MANAGING METROPOLITAN LAGOS

Raji Rasaki

Inaugural Programme of the
AFRICA LEADERSHIP FORUM

Ota, Nigeria
24 October to 1 November 1988
The Problems of Managing A
Conurbation Like Metropolitan Lagos
By Colonel Raji Rasaki, fss, psc,
Military Governor Of Lagos State

Introduction

The geographical area of Nigeria that is defined as Metropolitan Lagos is unique in many ways. It contains one of the largest concentrations of the black race anywhere in the world. Its population has grown from a mere 1.14 million in 1963 to over 5.62 million twenty-five years later. It is thus experiencing one of the greatest human movements and urbanization known to mankind. It is a huge melting pot for over two hundred ethnic groups that make up the great country called Nigeria. Since 1914 when Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated by the British colonial authority to become one country with Lagos as its capital, the Metropolis has grown to become the political, administrative, economic, industrial, commercial, financial and socio-cultural nerve-centre of Nigeria. Over fifty per cent of Nigeria’s electrical power generation is consumed by Metropolitan Lagos. More than half the number of vehicles in Nigeria is concentrated on its network of roads. Lagos has some of the most expensive land and landed property in the whole of Africa side by side with some of the continent’s worst slums. Nigeria is recognized as the giant of Africa. Lagos is the heart and soul of that Giant. When Lagos sneezes, it means Nigeria has a cold. When it reverberates in violent demonstration, it means that the peace and security of the Nigerian nation is threatened. Lagos exhibits certain attributes such as its population size, its economic wealth and industrial power that are demonstrably bigger than some African States. The implication of all these is that the problems of running and managing a conurbation like Lagos are bound to be many and varied and in some instances unique to the environment. It follows that the solutions to some of these problems are, and in the long run will be unique to Lagos. However, the majority of Lagos’ socio-economic problems that have arisen from the sheer pace of rapid urbanization that has outstripped effective planning and maintenance have relevance to the new emerging cities of Africa and the Third World. Solving Lagos’ Problems therefore poses a major challenge to the Governments and people of the State and the Nation at large. It is the wish of the Lagos State Government that the consideration of this paper by the Africa Leadership Forum will enrich the Government’s options and strategies in tackling those problems and putting on the right path other cities in Africa which unwittingly might be following on Lagos’ footstep.

Location

Lagos State lies in the southwestern tip of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It has boundaries with Ogun State both in the north and east. It is bounded on the west by the Republic of Benin and in the south it stretches for 180 kilometres along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. The smallest state in geographical terms in the Nigerian Federation, it
occupies an area of 357,700 hectares, 22% of which consists of lagoons and creeks. At the center of the riverine State is Lagos Metropolis which at present occupies about 132,350 hectares of the land area. Within this narrow confines are hemmed in a population estimated at 5.6 million in 1988. Most of the problems associated with the Metropolis arose from its peculiarity of harbouring such a large population within such a limited land area. While its population has been growing by leaps and bounds in the last two decades, the spatial spread has been much slower. Nonetheless, metropolitan Lagos which started as a small fishing settlement on Lagos Island has spread northwards to reach an area nearly 40 kilometres from its nucleus and in its growth, it has taken in small urban settlements and villages which at Nigeria’s independence in 1960 were recognized as separate entities. The conurbation has now extended to cover Somolu, Bariga and Ketu in the northeast, Ajeromi, Festac Town and Ojo in the northwest, Mushin, Isolo, Ikeja, Ipaja and Agege towards the north. Thus the city of Lagos which in the 1940s and early 1950s consisted only of Lagos Island and Mainland areas has now turned into a conurbation that contains five distinct Local Government areas and the most populated part of a sixth one, that is, Ajegunle – Festac Town-Ojo axis of the Badagry Local Government area. The spatial spread has, due to the soil condition, topography and communication development, been in the south-north direction, hence for all practical purposes and certainly in terms of industrial and economic activities, Ota in neighbouring Ogun State now represents the periphery of Lagos Conurbation.

To many outsiders, metropolitan Lagos is a City – State. This description is correct to some extent, for 80% of the population of Lagos State resides in the 37% of the land State’s economic activities are concentrated in the Metropolis which is also the seat of the Federal, State and five Local Governments. Thus, Government’s efforts have been concentrated in solving the problems of Metropolitan Lagos to the neglect until recently of the remaining 63% of the State, which is basically rural and riverine. Lagos State is more than Metropolitan Lagos but the dichotomy between Metropolitan and rural Lagos State is enormous. And so also are the policy instruments used in tackling their diverse problems. For example, while the thrust of the State’s rural development programmes is in the provision of roads, electricity, potable water and expansion in agricultural production, the emphasis in the Metropolis is on urban renewal, mass transportation, housing, public utilities, enforcement of law and order, industrial production and unemployment and improvement in social services.

**Socio-cultural Setting**

The indigenes of Metropolitan Lagos are Yorubas who occupy the southwestern part of Nigeria. By virtue of its position as the nation’s administrative and political capital since 1914, and its economic capital after the completion of the railways, Lagos witnessed a heavy influx of people from every nook and cranny of Nigeria into its territory. This phenomenon of rural-urban drift particularly during the oil boom period of the 1970's has been identified as the single most important factor that changed the character of Lagos
and the lives and destiny of its people. Lagos today is the home of virtually every ethnic grouping in the country, each initially settling and developing a distinct area of the Metropolis. The bulk of the people that migrated were the poor who moved to Lagos either to seek white-collar jobs or to become emergency contractors during the years of the oil boom. Accommodation soon became a problem and other social services were heavily taxed. Several shantytowns sprang up in such areas as Ajegunle, Makoko, Badiya and Maroko to contain the influx. Outlying farm lands in Ikeja, Agege, Mushin, Ipaja and Ketu turned overnight into sprawling settlements without electricity, tarred roads or potable water to contain the migration which at its peak was running at over 6% per annum in addition to the natural growth rate of around 3%. Petrol-dollars fueled a massive growth in the construction industry as witnessed by the Cement "Armada" of 1974/75 and the massive importation of foods and industrial raw materials for the factories that sprang up all over Lagos.

The migrants from neighbouring states soon outnumbered the indigenes of Lagos while the non-Yorubas, particularly those from neighbouring ECOWAS countries of Benin, Togo and Ghana, who were not easily assimilated, settled in the blighted areas. Because they did not carry any political weight within the environment in which they settled, and because of the sheer and overwhelming weight of such unplanned responsibilities, their needs particularly for decent accommodation, roads and drainage went largely unattended to. The above analysis has been necessary in order to provide an explanation of the genesis of the social problems which Lagos face particularly with respect to the management of the environment and urban planning. The most important message of this section centres on the phenomenal growth of the population of Metropolitan Lagos from 345,137 in 1952 to 1,142,242, according to the 1963 census and an estimated 5,621,630 in 1988. The Metropolitan Master Plan has projected a total population figure of 12,949,000 by the year 2000. As a result of the high rate of rural-urban migration, the areas expected to receive 300,000 new persons per annum or 25,000 per month or 833 people daily or at the rate of 34 per hour. The rapid growth of Metropolitan Lagos during the past 30 years has resulted in a situation that the Federal and Lagos State Governments had rightly recognized as constituting a special problem and a major challenge to urban planning and management in Nigeria.

