

A Review of National Policies, Programmes and Initiatives on Sustainable Urban Development in Nigeria

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Abstract. The unprecedented growth of urban centers in Nigeria in the recent time has been of great concerns to government and development agencies. Although, cities serve as ‘engines’ of growth in most developing countries by providing opportunities for employment, education, and ready markets for industrial and agricultural products, their phenomenal growth is not without its accompanied problems, such as high birth rates, high unemployment and or underemployment, high rate of crime, disintegrating or lack of infrastructural facilities and the growth of slums and squatter settlements. This paper is a review of national policies, programmes and initiatives on urban development in Nigeria.

The management of urban growth for sustainable livability has seen the three-tiers of government (federal, state and local), engaged several ways to create vibrant urban centres that will attract jobs, foster economic development, and create attractive places for people to live, work and recreate. These include policies on housing, infrastructure and services, urban renewal and slum upgrading and environment, health and security among others.

However, several of these policies have hit the rock at one stage or the other due to several factors, among which are ineffective institutional framework for planning, dearth of

basic planning data and the declining economic base and fiscal resources resulting in paltry budgetary allocation.

The paper concludes that urban development in Nigeria has been generally more politically motivated than demand driven. Inadequate funding, weak monitoring and evaluation mechanism, as well as lack of transparency, accountability and inclusive participation bedeviled the various policies and programme put in place.

Keywords: Sustainable Development, Urban Growth, Policies, Environment, Programme

1. Introduction

In Nigeria, the growth and complexity of human settlements and particularly the process of urbanization have been phenomenal. The percentage of the population living in urban centres of more than 20,000 inhabitants has been increasing in the country even before independence. According to the 1991 population census, the total Nigerian population living in urban centres in 1921 was 7.18 per cent, by 1952 it had risen to 10.65 per cent and by 1962, it was 19.30 per cent, which again jumped to 36.3 in 1991. In 1950, the population of urban dwellers

was less than 15 per cent but this increased to 23.4 per cent and 43.3 per cent in 1975 and 2000 respectively and further to 45.9 per cent in 2004 (The Human Development Report 2004; Mabogunje 2002). It is estimated that half the nation's population lived in urban areas in 2012 (FGN, 2012) and is projected to reach 65 per cent by 2020 (Nwaka, n.d). This development has been fuelled by several socio-economic and political factors, including the designation of several towns as Headquarters of Federal, States and Local Governments, the location of higher educational institutions in some of them, and the phenomenal expansion of commercial and industrial activities in most of our towns and cities (FRN, 2012).

It is not only the increase in urban population that has been dramatic but also the number of urban centres. It is estimated that by the year 2000, some 19 cities have population of more than one million people whilst some 40 have close to 500,000 inhabitants (Mabogunje, 2002). Thus, unlike most African countries where one or two primate cities dominate the urban network, almost all corners of the Nigerian land space have large centres of human agglomeration. The rate of urban growth was put at 5.5 per cent per annum (one of the highest in the world) in 2012, markedly higher than the national annual growth rate of 3.18%. In the city of Lagos, an annual growth rate of 15% is registered, with its population doubling every 10 years (Taylor, 2000).

Although, cities serve as 'engines' of growth in most developing countries by providing opportunities for employment, education, and ready markets for industrial and agricultural products, high urban populations place enormous stress on infrastructural facilities and housing. The growth of contemporary towns and cities in Nigeria is always accompanied with a lot of problems, such as high birth rates, high unemployment and or underemployment, high rate of crime, disintegrating or lack of infrastructural facilities and the growth of slums and squatter settlements. The management of urban growth presents a daunting challenge to the three-tier of governments (federal, state and local). Governments at all levels have been searching for ways to create vibrant urban centres that will attract jobs, foster economic

development, and are attractive places for people to live, work and recreate. With a view to achieving sustainable development of urban centres in Nigeria, the Federal Government of Nigeria has put certain policies, programmes and initiatives in place. With these efforts, the government aims at restoring sanity into urban centres in Nigeria. This paper is a review of national policies, programmes and initiatives on urban development in Nigeria.

