken to Lagos in 1958".

The council represents the interest of women. It has branches in the states and local government areas. To be affiliated to it, an organisation has to have branches in at least five states of the Federation. Primarily the programmes of the NCWS centre on dissemination of information to women and educational mobilization of Women.

However as a voluntary and non government organisation, there is a limit to how successful the NCWS can go in the task of women mobilization without the instrumentality of a Government apparatus.

The Better Life for Rural Women Programme (BLP) pioneered by Dr (Mrs) Maryam Babangida, although it has no statutory government allocation has the unique advantage of commanding respect and support from Government circles through the sheer personality force of the First Lady and the soundness of its programmes. In a way the BLP like DFRRRI can be considered an aspect of the structural adjustment which goal is to make the country self reliant. Only that the BLP and programmes of the Directorate for food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) are directed specifically to the rural folks. In a way too both the BLP and the DFRRI complement the adjustment programme as they are meant to support it by cushioning its adverse effect. Still, the BLP and DFRRRI attest to the creativity of Nigerians as they are entirely home-grown. The Better Life Programme has received approbation worldwide as evidence by the various commendation which Dr. (Mrs) Babangida had received since its inception barely five years ago. Perhaps the most notable of this economics was the Leadership award given Dr. (Mrs) Babangida in 1991 in London, for the fight towards sustainable end to hunger through the Better Life Programme. The World Bank, African Development Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development, UNICEF, ITTA, all support the BLP in various ways. While the Direction of the United Nations Information Centre in Nigeria, Mrs Cecilia Khonje recommends it as a model for other African nations to emulate. Wives of some Heads of State, particularly those in Africa had paid visits to the First Lady to study the programme to see how they could

adopt it in their respective countries. And Dr (Mrs) Babangida was among the six conveners (apparently in recognition of her immense contributions to women's welfare through the BLP) of last February's Geneva conference on 'women in development'. The BLP national chairperson was also invited by the joint assembly of the ACP/EEC in Luxembourg to give a talk on "The Role of Women in Development". A regional (Africa) conference on the implementation of the Geneva declaration is scheduled for Abuja this October. Nigeria had in 1989 hosted the fourth regional conference for the "Integration of Women" sponsored by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

The Better Life Programme although geared essentially at championing the cause of women is not an extremist female institution in the mould of western feminist concepts of 'bra burning'. Dr.(Mrs) Babangida herself does not tire of reiterating at every available opportunity that the programme is not aimed at making women abandon their ordained role to their husbands and their families. She does not shy away from restating the fact again and again that the man is the head of the family who must be so respected and supported by the woman. This way she reinforces the country's family values which many erroneously believe is eroded by women activism. Dr.(Mrs) Babangida's stand on this issue manifest her commitment as a keen advocate of the promotion of family values. Her other projects which show her as a keen lover of children and organisation of youth programmes designed to inculcate the right values to these growing minds further attests to her strong family attachment. She declares:

I wish to state unequivocally that I am a strong advocate of total respect for the authority of the man as the head of the home. Our movement is not and should not be seen as a passport to the destabilization of our homes. We must all learn to emphasize and appreciate the complementarity of our roles rather than view them only in competitive terms.

And she emphasizes further of the Better Life Programme "We have created the forum (BLP) through which we can discover practical

ways and means of improving the conditions of our womenfolk within the medium of our cultural and religious background", adding that women must learn to be productive even from within the confines of their homes in order to contribute their quota to the development of their families and the society. Even from within the confines of their homes in order to contribute their quota to the development of their families and the society.

That the Better Life Programme is targeted essentially toward rural women is understandable. For one, the bulk of our population, about 70 per cent are to be found in the countryside and the majority of these are women although they own less than one third of the capital holdings in the land. Thus these women constitute a vast resource army that can be mobilised to achieve greater heights through enlightenment and they represent at the same most help.

The emergence of the Better Life Programme is traced to a series of meetings which Dr (Mrs) Babangida convened with a cross-section of similarly concerned women whose hearts like hers went out in sympathy to the long suffering women of our countryside. She together with these women undertook a tour of some rural areas such as Ifako, Idimangoro, Liverpool, Igbo Alejo, Tomoro and Gbomero to feel the pulse of the villages. Not surprising they were inundated with tales of inadequate infrastructural and social amenities, by these villagers. Thereafter a three-day national workshop on "Women in Rural Development" with the theme "A Better Life for the Rural Woman" was held in Abuja in September, 1987. This workshop was attended by some 2,000 women including representatives of rural women from the nation's then 307 local government areas. Participants at the workshop discussed problems plaguing the rural women and how these could be overcome. The various state representatives were then urged to go to the field to identify peculiar needs and problems of rural women in their localities and draw up their own programmes.

The organisational structure of the BLP makes for effective mobilization of women. At the head is Dr.(Mrs) Babangida as national chairperson. She is assisted by a National Organizing Committee (NOC) unofficially called the 'M' Team (Maryam's team). This Committee is made up of women leaders from core professionals and activities such as those of accounting, medicine, engineering, the military voluntary work, social welfare, art administration, the media, law, banking, prisons and customs. Meetings of the Committee are held once a month, at least. There are also consultative meetings with the National Chairperson (Dr(Mrs) Babangida), various state chairpersons, and their officials, etc. every quarter. At these meetings state activities of the BLP are analysed reviewed and assessed. Among the functions of the NOC which is the highest policy making arm of the Better Life Programme are:

- *Designing, coordinating and supervising the implementation of the programme's over all strategy;
- *Serving as a Think-Tank and advisory body to the National Chairperson;
- *Liaising with the state and other chapters of the Better Life Programme as well as with groups and organisations outside the BLP particularly non-government organisations.
- *Planning all national and international events involving the BLP, including organisation of trade fairs, workshops, exhibitions, etc.

At the state level, the governor's wife who is the state BLP Chairperson, is assisted by the State Planning Committee (SPC). This Committee which is also chaired by the Governor's wife is almost similar in composition and responsibilities as the NOC. However, whereas the NOC is concerned with mapping out overall plan for direction of the BLP at the national level, the State Planning Committee is involved largely in day-to-day running of the BLP in their states. Members of the SPC liaise with BLP leaders at the local government areas, monitor implementation of policies. While the policies have to be in line with national guidelines, they also have to take cognisance of the state's peculiar circumstances or needs. There is for each state a supervisor who is also a member of the National Organising Committee. These state supervisors who report directly to the National chairperson supervise their respective states

regularly through tours to inspect and evaluate projects, assess problems, etc.

Each of the nation's 589 local government areas also has a BLP committee chaired by the wife of the local government chairman who is equally the BLP chairperson at this level. The Committee is composed of community leaders and representatives of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) among others. Also there is a BLP coordinator who is an experienced programme manager in each local government area in the same way as there is a village BLP coordinator. The village BLP coordinator who works with rural women's groups and cooperatives mobilises the village women in concert with ward representatives of the BLP. She liaises with the local government BLP committee through the LGA Better Life Programme coordinator.

The broad objectives of the BLP are:

- *To stimulate and motivate rural women towards achieving better living standards and sensitise the rest of the country to their problems.
- *To mobilize women collectively in order to improve their general lot and for them to seek and achieve leadership roles in all spheres of society.
- *To raise consciousness about their rights, the availability of opportunities and facilities, their social, political and economic responsibilities.
- *To inculcate the spirit of self development, particularly in the fields of education, business, the arts, crafts and agriculture.
- *To educate rural women on simple hygiene, family planning, the importance of child care and increased literacy rates.
- *To encourage recreation and enrich family life.

Thus core activities of the Better Life Programme include mobilization in agriculture, food procession, health, education, cooperatives, arts and crafts, recreation and women related welfare activities. However the prime goal remains that of maximizing productivity and ensuring more self-reliance both individually and collectively. Specifically the BLP's ancillary activities include:

- *The enlightenment of men and women on family planning and various primary health programmes.

- *The intensification of free and higher education for girls
- *Provision of better access of credit facilities, extension services and training to rural women
- *Promotion of increased women participation in politics and the decision-making process
- *Removal of socio-cultural constraints emanating from some inhibiting traditional attitudes and practices.

Regarding the first aspect the importance of good health cannot be over-emphasised. As a saying goes, health is wealth and one has to enjoy physical well being to be able to do her best in any endeavour. Good health is not necessarily freedom from diseases and "It is only when a total state of well being is achieved that a woman can enjoy life to the fullest and contribute to national development". And family planning programme are a good means of safeguarding women's health. For it had been observed that Nigeria like most other African countries has high maternal and mortality rates. The life expectancy of the average Nigerian women is only 49 years.

Apart from insufficient medical facilities, many of the maternal deaths stem from early marriages which could also cause vesico-vagina fistulae (VVF) and Recto-vaginal fistulae (terrible female conditions which renders one an outcast, more or less), having too many children and inadequate spacing of children. Hence the need for family planning enlightenment programmes. Since men play an important role in this matter they are also a target audience of those programmes. In 1989 the Federal Government came out with a National Health Policy which amongst others, advises that a woman should not bear more than four children. Outlets where family planning advice can be produced are now available nation wide. The BLP is also engaged in heightening rural women's awareness of primary healthcare programmes such as the oral rehydration therapy and expanded programme on immunization, training of traditional birth attendants, disseminating information on sanitation (including training in simple water purification methods) and better nutrition among rural women. It is involved too in anti drug abuse campaigns.

Regarding "intensification of free and higher education for girls",

the goal of free education for girls at all levels has not been achieved. Nevertheless some stride is being made in women education, as more girls now go to school. For example, statistics from the Federal Ministry of Education shows that the percentage of female in primary schools rose from 43.01 per cent of the total primary school enrolment in the 1982/83 session to some 45 per cent of the total in 1989. In some states in the north, sanctions are now being imposed on parents who do not send their daughters to primary school or who withdraw them for marriage before completion of their secondary education. Science education is also being promoted as some female students now enjoy science, technology and mathematics which stimulates interest in these subjects. Not forgetting the adult female education scheme meant to assist women who did not have the benefit of early education. Apart from making the women literate and numerate, the scheme also teaches them vocational skills. For example, the multi-purpose Kano City Women Centre trains over 1,200 women (mainly housewives) in literacy, continuing education, income generating skills and health care delivery system. The Borno Agency for Mass Education, established in 1989 has also been successful in literacy, continuing education women programmes training and public enlightenment. Altogether, the BLP has about 428 multi purpose Women's Education Centre where literacy, numeracy, agricultural studies, simple accounting and book keeping, nutrition, childcare, art and crafts are taught.

SOME WOMEN ORGANISATIONS IN NIGERIA

- National Council of Women's Societies
- International Federation of Women Lawyers
- Zonated International Club of Lagos
- Nigeria Girl Guides Association
- Medical Women Association of Nigeria
- Nigerian Association of University Women
- Association of Professional Women Engineers
- Jamiyyan Mator Arewa
- Nigeria Association of Professional Women in Business
- Nigeria Association of Women Industries
- Nigeria Association of Women in Science, Technology and Mathematics

As for the BLP's goal of providing women "better access to credit facilities, extension services", this is one area that requires breaking down of traditional barriers against women entrepreneurs or industrialists. According to figures from the United Nations, although women contribute two thirds of the hours worked worldwide, they earn only one tenth of the world's income and own only one per cent of the world's property. Women hold sway in the informal business sector such as petty trading and small business sector. But it had always been a herculean task for a woman to get a loan for expansion of their businesses. Mrs Adetutu Adeleke, managing director of Tate Industries PLC reveals that women are still being discriminated against in granting of loans to start own businesses. Her remarks: "The wrong notion still persists amongst male bank managers that male entrepreneurs are less risky than their female counterparts; fortunately the evidence on the ground in terms of women initiated businesses that survive and prosper compared to men initiated ones, shows how much male prejudice has gone into what should naturally have been an objective exercise. And former Chairman of the United Bank for Africa, Mrs Kuforiji Olubi gives her own testimony: "Access to credit had been a militating factor in the production and creation of wealth by women. Some of the problems which women go through in the existing commercial banking system which is primarily male dominated and the inability of these banks to relax stringent credit rules imposed on women informed by incessant lobby as Chairman of the United Bank for Africa Plc for the review of certain banking regulations that were not in the interest of women and establishment of the innovative UBA Banking Credit Scheme for Nigerian women, particularly those in the rural areas".

The grassroots based Community and Peoples Banks nationwide are helping out in a way as they extend credit to women. The BLP itself provides loans to women through a revolving scheme. But more still has to be done particularly in persuading all commercial banks in the country to have a women development section, where they could offer a package of services like flexible lending policies, consultancy, advise, etc to women.