**Economic and Industrial Setting**

Since the days of the Portuguese Slave Traders and particularly with the construction of the Lagos ports and railways, Lagos has emerged pre-eminently as the economic, financial, commercial and industrial nerve-centre of Nigeria. It contains over 60% of all industrial establishments in the country. Its ports handle the lion’s share of all export and import trades. Lagos Island has become the financial and commercial capital of West Africa with all the leading banks – commercial, merchant and investment – having their headquarters there. The phenomenal growth in commerce has turned the greater part of a once residential Island into a huge market serving the whole of Nigeria in respect of
imports and locally manufactured goods. The concentration of Federal Government establishments plus the banks, the commercial houses, the markets and professional services on the Island, while a majority of the population live outside it, has led to a consequential traffic and transportation flow pattern that has defied a solution in the last two decades. Just as Lagos used to be known for its dirty environment, it also had an international reputation for its incessant traffic jams particularly on the north-south corridors. Other problems which arise from this setting including the inadequacy of market outlets, problems associated with the management of commercial and industrial locations, of industrial pollution and effluence and heavy pressure on the economic infrastructures and utilities.

**Administrative and Political Setting**

Until the seat of the Federal Government moves permanently to Abuja in the near future, Metropolitan Lagos will continue to have the dual status of a National and State Capital which ipso facto carries with it certain responsibilities and attendant problems. Since the creation of Lagos State in 1967, the Metropolis has enjoyed a three-tier administrative and political management at the apex of which is the Federal Government. The other two tiers are the Lagos State Government and the six Local Government areas of Lagos Island, Lagos Mainland, Somolu, Mushin, Ikeja and Badagry. The other two local government areas in the State that are not classified as part of the conurbation are Ikorodu and Epe. As its present seat, the Federal Government has traditionally been a party to the good governance and well being of the Metropolis particularly in discharging those functions that are on the exclusive and concurrent lists. Metropolitan Lagos was a Federal territory until the state was created in 1967. In view of the historical factor and the enormity of the problems associated with the concentration of a large and growing population in a limited land area and in a period of economic boom, the Federal Government has been instrumental in developing the infrastructures, particularly the ring roads and bridge complex, the utilities like NEPA, NITEL and part of water transportation. The largest concentration of Federal Establishments is in Metropolitan Lagos. It follows that the growth and well being of these establishments contribute to the growth and progress of the Metropolis. Furthermore, by virtue of its strategic position in the Federation, the fortunes and problems of Lagos Metropolis cannot but directly and indirectly be that of the Federal Government. However, the present political arrangement has entrusted the management of Metropolitan Lagos principally to the State Government which thus carries the burden of grappling with the multifarious problems of the Metropolis. At the grassroots and principally to tackle local functions and problems are the local government councils. These councils, which are presently under the control of elected representatives, are assigned responsibilities within the Constitution. Such functions include the provision of health and maternity centres, the construction and maintenance of roads and drainages, refuse collection and disposal, environmental sanitation, primary education, community development, collection of tenement rates, markets, vehicle parts management and abattoir and lairage management.
In the last decade or so, the failure of the management and administrative machinery at the Local Government level to cope with the problems of rapid urbanization and environmental cleanliness led the Lagos State Government to take over through parastatal institutions some functions that constitutionally belonged to the Local Government. Such functions include waste collection and disposal, the construction of markets and shopping centres, parking facilities and others, which in line with the recent strengthening of the third tier are being returned to them. In Nigeria, paramount and traditional Rulers play a significant role in grassroots management either at the level of the Council of Obas and chiefs or at Local Community level. They proffer timely advice and are involved in the mobilization of the citizenry for socio-economic development of their communities and the nation in general.

**Problems of Management**

In the light of the above background information, it is obvious that a conurbation like Metropolitan Lagos is bound to be beset by several management problems all of which cannot be adequately treated in this paper. However, the analysis presented here will be limited to those major problems that can be identified under the following broad groupings:

(a) Problems of the environment;
(b) Problems associated with urban decay, renewal, planning and development control;
(c) Problems associated with the inadequacy of social services;
(d) Problems associated with the inadequacy of infrastructures, public utilities and transportation;
(e) Economic and industrial problems;
(f) Financial inadequacy vis-à-vis social responsibilities and burdens;
(g) Problems associated with administrative and geo-political issues; and
(h) Problems of law and order, insecurity of life and property.

Metropolitan Lagos means so many different things to its diverse inhabitants and visitors. To some, it is the centre of civilization, sophistication, wealth, opulence and the haven of the elite. To others, it is the heart of decadence where only the fittest survive, a jungle city of chaos where nothing works but for pickpockets, armed robbers and fraudulent characters. To those charged with the management of the city, it is inhabited by an articulate and fastidious citizenry quick to criticize, expecting everything free from Government, yet compounding, day-by-day, the problems that the Government faces in its efforts to improve the lives of the majority. The most outstanding feature of the problems of management of Lagos Metropolis is the rate at which the problems compound and grow vis-à-vis the financial and management resources available to tackle them.
Problems of the Environment

Until quite recently, Metropolitan Lagos had a bad reputation as one of the dirtiest cities in the world. Why was this so? The fact was that the city’s population, territorial boundaries and economic activities expanded so rapidly that the institutional arrangements and management technique designed to cope with the environment of a post-colonial Lagos became grossly inadequate. Heaps of refuse were everywhere, the drains were silted up and in the rainy season caused heavy flooding. Illegal and temporary structures were everywhere! Abandoned vehicles littered the roads. By 1977/78, it was obvious that the local government Councils could no longer cope with refuse collection and disposal as well as other sanitation responsibilities. The State Government came to their aid with the setting up of the Waste Disposal Board under the guidance of a British consultancy firm on waste management in addition to the establishment of three incinerating plants in Metropolitan Lagos for the disposal of refuse. The hasty construction of the plants, which incidentally have never been put into use because of high operating costs and attendant environmental pollution, reflected the mood and the concern of the authorities at the time for a permanent solution to the problem of environmental sanitation. The new operational arrangement and centralized control system under the Waste Disposal Board has been highly successful in keeping Lagos reasonably clean in the last ten years. Since 1984, greater strides have been made in the war against filthy environment particularly, with the establishment of the Task Force on Environmental Sanitation and the promulgation of various environmental laws to back the activities of the Task Force. Notable in this regard are the Environmental Sanitation Law of 1984; Removal of Abandoned Vehicles Edict of 1984; and Town and Country Planning Laws of 1984 and 1986. The Task Force, which consists of both military and civilian personnel, has rid Lagos Metropolis of many illegal structures and abandoned vehicles and raised the standard of environmental sanitation to an enviable and sustainable level. The Task Force carries out inspection of all Local Government areas and evaluates how residents respond to the public enlightenment campaigns aimed at educating the general public on the habit of cleanliness. Two other programmes worth noting are: the monthly environmental sanitation exercise which is carried out nationwide and the beautification of parks, round-abouts and other recreational facilities by both the local and State Governments as part of the enhancement of the environment.

Waste Disposal Board – It operates a 24-hour service as part of its programme of keeping Lagos Metropolis clean. At its inception in 1978, the Board was charged with the responsibility of collecting, disposing and managing domestic refuse. But over the years, the duties of the Board increased to include the following:

(a) General environmental sanitation;
(b) Cleaning of primary and secondary drains within the Lagos Metropolis;
(c) Collection and disposal of industrial wastes;
(d) Flood relief activities;
(e) Collection and disposal of scrap and derelict vehicles.

