WOMEN IN THE BORNO STATE CIVIL SERVICE - DIVIDENDS OR LOSSES IN INVESTMENT IN HUMAN CAPITAL

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Introduction

The Nigerian Civil Service is essentially a creation of the colonial past; until the attainment of independence in 1960, it largely served British colonial interests. In keeping with the traditional conception of empire, British territories in West Africa were largely viable military and economic outposts for the economic and social well-being of the imperial power.¹

It must be pointed out, however, that the British presence was not entirely without rewards for the various peoples of the colonial territories. Colonialism not only brought an end to internecine wars among the disparate entities of the colonial territories, it also opened the way to widespread developments in communications, including the building of roads and railways. The order and stability that prevailed in the wake of the "Pax Britannica" is generally perceived in current historical studies to have been of immense value, both to Britain and to her overseas colonies. On the

¹See for example CHINWEIZU, The West and the rest of us, Nok publishers, London, 1978, particularly chapters 12 and 15.
other hand, it was primarily in order to serve its own interests that Britain chose to implement the particular administrative structure that it did. This structuring combined political and administrative aspects which meant in effect that each period of the country's political evolution was accompanied by an appropriate administrative infrastructure. It was this relationship between politics and administration from 1914 onwards adopted (by successive indigenous administrations up to the present day) that led NWOSU¹ to argue that the Nigerian civil service has been shaped and influenced in its development by the very forces which led to the creation and maintenance of the political structures and authority in Nigeria.

The Civil Service as hereby defined is a component of the public bureaucracy and includes direct employees of federal and state governments. For the purpose of this paper, it has been expanded to include the teaching service, thus allowing for a meaningful discussion of female participation in the government workforce. It does not, however, include the personnel of the Police, Statutory Corporations or the Judiciary². As NWOSU shows in his excellent study, its development in Nigeria can be categorised into three main stages³:


²The Civil Service also includes in its traditional sense in Nigeria, all the staff and personnel of Non-Ministerial and Extra-Ministerial Departments.

³NWOSU op cit.
MAP OF BORNO STATE
SHOWING EIGHTEEN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS

COURTESY OF BORNO STATE ORIENTATION MOVEMENT (BOSOM) MAGAZINE (1988)
The first period, from 1914 to 1946, witnessed the establishment of a unitary civil service for the whole country after the amalgamation by Lord Lugard of the Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria and the colony of Lagos. The British imposed a unified but alien civil service, which failed to take into account the ethnic and cultural diversities of the indigenous people. In practice, however, the civil services of the Southern and Northern Nigerian protectorates continued to operate separately. The higher echelon of the service was dominated by British colonial officials, the major purpose of administration being to maintain law and order, and to exploit the natural resources of the country for the greater benefit of the colonial power. This of course led to massive improvements in transportation, including an extensive railway network for the evacuation of agricultural produce from outlying areas.

The service was divided into two main sections - a Departmental Administration and a Political Administration; these were co-ordinated by the Chief Secretary while the Governor General, who was directly responsible to the Colonial Secretary in London, served as Head of the Public Service. The administration itself relied substantially for effective departmental and political effect on the field officers, i.e. the Lieutenant Governors, the residents and the district officers who carried out their duties through the help of intermediaries - the emirs and obas in the Northern and Western regions and the warrant chiefs in the East.
The second major period between 1946 and 1966, witnessed the birth of the Arthur Richards's 1946 constitution, which emphasized administrative de-centralisation. The constitution provided for the existence of federal and regional civil services. Several indigenous personnel from the pre-1946 civil service administrations returned to the three regions of the East, West and North, while others remained in the Federal Civil Service. From about 1954, a radical devolution of administrative power from the British administrators to indigenous Nigerian bureaucrats took place, particularly in the Eastern and Western regions. These areas had produced several qualified personnel for the various arms of the services, with the result that the Civil Services could be said to be largely "Nigerian" during this period.