Another notable discriminatory practice against women is that they

are denied formal ownership of land and industrial plot. As Mrs Aig-Imoukhuede, President of the National Council of Women's Societies points out but for the BLP government agricultural incentives to farmers as fertilizers, improved seedlings, etc., would have been denied women. However, the BLP has facilitated acquisition of farmlands for women through farming cooperatives, individuals, local governments or communities. These either donated or rented land to various chapters of the BLP for cultivation. The Federal Agricultural Coordinating Unit, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), State Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) and research institutes which the BLP liaises with assist in provision of farm inputs and creating labour-saving devices specifically designed for women, thus, refining the country's traditional farming methods.

Giving kudos to the BLP Mrs Adeleke enjoins women to consciously cultivate strong management capabilities and debunk the notion that they are unable to cope with work loads under pressure. Women should also at all times imbibe and extol those virtues which are necessary for high level achie success at the top. These include: perseverance and competence, confidence, knowledge and competence, self-reliance, integrity good example and impeccable behaviour through good breeding, education and right training.

Through the BLP, number of cooperatives nationwide increased significantly from 378 in 1978-1987 to 9 492 in 1991. Many of them are engaged mainly in farming, food processing, livestock rearing, production of arts and crafts, soap, cosmetics, kitchen utensils from iron. By June 1991, some 1,435 Better Life cottage industries had been established. There are also some 308 Better Life shops nationwide. Some of the products made through the BLP are also being marketed abroad through the Nigerian Export Promotion Council which had enabled the BLP 'showcase' these goods at various international trade fairs and exhibitions.

An overview of some projects in four of the former 21 states would give an insight of its activities in this direction. In the former Anambra state which now comprises of Anambra and Enugu states,

the projects executed there include establishment of large-scale rice farms at Oduma, Awgu, Inoma, Nzam, Ugbonka, Nkefere, Abakaliki, and Izi. No fewer than 150 hectares of rice were targeted for cultivation by the BLP farms in the state. It had another 456 farms where maize, soyabeans, yam, black-eyed peas and cow peas are grown-over 64,500 palm seedlings had been planted from only one cooperative society before the coming of the BLP, the former Borno State now made up of Yobe and Borno State increased the number to 300 with the mobilization efforts of the BLP. The cooperative societies are in such areas as handicrafts, poultry, fish farming, food processing, petty trading and multi-purpose. There are 52 cottage industries in former Borno State and they include those of rice milling, ceramic, tie- and -dye. Cottage industries on the priority list of Ogun State are those of black soap production, Cassava flour, tie and-dye bean flour. Others are in the areas of polish making, plantain chips, pomade making, groundnut oil, palm oil, melon and seed oil extraction. In Sokoto State (Sokoto and Kebbi states) where women were considered not keen in forming group associations, the idea of cooperative societies engineered by the BLP had been imbibed by the women and some 600 cooperatives had been established there. Two grains cottage industries, a groundnut oil extracting and fish smoking center had also been set up. The state BLP had mobilised funds to treat VHF patients free of charge and constructed a theater and ward for treatment of VHF patients.

The first step towards achieving the objective of "increased women participation in politics and decision-making process" is already being taken through the BLP's mobilization campaign efforts. And this seems to have been successful judging by the increasing number of women including those in the traditional northern state who trooped out to exercise their voting rights during the transition to civilian rule elections. Many women also registered as members of either party, SDP and NRC. There are more women than men in the country, so women could play a leading role in selecting who gets into what elective posts. However the ultimate goal of getting a woman President would definitely take sometime, for Rome was not built in a day.

Two Nigerian Women, Mrs. Kerry and Wura Esan were nominated into

the Senate of the First Republic. In the second Republic (1979 to 1983) Franca Afegbua made history by being the First woman to be directly elected into the senate. No fewer than two women were also appointed as ministers during this time. However appointment of women into political office is kind of token. At the demise of the second republic the military elevated this tokenism into a policy when it directed that all state government must appoint at least one woman into its cabinet.

A number of women head important institution under the Babangida regime. Nigeria's first female Vice Chancellor (Professor Grace Alele-Williams) emerged during this regime's tenure. And Professor Jadesola Akande, Vice Chancellor of the Lagos State University is another. Women have entered the distinguished honours roll of Senior Advocate of Nigeria (S.A.N), Among them Mrs Folake Solanke and Mrs Priscilla Ajayi -Obe.

The sight of a female judge presiding over a case or heading a tribunal to try spiral issues is no longer an usual phenomenon. The appearance of a female member of the Court of Appeal and Supreme court is still being awaited. Women had between 1987 to 1992 been Presidents of three professional bodies where men used to call the shots: They are the Nigerian Medical Association (Mrs Funke Akinkugbe), the Institute of Chartered Accountants (Mrs Kuforij-Olubi) and the Nigerian Bar Association (Mrs Priscilla Kuye). These women blazed the trail by being the first heads of these bodies. Although this feat came over 20 years after establishment of these organisation, it is nonetheless applaudable.

There are quite a member of women in top positions in the state and Federal civil service as ambassadors, directors, director- general, commissioners, etc. And the secretary to the Government of Lagos and Bauchi states are women. More and more women are now having the confidence to branch out and establish their own enterprises or outfits in the private sector. The rising public profile of Nigerian women is attributable to increasing consciousness about the worth of women and the personal merit of the women concerned. They are a testimony of the high regard which Government has for women.

However, although a few women were successful at the last local

government elections, none of the hordes of women who aspired to be Governors scaled through. They, like the other female who campaigned to be President, fell by the wayside during the primary selection process. Inadequate financial support was a hindrance to their ambition. But perhaps the greatest obstacle is that prejudices against women still exist. Deep rooted socio-cultural biases against women are yet to be completely dismantled. Social biases against women as not having the right to own property, not being allowed to stand bail for persons and dehumanising customary modes of mourning specified for widows are still with us.

Following the intervention of Dr. (Mrs) Babangida the Law Reform Commission set up a committee to review discriminatory laws against women and children. Issues being looked into by this committee include discriminatory inheritance laws, land tenure and ownership, discriminatory taxation, child marriage, naturalisation and paternity.

It is to the credit of the BLP that it was on the occasion of the ceremony marking its first anniversary that the Federal Government announced through the Vice President, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu the setting up of a National Women's Commission (NWC) to further enhance the status of Nigerian women in all spheres of human endeavour. Its establishment was the result of appeals from both the BLP and women's organisations for such an institution. Established under Decree 30 of 1989 and officially launched in 1990, the specific functions of the NWC include:

- *To promote the welfare of the Nigerian women in general.
- *To promote the full utilisation of women in development of human resources.
- *To bring about their acceptance as full participants in national development with equal rights and corresponding obligations.
- *To promote responsible motherhood and maternal health for women.
- *To stimulate action to improve women's civic, political, cultural, social and economic affairs.
- *To support the work of non-governmental organisations.
- *To encourage the sense and essence of cooperative societies and activities amongst women both in the urban and rural areas and stimulate in them creative entrepreneurship in the field of cottage

and small scale industries. Apart from increasing appointment women into key positions, the Babangida administration's tenure has witnessed increasing intellectual interest in women related affairs. More and more women based groups and associations are emerging. Academic journals on women can now be found in the bookshelves and conferences and workshops on women affairs are becoming popular. Nevertheless, the information on women is still scanty in relation to other disciplines. In this respect one of the noteworthy projects of the BLP is the National Centre for Women's Development in Abuja. The Centre is to serve the following purposes:

- *Serving as a model African and international academic centre for research in the field of women in developments.
- *Collation and dissemination of information on the activities and achievements of women.
- *Processing of information and other data into a usable form.
- *Providing a forum for guidance and counselling in addition to mobilising and training.
- *Serving as a Centre to develop skills in areas that would benefit women, individually and as a group.
- *Hosting of conferences, workshops lectures and initiating debate on matters relating to women.

Liaising with national, regional and international agendas concerned with issues in women development. The centre is expected to have the following: an auditorium accommodating at least 1,000 persons; a documentation centre containing a library, micro film unit etc, training block with classrooms and demonstration units, an arts and crafts section, day-care centre, hostel, shopping hall, open air theatre and a hall of fame. States are expected to similarly build their own women development centre.

It is the hope of the majority of women that the BLP would enjoy priority attention by the in-coming civilian administration. Hajia Laila Dongoyaro, secretary-general of the Northern Women's Associates, encapsulates this hope in the following assessment:

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- *To encourage the sense and essence of cooperative societies and activities amongst women both in the urban and rural areas and stimulate in them creative entrepreneurship in the field of cottage

Let us be frank the Better Life Programme is the best thing that has ever happened to women in this country. The wonders of the BLP in the upliftment of women are innumerable. In fact all the women's liberation movements put together have not achieved half of what this programme has achieved. The BLP has helped tremendously in rural development, it has helped to expose the goods, services and skills of an army of rural women to the nation and the world. The potentials of these women are being encouraged to develop. The nation will benefit greatly when it matures finally.

And let me warn that the women will resist any attempt by any succeeding administration to scrap the BLP. In fact the women will rise to fight whoever does that, the women have seen the light and they will not allow anybody to throw them back to darkness. Men should be happy that the BLP has made their wives to be more self-sufficient. The women are not going to run away from them simply because they are now less dependent on them for their survival. Men should realise that every women wants to get married and remain married because they know that the respect they have from society is heavily subject to their marital status. So they will not want to pull down the marriage institution. Rather they will want to help their husbands by contributing their quota. So men should always bear this in mind and allow their wives to be more useful to themselves.

Nobody expects the BLP to completely solve all of women's problems within five years of its existence. Nor can the full integration of women into all facets of life be wholly achieved within this relatively short period. As the giant of Africa, Nigeria through the BLP has set a good example worthy of emulation by others about how a female-oriented movement can be an effective tool of social engineering and change. The onus is on future regime to take up the gauntlet from where Dr (Mrs) Babangida stopped and continue to build on the foundation set by her, for the glory of Nigerian women and posterity. The creation of more states and local government areas affords the BLP the opportunity to branch out into all nooks and corners of our great country, to reach all women. The organisation could also do with more professionalism, in terms of getting professional advice on the execution of projects.

Certainly the period when women are considered to be parasitic "aimless coiffured manieured designer's dummy", is receding into what can be termed the dark recesses of women's history.

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**TOTAL ENROLMENT AND FEMALE RATIO IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS,
BY STATE 1982 TO 1989**

STATE	1982/83		1985/86		1987		1988		1989	
	TOTAL ENROL.	% OF F	TOTAL ENROL.	% OF F	TOTAL ENROL.	% OF F	TOTAL ENROL.	% OF F	TOTAL ENROL.	% OF F
Akwa Ibom							465938	50.1	483435	50.1
Anambra	853452	49.5	1414078	47.7	788053	47.1	901620	49.5	938353	47.8
Bauchi	434155	37.9	308267	38.2	321364	38.2	290888	45.9	303818	39.2
Benue	859922	49.9	758572	49.2	803177	49.0	893989	49.6	930319	50.8
Borno	975720	43.8	467610	42.5	545599	42.0	567107	48.0	562191	42.9
C. River	414624	36.5	470200	39.7	466386	39.0	401581	47.3	577180	40.9
C. River	869484	48.6	616654	48.9	687161	48.7	240395	49.5	314952	48.2
Geogola	520198	41.1	384246	38.1	358024	34.8	381380	46.7	374002	39.8
Imo	826584	48.5	887039	48.1	913282	47.8	976359	49.3	973706	49.0
Kaduna	1112240	35.4	816690	35.7	914692	37.6	514424	50.0	591444	41.9
Kano	1214920	30.2	765226	30.7	832990	29.8	1047904	44.8	1170477	35.0
Katsina							428515	43.9	470625	30.7
Kwara	620907	33.7	525808	47.7	361730	47.7	378541	50.3	389779	52.4
Lagos	570921	51.5	662380	50.7	769542	50.3	814465	50.2	856438	50.2
Niger	450765	34.9	451010	36.8	245821	36.4	223025	46.3	234832	37.1
Ogun	426294	48.4	369261	48.6	398293	48.5	405531	49.6	425559	49.6
Ondo	691898	49.7	453397	49.2	503461	49.3	525972	49.7	531156	49.9
Oyo	1971974	48.0	1935898	49.9	1029431	49.8	1094394	49.9	1142096	50.8
Plateau	565020	42.7	511607	43.0	510143	44.2	544782	48.3	524806	45.1
Rivers	585238	49.4	345059	49.3	385061	48.6	399382	49.4	429623	49.4
Sokoto	684030	33.4	724625	34.2	643631	31.3	659953	43.4	411283	29.6
F.C.T	29462	37.2	47244	43.6	36385	44.35	60192	49.1	65198	41.0
Nigeria	14676808	43.1	12914864	44.4	11513178	43.6	11750399	48.2	12241237	46.8

Source: Federal Ministry of Education Lagos, August 1989

Chapter 6

NATIONAL DIRECTORATE OF EMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT GENERATION

- By Chief Chukwu Wachukwu

1. INTRODUCTION:

As a basic consideration, it could be advanced that the pervading framework of economic restructuring, the need to expand the base of the national economy through job creation and the search for socio-political equilibrium constitute the fundamental factors that informed the establishment of the National Directorate of Employment.