2. Conceptual Framework and Related Literature

This paper is anchored by the concepts of urban development policy analysis and sustainable urban development.

2.1 The Concept of National Urban Policy

The concept of urban policy transcends the confines of narrow definitions given that nearly all public policies directly or indirectly affect urban development. Policy analysis is a field constructed from multiple different backgrounds: the study of different policy areas has evolved in varying political and institutional contexts, drawing upon distinct theoretical roots. Yet, there are similarities across substantive areas in terms of research design and in deciding which approaches are most appropriate for certain types of situations. However, the particular policy subject affects the methodologies and logic of policy analysis. The concept emphasizes theory, but also includes applications and examples drawn from a range of policy issues Urban policy analysis enables practitioners within the field to understand the nature and causes of urban problems and affords us the ability to analyze and understand these problems and policies addressed to them. It covers the logic of urban policy analysis (i.e., how to analyze urban problems and policies), urban trends, conditions, and processes, city-suburban policy interactions, and the role of the city in the regional and national economies. It entails different urban problems and policies (e.g., poverty, education, housing, land use, economic development). The primary goal of the concept is to familiarize urban policy analysts with basic approaches used in policy analysis,

important issues associated with the conduct of policy analysis, and the appropriate and effective use of common analytical methods and techniques to address policy questions.

National Urban Policy sets a vision for cities to deliver future prosperity and wellbeing for their various communities and reinforces Governments' national objective to *ensure cities are globally competitive, productive, sustainable, liveable, socially inclusive and well placed to meet future challenges and growth* (Australian Government, 2011). It contains policies which are interwoven and cover the various dimensions of urban life such as environmental, economic, social and cultural. Success in urban development can only be achieved through an integrated approach. For instance, measures concerning physical urban renewal must be combined with measures promoting education, economic development, social inclusion and environmental protection. Moreover, the development of strong partnerships between local citizens, civil society, the local economy and the various levels of government is a necessary pre-requisite. Realizing that intervention in a in a piece-meal fashion may not ensure the development of urban areas, the Government has decided that a policy-driven approach is needed to take a holistic view of urban growth, and suggest appropriate steps for the future. This approach, it is hoped, will be better suited to improve the economic productivity of cities and towns, to ensure that their growth is inclusive of all economic sections, to promote environmentally sustainable choices, and to ensure strong local governments that are attentive to the needs of citizens and adequately empowered to respond to them. Sustainable urban development is not a choice but a necessity if cities are to meet the needs of their citizens (United Nations, 2007).

National urban development policy is a long term, national framework to guide policy development and public and private investment in cities through articulating a set of goals, objectives and principles. The goals of the National Urban Development Policy are to: harness the productivity of the people and industry; advance the sustainability of a nation's

natural and built environment; and enhance the liveability of towns and cities. Towards these broad goals, the specific objectives are to: improve labour and capital productivity; integrate land use and infrastructure; improve the efficiency of urban infrastructure; protect and sustain the natural and built environments; reduce greenhouse gas emissions and improve air quality; manage resources sustainably; increase resilience to climate change, emergency events and natural hazards; and facilitate the supply of appropriate mixed income housing. Others are to: support affordable living choices; improve accessibility and reduce dependence on private vehicles; support community wellbeing; improve the planning and management of cities; and evaluate progress by research, analysis and reporting. The goals and objectives of National Urban Development Policy are underpinned by at least nine principles which will guide policy and investment decision-making in relation to cities. These principles are efficiency, value for money, innovation, adaptability, resilience, equity, affordability, subsidiarity, integration and engagement.

Very often, national urban development policies have multiple objectives such as provision of culturally relevant houses and renovation of existing ones; improvement of and adding to open spaces, parks and recreation facilities; provision of access and connectivity; development of community gardens; and conservation of wetlands. Sometimes, the goal changes with socio-economic trends. In Europe, until the mid-1960s, no policy initiative had been specifically directed at urban cores and urban problems were largely conceived of in physical terms; such as housing redevelopment to counteract wartime destruction and to deal with obsolete stock. The rapid de-industrialisation of the 1970s led to urban flight, rising crime, and growing social polarization in the Britain's inner cities that drove the emergence of urban policy. State sponsored urban regeneration can be traced back to the late 1960s when Harold Wilson launched the urban programme. This was designed to arrest the economic and social decline of Britain's inner cities. In the 1980s, urban policy became property- and market-led and targeted at small

geographic areas in the hope that disadvantaged residents would benefit. Urban policy in the 1990s and 2000s evolved further to focus more closely on the needs of disadvantaged groups and individuals at the local level. It aimed to bring about holistic economic and social regeneration mainly at the level of the 'neighbourhood'.