The Board operates throughout the length and breadth of the Metropolis and its services had been complemented at one time or the other by support collection services of the Local Governments of Lagos Mainland and Ikeja. Its success is shown by the tonnage of refused disposed which rose from 170,000 metric tones in 1978 to 415,200 in 1980 and 579,600 metric tones in 1987. The main problems of the Board include the need for proper planning and funding of its equipment and machinery replacement programmes, the identification of additional landfill sites and proper funding of its operations. In respect of its heavy-duty equipment, plant and machinery, the Board’s current needs are being taken care of through the N230 million World Bank assisted solid waste programme. However, the real issue which should be addressed in due course is whether the programme of loan assistance from the World Bank can create a foundation for self-sustaining operation in future or whether the problems of waste disposal in Lagos Metropolis would continue to be treated on an ad-hoc basis in the light of the exigency of the time.

Problems of Sewage Disposal: – One major negative outcome of the rapid growth of the metropolitan areas was the almost complete neglect of the disposal and treatment of domestic liquid waste; that is sewage. The old Lagos was not provided with a central sewage system while the unplanned and haphazardly developed newer settlements in the periphery of the conurbation have found temporary solution in the septic tank system. However, the Government is not relenting in its efforts to find a permanent solution to these problems and to provide good sanitary environment. The elimination of the Pail System embarked upon in the early ‘80s has been completed. New towns and estates in the State are being provided with centralized a sewage system, including the provision of sewage treatment plant for the contents of septic tanks that have continued to be dumped into the lagoon at Iddo.

Pollution control

Part of the efforts to bring a clean environment back to Metropolitan Lagos also involves the management of liquid and gaseous wastes that are not covered by the Waste Disposal Board. Industrial gases and liquid wastes have continued to pose much problem to the Government of Lagos State as industries continue to discharge untreated waters and unfiltered gases on land and into water course through open drains, and into the atmosphere with complete disregard for the dangers to life and property posed by these waste materials. The atmosphere into which noxious gases are discharged also contain the air which is vital to life. Gaseous wastes alter the composition of the atmosphere significantly, causing air pollution through the emission of such substances as particulate, Sulphur Dioxide, oxides of Nitrogen, Carbon Monoxide, Hydro-carbons and Lead, Mercury, Cadmium and Arsenic. Since about 70% of all the industries in Nigeria are
found in the Lagos Metropolis, and many of these industries are engaged in smelting, welding, detergent production, rubber and tyre manufacturing, cement and asbestos production, air pollution has indeed become a great threat to Metropolitan Lagos. Over the years, there has been a steady growth in industrialisation and less and less effort by companies to install the necessary filters, scrubbers and reactors to treat the waste before discharge. Recent records show that there are increasing cases of respiratory distress and eye irritation suffered by people residing in or near industrial estates.

As serious as air pollution is, water pollution from industrial liquid wastes assumes even a worse and greater dimension in that, invariably, everyone accumulates toxic substances in his body tissues from eating poisoned fish and other seafoods or drinking chemically or organically polluted water treatment plants. For example, the WEMABOD plants at Ikeja were in place serving some industries, but by the late seventies these had ceased functioning and all companies generating liquid wastes had continued to discharge untreated, highly polluted liquids into the lagoons and other water courses through public drains.

In 1980, when the Ministry of the Environment (succeeded lately by the Department of the Environment), was established in Lagos State, it was discovered that only a meager 3% of manufacturing companies had any arrangement for the management of its wastes (solid, liquid, gaseous). After a series of dialogue with the industry the percentage went up to 25% by 1987. The attainment of this 22% improvement was indeed an onerous task since, to the industrialists; waste management is a profit reducing activity that needs not be encouraged. For better control and management, an Environmental Pollution Control Edict which would give legal backing to the Department’s efforts is in the final stage of promulgation by the State Government. Together with this Edict is a proposal to have a pollution levy imposed on industrial houses. This will not only control pollution but will also encourage companies to set up control measures which will in effect reduce the levy payable and encourage investors to go into waste treatment.

**Problems of Flooding and Provision of Primary Stormwater Drainage, Secondary and Tertiary Networks**

Drainage problems and associated activities in Lagos Metropolis predate the creation of the State in 1967. It was, however, not until recently that drainage attracted attention as a specialized function of government and this was due to the problems of flooding in turn caused by the increasing number of structures both for residential and other uses being built on natural drainage courses. Before this, drains were treated strictly as appurtenances on the roads along which they were constructed. This consequently led to the situation where the construction and maintenance of drainage facilities were shared by many agencies of government, namely the Local Governments, the State and Federal Ministries of Works, the defunct Lagos Executive Development Board and Town Planning Authorities and their successor; the Lagos State Development and Property
Corporation. This dispersal of drainage functions and the location of Lagos Metropolis on a flat topography in a tropical rain forest region compounded the flooding problems. This led, in 1972, to the selection of a firm of consultants which was commissioned, for the first time, to prepare a Storm Water Drainage Master Plan for the Mainland of Lagos. The report of this study, which was submitted in 1974, recognized the weaknesses in the existing set-up and recommended the creation of an agency to take charge of the proper functioning of the drainage in the State. The study also identified six major primary channels and estimated the cost of the construction of the storm water drainage at N70 million, which will be executed within a period of 10 years. The areas to be covered included Ebute – Meta, Yaba, Somolu, Ikeja, Mushin, Oshodi, Isolo, Surulere, Iganmu, Apapa and Amuwo-Odofin village. Also identified were tertiary drains, which were not in existence, as most of the roads had not been tarred. In the last ten years (1977-1987), the State Government has expended over N50 million on the construction of tertiary drains along most of the roads in the Metropolis and on the construction of some secondary collectors and primary channels which are the ultimate outfall to the sea. A breakdown of the primary channels is shown on the table below:

**Breakdown of Primary Channels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Drainage Channel</th>
<th>% Completion</th>
<th>Length of channels</th>
<th>Cost (N million)</th>
<th>Area served</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. System 2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6.5 km</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>Somolu/Akoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. System 5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13.0 km</td>
<td>7.60</td>
<td>S/L Iganmu/Badiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. System 6 &amp; 6E</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25.5 km</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>Oshodi/Isolo/Festac/Amuwo/Kirikiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. System 6D</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.65 km</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>Surulere/Ijesha-tedo/Iganmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. System 6A</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>5.3 km</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>Ikeja/GRAShogunle/Oshodi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. System 4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6.0 km</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>Ebute-Meta/Iponri/Alaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Oba Akran/Idi-Mangoro Abeokuta Expressway</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4.0 km</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>Ikeja Industrial Estate/Idi-Mangoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ayeke Achakpo (Part of System 6F)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>4.0 km</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>Abeokuta Expressway</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Currently, the State Government, through the assistance of the World Bank, is constructing 15 km of storm water drainage channels in Ajegunle, Surulere and Oshodi estimated to cost N32.24 million. Even with all these projects the drainage problems of
Lagos Metropolis are far from being solved and will remain unsolved for as long as people continue to build on drainage channels and natural water courses. A more drastic and aggressive approach will be required in terms of allocation of funds and public enlightenment on the use of existing systems and the complication due to unplanned development, which has further compounded the problem over the years. It is estimated that as much as N2.4 billion would be required in the next ten years or so before all needed collectors and channels could be fully developed. The State Government is very much alive to the problems of perennial flooding of Lagos Metropolis. Its main constraints are the human problem of pulling down structures, mainly residential houses built on drainage channels and inadequate financial resources to tackle the construction of the primary channels. The provision of N240 million annually for deflooding Lagos Metropolis is well short of the required aid. Efforts would have to be accelerated to seek for more support from the World Bank and other multilateral agencies as well as the assistance of the Federal Government which incidentally has been involved in the construction of some of the systems that currently affect the Federal highways. While the Local Governments would be encouraged to increase the tempo of the construction and maintenance of the tertiary drains, the State Government will, as a matter of deliberate policy, substantially increase its annual budgetary provision for channelisation which presently stands at about N15 million per annum.