It would easily be realised that the oil boom of the 1970s, which led to a tremendous economic expansion industrial out-put and increased commercial activities, created employment opportunities for Nigerians. Contrary wise, in the 80s, the sharp drop in oil prices and the economic recession arising therefrom reduced employment opportunities for hundreds of thousands of people. This was not surprising since the country's economy was heavily dependent on revenues from oil. Up to the present moment, the situation has hardly improved since the dwindling performance of the oil sector has tended to drag the country's fortunes down the economic slope. The economic slide necessarily generated unemployment.

Indeed, by 1987 the unemployment rate in Nigeria was estimated to have reached 6.0% by the Federal Office of Statistics. This amounted to over 2 million jobless citizens out of an estimated total labour force of 36 million. The disproportion between available job opportunities and available manpower manifested itself in almost all sectors of the economy. Ironically, however, while movement in the economy showed a decline, the educational system witnessed a boom with concomitant production of sophisticated job seekers.

UNEMPLOYMENT: IMPLICATIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NDE

The situation of unemployment as seen from the foregoing has frightening implications for the economy of the nation due to the under-utilization of abundant human and material resources. For

victims of unemployment the consequences could be deleterious. Studies have shown that the individual victim of unemployment is prone to a feeling of frustration due to inability to realise innate or acquired potentials. This feeling ultimately leads to deviant behaviour expressed in crimes and other anti-social behaviours. The effects of unemployment on the larger society are equally disastrous. Crimes and riots create an atmosphere of general insecurity since the available armies of unemployed youths (which constitute a potent and destructive force) are easily susceptible to manipulation by aggrieved influential elements in the society.

Generally, in any nation where unemployment is prevalent, the dichotomy between the employed and the unemployed institutes social inequity which is a ready tinder box for social upheavals. It is obvious that no country can expect to have a good image as long as a considerable proportion of its labour force lacks the means to earn a decent living, certain degree of dignity or security.

Indeed, employment for the labour has come to be regarded as an important index of government's ability to fulfil its socio-political contract and by extension, its ability and political will to guarantee Human Rights. Consequently on the 26th of March, 1986, the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces, General Ibrahim Babangida, set up the Chukuma Committee to identify strategies for dealing with mass unemployment in the country.

Based on the recommendations of the committee, the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) was established in November 1986 and its programmes, launched in January, 1987.

The onerous task of providing employment-direct or indirect hence fell on the NDE. Decree 24 of 1989 promulgated on the 19th October, 1989 gives the NDE the legal backing to prosecute its mandate.

STATUTORY FUNCTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NDE

A. The Directorate was given the following general objectives:

(1) To design and implement programmes in an attempt to combat mass unemployment,

(2) To articulate policies aimed at developing work programmes with labour intensive potentials, and

(3) To obtain and maintain a data bank on employment and vacancies in the country with a view to acting in collaboration with other government agencies.

Sequel to the above mandate, the NDE's four programmes with specific objectives and strategies were designed.

B. BROAD OBJECTIVE

The broad objective of the Directorate is to promptly and effectively combat unemployment through the design and implementation of strategies to prepare the country's youths for gainful employment.

This overriding goal is to be achieved through the provision of training opportunities, guidance and counselling and finance to the unemployed to generate employment for themselves and others and ultimately, contribute in the expansion of the economic base of the nation.

4. OPERATIONS OF THE NDE: PROGRAMMES AND SCHEMES

The operational thrust of the Directorate is informed by the implications of the depressed situation on the labour market. Four cardinal programmes each with specific objectives, were designed to fulfil the Directorate's mandate as they seek to provide self-employment, skills acquisition and labour intensive jobs.

The programmes of the Directorate are variously targeted at different segments of the unemployed population as well as geared to produce multiplier effects on the labour market.

The programmes are:

- (a) Vocational Skills Development (VSD)
- (b) Public Works Programme (PWP)
- (c) Small Scale Enterprises (SSE) and
- (d) the Agricultural Programme

DETAILS OF THE PROGRAMMES AND SCHEMES

Vocational Skills Development (VSD)

This programme derives from the fact that the bulk of the unemployed are young school leavers, school drop-outs and illiterates without marketable skills. The schemes under this programme are designed in general terms, to provide the segment of the unemployed with skills which are in high demand in the economy.

Specific Objectives of VSD

The specific objectives of the programme are as follows:

- (a) To impart technical and vocational training to holders of primary and / or secondary school certificates as well as secondary school drop-outs,
- (b) to equip the youths with such skills as will enable them to be self-employed and provide employment for others,
- (c) to provide alternative employment opportunities for the youth so as would enable them form cooperatives and start businesses.

To achieve the stated objectives, the Department operates the following schemes:

1. NATIONAL OPEN APPRENTICESHIP SCHEME (NOAS)

The target of the unemployed for this scheme are youths categorised in (a) above and any others. As a matter of fact, holders of tertiary institution's degrees and certificates who were hitherto unemployed,

enrolled in the scheme when it was introduced in 1987.

The scheme emphasises on-the-job training in which apprentices are attached to professional master-crafts men and women, companies, industries and parastatals. The trades include Arts, building trade, computer technology, draughtsmanship, mechanical, trades, wood works, etc.

The training package has an 80% on-the-job (practical) training component and 20% theory. There are about 80 trades and vocations in which apprentices are being trained. The duration of training is between a minimum of six months and a maximum of three years depending on the type of trade. Intake of trainees into the scheme is based on the following criteria:

- (a) High employment potentials - (wage or self-employment),
- (b) Availability of trainers with suitable and adequate training facilities and resources.

STIPENDS AND TRAINING FEES

At inception, an allowance of N50.00 was paid to trainees every month. This was stopped with effect from January 1991 consequent upon the observation that majority of the trainees were more interested in the allowances than in skills they were meant to acquire. It is further believed that the stoppage would enable the NDE to determine committed trainees and use the savings made to resettle them after training.

The NDE also pays allowances to trainers of its apprentices. These allowances which were at the rate of N150.00 per trainee per year, were raised to N250.00 not only to encourage trainers but to enable them adequately equip their workshops for more effective training delivery.

2. THE WASTE-TO-WEALTH SCHEME

Objectives of the waste-to-wealth scheme include:

- (a) To identify and train young persons with creative and artistic flair to produce useable products from discarded available local resources;
- (b) To resettle such trained persons in individual or co-operative ventures through the issuance of soft micro loans,
- (c) To achieve the much needed self-reliance and self sustenance of the beneficiaries of the scheme, and
- (d) To foster, enhance, and engender the much needed multiplier effect in employment through the employment of other persons by the resettled beneficiaries of the scheme.

The waste-to-wealth scheme is an off-shoot of the National Open Apprenticeship Scheme. The scheme provides training of about two weeks to its participants in the art of converting hitherto scrap/waste materials like cow horns, coconut shells, bamboo sticks, rafia branches, wood, etc, to useful objects. The scheme requires low capital investment and high employment potentials. The NDE's beneficiaries' experience has shown that the products enjoy high market acceptability. Such products include; ash-trays, cane chairs, baskets, bangles, tin/can openers, bottle openers, etc.

SCHOOL-ON-WHEELS (S.O.W.)

Unlike the NOAS which is both urban and rural centred, the SOW scheme is primarily targeted at the rural-based unemployed youths. By its concept and orientation, this scheme is designed to provide intensive training with Mobile workshops equipped with adequate facilities. These Mobile workshops move from one rural location to the other giving training to youths in their areas of domicile. The training lasts for three months.

The Mobile training workshops have the facilities for the under-mentioned trades;

MODULE I - Building Trades

- (i)Masonry/Brick laying
- (ii)Painting
- (iii)Glazing
- (iv)Plumbing/Pipe Fitting
- (v)Carpentry/Joinery

MODULE II - Mechanical Trades

- (i)Auto Mechanic
- (ii)Blacksmithing
- (iii)Panel Beating and Fabrication
- (iv)Welding
- (v)Bicycle and Hand pump Repairs

MODULE III - Electrical/Domestic Trades

- (i)Radio/Television maintenance
- (ii)Electrical Maintenance
- (iii)Watch Repairs
- (iv)Hair-dressing and Barbing
- (v)Dress-making

Actual training commenced in all the States in August, 1991.

B. PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME (PWP)

The Public Works Programme is meant to create jobs through labour intensive projects by giving transitory employment to a large number of unemployed youths. These youths - graduates and non-graduates-are mobilised in various parts of the country and used to execute public works which are labour intensive. Examples of such public works include construction and maintenance of roads, buildings, dams and other irrigation infrastructures, culvet building, etc.

The objectives of the Public Works programme include:

- (a) To create job opportunities for both the skilled and unskilled labour,
- (b) To promote the use of indigenous materials and available resources,
- (c) To enhance development of the rural areas which hitherto lacked necessary infrastructure,
- (d) To encourage direct-labour construction and maintenance of public projects,
- (e) To create and execute labour-intensive projects using unemployed citizens,
- (f) To develop and advance maintenance culture in the country,
- (g) To develop professional skills of young graduates in building and engineering works through placement with reputable public and private organisations for practical pupilage.

Since the implementation of the programme, a tremendous impact has been recorded in the areas of recruitment, execution of pilot schemes and capital projects in line with the objectives of the programme.

However, the Public Works programme had to undergo a process of reorganisation following decision reached at the first Conference of the Director-General in 1991. The re-organisation was to make it more cost effective and through project based recruitment. At inception, a monthly allowance of N200.00 and N150.00 was paid to graduates and non-graduates respectively. Also, the following broad changes in the operational guidelines were effected:

- (a) Every project has to be identified and costed by the beneficiary agency and the NDE,

(b) Funds and materials for execution of such projects have to be provided for before it is undertaken, and

(c) Each project team is disbanded upon completion of the project.

C. SMALL SCALE ENTERPRISES (SSE)

The Small Scale Enterprises programme is designed to promote job creation through self-employment within the context of NDE's mandate to generate employment in the country.

The Small Scale Enterprises department has been responsible for the development of entrepreneurial skills of graduates of tertiary institutions and other able-bodied Nigerians. The NDE through this programme aims at re-orienting Nigerian youths from the practice of depending on government or others for jobs towards self-employment. The Department runs four schemes that are capable of generating both direct and indirect employment through a mixture of loan provision and support of services.

The schemes are:

- (i) Graduate Job Creation Loan Scheme
- (ii) Mature People's Scheme
- (iii) Rural Exportable Craft Scheme
- (iv) Entrepreneurship Development Programme (EDP)

i. Graduate Job Creation Loan Scheme: Under this scheme, graduates of universities, polytechnics and colleges are given Entrepreneurship Development training after which they are expected to produce bankable projects to be considered for funding. The loan package is a minimum of N50,000 re-payable in 5 (five) years with one year moratorium at 9% interest. The collaterals required of beneficiaries are NYSC and degree certificates with well known persons as guarantees to each loan beneficiary.

ii. Mature People's Scheme (MPS): Unlike the Graduate Loan Scheme,

the target participants are civilian and military personnel who have disengaged from service but are ready to go into economically viable activities, hence capable of being self-employed. Under the MPS, beneficiaries are advanced up to N200,000 loan. This is payable in five years with one year moratorium at 9% interest. The beneficiaries are required to collateralise 50% of the value of the loan they seek and obtain.

iii. The Rural Exportable Craft Scheme (RECS): In collaboration with the Better Life for Rural Women programme, the NDE assists in funding and developing rural crafts that have export potentials. Nigerian crafts could enjoy worldwide patronage if given proper attention. The NDE believes that it is capable of stimulating employment opportunities at the rural level as well as earning foreign exchange for the country.

iv. Entrepreneurship Development Programme (EDP): In order to redirect the hidden energies of youths away from frustration in favour of productive activities, the NDE has adopted a conscious entrepreneurial education programme targeted at graduates of our tertiary institutions. This is aimed at psychologically re-orienting them away from dependence upon others in order to look unto themselves for fulfilment by engaging in small-scale businesses.