There are a number of reasons why the review of urban development policies is critical to the future of Nigeria. One of these reasons is that urban centres are integral to the national economy and future prosperity. Also, urban centres are facing significant challenges that need to be urgently addressed if sustainability is our watchword.

2.2 Sustainable Urban Development

The idea of sustainability can be traced back to the "limits of growth" debates of the 1960s and the 1970s. According to Adams (1995), the concern of the environment as a central issue in development began to grow in the 1960s and 1970s and is well demonstrated by the way the idea were developed and incorporated into developmental and environmental debates by international organizations. Throughout this period, the idea of sustainability was pursued most strongly and efficiently by scientists (like Sir Julian Hazley, First Director of UNESCO), particularly by ecologists engaged in international scientific collaboration (Worthington 1983).

The United Nations Conference on the human environment, held in Stockholm in 1972 is usually identified as a watershed in the emergence of sustainable development (Adams, 1990). The task of the conference according to Ward and Dubois (1972) was to clearly define what should be done to maintain the earth as a place suitable for human life not only now but also for future generations. Sustainable development was also codified in Agenda 21 of the 1992 Rio Conference. At the heart of the agenda is a vision of sustainable development strongly influenced by science, by wildlife conservation, by concerns for multilateral global economic relations, and by an emphasis on the

national management of resources to maximize human welfare (Adams, 1995).

Since Rio, the concept of sustainability and its action oriented variant, sustainable development has been widely employed in the field of policy and political debates as well as research. The single most frequently quoted definitions of sustainable development comes from the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987) which stated that sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987). From the perspective of Hardoy *et al* (1992), the term "sustainable development" brings together two strands of thought on the management of human activities. In relation to cities, sustainable development relates to the continued use of urban ecological resources (e.g. wetlands) without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs through the continued use of those resources. Thus, in relation to environmental management, the objective of sustainable development is to reach a point where the city's development needs are attained without the imposition of ecological unsupportable economic and social demands upon natural resources and systems (Adeowu, 2005). The cities could be guided and managed to develop and become assets, to our socio-economic development that is, to become an engine of positive growth (a development) a creation that we can sustain and that can sustain (not destroy) us (Onibokun, 2006).

The ultimate goal of sustainable urban development is to improve the social, economic as well as environmental quality and the living and working environment of all people, irrespective of social class. Sustainable development of towns and cities combine economic development with social development, and environmental protection with full respect for all human rights and fundamental freedom, including the right to security of tenure and offers a means of achieving a world of greater stability and peace, built on ethical and spiritual vision. According to Hague (2000), sustainable human settlements provides: an enabling

environment for economic and social development and environmental protection that will attract investment; enhance the potential of the informal and private sectors in job creation, improving access to work, goods and services through promotion of efficient, quiet and environmentally sound transportation systems, eliminating as soon as possible the use of lead in petrol; and promoting upgrading of informal settlements. Sustainability of urban development, therefore, entails the successful maintenance of biological diversity and cultural diversity, promotion of human health, as well as air, water and soil qualities at standards sufficient to sustain human life and well-being for all time.

Three key initiatives should underpin Government's approach to building a sustainable nation. These are: the National Urban Development Policy; measures supporting the Sustainable Population Strategy; and the Regional Development Policy agenda. These commitments will enable a nation to achieve more productive, sustainable and liveable cities.

3. Review of National Policies, Programmes and Initiatives on Urban Development

This section reviews the various urban development policies, programmes and initiatives that were implemented by the Federal Government of Nigeria. The review focuses on six important thematic areas: land and housing; urban renewal and slum upgrading; urban planning and human settlement development; and environment, health and security.