However, because of the educational laxity of the North and its lack of qualified personnel, the policy was pursued with great caution by the Northern regional government. A "Northernisation" policy was adopted, along with far-reaching educational and economic programmes, with a view to redressing the domination of the civil service by expatriates and southern Nigerians.

The third period, from 1966 onwards is described by NWOSU as the "new federalism", and is marked by substantial growth in the powers and functions of the federal government and the civil service and particularly the reduction of the autonomy of the state governments and the civil service. With regard to developments in the
service after 1966, two highlights should be noted. First, the civil service became primarily development oriented. A new conception of the civil service as a turning wheel for National development had arisen. The splitting of Nigeria into twelve states took place in 1967, and from 1967 to 1976, when seven more states (including Borno) were created to bring the number of states in Nigeria to nineteen, what the political rulers emphasize was the rapid development of their various states and the civil services were conceived and viewed as crucial agents of this development.

The second major development was that as more states were created, there arose an even more thinly-spread source of qualified manpower, particularly for the services of the states that had been carved out of the territory of the former Northern Nigeria. This was in contrast to the situation in the former Eastern and Western Nigeria, the newly-created states served the purpose of creating career opportunities for officers whose advancements were now being impeded by acute competition in the congested civil services. This was particularly true of the services in the former Western and East Central States.

The perception of the civil service now moved from the traditional notions of pattern maintenance, to an organisation of dedicated, trained and well-motivated staff working for the public good in their special areas and leading the public service as a whole in the proper and disciplined conduct of public affairs. Additionally,
the services were expected to have an everyday relevance to the needs, problems and expectations of the rapidly-changing Nigerian society.

When Borno was created from the then North-Eastern State in 1976, it was, as expected, saddled with the problem of providing suitable manpower for the various arms of its services. It is this problem, particularly with regard to the position of women in the system, that this paper will address.

A Note on Borno

Borno state is not only the largest of the twenty-one states of the Federation of Nigeria in terms of land mass, it also occupies the greater part of the Chad Basin in the North-East of Nigeria. Apart from being Nigeria's gateway to East and Central Africa, it is also a point of contact between Nigeria and the West African countries of Niger, Chad, and Cameroon, with which it shares common borders. Together with Gongola and Bauchi states, it constituted the former North-Eastern state created in 1967.

1988 estimates put the population of Borno at approximately 6.9 million. The Kanuri, which make up approximately 35-40% of the population, are the most numerous of the diverse ethnic

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1 Please Consult for reference:
(i) Achievements of Two Years of the Present Military Administration in Borno State, Borno State Government Publication, Government Printer, Maiduguri, 1988, and
groups. Other ethnic groups include the Babur/Bura, the Marghi, Bolewa, Waha, Guduf, Shuwa, Ngizim, Kare-Kare, Ngamo, Bade, Fulani and Hausa.

Borno itself was a Province of the old Kanem-Borno empire, which documented by Arab geographers and travellers as early as the 9th century. The empire is widely believed, however been founded two centuries earlier. Under the leadership of the Sefawa, the then-ruling dynasty of the Kanuri, the Kanem-Borno empire emerged with a new centre east of Lake Chad. At the end of the 11th century, the Kanem-Borno ruler, Mai Ume Jilmi was converted to Islam, and by the 13th century, complex external relations with the Northern and Eastern parts of Africa had begun.

By the end of the 19th century the centre of Kanem-Borno had shifted to the south-west of Lake Chad. When the Sefawa dynasty failed to suppress Borno to its own liking, it sought an alliance with Muhammed Al-Amin Ibn Muhammed Al-Kanemi, a scholar and leader who lived in Ngala. Al-Kanemi soon succeeded in securing the state for the Sefawa dynasty. However, when the Sefawa tried unsuccessfully to regain total and aristocratic power, Al-Kanemi was executed and the dynasty came to an end in 1846. Al-Kanemi's son succeeded the Sefawa ruler and established the El-Kanemi line of the Shehus of Borno, which was interrupted by the brief seven-year rule of Rabeh from 1894-1901.