The young man is encouraged to examine himself, search for his potentials and actualise them. He is also encouraged to visualise himself on the pedestal of a business promoter and a creator of wealth.

The training programme, named Entrepreneurship Development Programme, (EDP), also goes further to assist the young graduate to sharpen his entrepreneurial instincts with courses on business identification, market research, feasibility studies, marshalling of resources, applying for loans, book-keeping, etc. This is all aimed at preparing the young man for the future life of an entrepreneur.

The EDP occupies a central place in the efforts of the Directorate to develop self-employment culture among youths. Undergoing the EDP is a condition that cannot be waived in favour of any potential beneficiary of NDE's loans

Indeed, more than 410,000 young graduates of the country's tertiary

institutions and NYSC members have under-gone this course since 1987.

It has also been noticed that many of these, responding to the challenges and even without loans from the NDE, have started promoting Small-Scale businesses with the aid of family funds.

NDE AND ILO/UNDP COLLABORATION

The NDE also collaborates with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the SSE domain. These are in the areas of Strategies and Opportunities for Self-Employment Promotion and Rural Non-Farm Employment Opportunities.

The Strategies and Opportunities for Self-Employment Promotions programme aims at strengthening NDE's capacity at job creation.

The programme operates a three-phase EDP aimed at producing efficient EDP participants, Viz:

(a) the training the trainers workshop,

(b) the training of NDE staff to enable them serve as firstline consultants to loan beneficiaries, and the evolving of trainees resettlement scheme on limited liability company basis.

The Rural Non-Farm Activities focus on food processing. Plant and equipment for various types of food processing had been installed in five of the fifteen sites in two States at Imo and Kano. UNDP/ILO is providing about N20 million input and technical assistance into the two ILO-sponsored programmes.

D THE AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMME

The objectives of the NDE's Agricultural programme is to primarily provide gainful employment for Nigerian graduates and school leavers by transforming them into successful commercial farmers after a short

period of training in basic farming schemes and techniques. Secondly, the Agricultural Programme is aimed at boosting food production.

The following schemes/projects are implemented under this programme:

(a) Graduate Farming Scheme (GFS)

(b) School Leavers Farmer Settlement Scheme (SLFSS) and

(c) School Leavers Training Scheme (SLTS).

(a) Graduate Farming Scheme: Under the Graduate Farming Scheme, graduates of Nigeria's tertiary institutions are recruited from each State and Abuja and given a 2-week orientation on the operation of the scheme. About 80% of them are oriented towards arable crop farming while about 20% farmers are encouraged to go into livestock projects. Each arable crop farmer under this scheme receives a loan of about N18,000 and five (5) hectares of cleared land while a participant wishing to execute a livestock project receives a loan of N20,000 and 2.5 hectares of land.

(b) The School Leavers Farmer Settlement Scheme: The target participants under this scheme are trained primary and secondary School leavers. They are recruited from each State and Abuja and given loans (in cash and kind) of between N8,000 each to cultivate 2 hectares of farm-land cleared by the NDE.

(c) The School Leavers Training Scheme: This scheme, which is essentially a feeder scheme to the farmers settlement scheme, trains school leavers in modern farming techniques for a period of one year. During this year of practical training, each trainee is allocated 0.25-0.5 hectares of prepared farmlands to grow food crops as demonstration of theory lessons. They are paid an allowance of N50.00 per month. Participants who complete the training course in each State are re-settled on 2 hectares of cleared farmlands and loans ranging from N6,000 - N8,000.

Under the NDE Agricultural Programme, farmlands are cleared by NDE and allocated free to participants.

Each loan beneficiary is required to have two guarantees. A loan granted under the scheme is repayable over a period of four years at 9% interest.

AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT SERVICES

In order to provide basic support for the successful implementation of the NDE's agricultural programme a number of support services have been put in place.

These are:

- 1.Reactivation and establishment of farm settlements, farm institutes/training and Irrigation Equipment,
- 2.Procurement of Tractors and Irrigation Equipment,
- 3.Provision of Agricultural Insurance Policies and
- 4.Provision of Agricultural Extension Services.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NDE

The implementation of the NDE's programmes have recorded tremendous success. These achievements have far-reaching implications particularly for the informal sector of the economy.

The achievements are discussed under the caption of the programmes and schemes.

(a)N O A S

Under this scheme, a total of 360,750 trainees have been recruited and placed as apprentices with master craftsmen and institutions for periods long enough for them to acquire needed skills. Out of this number about 104,370 people have already graduated. About 2,500 of them have established their own businesses through family capital while some 8,500 others have been gainfully employed by establishment and organisations nationwide. A Resettlement Scheme

was also launched on 4th December, 1991 by Mr. President for about 50,000 of the graduated trainees. The resettlement is being done through the provision of loans in equipment and working capital. It is expected that businesses being established will provide employment for the promoters and other Nigerians. An added advantage is the needed expansion of the informal sector of the National economy.

The disabled person have not been left out of the scheme of things. In the pursuance of the National Policy of Motivating the disabled to participate in National Development, the NDE enrolled some 564 disabled persons in its skills acquisition programmes. A breakdown of the participants shows that:

(i)174 apprentices have been in the Spinal Cord injuries Association (SIAN) Centre located at Maryland, Lagos.

(ii)100 person have been trained at the leper colony, Uzuakoli in Imo State

(iii)90 persons have been trained at the centre for the Blind in Katsina State.

(iv)200 disabled persons are learning various trades at the Mariri Rehabilitation Centre in Kano State.

C.School-On- Wheel: This scheme is obviously a new one. The pilot exercises commenced in April, 1990 in seven States: Anambra, Bauchi, Cross River, Kano, Kwara, Ogun and Rivers. Some 441 youths underwent training in different trade at this pilot stage. As from August, 1991, the School-On-Wheel scheme became fully operational and has started generating direct employment for over 500 persons and training for about 15,000 skilled artisans nationwide.

D.Waste-to Wealth Scheme: under this scheme a total of 5,716 youths have been trained in twelves States of the Federation and members of the Nigerian Armed Forces Resettlement Centre, Nigerian Army

Officer's Wives Association and Naval Officers's Association have benefitted. 2,332 of these beneficiaries have been given loans packages and have started their own businesses. Indeed, many of them started their own businesses after the NDE's awareness and skills training without necessarily waiting for loans.

2.SMALL SCALE ENTERPRISES (SSE)

(a)Graduate Job Creation Loan Scheme: Under this scheme, the NDE has so far funded 2,335 enterprises with loans of about N50,000 each granted to the promoters. These business have not only provided employment for the promoters but also for other Nigerians.

(b)Mature Peoples' Scheme: The NDE has funded 133 enterprises for retired officers with loans of up to 200,00 each.

(c)Rural Exportable Craft Scheme: In the furtherance of this scheme, the NDE has made available the sum of 2.4 million to the Better Life Programme for disbursement as loans to rural Women.

(d) Entrepreneurship Development Programme (EDP): So far, the NDE has organised entrepreneurship development training for 410,00 unemployed graduate, NYSC members and other Nigerians.

3.PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME

Originally, some 35,600 participants were recruited and deployed to various projects nation-wide.

However, since the restructuring, of the programme the Public Works Programme has been extended to the construction of low cost houses. National Directorate of Employment has recently assisted the Borno State Housing Corporation in the construction of 100 units of low income houses in Maiduguri through the labour. Through such collaboration, the NDE is providing employment to some 400 able-bodied Nigerians for a period of six months. The Public Works

participants are also engaged in the construction of the Kaduna State School Board Building, the fencing of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity's office in Benin, North-West Afforestation and a Trade test centre in Kaduna and host of other projects in some States of the Federation.

4. AGRICULTURAL SECTOR EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME

Here there are two levels of the Federations:

(a) **Graduate Agricultural Loan Scheme:** A total of nine thousand, four hundred and twenty-five (9,425) unemployed graduates have received loans from the Directorate and have gone into commercial farming.

(b) **School Leavers Agricultural Training Scheme:** The NDE has trained a total of 15,100 School Leavers in modern agricultural techniques since inception. About 7,500 of these trainees have been given loans and have gone into commercial agricultural production. They are providing employment for themselves and others.

Indeed, it is estimated that the entire agricultural programme has generated over 500,000 job across the country through job multiplier effects. Between 1988 and 1991 over 65,400 hectares of farmland have been cleared and distributed to beneficiaries. Loan packages totalling N121,049,258.00 (one hundred and twenty-one million and forty-nine thousand, two hundred and twenty-eight naira) have been given to participants who have now set up commercial farming outfits and are providing employment for themselves and others.

5. THE LABOUR BASED EQUIPMENT SUPPORTED RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE WORKS PROGRAMME

NDE in collaboration with the UNDP and ILO, carried out a demonstration project on labour based/light equipment supported rural infrastructural works.

The efficiency of this technique in the construction and maintenance of rural roads can be best appreciated if one took a trip to the eight-kilometer road constructed at Epe, Lagos State, a small earth dam and a gravity-flow irrigation scheme also in the area.

In the course of these projects, 120 engineers from nine States received "hand-on" training in Planning and implementation of the labour-based/light equipment supported construction of rural infrastructure. The next phase of the programme is being implemented on pilot basis in eleven local government areas in each of the following States: Akwa-Ibom, Anambra, Bauchi, Bendel, Borno, Imo, Kaduna, Katsina, Gongola, Niger and Oyo. Within each pilot local government areas, infrastructural facilities in key sectors of the rural economy such as rural roads, irrigation, rural water supply, protection of the environment (erosion control and anti-desertification) and social infrastructures (schools, hospitals and markets) identified during the preparatory work will receive priority attention of the labour based/light equipment - supported.

On the whole, about 110 different infrastructural facilities will be provided under the programmes, while about 4,100 persons will be trained in the new technique. The UNDP has approved the sum of N30 million for capacity building in the first two years of the project. The National Directorate of Employment is making the necessary counterpart arrangement and is also meeting the investment cost of the infrastructures planned under the pilot programme.

PROMOTION OF THE NDE'S BENEFICIARIES' PRODUCTS

The NDE's impact is also being felt in far-away Europe and American where the Directorate, in collaboration with the Nigerian Export Promotion Council, has sponsored some of its beneficiaries to attend International exhibitions where their products receive international acclaim. This clearly shows that the products of our beneficiaries are indeed of high quality. The NDE does not just grant loans to the unemployed, it also encourages and monitors their growth and successes.

CONCLUSION

A cursory look at the factors which led to the establishment of the NDE, in the context of the statutory functions and objectives, reveals a satisfactory trend in the onerous task of employment generation albeit operational constraints.

Reviewed against the backdrop of its programmes, founded on the three fundamental domains of skills acquisition, self-employment, and job creation through labour intensive works, the achievements recorded by the Directorate are laudable. The Directorate has not only created jobs but has also changed the orientation of the Nigerian unemployed from job search to job creation.

Significantly, the number of businesses injected into the economy has apparently helped in the expansion of the economic base of the nation.

Chapter 7

YOUTH AND SPORTS

- By Dr. Godwill Ogboghodo

Introduction

Youth and Sports development constitute two of the five main components of Social Development as enunciated in the Social Development Policy for Nigeria, a policy document drafted by the Babangida administration to guide its own initiatives in this crucial sector of our national life.

The other three components of Social Development, namely Social Welfare, Community Development, and Women Development, do not directly concern us here. For example, the principal sub-functions of Social Development and the major public policy concerns for which the Social Development Sector has primary responsibility are:

- (i) Family and Child Welfare;
- (ii) Rehabilitation;
- (iii) Counselling and Corrections;
- (iv) Care of the Elderly;
- (v) Social Security for the Unemployed, Teenage Single Parents and the Orphans;
- (vi) Life-long Care for the Severely Disabled Persons;
- (vii) Formation of Co-operative and provision of Employment Opportunities for the Trained Disabled;
- (viii) Self-help and Social Mobilisation;
- (ix) Resettlement and Model Village Schemes;
- (x) Women and Development;
- (xi) Youth Mobilisation;
- (xii) Recreational and Competitive Sports;
- (xiii) Voluntary Organisations;
- (xiv) Social Development Research and Planning;
- (xv) Social Development Education and Training; and
- (xvi) Mobilisation of Resources for Social Development.

But it is only the specific sub-functions of Youth Mobilisation, Voluntary Organisations, as well as Recreational and Competitive Sports that will directly engage our attention in this chapter.