With a view to achieving sustainable urban development, the Federal Government has put in place a series of urban development policies and programmes. These policies, programmes and initiatives cover different sectors of urban development such as housing; infrastructure and services; urban renewal and slum upgrading; and urban planning and human settlement development. Others are urban economy; and environment, health and security.

3.1 Housing

In February 1991, the first National Housing Policy that deals with several urban development issues and advanced several

strategies for dealing with them was launched. Such issues bother around easy access to land for housing development; urban economy; poverty and employment generation; urban renewal and slum upgrading; and urban planning and institutional framework for promoting urban development. The policy estimated that 700,000 housing units are to be built each year if housing deficit is to be cancelled in Nigeria. It was also emphasized that not less than 60% of the new houses are to be built in urban centres in order to revitalise them. The ultimate goal of the policy is: *"to ensure that all Nigerians own or have access to decent, safe and sanitary housing accommodation at affordable costs by the year 2000"*. However, at target year of the policy (i.e. 2000), the policy could not make the anticipated impacts on the built environment as a result of some factors associated with inadequacies of the Primary Mortgage Institutions (PMIs), lack of access to land and title to land and problem of mortgage loan affordability among others (Okewole and Aribigbola, 2006).

Government White Paper on the Report of the Presidential Committee on Urban Development and Housing of 2002 recognizes the need for proper governance of housing delivery and urban development in the country. It reflects Nigerian government acceptance and commitment to the Habitat Agenda adopted by 171 national governments of achieving "Adequate Shelter for All" and Sustainable Human Settlement". The Nigeria Vision 20:2020 (NV20:2020) is Nigeria's long term development goal designed to propel the country to the league of the top 20 economies of the world by 2020 (FRN, 2010). The report of the Vision 20:2020 National Technical Group in Housing states that housing would be achieved through a private sector led housing delivery system anchored on mass construction of houses and strong mortgage finance. Vision 20:2020 Implementation Plan also states that 10 million new houses to the national housing stock should be added by building an average of 1 million new homes every year; and ensure that at least 50 percent of the new homes are built in the urban centres and the remaining in the rural areas; and provide incentives to encourage Public Private Partnership (PPP) in mass housing development.

Despite all these efforts, demand for housing in Nigerian urban centres is significant and growing at a fast pace. Urban landscape is littered with many suspended/abandoned housing projects, resulting from the past failed programmes. The supply gap for low and middle income groups is very high, reaching a crisis level in some cities in the country which has been exacerbated by rapid urbanization of the population. The problem of housing will become even more acute, as has been predicted by the World Bank.

3.2 Infrastructure and Services

The First National Development Plan Period (1962-1968) witnessed the provision of infrastructure in selected towns while the Second National Development Plan (1970-1974) allocated seven per cent of the total budget to Town and Country Planning, Housing, Water and Sewerage. This paltry allocation could not make any significant impact on urban development.

In 1974, the Federal Government embarked on the studies of twenty major urban centres in Nigeria to identify critical areas of urban infrastructural needs. During the Fourth National Development Plan, the Federal Government created layouts adequately serviced by roads, drains and other infrastructures, particularly in the urban areas. Infrastructure Development Fund (IDF) was created in 1985 to finance urban development projects in collaboration with the World Bank. Several infrastructure development projects were carried out in Nigerian towns and cities such as Ijora Badiya in Lagos State, Kurna-Asabe (Kano), Lokoja (Kogi) and Aba (Abia). The World Bank assisted Community Based Urban Upgrading project of the Federal Government is designed to build on civic engagement in community development and local governance. The project was a partnership among the World Bank, the Federal, State, Local Government and the beneficiary communities. Seven States participated in the programme. In the first phase, each State is allocated the sum of USD 5.00 million for investment in urban infrastructure and service upgrading. The selection of project components was based on priorities identified by each community in

consultation with the State and Local Governments.

Urban Development Bank was established in 1992 to focus on financing urban infrastructure and public utilities. Implementation of an MDG Programme initiated in 2006, covered the following areas in 2011-2012: public buildings & utilities (69 projects), construction/upgrading of access roads (56 projects), water & sanitation (70 projects) and slum electrification (64 projects).