The British came to Borno in 1901 and did not meet with major resistance, since Rabeh had become unpopular as a result of the devastation
he had caused to the area during his rule. With the defeat of Rabeh, Borno was divided between the two colonial powers of Britain and Germany. The British then revived the El-Kanemi line of Shehus and during the next 60 years of colonial rule, Borno was administered as a province of the defunct Northern region of Nigeria.

The Emirates of Bade, Biu and Fika have distinctive languages and traditions, though they have much in common with the Kanuris. Legends of the origins of Bade and Fika relate them to Kanem-Borno and Yemen respectively, while Biu claims descent from the Sefawa. These Emirates were grouped into Borno Province in the defunct Northern Region.

The Chiefdoms of Shai, Gwoza, Askira and Uba originated at the beginning of the century. Uba Chiefdom was administratively under the former Adamawa Province during the colonial period but was merged with Borno state in 1976. Until 1914, the emirate of Dikwa and the Gwoza Chiefdom were in German Kamerun. At the end of the First World War, both areas came under the trusteeship of the League of Nations and later the United Nations Organisation with the United Kingdom administering them. After Nigeria's independence in 1960, a plebiscite was held in 1961 and Dikwa Emirate and Gwoza Chiefdom voted to join Nigeria.

In 1967, with the creation of states, Borno became part of the North-Eastern State, one of the twelve states created by the new military government.
In 1976, the North-Eastern state was broken down into the three states of Gongola, Bauchi and Borno, with Maduguri (formerly Yerwa) as the capital of Borno state.

Education and the Civil Service in Borno State.

It is not often realised that Kanem-Borno was the first area to receive Islam in Nigeria despite the latter ascendancy of Sokoto.

One of the early kings of Kanem, Mai Ume, is said to have adopted Islam in about 1090 AD, and by the reign of Mai Idris Aloma, all the Kanem Clans were solidly Muslim. It is generally believed that Othman Dan Fodio's attempts at conquering Borno in 1808 were purely for reasons more political than religious, since Borno had had several centuries of Islam, long before the conquest of the Hausa states.\(^1\)

Both the Kanuri and the Shuwa embraced Arabic education through which they were exposed to Islamic learning and Islamic literature. As a result, records and chronicles of important events in Islam and society were kept and preserved. With the expansion of Kanuri influence and domination, many indigenous ethnic groups were pushed further south, while a number were

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\(^1\) See

(1)Ibid.

absorbed into the dominant Kanuri communities and converted to Islam. HICKEY\(^1\) shows that when the Kanuri were defeated by their kindred the Bulala in about 1396, their Mai and his court were said to have fled west to Borno, where many of their people had already migrated. They were said to have come up against the aboriginal So communities who inhabited the fertile land along the Yobe river and around Lake Chad, from Damasak in the North to Ngala in the East.

According to HICKEY's account, it took the Kanuri over two hundred years to dispossess the So, many of whom fled to the west and the south while many more were assimilated into the Kanuri nation through inter-marriage. The aboriginal So of the Ngala area managed to survive in parts of the Dikwa emirate, where they are referred to today as Gamargu, while further south, they established the Wandala dynasty that ruled the Mandara nation from Mora in the Cameroons.

The Fulani Jihad of Othman Dan Fodio led to the conversion of a number of other communities, particularly the weaker clans of the Chadic ancestry to Islam.\(^2\) But not all communities of the region were completely Islamised by the turn of the century, and the administrative unit now referred to as the Borno State includes a number

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\(^1\) See Rev. Raymond HICKEY, *Christianity in Borno State and Northern Gongola*, Institute of Missiology (MISSIO), Aachen, 1984, pp. 3-4.

\(^2\) bid. page 5.
of communities with strong Christian populations. Most of these, however, are located in the south of Borno State.