Essentially, this chapter is underpinned by the philosophy which recognises that "the welfare and capacity of the nation depends very much on the contributions of the people, as individuals and as groups, and that the latter's capacity and motivation to make the necessary contributions depend, among other things, on the extent to which society has prepared them for this role, on how effectively their efforts are organised and on the extent to which they participate and see themselves as likely to continue to participate equitably in the benefits which their contributions make possible". In a nutshell, it could be argued that our performance as a people, in other spheres of national development, is directly related to our excellence in the overwhelmingly significant sector of youth and sports (the short title for this chapter) and vice versa. In our circumstances, both are inextricably intertwined.

Having regard to the foregoing, it is submitted that Nigeria requires a massive re-mobilisation of the vast talents and energies of its youth to reach for excellence in sports, as well as make advancement in the broad area of national development. This, precisely, is the background to the assessment of youth and sports in the Babangida years.

For flow of presentation, this chapter is divided into three sections:

- I. Youth Development,
 - II. Sports Development,
 - III. The Babangida Legacy.
- I. YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

First and foremost, it is to the credit of the Babangida administration that what has now come to be known as the "Revised National Youth Policy of Nigeria" is its brainchild.

The Nigerian Youth, defined to be between twelve and thirty years of age, constitute the corner-stone of the Nigerian nation. In recognition of the sensitivity, action, energy and potential production of the youth (who constitute 47% of the population, approximately), the primary focus of government policy these past seven years has been on encouraging the maximum expression of youthful creativity, ingenuity and freedom, with a view to providing an appropriate environment and structure for self-expression, self-analysis and self-actualisation.

Aside from the well-worn phrase which refers to the youth as "leaders of tomorrow", the seven years of Babangida have witnessed a tremendous tempo of involving youth in nation building. Broadly, the steps taken have included:

- (i) involving and ensuring the participation of youth in the social, economic and cultural development of Nigeria;
- (ii) fostering of national and international understandings and unity among the youth;
- (iii) inculcating the virtues of patriotism, discipline, selfless service, honesty and leadership in the youth with a view to ensuring peaceful co-existence and a purposeful peaceful sense of direction for the nation;
- (iv) providing opportunities for vocational training for schooled and unschooled youth oriented primarily towards self-employment and self-reliance;
- (v) encouraging active complementary role of voluntary youth organisations in overall development of Nigerian youth;
- (vi) evolving and meticulously implementing a systematic programme of early "introduction" of youth on national interest, security consciousness, and international awareness;
- (vii) making deliberate efforts on a continuous basis to understand, prevent and provide solutions to pressing youth problems, such as drug abuse and addiction, unemployment, etc.;
- (viii) inculcating a sense of adventure directly or indirectly;

(ix)cultivating in the Nigerian youth, leadership values, tendencies and capacity for positive role models and role taking;

(x)organising and committing the energies of the Nigerian Youth to serve their neighbourhood, community and nation;

(xi)encouraging the development of talents in gifted youth; and
(xii)involving the youth in decision making at all levels in matters affecting them.

To achieve the aforesaid objectives, the Babangida administration took steps to:

(i)Create a structural and legal framework for the execution of youth development programmes;

(ii)enlist the participation, co-operation and co-ordination of the various bodies currently involved in youth development programmes and projects;

(iii)establish and maintain National Youth Advisory Committees on youth development matters;

(iv)establish and maintain a National Youth Award Scheme to provide challenging leisure time opportunities for the development of total personality of the youth as well as the discovery of talent;

(v)establish and maintain youth Employment Scheme to provide work opportunities and technical entrepreneurial training for the youth;

(vi)establish National Youth Development Centres in each State of the Federation;

(vii)monitor and co-ordinate the activities of the National Youth Council of Nigeria and other voluntary youth organisations; and

(viii) establish and maintain Youth Caucus at the Federal, State and Local Government levels.

Little surprise therefore that under the Babangida administration the pace of activities of Nigerian youth, and indeed that of its umbrella organisation - the National Youth Council of Nigeria (NYCN), has increased tremendously. For example, Nigerian youth were able to celebrate the Silver Jubilee Anniversary of the national Youth Council of Nigeria on a very grand scale in 1989 in Benin City.

A year before, Nigeria made its mark at the World Assembly of Youth (WAY) which was held in Denmark. Nigeria narrowly lost the Presidency of the World Assembly of Youth.

Between 1989 and 1992, it has all been good news for Nigeria Youth. In 1989, Nigeria was elected an Executive Member of the Pan African Youth Movement in Algeria. Same year, Nigeria jointly pioneered with Togo the formation of the West African Youth Union (WAYU), before becoming an Executive Committee Member in 1991. Nigeria assumed the Congress Chairmanship of WAYU in 1992, after hosting the Conference of Ministers of Youth in ECOWAS in Lagos on 9th April, 1991 where both the protocol and statute of WAYU were ratified.

On the home front, Nigerian youth successfully fought for the removal of anti-youth clauses in the 1989 Draft Constitution. The lowering of the age-limits for eligibility for electoral contests and the banning of youth wings in two political parties were the products of the interaction between the NYCN, the Presidency and the AFRC. The resolution to field youth in all local and state elections has borne abundant fruits because approximately 60% of all the local government chairmen and councillors elected in 1990 were, properly speaking, youth.

In a fundamental sense, it can be safely claimed that no administration before Babangida's has given greater opportunities for Nigerian youth to express themselves. Under the Babangida administration, Nigerian youth have been able to initiate the Honourable Minister's

Youth Forum - a quarterly dialogue between the Honourable Minister of Youth and Youth leaders in the federation.

Besides, with the active collaboration of the Babangida administration, the NYCN has been able to organise numerous workshops for the benefit of Nigerians. Notable among such workshops are the ones on population activities, youth mobilisation and rural development; and youth and the third republic.

However, a few problems remain which continue to nag the Nigerian youth. The NYCN continues to hope that its repeated calls on government to lift the ban on the National Association of Nigerian Students will be heeded.

Also, the NYCN, which was quick to commend the Babangida administration for being the first Nigerian administration to create a separate Ministry of Youth and Sports in 1990, now seeks to reverse the recent (1992) ministerial rationalisation which not only scrapped the Ministry of Youth and Sports but also subsumed Youth Development under the octopus Ministry of Education.

II. SPORTS DEVELOPMENT

The opening ceremony on 16th December, 1985 of the 6th National Sports Festival (tagged "Kwara '85") in Ilorin was General Ibrahim Babangida's very first outing as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria into the Nigerian sports arena. He therefore used the occasion as a great opportunity to make his first policy statement on sports.

In the words of President Babangida, "the Federal Military Government is determined to make the various authorities in the country cultivate a new spirit as well as emulate the examples of the greatest sporting nations in the world". He regretted that "the country was yet to attain the level of achievement to justify its size and prominence in the African continent: in spite of its achievements, the expansion in expenditure and facilities in the sporting sector as well as the devotion by various states". The President appealed to handlers and

athletes alike "to use their natural gifts where facilities are in short supply", promising however that his administration would ensure that the resources and facilities required were made available to enhance the attainment of the highest standards, "so that we can rank with the best in the world"

The President was later to demonstrate this by approving funds for the updating of some Federal and States-owned stadia across the country-National Stadium in Lagos, the Ahmadu Bello Stadium in Kaduna, the Tafawa Balewa Civic Centre in Bauchi, the Liberation Stadium in Port-Harcourt, the Liberty Stadium in Ibadan, and the Nnamdi Azikiwe Stadium in Enugu.

The President also called for a more business-like approach to training and preparations for competitions by the nation's athletes and officials stressing that training should cease to be mere weekend-only affairs. To this end, facilities at the Nigerian Institute of Sports, most of which had suffered neglect, were to be reactivated for more regular coaching courses in the various sports.

With the solicited assistance of international bodies, such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA), the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), various grades of coaching programmes were floated for career coaches and Schools games-masters most of whom were to be deployed to rural communities to discover hidden talents.

Besides the grassroots programmes, the government encouraged outstanding sportsmen and women to aim for the very top by granting them scholarship to pursue courses of study at America or European countries where they would be exposed to state-of-the-art training facilities and keener competition. General Babangida also promised at Kwara '85 to make available a "vast new amount of scientific training equipment as well as develop psychological and physical conditions in each of the competitive sports".

The foregoing pronouncements by President Babangida closely

dovetail the National Policy on Sport to which his administration gave birth. Recognising that "Nigerians are by nature a dynamic and very energetic people", the National policy on sports seeks specifically to:

(ii) provide opportunities for persons with talents to excel in their chosen sports as a means of self-fulfilment and the promotion of national image:

(ii) continue to invest in amateur sports and take all necessary steps to promote same;

(iii) promote professionalism and self reliance in sports as a means of achieving perfection in competitive sports nationally and internationally;

(iv) utilise sports as an economic tool in providing and improving the economic well-being of the people; and

(v) utilise sports as a means of solving as much as possible some of the social ills of the nation like unemployment and in combating other anti-social behaviours of the society.

Obviously, the President's expectations must have been that his policy, exhortation and promises would ultimately brighten the nation's medal hopes at major international sporting competitions, particularly the Commonwealth and Olympic Games where Nigeria was yet to display truly outstanding performances.

However, the period between 1985 and the Brisbane Commonwealth Games and the Seoul Olympic Games of 1986 and 1988 respectively was much too short for our athletes to make the desired impact. And it is palpably ironic that Nigeria would appear to have stamped itself brilliantly on world sports just before Babangida came to power. The unexpected victory of the under-16 national football team at the 1st JVC-sponsored FIFA world cup tournament hosted by China in July/August, 1985 represents a certain Zenith of our sports develop-

ment and attainment as a people.

This global victory came barely two week before General Babangida took over from General Muhammadu Buhari as Head of the Federal Military Government. Against the background of the fact that Nigeria won its first ever Olympic Silver medal through the boxing brilliance of Peter Konyegwachie at the 1984 Los Angeles Games (plus our first Olympic track and field medal-a bronze won by the Innocent Egbunike led 4 x 100 metres relay quartet), the Babangida years appeared to be heading for the record books for this barrenness.

But, the 1992 Barcelona Olympics has changed all that. Before Barcelona '92 Nigeria had a total of four medals (one silver and three bronze) to show from the quadrennial games, easily the all-time dream of all athletes across the globe. In addition to the two medals won at Los Angeles, Boxer Nojim Maiyegun from Lagos State won the nation's first ever Olympic medal(a bronze) at the 1964 Games in Rome, while Isaac Ikhuria of then Midwest (now Edo State) came home with the second bronze from the Munich Games in 1972.

Thus, the four solid medals (three silver and one bronze) from the Barcelona Games represent the best ever performance by our athletes since the nation first appeared at the 1952 Olympics held in Helsinki, Finland.

Apart from the quantity of the medals from Barcelona, the fact alone that Nigeria took two of its four medals from the most glamorous 4 x 100 metres relay for men and women clearly indicates that Nigeria has actually arrived in track and field, which is the star event and biggest crowd-ptiller at the Olympics. Indeed, Olapade Adeniken, Davidson Ezinwa, Chidi Imoh and Oluyemi Kayode on the one hand; the Mary Onyali, Christy Opara-Thomson, Beatrice Utondu and Faith Idehen on the other hand; have since become the celebrated athletic revelations of the Babangida era.

Besides the medals, Nigeria was one of the only two countries (the other being the U.S.A.) which fielded two among the eight finalists in the men's 100 metres dash, often referred to as the contest for the fastest man in the world. Olapade Adeniken barely missed the

bronze medal, finishing in sixth place while Davidson Ezinwa came in eighth.

In boxing, it took the ferocious fist of the acclaimed Cubans to deny both David Izonritei and Richard Igbineghu of the Olympic gold medal. But, even at that, the two silver medals picked up by them contributed in no small measure to redeeming the commitment of the Babangida administration to sport development. Since 1985 Boxing has witnessed a dramatic improvement and this is directly traceable to the support which it has received from the President.

At the All-Africa Games in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1987, the Commonwealth Games in Auckland in 1990 and the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain, boxing has always richly rewarded Nigeria.

It is not for nothing that the Nigerian Amateur Boxing Association (NABA) Chairman, Group Captain Brai Ayonote said recently that all the credit should go to President Babangida who openly demonstrated his love for boxing in 1991 by floating an annual contest, known as "IBB International Boxing Tournament" among amateur boxers in Africa and beyond.