A quick review of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) sector has shown deterioration in access to water and sanitation between 1990 and 2000. With a view to improving access to basic services, a National Water Policy which includes an Integrated Water Resources Management Plan was adopted in 2000 to ensure provision of safe and affordable water services for all Nigerians. Government implemented Water Policy within the framework of “Water for People, Water for Life” to meet the targets. Also, a community based urban development programme supported by the World Bank was operational from 2003-2011, assisting poor communities in 8 states to have access to basic urban services.

Political commitment to water and sanitation services reflected in the establishment of a separate Ministry of Water Resources (MoWR) and a further establishment of a High Impact Project to improve the situation of water and sanitation in the country. Furthermore, intervention through the Sanitation, Hygiene and Water in Nigeria (SHAWN) programme of UNICEF with funding from DFID contributed significantly to improvement in WASH. The situation became brighter with the inclusion of WASH as a focal thematic area in Vision 2020; and the establishment of a Directorate responsible for Water Quality Control and Sanitation.

In the National Water Supply and Sanitation Policy of 2001, sanitation is treated as a household issue. The Policy aimed to achieve a target of 100 per cent water coverage by 2011 and a target of extension of sanitation coverage to 65 per cent by 2010. The 2008 Human Development Report estimates that 53 per cent

of the population is not using an improved source of water. Although the total federal budget to the sector increased drastically between 1999 and 2007, improvements in terms of total impact and coverage remain insignificant. Access to improved sanitation over the years has actually declined. From the 37 per cent access in 1990, it declined to 32 per cent in 2008 and in 2012; over 60 per cent do not have access to basic sanitation in urban centres.

To meet the MDG Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) targets, Nigeria must invest an average annual funding of approximately £1,048 million in the sector. In the 2009 National budget, only 0.83% of the budget was allocated to WASH sector. This was grossly inadequate, but the situation was even more worrisome in the 2010 sector allocation of the budget, which indicated a phenomenal decrease in budgetary allocation from 2009 to 2010 by as much as 50 per cent. External aid from donor funding of the national WASH budget, which has consistently been less than 2 per cent of GDP over the years, could not make up for the short fall (WaterAids, n.d).

Holistic reform of the power sector commenced in 2001 and this led to the preparation of the National Electric Power Policy and Electric Power Sector Reform Bill. These documents were adopted and enacted in 2001 and 2005 respectively. In the intervening period, Bureau of Public Enterprises with the mandate to undertake the reform, worked with National Electric Power Authority / Power Holding Company of Nigeria (NEPA) and the erstwhile Federal Ministry of Power and Steel in ensuring the successful unbundling of NEPA, institution of shadow wholesale trading arrangement, and the establishment of the regulatory commission. However, over the last two decades, investment in power sector has not translated to significant improvement in electricity generation, with generation ranging between 3,500 and 4,500 megawatts.

In order to achieve the country's targets for the power sector, a projected investment size of N2.55 trillion was stipulated in the Transformation Agenda which covered 2011 to 2015. Despite the privatization of the generation

and distribution aspects of the power sector, the Generation and Distribution companies have not been able to meet electricity needs of most Nigerian cities. These cities are characterized by non-functioning infrastructural facilities, most poorly governed, intensively dotted with illegal structures while physical growth and development of the cities had not been properly managed or controlled (Aluko 2000).

3.3 Urban Renewal and Slum Upgrading

The first attempt to upgrade decaying 'core' areas was in 1928, during the Bubonic Plague of 1928 – 1929, when the then minister of Lagos Affairs appointed the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) now known, as the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) to clear a slum area of about 28.34 hectares (70 acres) in central Lagos within a triangle in the vicinity of Broad Street, Balogun and Martins Streets together with Nnamdi Azikwe Street and the area east of it. The property structures in this area range from residential to market stalls erected in the area without planning and due regard for accessibility, drainage, sewers, open spaces, parking facilities and density. Finance and problem of rehousing displaced persons occasioning tenure insecurity confronted the project. Originally, the government granted the sum of about N5.90 million to the LEDB for the clearance of the slum but actual expenditure in 1962 had risen to about N6,932,886 despite the little cleared. The amount of deposits received by government from lots redeemed amounted to only N1,452,192 leaving a net balance of expenditure of N5,476,694. Acquisition of land and structures apart from the Surulere rehousing site amounted to about N6,232,360 (Aluko and Amidu, 2006). With this kind of approach, the funding required is usually beyond the capacity of most developing nations who have to depend on international finance organizations including World Bank for such projects.