Borno State has been divided into eighteen local government areas in order to enhance administrative efficiency at the grassroots level. While the population of the ethnic groups of the Bade local government, the Bolewa and Ngamo in Fika local government area and Fulani of Fure local government is estimated to be about 90% Moslem, with very little Christian presence, to the South of the state, the influence of Christianity was largely felt. It is in these areas that Christianity had made its greatest inroads, partially as a result of the end of Islamic military expansion due to the intimidating presence of the British, and also as a result of the freedom granted the missionaries to proselytise in areas outside the immediate areas of Islamic religious influence.

The first Christian mission in Borno Province was established in Garkida in March, 1923. This was followed by several years of intense missionary activity which included medical and educational services. Adamawa Province in particular was a beneficiary of Christian missionary expansion. The Province had a large majority of the population following the traditional religion and as it could not be classified a Muslim area, missionary activity was free and unimpeded.¹

¹Ibid., Chapter 283 particularly, Chapter 3 pages 20-22.
One of the most distinguishing marks of Christian influence is the spread of education in the “western” sense as opposed to Islamic and Arabic education, the latter having been known and developed in the Old Borno Empire. A number of ancient Hausa Fulani States were also greatly respected for their learning in Islamic law and jurisprudence and the highly-advanced Arabic language and culture.

When the Kanem-Borno empire came into prominence in the 13th century, it was able to establish complex external relations with the northern and eastern parts of the African continent, and the empire went as far as establishing a college for its students at the famous Al-Ahazar University in Cairo. Spain and Kanem-Borno were said to have established diplomatic relationships, and the Emir actually named an Ambassador to Spain at that time. However, in line with developments from the colonial period, it was only modern education (often erroneously referred to as western) that provided employment and created nearly all the possible avenues for increased social mobility. The Christian missions in Nigeria brought with them the kind of education that qualified beneficiaries for appointment to the civil service and other segments of the Public Service.

With the amalgamation of the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 and the establishment of the civil service, British administrators sought to engage, mostly at the

lowest rungs of the civil service ladder, men and women who could write and speak English - as clerks, record keepers and so on. A good number were trained as artisans, and utilised in providing, maintaining and improving the state of public works. Arabic, which was the basis of Islamic communication, was greatly undermined and did not have any pride of place in the emerging bureaucracy, despite the fact that Islamic teaching and literature embodied copious details on government and administration.

In addition to the emergence of Christian missions as visible agents of social change, the Christian missions extended modern education to the non-Islamic populations of the Borno area. This activity, which extended to parts of present-day Northern Gongola State, saw the proliferation of Christian schools, the building of hospitals and maternity centres.¹

However, despite this pervasive influence of Christianity mostly to the South of Borno, and despite wide opportunities available for employment in the civil service, education did not grow as quickly would be expected. With regard to the education of women, it was, mildly speaking, a colossal failure. With regard to the North and South of the region, the educational ratios in favour of the south continue to be maintained to this day.

It was not until 1963 that the first girls' secondary school was established in the administrative area of Borno State as we know it

¹Hickey op. cit.
today. However, the first girls' teachers college, the Government Teachers College, was established in the late fifties in Maiduguri, while some of the teachers colleges that were founded in the area maintained nursing sections for the training of nursing staff\(^1\).

Nursing itself has remained in Borno a predominantly male occupation. Presently, for every intake of sixty into nursing schools in Borno State, only about one third, or less than 35%, are female. The midwives are mostly female, while for non-skilled jobs like ward and health attendants, there is an approximately equal ratio of male to female. As a matter of policy, effort is always geared towards ensuring that nearly all attendants in a female ward are females, while the men attend to males.