Problems of Urban Decay Renewal and Planning

The process of urban decay and renewal is a phenomenon that is usually associated with big conurbations like Metropolitan Lagos. At any point in time when new estates spring up in the periphery of the conurbation, the old and blighted ones require facelift and renewal. One of the most difficult problems in the management of the Metropolis is the implementation of a programme of phased renewal, which has been exacerbated by (a) inadequate funding, (b) human inertia, and (c) lack of alternate accommodation for resettlement. Forty-two blighted areas have been identified in Lagos Metropolis including the whole of Central Lagos and the new slums of Maroko, Badiya and Ajegunle. Two methods have been identified for the implementation of this programme. The first option was a total or complete redevelopment of the designated area by first pulling down all existing buildings and the transfer of the residents either temporarily or permanently to new areas. Such an approach was used to renew parts of Central Lagos such as Olowogbowo, Akanni – Martins Street and Oluwole areas where slum clearance’ started in the late fifties. The second option is one in which the blighted area is left as it was with little disruption to the social and economic life of the people but the area is renewed gradually through the provision of social infrastructures and piecemeal renovation and upgrading of existing residential buildings. This second method that places emphasis on environmental improvement schemes had been recommended in the Master Plan for Metropolitan Lagos and is currently being practised by the State Government. This can be seen in the actions of the Lagos state which has now given greater priority to urban renewal programme with the establishment of an Urban Renewal Division in the
Department of Physical Planning and Development Matters of the Military Governor’s Office. The Division has been charged with the responsibility of developing an urban renewal/upgrading scheme for each of the forty-two blighted areas. In 1984, Olaleye/Iponri Village was chosen as a pilot scheme for implementation. This settlement, situated almost at the centre of the metropolitan area, consisted mainly of shanties and had a population of over 20,000. During the planning stage, representatives of the community through their CDC (Community Development Committee) worked with the planners under the community participation method to contribute to the development of the scheme. The community was not only to identify its needs with the planners, it was also available to contribute in kind to the success of the scheme.

This approach of planning with the people soon paid off; as the planners found it easy to carry out the demolition of a number of structures to allow for the widening of almost all the roads within the village. Such a task would have been most difficult, had the people not been involved in the planning process. As at now almost two kilometers of road have been constructed, a modern market built, two refuse houses constructed, one kilometres of water mains laid, while the community has constructed a community center with some assistance from the Lagos Mainland Local Government. What is more, developers in the village can now obtain planning permission for their projects - a task that was virtually impossible before the up-grading activities started in the area. The Government has also earmarked some plots of land for the construction of a health center, primary and secondary schools, and children play areas. Even though the scheme is far from being fully implemented, the success so far achieved has encouraged the government to move into other areas like Badiya, Otto, Bariga, Sari-Iganmu, Orile, Ikeja, etc, to carry out slum upgrading.

The main problem in planning this activity, however, remains

(a) Inadequate funding, and
(b) Insufficient number of implementation and control personnel. The lack of personnel has meant that the renewal programmes in Central Lagos are being left in the hands of private developers whose interests are often at variance with town planning regulations and land use policy of the State Government. The case of Maroko deserves a special mention. The slum settlements which rapidly developed during the boom years of the ‘70s is a classical example of the hitherto helplessness and indifference of government. It also reflects the pressure of rapidly expanding population on residential accommodation, for in spite of the heavy flooding of the settlements during the rainy season, and the total absence of many social amenities, a whole new town of thousands of people subsists amidst its own squalor and filth. The sheer number of residents of Maroko has made it almost impossible to redevelop the settlement. Nonetheless, the government is going ahead with its programme of resettling some inhabitants at Ilaśa and Okota
Estates and sandfilling the land area of Maroko to a height above the sea level and put to better use.

Urban Planning and Management

Apart from the organs of the Federal Government which have responsibility for federal roads, telephones and other nationwide services, the following State Government organs are largely involved with the urban planning, development and management:

The Town Planning Authority which is a Unit in the Department of Physical Planning and Development Matters in the Military Governor’s Office;
The Department of Lands and Housing and the Department of the Environment, which are also in the Military Governor’s Office;
The New Towns Development Authority;
The Lagos State Development and Property Corporation.

The Town Planning Authority

The Town Planning Authority is charged with the responsibility of providing:

(a) Comprehensive regional and sub-regional plans for the State;
(b) District plans for each of the divisions of the State;
(c) Development plans for the major towns in the State. The Urban and Regional Planning Division of the Department with the assistance of the United Nations prepared the Lagos State Regional Plan 1980-2000 in 1980 and the Lagos State Metropolitan Master Plan in 1981. In addition, district plans for Ojo – Amuwo – Odofin were prepared in 1987 and the Idimu/Akowonjo District Plan is under preparation, while the Opebi Scheme (in Ikeja) and the Surulere Scheme are being reviewed. The interim Master Plans for Epe, Ikorodu and Badagry are also being prepared with a view to ensure an orderly development of these districts;
(d) Outline development plans; these have been prepared and so also have infrastructures been provided for Amuwo-Odofin, Magodo, Omole, Ipaja, Akowonjo, Ebute-Metta foreshore and Lekki Peninsula Schemes.

The Authority is responsible for:

(a) Urban renewal and redevelopment;
(b) The determination of applications for planning and the granting of permission for all development activities which are controlled by enforcement of town planning and building plan regulations.
(c) Review of development plans and private estate development programmes whereby individuals and corporate bodies initiate housing estate development for their staff and other buyers.

However, and in spite of the proliferation of regulations to control the physical development of Metropolitan Lagos, it appears to any casual observer that the government has lost the battle with its citizens for a properly planned, schemed and regulated development of the conurbation. The sheer pace of migration and development during the boom years was too much for any government to cope with. Even now, during the SAP era, the situation could not be said to have been properly brought under control. Thus, the new settlements of Ketu – Ojota, suburban Ikeja, Akowonjo, Ipaja, Egbe, Idimu, Ikotun, etc. which arose out of individual efforts at the time now presents new problems. The government is now faced with the difficult task of bringing in infrastructures such as roads and drainage, electricity, water and police posts to areas that made little allowances for the proper placement of these infrastructures in the first place. The solution to the problems of undisciplined development in Metropolitan Lagos must therefore include the overhaul of the existing machinery for regulation, control and management; the employment of additional corps of town planning officers; the expedition of processing for approval of building plans and private layout schemes as well as greater surveillance of building construction, particularly at the formative stage and greater enforcement of the town planning laws and regulations.