In 1979, the World Bank Assisted Nigerian States Urban Development Programme (NSUDP) was negotiated. The major objective of the scheme was to lay the foundation for a National Low Cost Housing Programme and to

set in motion, broader urban renewal schemes. The scheme took off impressively in Bauchi State at an estimated cost of \$424.6 million while the contract for the Imo State project was signed at a cost of \$63.8 million. However, it was found that other States had priorities different from those of the scheme and so the programme was transformed into the Infrastructure Development Fund (IDF) programme in 1985.

A number of policy innovations, such as sites and services schemes, and 'squatter upgrading' programmes, were developed in order to capitalize on the need for the urban poor to gain entry, at minimal costs, to the urban economy (UNCHS, 1996). The pressure for this came from the international lending community and in particular the World Bank. Given the rising figures of 'spontaneous or squatter settlements', in cities all over the third world, in the face of tight planning control, regular demolitions, and high-cost construction programmes, the World Bank argued for a new approach to urban development which incorporated various forms of aided self-help. The two 'packages' which received the most support were sites and services scheme, and slum upgrading schemes. The former provided low-income beneficiaries with serviced plots including tenure security and help to build their own houses while the latter approach helped house-owners in existing squatter areas obtains tenure to their land, and to improve their dwellings.

The Federal Government commitment to urban renewal was also demonstrated in the National Urban Development Policy and National Housing Policy of 2012. A Presidential Retreat on the sector held on 12th November 2012, resulted in national commitment in fast-tracking implementation of programmes on: land titling; housing finance; affordable housing; low-income / social housing; and urban regeneration (including slum upgrading and urban planning). At the sub-national levels, the 1992 Urban and Regional Planning Law provides for implementation of urban renewal activities and creation of Urban Renewal Agencies in the 36 States and the FCT. Implementation of a National Urban Renewal and Slum Upgrading Programme which commenced in 1989 and

involved extending grants to States for urban improvements. The Cities Alliance and UN-HABITAT were supporting city-wide slum upgrading activities. The Cities Alliance was documenting the best practices in the Lagos State Urban Regeneration Programme for sharing of experience. The World Bank was assisting in the preparation of an Urbanization Review for Nigeria, to commence shortly.

The various planning agencies are the first line for reporting on slum situations and improvements. The National Bureau of Statistics conducts a National Integrated Household Survey bi-annually in which data on slum dwellers are captured in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The housing data in the 2006 Population Census constituted 47% of the total data collected. Additionally, a National Housing Data Bank has been established in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, which incorporates information on slum upgrading programmes. The institutional framework for comprehensive reporting on achievements in housing delivery and slum upgrading has been enshrined in the revised National Policies on Housing and Urban Development.

With reference to exchange of experiences, documentation on Urban Renewal in Okpo Slum in Onitsha was shared at the Shanghai Expo in 2010. Ondo State recently produced documentation on its Urban Renewal Strategy and preparation of urban renewal plans for nine towns is on-going in Osun State. Some State Governments (Ondo, Rivers, Lagos) have received recognition for outstanding contributions for improvements in urban development and urban regeneration programmes. Nigeria looks forward to benefitting from further cooperation, networking and financial support for wider coverage of projects, and for more detailed and comprehensive documentation, in its efforts at making slums history.

Under the 2012 Housing and Urban Development Policy, an action plan for slum upgrading was prepared. The aim of this plan is the promotion of Participatory Urban Planning at State and Urban levels. This involves working

with and employing the UN-HABITAT Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme (PSUP) methodology – (on-going in Anambra, Nasarawa, Osun and Rivers States). Programmes target 100% slum upgrading in cities, reservation of land to meet housing shortages and provision of essential infrastructure. The Federal Government has been working assiduously to abate new slum formations through proposed formulation of an integrated National Strategy on Slum Prevention.