The education sector is another area that has a reasonable concentration of female manpower, particularly in the lower and middle levels of appointment. But even at that, it is estimated that only about one out of every ten teachers or education staff at this level of appointment is female. In respect to the higher cadres of the state school system, a 1988 statistical table (cf. fig.) dividing the state into six educational zones shows that in the Biu zone, for example, out of a total of one hundred and twenty-five graduate teachers in the school system, only fifteen are female while in Gashua only four out of seventy-three are female. Gwoza

\(^1\)Oral communication from the Borno State Chief Nursing Officer.
figures show eighty-nine male teachers and sixteen female ones, while Monguno has sixty-eight male and only six female. Potiskum zone has only fourteen females out of a teaching population of seventy-four.

It is only in Maiduguri that there is an equivalent number of male and female teaching staff. Out of a graduate teaching population of one hundred and sixty-one, there are eighty-two males and seventy-nine females. For the holders of the National Certificate of Education (N.C.E.), there are one hundred and thirty males and eighty-five females, while for the Diploma Certificate holders, there are fifty-two males and thirty-six females. In other words, over forty-three percent of Graduate, Diploma and N.C.E. certificate holders in the Maiduguri zone are female. This is in contrast to the other zones of the state where the female population does not exceed sixteen percent and is as low as eight percent for the Monguno educational zone.

The fairly high female population of teachers in Maiduguri zone is explained by a number of factors of which marriage is the most significant. Married women whose husbands live in Maiduguri are given preferential treatment in official postings within the public service. Most husbands of female teachers, particularly teachers of graduate and N.C.E. status are themselves more often than not graduates or senior government executive professional and administrative staff, and since Maiduguri is the centre of government administration, most of them live there.
In addition to the fact that female staff live and work as close as possible to their husbands, many of the staff at headquarters married to female teachers of this status are themselves generally top cadre officers capable of influencing favoured postings for their wives and wards in general. Again, a significant number of civil servants as well as teachers who are female but single are also almost always capable of securing for themselves postings to favoured locations. As a result, there is a heavy concentration of staff at headquarters both in the teaching profession and in the other areas of the services.

As already stated, women are also found in rather small numbers in the various arms of the state government administration as clerks, messengers, cleaners, kitchen staff and in general administration. In fact, it was not until about 1981 that women were first admitted into senior administrative positions. Exact statistics of male/female ratios are not immediately available to Government sources, but it is estimated that females constitute less than ten percent of the civil service population of the other arms of the services such as in the Ministries of Agriculture, Information and Culture, Commerce and so on as well as of both the non-ministerial and extra-ministerial departments.

This has led to the erroneous conclusion that women were an insignificant and unuseful segment of the state civil service. This error become even more conspicuous when viewed against the impact already made in the service by
a few well-trained and responsible career women that constitute a source of great pride to the Borno Civil Service.

I was greatly moved by the deep sense of respect and admiration with which well placed male civil servants spoke of a number of competent female executives, some of whom I have had the privilege of meeting in the course of this study and many hold the view that the service in Borno State would have been much poorer without their contribution.

The crucial question, however, remains whether or not the performances of these high-quality female staff can be said to represent the contribution of the average female staff in the Borno Civil Service. Are female workers of the Borno civil service system best regarded as positive or negative factors of social change? While most of the people I spoke to thought that women constitute a useful inner wheel of the service, there are quite a few who think that the service would be better without them. Are women positive factors in the Borno Civil Service or should they be regarded in general as cogs in the wheel of progress? What are the issues, problems and solutions to the female question in the Borno service and elsewhere?

We shall examine these questions in detail.
Issues in Female Performance in Borno State.

Elsewhere in this paper, it has been noted that the Civil Services are creations of the colonial past dating as far back as 1914 with the amalgamation of the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria. The Civil Services up to 1960 when Nigeria attained her independence served colonial needs and were not necessarily geared towards the rapid development and economic transformation and self-reliance of the new Nigerian state.

With independence and the stark realities of the emerging neo-colonial trends, it was imperative that the new nations of Africa engage in an unimpeded transformation of their economies through formulating and implementing policies that promote self-reliance, rapid industrialisation and rural transformation. A corollary to this is that the new nations also needed to shake up the levels of social service, introduce innovations in education, and harvest the human potential required for a purge of poverty, ignorance and disease.