To be sure, the talents discovered in the first edition, including fly-weight Moses Malagu, Moses Odion (feather) and super-heavy-weight Richard Igbineghu, were unloaded at the Barcelona games and the result was the two silver medals won by Izonritei and Igbineghu.

Other national star boxer discovered in boxing over the last seven years of IBB administration include Jacklord Jacob (Light-weight), Commonwealth gold medalist David Dafiagbon (Welter-weight), Sabo Mohammed, Moses James and David Izonritei who took the heavyweight silver medal from Barcelona '92.

The Presidency is currently providing the bulk of funds for the building of a boxing gymnasium billed to be completed in 1993. Meanwhile, the second edition of the IBB (as President Babangida is fondly called) Boxing Tourney is scheduled for September, 1992 in Lagos.

Surely, it is not only in athletics and boxing that the enthusiasm and support of the Babangida administration for sports development should be gauged. Practically every amateur and professional sports development should be credited to the IBB years.

Take Golf, for instance. This was an elitist game in Nigeria until 1986 when the then Sports Minister, Air Commodore Bayo Lawal, instructed the various sports councils to encourage caddies competition. Within a short time, youth across the land invaded the Clubs to participate in weekend competitions. Some inter-state contests came into being a year later. More youths poured out to indicate their interest. This may have been due to prizes often doled out at the end of each contest. Colour television, table fans, wall-clocks and other prizes are given out to deserving winners at the end of each show.

Encouraged by the large turn out, President Babangida soon floated the "IBB Golf Championship" to fish out more talents for the amateur ranks, preparatory to the nation's participation in African and Commonwealth contests. For now, golfers in and outside Nigeria participate in the President Babangida tournament. The Nigeria Golf Association, in consultation with the Golf Union of Nigeria (GUN), is working out plans to ensure that the contest attracts more golfers from the Commonwealth nations.

Among the other competitions which have become annual events are the Harp pro-Am, Ikoyi Open, Ewekero Cement open, Bendel Open (now Edo Open) and the Kaduna Open. It is worthy of note that philanthropists and big companies are now coming forward to sponsor golf tournaments, thus attracting, among others, star golfers such as veteran Festus Makelemi, Tony Uduimoh, Peter Akakasiaka, and Jones Esioyibo. Perhaps no other sport has promoted excellent civil-military relations than golf.

In the same vein, Hockey has made significant contributions to good

civil-military relations. One of the major hockey tournaments on the national sports calendar is the annual Major-General Sanni Abacha Cup

Competition. There is also a national hockey league competition, at the close of which a trophy donated by a former military governor of the defunct Bendel State (now Commandant of the Nigerian War College), Major-General Jeremiah Useni, is presented to the eventual winners on an annual basis.

It can safely be argued that no where else did the Babangida administration break newer grounds than in the development of the sport of Handball. From 1985, when Nigeria started to feature in the bi-annual Commonwealth Handball Championships, through the country's participation in the event at the 1987 All-African Games in Nairobi, Kenya, to our hosting of the Commonwealth Handball Championships in Minna, Niger State in 1989, where the youthful Nigerians won both the men and ladies' categories, it has been one happy story of rapid development. Little wonder therefore when the nation's flag bearers made it big in the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games where they finally settled for sixth place in our first ever participation in the Sport at the Olympic/global level. Full credit must go to the IBB administration which practically saw to the development of handball from the scratch.

Another area where Nigeria is breaking new grounds in international championships since the advent of the IBB administration is the sport of volleyball. Determined to popularise indoor games, President Babangida has continued to encourage his lieutenants in power to sponsor the various games of their choice. First to choose was the Vice-President, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, who opted to sponsor an international competition. Since he threw his weight behind the Annual Aikhomu International Championships, Nigeria has been riding high in the event, beating most other African nations at every turn. Many other top dignitaries have also heeded the clarion call by the President to assist the government in promoting the game.

Ironically, the game for the youth and the young at heart, but in which very few participate because of its technicalities, is Cricket. Appeals by previous administrations to various institutions to include the game in

their sports calendar was hardly heeded until the present administration reeled off rewards to deserving winners. This may have led to the overflowing of cricketers who crowd the various ovals at weekends for the game.

In Banjul, Gambia two years ago, Nigeria beat other African nations to lift the elusive trophy donated for the competition by Ivorian President, Houphuet Boigny.

Ever since, Nigeria has held on to the trophy. Now, the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC) has taken over the sponsorship of cricket, thereby attracting more players with assorted prizes. Thus, in the secondary schools today, the game is played amongst students. But the competition seems to be keener in institutions of higher learning. Both the Nigerian Universities Games Association (NUGA) and the Nigerian Polytechnic Games Association (NIPOGA) have since included it in the various sports which usually feature during their respective games.

A practical demonstration of Nigeria's willingness to learn new sports is the development of Karate. Judo was in vogue throughout the country in the early '80s. The nation's supremacy in this particular sport was not in doubt until 1986 when Karate, a martial art sport, joined the family. Although it featured at the last Olympics as a non-scoring event, Nigeria's potency in the sport has never been challenged. In Barcelona, Nigeria won the 75kg event. However, no medals were awarded but the Nation's flag bearer left no one in doubt that if the contest eventually becomes a scoring event, she could be one of the potential gold medalists.

It is only fitting and appropriate to conclude this section on sports development with football which, because of its mass followership, can well be regarded as "the Nigerian national sport". Although the Babangida years have not produced any spectacular success in the most popular game of football, yet the feat performed by the Nigerian Golden Eaglets in 1985 became a pointer to the fact that the senior FIFA World Cup is not unattainable after all. Even though we have not had the honour to qualify for the quadrennial tournament which has now been enlarged from its former 16-nation format to 24-nation

soccer fiesta, it all seems quite clear now that the Babangida administration has opted to stabilise the game at the national level with a view to laying very solid foundation for international/global glory in the not-too-distant future.

Which perhaps explains why the IBB administration promptly enlarged the annual national league to include the third and fourth divisions believing that, by so doing, the very best would emerge from the youths to fly our green-white-green flag to the World Cup, easily the ultimate in world soccer. The government also strove relentlessly to bring about true professionalism in the game. The efforts finally paid off in 1990 when the first professional soccer league - a single division affair - was organised with only 12 clubs participating. The clubs included Bendel Insurance and Bendel United both of Benin, IICC (now 3SC) of Ibadan, Stationery Stores, Julius Berger and ACB all of Lagos, Rangers of Enugu, Iwanyanwu Nationale of Owerri, Rovers of Calabar, Ranchers Bees of Kaduna, Plateau United of Jos and BCC Lions of Gboko. A 19-team second division was introduced in the second year of the pro league in 1991; while the first division was expanded to 16, with El-Kanemi of Maiduguri, Obanta of Ijebu-Ode, Kano Pillars and Udoji United of Awka joining the original 12. There is also a 14-team amateur division.

With this re-organisation, reinvigoration and professionalization of the national soccer scene, it is hoped that a very solid foundation has been laid for continental and global glory in football.

111. THE BABANGIDA LEGACY

No variety of analyses can come to the conclusion that the seven years of IBB did not move Youth and Sports development in Nigeria significantly forward. Perhaps what can be assuredly stated is that the IBB years would appear to have lacked concentration. The Ministry of Youth and Sports has not only been variously titled and oriented at different times, it has ceased to exist altogether in the seventh year of the Babangida tenure. Even while the Ministry of Youth and Sports lasted, it was headed by seven ministers (an

average of one minister per year). The same instability characterised the governing bodies of the various sports, especially the Nigerian Football Association (NFA), whose latest dissolution incurred the wrath and sanction of FIFA.

The lesson being learnt from the FIFA reaction to the fits and starts of the administration of Nigerian football is bound to be shared by the now autonomous National Sports Commission (NSC), itself scrapped in 1990 but resuscitated, complete with an Executive Chairman, in 1992.

There is no doubt at all that all hands must be on deck to stabilise the development of youth and sports in Nigeria. Agreed that the results of the IBB fine-tuning became manifest at the 25th Olympiad in Barcelona; nonetheless, the post-IBB era must learn from the mistakes of the past.

Specifically, youth mobilisation must proceed apace via the active translation of the objectives of the National Youth Policy into concrete achievements. We must relate our overall preparedness and place it in proper perspective. Nigeria's disqualification from hosting the FIFA U-20 World Cup tournament in 1991 must not be seen as total failure. Nigeria has now been provisionally granted hosting rights for 1995, thereby throwing great challenges to our collective resolve as a people. The Babangida administration has put in place a Presidential Monitoring Committee to ensure Nigeria's success this time around. Our forward march continues.

- 81,85,86,87,88,91,92,93,94,115,140,141,143,144,145,149,150,151,153,154
- Babangida era 148
- Babangida government 34
- Babangida legacy, The 141,153
- Babangida, M103,104,105,114,117
- Babangida regime 25,89,93,94,153
- Babangida Years 148,152
- Backward Integration 14
- Baghdad 99
- Baiye, 17,28
- Banjul, Gambia 152
- Bank 86
- Banks 87
- Barcelona '92,147,148,152,154
- Barcelona Games 148
- Barcelona Olympics 148,151
- baseline 21
- Bauchi 44,134,137,146
- Bauxite 93
- Belt-Conveyors 70
- Bendel 137
- Bendel Insurance 153
- Bendel Open 150
- Bendel United 153
- Beneficiary 130,136
- benefits 17
- Benin 144,153
- Better Life Programme 97,104,105,116
- Better Life for Rural Women 103
- Bewac Plc 97
- Biology 42
- buildings 55
- Building Industry 70
- building materials 68,69,73,78
- building materials industries 78
- building projects 69
- Building Society 60
- building trade 125,127
- blue-print 39
- bloomington 40
- Borno 99,101,109,137
- Borno Agency for Mass Education 109
- Bonny 100
- Bororo 37,38
- bottleneck 81,92
- boxing 148,149
- boxing gymnasium 149
- brainchild 141
- Bronze 148,149
- Bronze medal 149
- Budget 21,67,86,13,21,22,24,67,86
- Budget deficit 13
- budget speech 21,22,24
- Buhari administration 12
- buhari Muhammadu 148
- bungalows 69
- Bus-Stop 85
- Buses 84,85,86,87
- Business 67, 130,133
- Business centre 67
- Business Promoter 130
- C**
- C.B.N.11,20
- Caddies Competition 150
- Calabar appropriation 45
- Capital appropriation 45,81
- Capital budget 45,81
- Capital market 60,61,67
- Capital Sector 81
- Caravan Act 38
- career 146
- cattle rearing 37
- cell conveyors 70
- cement 70,71,76
- cement companies 76
- Central Bank of Nigeira 68
- chairman 44
- children 35
- China 96,147
- Chinaware shop 96
- Chinese proverb p7
- citadels 47
- Civil Aviation Authority 93
- civil disturbances 19
- civil servants 66
- Civil-Military relations 150
- civil unrest 19

civilian administration 45,115
classrooms 34
clubs 150, 153
colour television 150

D

Dafiagbon, David 149
Daily Champion 33
Daily Times 155
Damachi 5, 13, 29
Damas, Alexandre 96
Data Management 68
Daura 99, 100
Decentralization 24
Decree 6, 35, 37, 55, 60, 63, 76, 122
Degree 124
Denmark 144
Demonstration 152
Depositors 67
Deregulation 17, 18, 24, 82
Devaluation 10
Development 7, 53, 154
Development Fund 36
Development plans 81
Development policies 13
Diali, Sola 7, 28
dialogue 17
direct labour 22
Directorate 123, 130, 137, 138
Directorate of food, roads and rural infrastructure 71, 88, 103
disenfranchisement 97
disputes 20
disqualification 154
dissolution 154
division 21
domestic 13
Dogonyaro, Laila 102, 115
Draft Constitution 144
Draft National Transport Policy 83
drainage 52
Dramatist 96
Draughtsmanship 125
duplexes 69
Durkheim 6

E

earthdam 137
economic adversity 16
economic base 138
economic belt-tightening 17
economic boom 16
economic climate 11
economic commission for women 104
economic problems 13, 14
economic programmes 82
economic prosperity 23
economic recession 3, 16, 17, 90
economic recovery 13, 15, 16
economic recovery measures 16
economic recovery strategy 13
economy 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 47, 68, 81, 82, 124, 133, 138
ECOWAS 114
Edo Open 150
Edo State 148
Educated Women 97
Education 4, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 47, 48, 108, 109, 130, 145
Education Model Centre 42
educational opportunities 40
educational policies 49
efforts 142
egalitarian 40
Egbunike, Innocent 148
Ejiogu, Aloy 33
Ekan grass 99
Ekpo, Margaret 192
electricity 52
El-Kanemi 153
embargo 11
employee 36
employee 36
employee turnover 36
employees 10, 20
Employees Housing Scheme 76
employers 8, 10, 33, 86
employers of Labour 17
employment 5, 7, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 52, 129, 134, 136, 138