3.4 Urban Planning and Human Settlement Development

The Third National Development Plan (1975-1980) accorded some importance to urban development. During this period, a new Federal Ministry responsible for housing, urban development and environment was established. Before the enactment of urban and regional plan law of 1992, the Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1946 constitutes the legislative basis for all laws and regulations governing urban planning. Generally, it is considered to be an ineffective tool for controlling national urban development (Taylor, 2000).

The implementation of the National Urban Development Policy, which was launched in 1997, is yet another step towards ensuring regional balance in the growth and development of urban systems in Nigeria. The stated goal of the policy is to develop a dynamic system of urban settlements that will foster sustainable economic growth, promote efficient urban and regional development and ensure improved standard of living and well-being for all Nigerians. The Urban and Regional Planning Law of Nigeria (Decree 88 of 1992) which was amended in 1999 provides the legal framework for the implementation of the policy. The law specifies the urban limit for any settlement, the planning and development parameters guiding such development.

Also, necessary institutional frameworks have been established to ensure effective implementation of the policy. At the local level, Urban Planning Authorities are being set up to

administer the policy, while Urban Planning Boards are located at the State level and a National Urban Development Commission at the Federal level.

The efforts of the government to achieve sustainable cities or healthy cities reflected in its implementation of the different global initiatives of the major UN Conferences and development goals. Such initiatives include the Sustainable Cities Programme, the Global Campaigns for Urban Governance and for Secure Tenure which seek to promote more inclusive cities, and to guide national governments and local authorities on the need for improved governance practices, for secure land and housing tenure and how to combat the incidence of forced evictions; Cities Without Slums, sponsored by the World Bank, seeks, like the Millennium Development Goals, to achieve a significant improvement in the lives of millions of slum dwellers within the next decade.

A new national urban development policy was put in place in 2012. The endorsement of this National Policy on Urban Development by the National Council on Lands, Housing and Urban Development, the Economic Management Implementation Team (EMIT), the National Economic Council (NEC), and ultimately the Federal Executive Council (FEC), in June 2012, is a fitting testimony to its collective ownership and as a useful tool for revitalizing the urban development sector. Different human settlements development issues requiring new policy initiatives and actions that are captured in the national urban development policy are many. They include access to land; urban economy, poverty and employment generation; urban transportation, communication and traffic management; urban renewal and slum upgrading; urban environment ; urban infrastructure; social welfare services and social integration; and financing urban development. Following these are urban management information system; human resources development; urban maintenance system; urban security; urban governance; urban planning and resettlement; and mega cities development. Others are climate change; effective devolution of political power; urban classification; and implementation, co-

ordination, monitoring and evaluation (FRN, 2012).

Evidences have clearly shown that the 2012 National Urban Development Policy has failed to address the root causes of urban problems in Nigerian cities. In spite of this policy, most towns and cities are characterized by urban sprawl. Urban sprawl is very energy inefficient, as it leads to more travel, more fuel consumption, more air pollution, and also to inefficiencies in infrastructure and service provision. Some of the key environmental and social challenges associated with urban development in Nigeria are un-proportionally high energy consumption, a high level of greenhouse gas emissions, a vast ecological footprint, high resource consumption (water, food) and large infrastructure costs aggravated by urban sprawl, the growth of slums and the lack of livelihood opportunities.

3.5 Urban Economy

During the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980), industrial towns like Ajaokuta, Aladja and Onne were established. In 1996, the Federal Government launched Vision 2010 which adopted the vision of functional cities for rapid economic growth. Demographic and deprivation records in Nigeria show that urban poverty, rather than reducing, is actually increasing. Also, unemployment has been on the increase most especially among the youth. The Federal Government in 2008 acknowledged that about 80 per cent of Nigeria’s youths are unemployed and 10 per cent underemployed (Daily Trust, 2008). Table 1 shows unemployment rate by educational level, age group and gender in 2010 and 2011. In 2011, the Minister of Youth Development, Bolaji Abdullahi reported that 42.2 per cent of Nigeria’s youth population is out of job. Depo Oyedokun, the Chair of the House Committee on Youth and Social Development revealed that of the over 40 million unemployed youths in the country, 23 million are unemployable and, therefore, susceptible to crime, hence the need to articulate what could be done to salvage the situation (Emeh, 2012).