In Nigeria, this was correctly seen as dependent on a number of crucial variables. It was generally believed that the most important of these variables was an effective civil service of dedicated men and women for whom the new clarion call of love of nation, anti-imperialism, social and racial quality was morally binding. This trend towards calls for action has continued in the new states created since 1967.
Borno, one of the newer states of the Federation, lays no claim to an ordered and systematic assessment of the performance of her civil service. This becomes even more intriguing in respect to contributions considered on the basis of gender.

The service as already noted is male dominated and does not seem to have the complexities of moral problems in male/female relationships common in the Federation's Public Service. However there abounds a body of opinion which tends to suggest that despite their low numbers and in spite of the performances of a few well educated and articulate women, it will be an error on a grand scale to award a pass mark to female servants in the state service. Conversely, it has been suggested by many others that women more than ever before are desirable to the service and that the civil service of Borno state would be a better service, more efficient and even more humane, if a majority of its staff were women.

Some of the negative remarks against women in the Borno service include interruptions caused by maternity leave, frequent excuses and absence from duty, little contribution to crucial arms of the service and selective choice of jobs to do.

With regard to the issue of maternity leave, critics take great pains to emphasize that they are not opposed to child-birth and child-bearing per se. What they do not like is the frequency with which many of the women have children. They argue that a woman who has opted for a career in any of the arms of the Public Service has to tailor her needs and desires in consonance with the
overall public interest. During three months' of
maternity leave, a mother's service schedules may
be left unattended to or attended to by a hard-
pressed staff. Critics suggest that given the urgent
development and other roles of the civil service,
and given the position of Borno as one of the
newer states, requiring rapid transformation,
mixed women must programme and regulate
their individual birth rates. Additionally, women
in the Borno Service have been criticised for an
unusually high rate of absenteeism. Though
reliable statistics were not available, particularly
with regard to male/female misdemeanours in
this regard, it was strongly argued that women
generally were the greater culprits. This is said to
be particularly true of unmarried women in the
lower echelons of the service.

A questionnaire administered to a total of
forty workers (twenty males and twenty females)
was particularly revealing from the angle of the
women respondents. The respondents were asked
their opinion on three issues concerning females:
absenteeism, good public relations and
insubordination.

All twenty female respondents gave full
marks to the female workers. Only the male
respondents showed lack of uniformity: more
than 85 percent of them blame the women for
absenteeism while two thirds to be considered
women insubordinate. 40% of the male
respondents thought that women had excellent
public relations.
A number of male critics also point to the low input of women staff in the critical areas of the service. Apart from the highly placed, well-educated women, some of whom hold positions as professional administrators, educators, nurses, medical personal as an judicial officers, there is an unusually high number of women, trained and available for employment in non-crucial areas. For example, one of the major difficulties facing the state teaching service is the excess production of female teachers with qualifications in home economics. Given the fact that a good number of these women are married and that preference is often given to such women in matters of postings, it is not surprising that there is an over-supply of home-economics female teachers and civil servants in Maiduguri, the state capital. This of course entails sacrificing the general good of the state for individual needs.

The preference for posting to urban locations is a general Nigerian phenomenon. Workers want to be posted to places with a constant supply of electricity, water, good roads and regular transport, among other things. The generally crowed urban centres are therefore conceived as ideal and convenient places to work. This leads to a situation in which those in authority seek to control or influence not only appointments, promotions and discipline, but postings as well. The services become subjected to serious immobility, and serious consequences
ensue. In this regard OLATUWATOYIN's observation with regard to the Public Service of Ondo state is of particular significance.¹

A good many people, mostly women within and outside the Borno civil service, think that these observations are sexually biased, and largely untenable. With regard to what is considered the low general productivity of female civil service staff in Borno, a very highly placed female civil servant in the state told me that most educated working women are not unaware of the prejudices and misconceptions about the adequacy and competence of female staff in all aspects of public endeavours. She argues that this has led to a situation where women strain themselves towards giving dedicated, competent service when called upon to perform any tasks. Women come back to finish the day's work in the evenings, at a time when the male staff patronise the bars, tennis clubs and other places.