In order to minimize the adverse effects of private initiative in the physical development of the realm, the Lagos State brought into being in 1981 a parastatal known as the New Towns Development Authority to perform the following responsibilities:

(a) Establishment of new towns and development schemes in Lagos State;
(b) Provision of infrastructures in Government estates in terms of roads, drains, drainage-channels, pipe-borne water, electricity and central sewage systems in all priority Government estates in Lagos State;
(c) Promotion of large scale physical development;
(d) Reconnaissance survey and selection of sites for Government projects;
(e) Development control – monitoring of the 32 priority estates for any sign of unauthorized development or unlawful excavation of sand or Laterite within the estates.

Over the years, the New Towns Development Authority has prepared development schemes layouts – residential, industrial and commercial, agricultural and housing schemes throughout the State. Some of these schemes have been provided with the necessary infrastructures and have therefore become realities. Such schemes include Lekki Peninsula Scheme I, Amuwo – Odofin Residential and Commercial Scheme, Ikorodu Industrial Scheme, Magodo Residential Scheme and Omole Residential Scheme.
One the completion of the preliminary feasibility studies and reconnaissance, the Authority set off on the physical development of new towns and estate through the provision of basic infrastructures. The activities of the Authority at the Victoria Island Annex, Lekki Peninsula Schemes I and II, the Ilasa and Lekki Peninsula Resettlement Schemes as well as at the newly schemed Agricultural Estates in each of the five divisions of the State are good examples of this.

**Problems of Inadequate Social Services:**

(a) **Education**

One major effect of the rapid growth of Metropolitan Lagos is the pressure that a large population with its heavy concentration in a limited area has brought to bear on the social services. Despite the fact that the State Government has been spending over a third of its recurrent expenditure on the running of its schools in the last ten years, the impact of its efforts is yet to be sufficiently strong enough to lift the State out of the group of the "educationally-disadvantaged." What are the main problems of education in the State? They include:

(a) The need to complete the functional classroom replacement programme;
(b) To stem the decline in educational standards and quality of teaching;
(c) The provision of schools furniture, science laboratories and other equipment;
(d) The establishment of technical colleges and provision of technical workshop equipment;
(e) The scarcity of teachers for mathematics and science subjects;
(f) The influx of children from other states to take advantage of the ‘free’ education system available in the state. As for the tertiary institutions, the need to properly define their aims and objectives and the nature of their long-term contributions to the development of Lagos State.

There is no doubt that great strides have been made to minimize the shortcomings in our educational system. The abolition of the 3 – tier shift system in primary and secondary schools, the emphasis on science and technical education particularly since 1984, the increase in the number of primary and secondary schools to 884 and 347 respectively in 1988 and catering for an all time high student population of 1.2 million, are notable achievements of recent years. Other improvements in the pipeline include the introduction of a new education policy and guidelines that would streamline the present management machinery and ensure the return of quality education and discipline to schools. The introduction of governing councils to schools, the increased participation of parent-teachers associations in educational affairs and the introduction of burden sharing measures to complement the efforts of the government are other measures included.
(b) Health

The provision of medical facilities has not increased as fast as the demands of a growing population. Though private medicare has emerged to complement Government efforts, a yawning gap still exists between the citizens' needs and available facilities. According to available statistics, patients' attendance at State Government health institutions rose from 5.2 million in 1983 to 6.4 million in 1987. If we add attendance at Local Government health institutions and Federal Government medical establishments, it may be that public sector attendance is in the region of 7-8 million in 1987/88. The fact that this represents less than two visits per person per annum is an indication of the gap which the public sector is expected to fill. The State Government’s present thrust in the field of health care delivery include:

(a) The extensive rehabilitation and renovation of the older hospitals that have witnessed little changes since independence;
(b) The completion and expansion of new hospitals and health centres started in the late ‘70s and early ‘80s;
(c) The streamlining, under a new policy, of the supply and management of drugs and medical consumables;
(d) The procurement of additional medical equipment and its maintenance through the establishment of a proper maintenance arrangement;
(e) The phased establishment of new institutions such as the proposed Children Specialist Hospital at Campbell Street, Lagos and the Multi-Specialist Hospital at Idimu in the North-West corner of the Lagos conurbation;
(f) The emphasis on preventive medicine as against curative measures.

Finally, it should be clearly stated that the recent introduction of token fees and user charges in the State health institutions has been informed partly by the desire of the government to share the financial burden of providing health care facilities with the beneficiaries. But more importantly by the desire to ensure that genuine drugs and medicaments are available in the hospitals for proper care of fee-paying patients as against the old system in which practically every thing was officially "free", but nothing was available.

(c) Housing

The problems associated with the management of a conurbation like Lagos are best exemplified by the unsatisfactory situation in the area of housing, which has been exacerbated by the continuing influx of people since the boom period. In 1976, it was estimated that 111,000 residential buildings were available in Lagos to provide accommodation for 3.2 million people, that is an average of 28.8 persons per building. By 1980, the occupancy rate had got worse with about 30.1 persons inhabiting a building. Between 1976 and 1980, it was estimated that only 28,000 buildings were constructed to
cater for increased population of 1.2 million people in the same period. It was further estimated that only 2% of the existing population are accommodated in self-contained buildings with implication that the remaining 98% live in "rooming" type of houses with shared cooking and toilet facilities.

The housing shortage is enormous. It has been projected that Metropolitan Lagos would require between 77,500-80,000 housing units estimated at N1 billion yearly to comfortably accommodate its swelling population. Therefore, looking into the future it has been forecast that with the present rate of growth, Lagos will require 1.5 million housing units by the year 2000 to accommodate an expected population of about 12 million. The acute shortage of accommodation is partly a reflection of the scarcity of suitable building land in Lagos Metropolis. It is therefore not surprising that both individuals and Governments have resorted to sand- filling of low-lying areas to provide land for housing.

It is realization of their social obligations to alleviate the housing problems particularly of overcrowding and exorbitant rents that both the Federal and State Governments have given serious attention to the provision of housing especially to the low and medium income groups. The State Government’s housing policy has found expression in the following channels:

(a) Direct allocation of the state's lands for private development;
(b) Direct housing construction by the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) – the State Government's main agent for housing development;
(c) Activities of the New Towns Development Authority which have been highlighted above.

Between 1974 and 1988 the Lagos State Government, through the LSDPC has provided 12,000 housing units for the people in the low- income bracket at a total cost of N298 million. These include the housing schemes at Amuwo-Odofin and Iba in Badagry Local Government area, Obele, Iponri and Abule-Nla in Lagos Mainland Local Government area, Ojokoro and Ipaja in the Ikeja Local Government area, and Dolphins I & II, Okoawo and Iwasan in Lagos Island Local Government Area.

LSDPC has also been engaged on a commercial basis in the provision of high rental accommodation on Victoria Island and Ikoyi, as well as for medium income groups in Surulere, Ebute-Metta, Ogba and Alapere. The present thrust of Government housing policy is to continue building, through the LSDPC, houses for those who can afford to buy them at near- commercial prices, leaving Government to provide subsidies through the provision of infrastructures. Efforts are also being made to provide additional N95 million for the completion of the remaining low cost units. The new policy of self-funding housing projects is being implemented with the construction of upper medium-
income and medium-income houses in the Dolphin and Ebute-Metta Schemes respectively.

From the statistics displayed above, it is obvious that government efforts only have a marginal impact on alleviating the problem of the shortage of housing units in Metropolitan Lagos. Much is therefore expected from the private sector. However, the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme, the rising cost of building materials and the high interest rates have further dampened the effects of the contribution of the private sector. The State Government on its part is assisting a limited number of owner-occupiers through the supply of bulk-purchased building materials particularly cement, iron rods and sanitary wares. We believe that the problems associated with the high cost of constructing new dwellings have to be addressed at the national level if the present plight of Lagosians is to be eased.