- employment generation 138
 employment opportunities 19
 employment sector 11
 energies 141
 engineering 117
 entrepreneur 130
 Entrepreneurship Development Programme 130, 135
 Enugu 54, 75, 91, 111, 146, 153,
 Epe 137
 equipment 89, 136
 Esinminrin 98
 Esioyobo, Jones 150
 estate agents 55
 European Countries 146
 European Investment Bank 67
 excellence 14
 Executive Chairman 154
 Exhibition 83
 exploitation 71
 external factors 13
 external variables 13
 extra-budgetary 19
 event 152
 Ewekoro Cement Open 150
 Ezinwa, Davidson 148, 149
- F**
- F.I.F.A U - 20 World Cup 154
 F.I.F.A World Cup 152
 F.M.B.N 64
 F.U.M.T.P 82, 83, 84, 86
 Facilities 146
 Fafunwa, Aliu Babatunde 33, 34
 Fajana, Sola 5, 29
 family 152
 fare hikes 82, 87, 88
 farmers 132
 farming 111, 136
 farm settlements 133
 farmland 136
 Fasasi, Moji 81
 Fashoyin, Tayo 5, 11, 12, 13, 24, 29
 Federal 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 20, 23, 24, 29, 33, 34, 35,
 36, 41, 43, 45, 46, 48, 53, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65,
 66, 70, 75, 83, 84, 85, 87, 90, 91, 93, 94, 108, 121,
 136, 137, 143, 145, 148
 Federal Accounts 36
 Federal budget 70
 Federal Capital Territory 75
 Federal Civil Servants 66
 Federal Civil Service 66
 Federal College of Education 48
 Federal Government 6, 11, 19, 20, 24, 35, 36,
 41, 43, 46, 61, 62, 70, 84, 85, 87, 90, 108
 Federal Housing Board 66
 Federal Military Government 45, 83, 148
 Federal Ministry of Education 33, 34, 35, 41
 Federal Ministry of Education 33, 34, 35, 41
 Federal Ministry of Finance 65
 Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity 10, 23, 136, 137
 Federal Ministry of Works and Housing 65,
 66
 Federal Mortgage 59
 Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria 58, 64, 75
 Federal Office of Statistics 53, 121
 Federal recurrent budget 45
 Federal Republic of Nigeria 5, 29, 145
 Federal revenue 13
 Federal town 75
 Federal Unity Schools 43
 Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme 84,
 91, 93, 94
 Federation 87, 136, 143, 145
 Female Education 42
 Financial Institutions 20, 87
 Finance Sector 59
 Finland 148
 First Lady 103
 First Republic 113
 flag-bearers 151
 Fleisher, B.M. 4, 29
 flight operations 93
 football 152
 food processing 131
 foodstuff 87
 foreign exchange 12, 18, 82
 Foreign Exchange Income 12

Formal Sector 58
Foundation 153
framework 143
free education 109
free gift 16
free market system 17
freedom 142
French Centre 48
fringe benefits 10, 11, 16, 20
fuel shortage 87
Fuḷbe 38
Funds 58
Funmilayo 15, 20, 29

G

games 152, 153
games-masters 146
Gboko 153
Geneva 104
Gifted Programme, The 39, 40
Gifted Youth 143
Giwa, Rufus 21, 29
gold medalists 152
Golf 150
golf tournaments 150
Golf Union of Nigeria 150
golfers 150
Government 5, 11, 17, 19
governmental big stick 5
Gowon 47
graduates 129, 130, 132
Graduate Farming Scheme 132
Graduate Job Creation Loan Scheme 129, 135
Grassroots Programme 146
Guardian, The 17, 18
Gwagwalada 75
Gwom, Lamba 83
Gypsies 38
Gypsum 70

H

H.P.C 77
Handball 151
handlers 145
Harp Pro-Am 150
Haulage System 90
Hausa 108
health 108
Health Care 76
Helsinki 79
Higher Education 44, 48
Higher Learning 43
Hockey 150
Hockey tournaments 150
honesty 142
hospitals 137
Hoyphuet Boigny 152
housing 10, 15, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 66, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78
Housing Association 60
Housing Co-operation 60
Housing Co-operative Societies 76
Housing estates 15, 58
Housing Finance 58, 74
Housing Finance Institutions 74
housing loan 66
Housing Policy 74
Housing Policy Council 75, 76
housing problems 56, 78
housing scheme 10, 71
housing sector 55
human need 52
Human Rights 122
hyper-inflation 26

I

I.B.B see Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida or Babangida, I.B.
I.B.B administration 12, 13, 23, 26, 43, 48, 151, 153
I.B.B. Golf Championship 150
I.B.B. International Boxing Tournament 149
I.B.B. Policies 21
I.B.B. regime 47

I.B.B. Revolution 91
 I.B.B. Years 44
 Ibadan 54, 101, 153
 Idehen, Faith 148
 Igala 98
 Igbinogbu, Richard 149
 Igbo 99
 Ige, Olawale 83
 I. I. C. C 153
 Ijebu - Ode 153
 Ikeano, Ngozi 96
 Ikhazoboh, Anthony 83, 90
 Ikhuoria, Isaac 148
 Ikoyi Open 150
 Ile - Ife 98
 I. L. O 13
 Immunization 108
 Imo 75, 131, 137
 Imoh, Chidi 148
 implementation 49, 137
 importation 69, 87
 income 11, 52
 Indiana 40
 industrial action 8
 industrial dispute 6, 20
 industrial peace 24
 industrial relations 8, 9, 11, 26
 industrial training 4
 Industrial Unionism 8
 Industrial Unions 3
 Industrial Working Class 6
 inflation 10, 19, 20, 53, 69
 informal labour sector 22, 133
 information 108
 infrastructural development 65, 66
 Infrastructural Development Fund 66
 infrastructural works 136
 infrastructure 52, 65
 ingenuity 142
 Inland Waterways 82
 Inkpi 98
 Institute of Chartered Accountants 113
 institutions 151
 Insurance Company 58, 62, 87
 Interest 62, 63, 132

inter-sectoral career 18
 interest - free loans 16
 internal audit 68
 International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) 146
 international exhibition 137
 International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA) 146
 International Finance Corporation 67
 International Fund for Agric Development 103, 111
 International Labour Office 30
 International Labour Organization (ILO) 131
 International Market Economy 45
 International Olympic Committee 146
 International Political Economy 13
 International Sporting Competition 147
 International Workshop 81
 investment 14, 52, 58, 65, 84, 85, 137
 investors 69
 investment cost 137
 irrigation equipment 133
 Irrigation Scheme 138
 Ivorien President 152
 Iwuanyanwu Nationale 153
 Iyalode, E.A. 101
 Izonritei, David 149

J

Jacklord, Jacob 149
 jobs creation 138
 jobs 11, 16, 138
 Jos 153
 Judo 152
 Jukun 98
 Julius Berger 153
 JVC - Sponsored FIFA Word Cup 147

K

Kaduna 54, 136, 137, 146, 150
 Kaduna Open 150
 Kaduna State 136, 137
 Kakawa of Lagos 101
 Kano 6, 54, 75, 131, 134, 137, 153

- Kano City 109
 Kano Pillars 79
 Karate 152
 Karshi, S - 79
 Katsina State 134, 137
 Kayode, Oluyemi 148
 Kenya 70, 149
 Khonje, Cecilia 103
 Kilby, P. 30
 Kokori 15
 Kontagora, Mamman 74, 77
 Konyegwachie, Peter 148
 Kuforiji - Olubi, Otunba B. 87
 Kuti, Ransome 102
 Kwara 75, 134, 140
 Kwara '85, 140
 Kwararafa 101
- L**
- lunch vouchers 16
 labour 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19,
 20, 21, 25, 26, 28, 52, 87, 122, 135, 136
 labour activist 6
 labour employment 22
 Labour force 11
 labour intensive projects 128
 labour leadership 21
 labour market 4, 16, 27, 123
 Labour Organisations 8, 16
 labour productivity 16
 labour relations 7, 11,
 labour sector 12, 27
 Labour Transport Service 26, 87
 labour unrest 12, 26
 labour welfare 11
 Lagos 10, 19, 42, 53, 54, 75, 137, 149, 153
 Lagos State Women Education Model Cen-
 tre 42
 Land Use Decree 74
 Law Reform Commission 75, 114
 Lawal, Bayo 150
 leaders of tomorrow 142
 leadership problems 3
 League 153
 Leper Colony 134
- library resources 41
 Liberation Stadium 140
 Liberty Stadium 140
 lieutenants 151
 lime-- stone 93
 living standards 15
 loan beneficiary 132
 loan packages 135, 136
 loan scheme 62
 loans 130
 Local government 24, 34, 35, 36, 65, 67, 75, 78,
 84, 137, 144
 locomotives 90
 London 102, 104
 long service awards 16
 Long Term Mortgage Credit 58
 Longe Commission, 48
 Los Angeles Games 148
 low income 52, 63, 135
 low income earners 63
 low income families 52
 Low Income Houses 135
 Lubeck, Paul 6
- M**
- "M" Team 106
 Madam Tinubu 101
 Manganese 93
 Magira 99
 Maiduguri 101, 135
 Maiyegun Nojim 148
 Makelemi, Festus 150
 Maku, Labaran 47
 Malagu, Moses 149
 man-days 9
 management 6, 16, 35
 manpower 67, 85
 Mariri Rehabilitation Centre 134
 market forces 63
 market Inflation 27
 markets 137
 marriage 109
 martial art sport 152
 Marx 6

- mass transit 26m 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 94
 Mass Transit Programme 26, 85, 86, 87, 88, 94
 Mass Transit Scheme 87
 mass transportation 81, 86, 89
 Matanmi, Segun 17, 30
 Mathematics, 36, 41, 109
 Mathematics textbook 36
 Mature People's Scheme 129, 135
 Mckee, J.B. 30
 meal subsidy 89
 mechanical trade 127
 medal 148, 152
 mediocrity 33, 47
 Merchant Banks 65
 Mesfin, G.M. 30
 mental health 18
 military administration 26, 47, 48
 Military government 21
 Military regime 20
 Midwest 148
 minimum wage 11, 19, 21
 Minister 35, 61, 62, 153, 154
 Ministers 153
 Minister of Education 35, 40
 Minister of Works & Housing 61, 62, 71, 74, 77
 Ministry of Education 20, 145
 Ministry of Works & Housing 20, 72
 Ministry of Youths and Sports 145, 153
 Minna, Niger State 151
 mismanagement 68
 mob action 18
 Mobile Collapsible Classroom 37
 mobile training workshop 127
 mobile workshop 126
 mobilization 136, 154
 Mokee 5
 monocultural economy 13
 Moremi 98, 99
 mortgage 58
 Mortgage Banks 75
 Mortgage Loans 62
 Mortgage institution 61, 63
 motivation 141, 148
 Murtala 8
 mushroom 6
N
 N.D.E. 22 see National Directorate of Employment
 N.E.P.A. 26 see National Electricity Power Authority
 N.L.C. 78, 87 see Nigeria Labour Congress
 N.U.C. 46, 47
 N.U.R.T.W. 87 see National Union of Road Transport Workers
 Naira 18
 Nairobi 149, 157
 Namibian students 44
 Nana Asmàu 100
 National airline 92
 National Association of Resident Doctors 12
 National Association of Nigerian Students 145
 National Board for the Education of the Handicapped 39
 National Centre for Women's Development 115
 National Chairperson 106
 National Commission for Colleges of Education 48
 National Commission for Nomadic Education 37
 National Concensus 78
 National Council of Education 44
 National Council of Women Societies 102, 111
 National Development 4, 5, 134, 141
 National Directorate of Employment 20, 22, 30, 121, 135, 137
 National economy 12
 National education system 40
 National Electric Power Authority 26
 Nation's flag-bearer 152
 National Health Policy 108
 National Hockey League 151
 National Housing Data Bank 97
 National Housing Fund, 52
 National Housing Policy, The 56, 59, 61, 70, 74, 78