In respect to maternity leave, women argue that childbirth is in itself a responsibility of every married women and a gift from God. The regularity or irregularity of child-birth, they contend, should be considered well beyond the

¹This point about undue political influences and interference in Civil Service matters is discussed extensively in respect of Ondo State in AKINKUOTU CLUWATOYIN, The Organisational Structure and the Role of the Civil Service in Ondo State of Nigeria, a dissertation presented in partial fulfilment of requirements for a B.Sc. in Political Science, University of Maiduguri, 1984 page 114. The issues raised apply generally in Nigeria.
realms of male chauvinism except of course for reasons of the mothers.

On the question of absenteeism among the women in the service, the women point to the low level of general discipline in the Borno State Civil Service compared to the civil services of a majority of other states in the Federation. They point out that junior female civil servants in Borno have peculiar problems which generally impede perfect compliance, but that this should be understood and controlled. What they require is advice and help not vilification. For example, like young women in other parts of the Federation e.g., Anambra, Rivers, Plateau services, a very high percentage of female civil servants are in the junior categories. A married junior female staff cannot afford to pay a nanny to look after her baby while she is at work, she has no transport of her own, she has no cook, yet her family must be fed even while she is at work at lunch time.

Besides, they point out that since most of the unmarried women are still young and impressionable, it is not unlikely that a certain level of indiscretion will arise from time to time. The charge that women are educated mainly in home economics and deployed in non-crucial areas of the service is also considered untenable by women, particularly when viewed against the vast preponderance of males in the state Civil Service, including the teaching service. An informant points out that out of about five hundred thirty-four civil servants currently on study leave, only about nine or less than two percent, are studying science or mathematics-based courses, most of the
study beneficiaries being male. The women also emphasize that the female civil servants are generally warmer, more honest and that unlike practices in a number of civil service establishments elsewhere, the factor of undue privilege on sex grounds is uncommon in Borno, if unknown. They think Borno female servants manifest excellent public relations, greater patience, and greater care in the performance of tasks.

Discussions and Conclusions.

The women of the Borno State Civil Service, like their counterpart elsewhere, are not distinguishable from the general perception of the African women in traditional society - hard working, determined, and productive. As Kenneth LITTLE succinctly observed, the African woman should not be considered in the manner of French Writer Binet as merely down-trodden, spiritless creatures, since the actual situation more often is precisely the opposite. "Indeed, working women show sometimes a good deal more determination than their male counter-parts"\(^1\) LITTLE goes on to argue that irrespective of how their traditional role is perceived, (this being the basis of prejudices against them) African women are now on the march, seeking for themselves new roles,

new vistas and extra opportunities for achieving status. This is particularly true of women in the civil service.

It should not be assumed that responsibility and competence on the part of women civil servants is a prerogative of the highly-placed ones alone. The junior female servants cannot be considered worse than their male equivalents. What is generally required for both male and female staff in the Borno service is a job ethic that stresses devotion and dedication to the call of duty. This has to be supported by good examples from both male and female managers. Happily, so far it is generally argued that the top female administrative and professional staff are a shining example to their juniors.

It is a mistake to think and behave as if women are negative forces to the system. Discrimination on sex grounds will not only create disparities in human resources development but will consequently affect the rate of socio-economic growth. Additionally, it is not often realised that Nigeria's high birth-rate problem is greatly reduced by the deployment of more and more women into the labour force. As CHINEDU DIKE shows in her study of the Orlu women, of the Imo State of Nigeria, more involvement in economic activities has the effect of lowering the birth rate.