(d) Supply of Potable Water

The problem of potable water in Lagos Metropolis is that its production and distribution in the last three decades has not been sufficient to meet the demands of its citizens. Population growth has so outstripped the rate of production that by 1975 only 30% of the total population was getting potable water. Yet, the government has not rested on its oars in the provision of this vital amenity. From a production level of 2.42 million gallons per day (Mgd) in 1915, when the Iju Water Works project was commissioned, supply increased steadily to 11 mgd in 1954, 35 mgd by 1973. With the commissioning of new production outlets such as Ishasi water works (1977) and the 7 mini-waterworks in 1982-83 and the modernization of Iju Waterworks (1982-85), production capacity rose to 64 mgd in Lagos Metropolis by 1985/86. These increases hardly kept pace with population growth and as of today, half of the population, principally in the new unplanned settlements such as Ketu, Ojota, Ogba, Ojodu, Akowonjo, Ipaja, Alimosho, Idimu and Oworonshoki – which have no access to the Mini Waterworks – have to be content with untreated bore-hole and well water for their daily needs.

With the assistance of the World Bank, the State Government has now squarely attacked the problem of inadequate water supply. An expansion programme valued at $461.8 million (N2.3 billion) has now commenced. The main objectives of the Adiyan Waterworks programmes are: increase in production capacity of 320,000 m$^3$ per day (70 mgd); laying of additional 80 km of primary mains; providing and laying of 280 km of secondary mains; 877 km of tertiary distribution mains and about 112,000 consumer connections, rehabilitation of existing water supply facilities, provision of consultants and technical support personnel to assist with institutional development of Lagos State Water Corporation, including training of staff.

It is hoped that by the time the present expansion programme is completed in 1995, potable water would be made available to 65-70% of the population. What this means is
that it would take a sufficiently long time before Government can fully provide for the water needs of all the inhabitants of Lagos Metropolis. Apart from insufficient funding, other problems that mitigate against meeting the demand of the people include inadequate power supply by NEPA which makes the Water Corporation to rely more on generating sets, as well as the problem of the non-availability of treatment chemicals and water machinery spare parts in the local market

**Problems of Inadequate Infrastructures, Public Utilities and Transportation**

Identifiable problems in the areas under consideration are basically those of inadequacy as a result of population pressure and daily extension of the city boundaries as well as those of maintenance and delivery costs. There is no doubt that the network of roads in the Lagos Metropolis has increased tremendously in the last two decades particularly with the construction of the Inner and Outer Ring roads, the north-south corridors of Ikorodu Road, Western Avenue, Agege Motor Road and the Badagry and Apapa – Oworonskoki Highways, in reaction to the heavy traffic that emerged during and after the oil boom period. However, there is much to be done particularly in the construction of roads and drains in the new settlement areas, the rehabilitation of old roads in the blighted areas and in increasing the pace of road maintenance generally in the Metropolis. Due to heavy usage, Lagos roads have tended to require annual resurfacing, but this has not been possible because of inadequate fund and the scarcity of essential materials. However, efforts are being made to maintain feeder roads by the Local Governments, State roads by the State Government and Federal roads by the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, as distinctions between Local, State and Federal roads is often ignored when the needs become overwhelming.

Accordingly, the State government had been forced by circumstances to undertake the construction of some Local and Federal roads such as the Ikeja Airport Flyover Bridge and road complex, the Wet Ramp of Carter bridge, the dualisation of Ikorodu road from Ketu to Owode Onirin and other road networks. The State Government spends an average of N60 million annually on urban roads, yet a large chunk of residential and feeder roads remains to be constructed in Ajegunle, Somolu, Mushin, Badiya and Agege. Tied with the construction and maintenance of roads are the provision of tertiary drains and street lights which are currently being rehabilitated by both the Federal, State and Local Governments. Electricity supply, telephone and postal services are also being strained by the weight of demand. NEPA is gradually addressing itself to the peculiar need of Lagos through the commissioning of the Egbin Thermal Station but the problems of distribution, spare parts, maintenance and repair deficiency still continue to create the situation that at any point in time some parts of Lagos Metropolis experience power outage.
The most obvious area of deficiency among public utilities is transportation and traffic control system. A measure of Government’s concern for the economic pursuit and welfare of its citizens is shown by the extent of its involvement in the provision of public transportation and in solving transportation problems generally. The position of public transportation in Lagos Metropolis is at a crucial watershed. The introduction of the Foreign Exchange Market has in the last two years made the cost of purchasing new vehicles including buses prohibitive. Furthermore, the costs of running and maintaining private vehicles have also gone up considerably. The net effect, which will become more visible within the next five years, is that more and more citizens of Lagos Metropolis will resort to public transportation to go about their businesses. As at now, the bulk of the transport system is provided by privately-owned buses, taxis, mini buses, etc. with the state-owned Transport Corporation complementing their efforts and ensuring a state-wide operation. However, the private operators are already facing run-away cost escalation and unless they are urgently assisted, they might have to pass on the cost to these public commuters or they would soon be out of business. The looming crisis is already being addressed by both the Federal and State Governments through the mass transit programme. The mass transit programme for Lagos is an integrated mass transit system that links roads, rail and the waterways in a complementary fashion such that as much as one million people can be transported per hour within the Metropolis particularly during the peak traveling hours. The need for a mass transportation system for Lagos Metropolis has been well recognized for over one and a half decade. The defunct metroline project of the early ‘80s was meant to solve this problem. What is now being done by the Federal and State Governments with the assistance of the World Bank and a firm of transport consultants is to select an option that is both technically efficient and affordable in the context of present economic realities. In the short-term, the State Government will continue to assist the Lagos State Transport Corporation with the purchase of new vehicles and rehabilitation of old one and stabilize the fares of public transport system through bulk purchase of essential spare parts and consumables like engine oil, tires, etc. for their operators.

The deficiency in traffic control and management in Lagos Metropolis is due to many factors among which are:

(a) The non-availability of steady power supply to make mass installation of traffic lights feasible;
(b) The narrow and winding nature of most feeder roads in Lagos Metropolis;
(c) The inadequacy of parking facilities;
(d) The undisciplined behaviour of the average Lagos driver who disobeys traffic controls and instructions, particularly the drivers of private public transporters; and
(e) The under-developed level of traffic engineering at the State Ministry of Works and Transport. Notwithstanding the above shortcomings, the two professional transport engineers in the Ministry are working round the clock to devise new routes and new flow patterns particularly in areas of perennial
bottleneck. The Government will also spend more money on the procurement and installation of traffic furniture.

Economic and Industrial Problems

Being the economic and industrial nerve-centre of Nigeria, some related problems are discernible. Massive commercial activities have resulted in residential property and designated areas being turned into shops and commercial buildings. Despite the establishment of a Market Development Board to cater for their needs, traders have turned the streets, into selling places and have virtually taken over major parts of the highways in some places notably Agege Motor Road at Mushin and Oshodi, Mile 2 on Badagry Expressway and at Idumota and Balogun Squares on Lagos Island.