- National image 147
 National import 68
 national interest 142
 national life 140
 National Minimum Wage 11, 29
 National Open Apprenticeship Scheme 124, 126
 National Organizing Committee 106
 National Policy on Education 37, 39, 41
 National Policy on Sport 147, 155
 National Population 42
 National Primary Education Commission 36
 National Primary Education Fund 36
 National Productivity Centre (NPC) 23, 31
 National Public Sector Negotiating council 17
 National Soccer 153
 National Sports Calendar 150
 National Sports Commission (NSC) 154
 National Transport Policy 83, 84
 National Universities 46
 National Women Council 114
 National Youth Advisory Committee 143
 National Youth Council of Nigeria 143, 144
 National Youth Development Centre 143
 National Youth Policy, 154, 155
 National Youth Policy of Nigeria 155
 natural disasters 13, 14
 Naval Officer's Wives Association 135
 neighbourhood 143
 neo-colonial 71
 New-Zealand 43
 Niger 137
 Nigerdock 93
 Nigeria 3
 Nigerian Labour Congress 19, 20, 67, 78, 87
 Nigerian 83, 85, 92
 Nigerian administration
 Nigerian airport 92
 Nigerian Armed Forces Resettlement Centre 134
 Nigerian Association of Women in Science 42
 Nigeria Bar Association 113
 Nigerian Building and Road Research Institute 71
 Nigerian Campuses 48
 Nigerian Capital Market 67
 Nigerian Chamber of Commerce and Industry 68
 Nigerian Child 37
 Nigerian Economy 13, 14, 15, 28
 Nigerian Economics Society 31
 Nigerian Educational System 33
 Nigerian Export Promotion Council 111, 137
 Nigerian Factory Workers 6
 Nigerian Football 154
 Nigerian Football association 154
 Nigerian Golf Association 150
 Nigerian government 7
 Nigerian Institute of Sports 146
 Nigerian Labour 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15
 Nigerian Labour Organization 12, 113
 Nigerian nation 142
 Nigerian National Petroleum Company 152
 Nigerian National Sport 152
 Nnamdi Azikiwe Stadium 146
 Nigerian Polytechnic Games Association (NIPOGA) 152
 Nigerian rail system 91
 Nigerian Railway Corporation 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94
 Nigerian Railway Limited 92
 Nigerian Railway Track Authority 92
 Nigerian Sports Arena 145
 Nigerian transport system 82
 Nigerian Unemployed 138
 Nigerian Universities 44
 Nigerian Universities Games Association (NUGA) 152
 Nigerian Worker 78, 87
 Nigerian Woman 96
 Nigerian Women 97, 110, 113, 114, 117
 Nigerian Youth 129, 142, 143, 144
 nomads 37
 Nomadic children 38
 nomadic Education 37, 38, 40
 Nomadic fulanis 38
 Northern Nigeria 37

O

Obanta 153
Obasanjo 8
Obasanjo administration 9, 34
Obele - Oriwala 42
Objectives of SAP 14
Occupation 43
Occupational migration 19
Odeduwa 98, 99
Ogbemudia, Samuel 90
Ogojia 44
Ogoni 101
Ogun 134
Oil 11, 13, 14, 15, 34
Oil boom 11, 34
Oil income 13
Oil industry 15
Oil operational zones 15
Oil Sector 14
Oil Worker 15
Okigbo, Pius 34, 47
Okongwu, C.S.P. 12, 31
Oluorogbo 99
Olympic 147, 148, 149
Olympic games 147, 149, 152
Olympic Medal 148
Olympic Medal 149
Olympic's 152
Omolayole 17
Ondo 75
Onitsha 54
Onyali, Mary 148
Opara - Thompson, charity 148
opportunities 143, 147
opportunity 145
Opnoko 101
Otofo 5
output 14
overcrowding 53
Owerri 54, 153
Oyo 137

P

passengers 92
parastatal 24, 35
participation 142, 143
patriotism 142
People's Bank 86
perfection 147
performance 141
Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation 40
Philanthropic Organisation 78
philanthropists 150
Phillips 13, 14
philosophy 23, 141
pilot programme 137
pilot scheme 42, 128
Plateau United 153
Police massacres 48
Policy Formation 49
Policy programmes 12
politics 108
Political administration 7, 27
Political Independence 7
Political Instability 78
Political Milieu 3
Political Programmes 82
population 53, 105, 142
Port-Harcourt 54, 146
Post-Civil War 68
Post - IBB era 154
Post - Independence 4, 5, 33
power 147
pregnancy 42
preparedness 154
President Babangida 20, 22, 43, 150
President Babangida Tournament 150
President Monitoring Committee 154
Prices 10, 82
Primary education 35
Primary Mortgage Institution 76,78
Primary schools 35
Primary School teachers 36
private employment sector 11
Private Industries 65

Private Sector 10,11,14,65,74,78,82,87,97
privatization 18
Productivity Sectors 23
Pro-league 153
Professional soccer 153
professionalism 117,147,153
professionalization 153
projects 137
prominence 145
Promoters 135
Property Development 61,62
prostitution 53
protocol 144
Public agencies 24
Public and Private sectors 23,62
Public Policy 140
Public sector 11,12,14,18,23,24,25,62,66
Public sector Work 18
Public transportation 84
Public Work employment 18
Public Works Programme 127,128,135
Publications 154
Public 34,37
purchasing power 10

Q

Queen 98,100,101
Queen Amina 100,101
Queen of Daura 98,99
Queen of Zaria 100
Queen Kambassa 100

R

R.T.E.A.N 86,87
rail 84,94
raily system, The 90
Rail transportation 89
railways 98
railwaymen 89
Ranchers Bees 153
Rangers 153
raw materials 70,93
razzle-dazzle 27
Real Estate Development 76

real gross domestic product 53
recession 15,29
record books 148
record-keeping 9
recovery measures 15
Recreational and competitive sports 141
Recto-Vaginal Fistulae 108
recurrent appropriations 45
recurrent grants 45,46
regime 15
rehabilitation 35
reinvigoration 153
Relief Package 19
rents 54
re-organisation 153
Research Institute 37,11
resource management 26
resources 68,130,146
retirement age 10
retrenchment 11
Revised National Youth Policy 141
riots 122
Rivers State 75,134
Road Transport Employers Association 86
road transportation 88
roads 91,82,84,85,89,94
Rockefeller Foundation 42
Role of Labour 4
Kome 148
Rotating Credit Association 153
Rural areas 56,71,88
Rural Communities 146
Rural Exportable Craft Scheme 130,135
rural farm labour 14
rural roads 137
Rural Women 108 116

S

SAP 12,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,25,28
SAP Relief 25
salary 10,16,19,62
salaries 10,11,17,35,89
Salau, Leke 33,34,47
Sambo, Abdusalam 35

sanction 154
 sanitation 52,67
 Sani Abacha Cup 150
 Satellite Town 75
 Savings and Loans Association 58
 School 109
 school age 40
 school books 35
 school budget 36
 School Leavers 136
 School Leavers Farmer Settlement Scheme 132
 School-on-Wheels 126,134
 schools 33, 35, 43, 137
 scholarship 146
 Science education 109
 Science Subjects 42
 Scientific training equipment 146
 Second National Development Plan 5
 second tier 60
 Secondary education 43,109
 Secondary Schools 152
 sector 140
 sector 137
 security 142
 Sedentarization 37
 self-actualization 142
 self-analysis 142
 self-employment 22,123,129,130,131,138
 self-employment opportunities 22
 self-expression 142
 self-fulfillment 147
 self-righteousness 47
 seminars 43
 Senior Advocate 113
 Senior secondary 44
 service 142
 Sewage 67
 Shagari government 34
 shareholders 63
 Shashere, Mohammed 107
 Shelter 52
 Shelter Sector Performance Report 77
 Silver 148
 Silver Jubilee Anniversary 144
 Silver Medal 149
 Single division 153
 6-3-3-4 system 44
 skills acquisition programme 134
 skilled artisans 134
 skilled labour 128
 skilled Professional 18
 Slums 53
 Small Scale Business 130,131
 Small Scale Enterprises 129,135
 Small Scale Manufacturing 23
 snake 99
 soccer 153
 soccer fiesta 153
 social 4,6,19,23,42,52,53,63,81,122,140,155
 social amenities 53
 social class 6
 social cost 19
 social critics 42
 social development 140,155
 Social development policy of Nigeria 140,155
 Social development sector 140
 social goods and services 23
 social inequity 122
 social Life 102
 social obligation 81
 social welfare 52
 sole administrator 90
 Sokoto 44
 Spare Parts 82,85,88
 Special education 39
 Spinal Cord Injuries Association 134
 Spiralling Inflation 53
 Sponsored Programme 58
 sponsorship 152
 Sport 140,145,146,147,153
 Sports Sector 145
 Sports Development 145,150,152
 sportsmen and women 146
 Sports Minister 150
 Stadia 146
 Staff buses 16
 Stagflation 13
 Star golfers 150
 State government 24,35,67

State Planning Committee 106
states 35,36
Stationery Stores 153
statue 144
stereotypes 12,26
strikes 8,89
structural adjustment 15,17
structural adjustment in Nigeria 17
Structural Adjustment Programme
12,14,26,29
structural change 21
student enrolment 45
students 47,145,152
students unionism 48
Subsidies 11,18
subsidized canteen 16
Suleja Academy 41
Sunday Champion 47
Supreme Court 133

T

Tafawa Balewa Civic Centre 146
talents 141,143,146,147,149,150
Tanzania 70
tarrifs 69
task force 68
Tate Industries 110
teachers 34,35,48
teaching 35,36
Teaching-Learning 35,36
Teaching-Learning aids 35
Team 153
Technical teachers 34
Technique 137
Tempo 142
tenants 53
Tertiary Institutions 130,132
Three Musketeers 96
Three tiers of government 36
Third Republic 146
Tokunboh, M.A.6,31
Tool 147
Tournament 147,154
Tractors 133

Trade Test Centre 136
Trade Unions 5,6
trainers 125
Trainees 133
Training Package 125
Trains 90
Transport 11,82,83,84,86,87,88
Transport Operators 83,87
Transport Policy 83
Transport sector 82,83,84,86,88,89,90
Transport system 83,85,88
transportation 8, 26,67,81,82,83,85,86,93,94
Transportation in Nigeria 8
transportation problems 81
Transportation system 88
translation 154
Trends in Labour 7
Trilateral 25
Tripartite Committee on the National Mini-
mum Wage 21
trophy 151,152
turbulence 89

U

U.P.E 34,37
U.S.A. 148
U.S Dollar 18
Udoji United 153
Uduimoh, Tony 150
Ughamadu, F.C. 79
Umunze 48
uncharitable 37
Under-16 National Football Team 147
unemployed graduates 135,136
unemployment 11,15,19,22,142
unemployment market 19
Unesco 43
Unicef 103
unions 4,5,6
United Bank for Africa 110
United Nations 56,103,110,131
United Nations Development Programmes
131
United Nations Information Centre 103

Unity Schools
Universal free Primary Education 34
Universities 45,48
University Communities 47
University of Lagos 47
University of Maiduguri 101
unemployed population 122,123
unemployed 121
unskilled labour 128
upper-income earners 54
urban centres 81
urban development 53
Urban Development Bank 67
Urban Mass Transit 81,84
urban transport 86
urban working class 6
Useni, Jeremiah 151
Utondu, Beatrice 148
Uzuakoli, Imo State 134

V

value of the Naira 82
vehicle 82,84
Vesico-Vagina Fistulae 108
victory 148
virtues 142
Vocational Skills Development 124
Volleyball 151
voluntary organisation 141

W

World Cup 153
World Soccer 153
World Sports 147
Woman 96
Women 41,96,100,148
Women Education Branch 41
Women Education in Nigeria 42
Women Development 140
Women Organization 119
women workers 10
Western Sudan 101
Whitley Councils 24
widows 114

winners 150
wood works 125
workers 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 61, 76, 85, 87
workers unionism 6
working class 6, 18
working force 15
working life 8, 17
workshops 43, 146
World Assembly 13, 42, 65, 67, 86, 91, 103
Wachukwu, Chukwu 121
wage 10, 15, 17, 19, 24, 125
wage freeze 17
Wage Policy 26
walk-outs 6
wall-clocks 150
Waste-to-wealth 134
water 84, 93, 94
water transportation 93
Waterways department 85
welfare 10, 16, 26, 52, 76, 140
welfare benefits 16
welfare-oriented 26
welfare packages 10

Y

Yesufu 7
Yoruba 101
youth 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 150, 151, 154
Youth and Sports Development 140, 153
Youth Development Programmes 143
Youth Education Programme 43
Youth Employment Scheme 143
youth leaders 145
youth mobilization 14

Z

Zaria 91
Zazzau 101

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