1Ibid. page 180.
What is required in Borno as already noted is a continuous and rapid improvement of the Civil Service work force. Most assuring is the existence of an all-female civil service union within the Borno State Civil Service. The union has the duty of protecting the female work force as well as directing them towards a meaningful and dedicated commitment to the achievement of the goals of the service.

A number of other suggestions have been made towards improving the quality of female contributions to the Borno state civil service, but the issue of better and higher education for them remains prominent. Better education for women will lead to better social orientation, better political participation, better child-rearing and upbringing and indeed a better civil service. Therefore, it becomes imperative that a radical training programme for females in the junior and middle levels of the service should be embarked upon. As NGARARAWA THLIZA shows in his study of manpower development in Borno state, too much money is spent in the training of high-level manpower, to the neglect of middle-level manpower.

The middle-level manpower is the link between the bottom and the top. If the intermediate cadres or middle-service levels are

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1 This development is generally considered worthy of emulation by the other Civil Services of the Federation.
weak, untrained and ineffective, the service will lack efficiency and fluidity of policy implementation. Incidentally, it is within the lower and middle levels of the service that most of the females are found. Improving the skills and job output of staff at those levels of the service is synonymous with improving the quality of a vast majority of women in the Borno Civil Service.

It is therefore extremely heart-warming that in his 1988 budget speech, the Military Governor of Borno State aptly emphasized the importance of female education for which Islam as a religion is no longer an impediment. Apart from promoting nomadic education, the budget promises a boost for the education of women in 1988 and this would include the opening-up of at least two multi-purpose vocational training schools.¹

Further, a report of government achievements for the past two years indicates radical attention to female education. The unit for women's education within the Ministry of Education has since been reorganised and strengthened for efficiency. The report shows that Borno is the first of all Nigerian states to install and commission workshop equipments in all girls schools, while a considerable number of female students have already been enrolled into the Technical College at Bana, studying exactly the

same subjects as their male counterparts. A further campaign for women education has since been launched and the various local governments are being called upon to launch these campaigns at the local level¹.

Parents are advised to discourage abandon early marriages for their daughters, in order to give them the opportunity to go to school. This has been backed up by various government edicts as well as the provision of special boarding facilities for female students.

Finally, it is suggested that the Borno State Government should adopt a deliberate policy of appointing at least one female member to Civil Service and Para-statal Boards in the state, but particularly to all boards of education. This has the advantage of creating opportunities for women, thereby further highlighting the benefits of education. A woman in the Civil Service or Teaching Boards is an assurance to women civil servants that their interests and abilities are being considered along with those of their male counterparts. In addition, female sensibilities and problems such as the task of working and running a home should be recognised and given due help. There should be frequent manpower surveys with a view to improving the general manpower situation in general and the female manpower in particular.

¹See Achievements of Two Years of Present Military Administration in Borno State, Government Printer, Maiduguri, 1988, pp. 33-41.
Government should always endeavour to motivate all staff through sound management policies. Female staff should be given equal treatment with their male counterparts, since they perform the same tasks for every post. Government has the clear choice of advancing the cause of male/female equality in the Public Service in general or surrendering that task to the rising currents of Nigerian feminism.
P. CHIKE DIKE
“Women in the Borno State Civil Service - Dividends or losses in investment in human capital”

Abstract
In the Borno Civil Service of Nigeria, men are of the opinion that women are detrimental to job performance potential. This opinion is shown to be biased, when viewed against the actual job records of many women in the service. Much, however, remains to be done, particularly in the area of education.

Résumé
Les femmes ont été considérées par les hommes comme une entrave aux performances et au développement du potentiel de travail dans la fonction publique de l'Etat du Bornou au Nigeria. De fait, cette opinion ne saurait être maintenue quand on l'examine à la lumière du bilan de travail de nombreuses femmes dans les services publics, bien que beaucoup reste à faire notamment dans le domaine de l'éducation.
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