Lagos Metropolis, more than anywhere else in Nigeria is sensitive to changes in the industrial fortunes of this country and the Structural Adjustment Programmes appear to be biting harder here than in the rest of the country. The State Administration must be concerned with the well-being of the industrial sector particularly with respects to unemployment, production level and capacity utilization, industrial waste and pollution, availability of economic infrastructures including industrial estates and so on. In other words, Government must pursue an economic and industrial policy that enhances the production capability of its established firms and distance itself from those policies that may cause industrial strife, strikes and commotion.

Finally, since the Metropolis does not produce the foods it eats, the Government must also ensure smooth transportation of goods and other needed materials from the hinterland and an efficient distributive network.

Inadequacy of Available Financial Resources

Within the context of Nigeria and relative to other states, Lagos State is considered to be a rich state, judging by the size of its annual budgets and level of taxes it collects. Underpinning the fore-going analysis and the problems highlighted is the inadequacy of fund to render the necessary services for the people. In spite of its small size, Lagos state has a higher estimated population than many of the States and what is more, the majority of this population lives in overcrowded conditions and have limited access to good drinking water. The estimated cost of improving its educational standards to a satisfactory level runs into billions of Naira. So also are the projected costs of its water supply expansion programme, its deflooding programmes, its mass transit programme – to name a few. It is in the light of the above that the State Government has been examining all avenues for generating more funds including the possible introduction of development levy and the reduction in the level of subsidies built into some of its fees and charges. It is by generating more money internally, in the face of rising prices, that
the State and Local Governments can prevent a decline in the real worth of the services they provide.

**Problems Associated with Administrative and Geo-political Issues**

The position occupied by Lagos Metropolis as the political and economic capital of Nigeria has made it the object of envy in some quarters and the victim of political balancing. Between 1914 and 1980, the Lagos Metropolis received special preference in the development of its infrastructures and allocation of amenities that were considered as being beneficial to it and its citizens in general. This was possible primarily because Lagos State doubled as the seat of the Federal Government and provider of numerous services to the government and its officials and also by virtue of its economic position. With emphasis now shifted to Abuja and with the creation of more states, the special position of Lagos in the scheme of things is being constantly eroded. It appears that the policy of even development has adversely affected the level and quality of services in the Metropolis. Urgent Federal projects are being undertaken by the State in order to keep up the pace of development. State projects, which in the past had enjoyed Federal financial support, no longer enjoy such even when it is the obligation of the Federal Government to Lagos, in recognition of its dual status and the services it has rendered. The problem associated with the geo-politics of Lagos Metropolis need not be overplayed. But it is real and requires all the adroitness and perseverance of the Chief Executive and Government of the State in order to obtain deserved reimbursement and support.

Lagos Metropolis has the uniqueness of being administered and managed in varying degrees by the three tiers of Government each operating within its exclusive areas of jurisdiction and complementing each other in the concurrent functions. A common denominator in the management machinery at each tier is the placement of political appointees and administrators at the apex of the decision-making process, each operating almost exclusively and independently of the other tiers. Since most of the management issues of running Metropolitan Lagos such as the regular supply of electricity, water, road maintenance, housing construction, urban planning and management etc. all have technical import, a school of thought is emerging with the suggestion that Metropolitan Lagos deserves a new administrative and funding arrangement. This is particularly true at the Local Government level where there is no provision to have as ex-officio representatives, at the policy-making level, members of major institutions and organizations that are in charge of the delivery of municipal services such as the Water Corporation, NPA and other Federal technical agencies. The modifications being suggested include the creation of the permanent office of an Executive Chairman for each Local Government area and the inclusion, in his Executive cabinet, of technical
representatives of the service parastatals and utilities mentioned earlier. The advantage of such an arrangement in a city like Lagos would be enormous and result-oriented.

Problems of Law and Order, Insecurity of Life
And Property

For the peace and tranquility of this country, Lagos is a security sensitive Metropolis. Most of the pressure groups and vocal organizations and associations such as the Trade Unions, the Nigerian Medical Association and the Nigerian Bar Association all have their headquarters in Lagos which also serve as the base and focal point of the mass media. The rulers and managers of Metropolitan Lagos and their security personnel have an arduous duty to keep mischief-makers at bay. Localised tension must also be diffused. Skirmishes, when they occur, must be quickly brought under control so that they do not spread to the other parts of the Country that look towards Lagos for direction and guidance.

The deplorable overcrowding, particularly in the slums and neglected areas of the Metropolis offers fertile breeding grounds for criminal activities. Lagos is one big congested sprawl where the law enforcement agencies have an uphill task to guarantee the security of life and property. Hitherto, the police have been seriously handicapped in terms of equipment, men and morale to successfully fight the increasing wave of armed robbery, car snatching, and other heinous crimes.

Government is trying its best to arrest the situation. Modern crime fighting and detecting equipment are being made available to the police in large quantity. Their mobility is being enhanced with the supply of more vehicles. Police posts are being opened up in the newer settlements of the Metropolis. The highest ruling body in the country, the Armed Forces Ruling Council, has recently established a committee to lead the fight against crime.

Conclusion

In the foregoing sections, we have tried to explain in some detail the problems that are likely to be encountered and indeed are being encountered everyday in the management of a conurbation like Lagos Metropolis. A common denominator to all these problems is the influx of people into the Metropolis in search of job opportunities and their share of the national cake, at a rate that the machinery of administration and control and the provision of services cannot cope with. The result is a yawning gap between the ideal ways a young growing city should develop and the sprawling reality of today. Efforts have also been made to put across the responses of Governments towards finding permanent solution to those problems. In respect of the population pressure, two related strategies have evolved. The first is a conscious effort at the national level to develop the rural areas as a way of reversing the migration to the big cities like Lagos. Rural
Development has far more objectives than population re-adjustment but in the long run it holds the key to the relief of Lagos of its social overburden. The second strategy which is being implemented through the pursuance of land use and land allocation policies, the new industrial policy and through the activities of agencies like the New Towns Development Authority is to relieve the pressure off the central core by dispersing new residential, commercial and industrial activities to areas outside the conurbation. Progress towards the ultimate solution to some of the problems would necessarily involve:

(a) The allocation and spending of more money, particularly system;
(b) The restructuring of the institutional framework and the management machinery, particularly in areas of physical planning and urban management to make them more efficient, result-oriented and to keep pace with the demands of the society;
(c) The need to get the Local Governments and the community more involved, especially in the areas of environmental sanitation, market development, crime prevention and the willingness to contribute more to the cost of development than had hitherto been the case.
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN: General Olusegun OBASANJO

A. LECTURERS/PANELISTS

1. Ojetunji ABOYADE (Nigeria), Professor and Chairman, Pai Associates
2. Chief Simeon O. ADEBO (Nigeria), former Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York and Executive Director, United Nations Institute of Training and Research (UNITAR)
3. Adebayo ADEDEJI (Nigeria), Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations and Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)
4. Tariq HUSAIN (PAKISTAN), Representative of the World Bank in Nigeria.
5. Junzo KAWADA (Japan), Professor, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo.
6. Alexander A. KWAPONG, (Ghana), Lester Pearson Chair for Development Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada; former Vice-Rector, United Nations University, Tokyo
7. Thomas A. LAMBO (Nigeria), President, Lambo Foundation for the Advancement of Biomedical and Bio-behavioural Sciences; former Deputy Director-General, World Health Organisation
9. Akin L. MABOGUNJE (Nigeria), Professor, Pai Associates; Pro-Chancellor and Chairman of Council, Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye
10. Ntatho MOTLANA (South Africa), President-Founder, Soweto Crisis Committee and Chairman, Get-Ahead Foundation
11. A.M.A. MUHITHA (Bangladesh), Former Finance and Planning Minister
12. Col. Raji RASAKI (Nigeria), Military Governor of Lagos State.
13. Helmut SCHMIDT (Federal Republic of Germany,) Former Federal Chancellor
14. Wole SOYINKA (Nigeria), Nobel Prize Winner 1986 for Literature
16. A. ANATHARAMAN (India), Managing Director, Tower Aluminum (Nigeria) Ltd.

B. PARTICIPANTS

1. Malam Yaya ABUBAKAR (Nigeria), former Permanent Secretary, Political Department, Cabinet Office
2. P. Ayangma AMANG (Cameroon), Directeur-General, Compagnie Nationale d’Assurances C.N.A.
3. Babafemi BADEJO (Nigeria), Senior Lecturer, University of Lagos.
4. Donatien BIHUTE (Burundi), Managing Director Hydrobur; Chairman, Meridien Bank Burundi; former Minister of Planning of Burundi and Vice-President, African Development Bank
5. Cecil BLAKE (Sierra Leone), Senior Programme Officer, Global Learning Division, United Nations University, Tokyo
6. Munirul CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh), President, Aegean Maritime International, Washington, D.C.; former Adviser to the President of Bangladesh
7. Pierre-Claver DAMIBA (Burkina Faso), Assistant Administrator and Regional Director for Africa, UNDP
8. Francis M. DENG (Sudan), former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs; Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.
9. Julien DOBONGNA (Cameroon), Conseiller du President, Compagnie Financiere et Industrielle
10. Jens FISCHER (Federal Republic of Germany), Chief of Staff, Office of Mr. Helmut Schmidt
11. Jean HERSKOVITS (USA), Professor of African History, State University of New York.
12. Ahmadu JALINGO (Nigeria) Dean, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Bayero University, Kano.
13. Mansur KHALID (Sudan), former Foreign Minister and Vice-Chairman, World Commission on Environment and Development
14. Justin LABINJOH (Nigeria), Senior Lecturer, University of Ibadan
15. Zamani LEKWOT (Nigeria), Major-General (rtd.), former Governor of Rivers State, former Nigerian Ambassador to Senegal
16. L.B.B.J. MACHOBANE (Lesotho), Minister of Education
17. Rev. M. Stanley MOGOBA (South Africa), President, South African Institute of Race Relations; and Secretary of the Conference of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa
18. Viktor M.P. MPOYO (Nigeria), Industrialist (oil industry)
19. Dragoljub NAJMAN (Yugoslavia), former Assistant Director-General, UNESCO
20. Lopo Fortunato do NASCIMENTO (Angola), Governor of Huila Province; former Prime Minister and Deputy Executive Secretary, ECA
21. Letitia OBENG (Ghana), former Regional Director for Africa, United Nations Environment Programme
22. Anezi N. OKORO (Nigeria), Professor of Medicine, University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital, Enugu
23. James ONOBIONO (Cameroon), President, Compagnie Financiere et Industrielle
24. Hans D’ORVILLE (Federal Republic of Germany), Senior Officer, UNDP New York and Coordinator, InterAction council Secretariat
25. Oyeleye OYEDIRAN (Nigeria), Professor, University of Lagos
26. Tayo SERIKI (Nigeria), Chairman, Siemens Nigeria
27. Albert TEVOEDJIRE (Benin) President, Centre Panafricain de Prospective Sociale; former Deputy Director-General, International Labour Organisation
28. Bilikisu YUSUF (Nigeria), Editor, New Nigerian
29. Terencia LEON-JOSEPH (Peru), Administrative Assistant
Background Note

The Africa Leadership Forum

Despite over a quarter of a century of political independence, Africa’s aspirations and hopes remain today largely unfulfilled. This has not been, however, a period of unmitigated failure in the history of the continent. There have been successes in education, public health, import substitution industries, and in the continuing process of de-colonization. The problems of development, peace and security, the health of the world economy, and improving the environment are interrelated global issues, as they do not admit of piecemeal solutions.

And yet all countries find that in the absence of true global cooperation, they have to tackle particular aspects of them. At the national as well as the regional level in Africa today, the inadequacy of information, data, and resources further complicates an already daunting problematic state of affairs.

African leaders have frequently come to leadership positions with limited experience. Though most of them have often battled on, confronting their awesome problems of development and nation-building essentially not only unprepared but unaided, their efforts have been, at best, only a qualified success.

It is quite clear therefore that Africa cannot afford to continue its journey with ill-prepared and unassisted leaders. Those on whom the burden of leadership will fall in future must fully comprehend the nature of their responsibilities, duties, and obligations. In other words, they must be given all the necessary exposure and carefully planned preparation to be able to meet the challenges that they will inevitably face.

This new task is all the more apparent when one considers the level of preparedness of our leaders of tomorrow who are clearly not bothered by anything other than the pursuit of their professional careers. They have little time to devote neither to acquiring a comprehensive knowledge of their own countries and their region nor of the cultures of their diverse peoples. Nor even to learning about and understanding the actions taken by their present leaders where they do not impinge on their own areas of expertise.

Most young potential leaders have focused primarily on single issues, lacking time to look at wider, critical regional and world challenges. The time for comprehensive study and reflection, for sharing experiences with persons inside, let alone outside their countries, region, and field of concentration is very limited. Opportunities for such detached discussions and contemplation are even rarer.

This problem is however not helped by the dearth of private institutions in Africa that are devoted to preparing potential leaders with that essential global outlook, which will enable them to cooperate within and across national, regional, and institutional
boundaries. Furthermore, it has become increasingly difficult, if not impossible, in many African countries to gain access to relevant and timely information on most national, regional, and global issues.

Experience in and out of Government and in international forum bears out this situation, one that must definitely be addressed and remedied. One solution in this regard is to launch the “Africa Leadership Forum”, and to charge it with the task of conducting a series of meetings which may be national, sub-regional, regional and international in dimension and may vary in duration. The purpose will be to enhance the knowledge and awareness of current and young, potential African leaders, placing special emphasis on diagnosing apparent failures of the past; on understanding multiple dimensions and complex interrelations of local, national, regional, and global problems; and on seeking out appropriate solutions.
Objectives

The purpose of the forum is to encourage a thorough diagnosis, broad understanding, and an informed search for solutions to local, regional and global problems, taking full account of their interrelationships and mutual consequences.

To that end, the Forum will develop, organize and support programmes for the training of young and promising Africans with leadership potential so as to expose them to the demands, duties and obligations of leadership positions and to prepare them systematically for assuming higher responsibilities and meeting the challenges of an interdependent world.

The Forum will also endeavour to generate greater understanding and enhance the knowledge and awareness of development and social problems, within a global context, among young, potential leaders from all sectors of society, cutting across national, regional, continental, professional and institutional borders. This may foster close and enduring relationship among participants, relationships promoting life-long association and cooperation.

Furthermore, the Forum will support and encourage the informed search for appropriate and effective solutions to local and regional African problems and to global problems from an African perspective – within the framework of global interdependence. This will nevertheless include the consideration of phased action programmes, which can be initiated by various countries, sub-regions and institutions in the continent.

In addition, there will be specific weekend seminars organized as Farm-House Dialogues to be held quarterly.

Financial Aspects

The Forum wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the financial contributions it received in 1988 from the Government of Japan, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Carnegie Corporation of New York and Mr. Victor Mpyo.