Table 1: Unemployment Rate by Educational Level, Age Group and Gender, 2010 and 2011

Educational Level	2010			2011		
	Urban	Rural	Composite	Urban	Rural	Composite
Never Attended	19.2	17.7	17.9	19	22.8	22.4
Below primary	24.9	23.1	23.5	-	-	-
Primary	21.8	21.8	21.8	15.5	22.7	21.5
Modern School	-	-	-	14.5	27.5	24.3
JSS	24.5	22.4	23.1	16.6	36.9	33.4
Vocational/Commercial	27.9	24.1	25.7	34.5	27	28.7
SSS	24.2	23.6	23.9	13.9	22.5	20.1
NCE/OND/Nursing	22.3	20.4	21.5	17.2	22.5	20.2
B.A/B.Sc/B.ED/HND	24	21.5	23.1	16.8	23.8	20.2
M.Sc/M.AM.Admin	20.7	18.5	20.1	3.2	8.3	5.1
Doctorate	19.6	19.6	19.6	11.1	7.7	9.1
Others	22	23.7	22.8	31.3	36.1	35.5
Age group						
15-24	26	24.8	25.2	33.5	38.2	37.7
25-34	23.5	20.7	21.7	16.3	24.1	22.4
35-44	21.8	18.3	19.6			
45-54	20.5	19	19.5	34.1	51.2	47.8
55-64	22.1	20.5	21.1			
Gender						
Male	21.6	18.5	19.6	16.9	25.1	23.5
Female	24.2	23.1	23.5	17.2	26.1	24.3
	22.8	20.7	21.4	17.1	25.6	23.9

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2012.

Youth unemployment in Nigeria has a geographical dimension, most urban areas experience huge unemployment rate when compared to rural areas. Several factors have been adduced to account for high unemployment rate in the country, notably amongst these are low economic growth, low economic activity, low investment and low productivity. In the 1970s, certain efforts were made to upgrade what was considered as low level of productivity and low standard of workmanship of those people that were engaged in informal activities. Such efforts include the establishment of Small Industrial Development Centres and Small-Scale Industry Credit Scheme (SSICS), to provide technical advice and training, and to offer small loans. In the 1980s, the Federal Government embarked on a number of social initiatives aimed at addressing urban poverty and austerity that came in the wake of Structural Adjustment. Some of these include the establishment of the National Directorates for Employment (NDE) as well as People’s and Community Banks. These banks were to provide small loans and other forms of financial and business services for the poor and informal sector enterprises, with the whole community acting as guarantor for loan repayment (Nwaka, n.d). However, civil servants, military officers’ wives, and other well connected persons appear to have hijacked the

scheme, often getting loans far in excess of the approved official maximum (Dike, 1997; Halfani, 1996).

Between 1996 and 1999, the Federal Government in collaboration with the State and Local Governments embarked on elaborate poverty alleviation programme tagged Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) with a budgetary allocation of N4.0 billion. The target was to reach out to women in particular and encourage them into productive ventures as well as enhance their economic and political access. Later, the various programmes and projects on poverty alleviation were harmonized and rationalized by the civilian administration under the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) which was launched in 2000. In the same year, the Government launched National Economic Policy and the National Empowerment and Economic Development Strategy (NEEDS I) and NEEDS II followed in 2004. However, in the National Economic Policy of 2000, no effort was made to protect informal sector products from competition with imported mass produced goods, hence many informal sector operators tended to gravitate towards trading, services, transportation, etc (Dike, 1997).

3.6 Environment, Health and Security

The military administration of General Buhari initiated an aggressive campaign for environmental awareness and sanitation as the focus of the fifth phase of the so-called 'War against Environmental Indiscipline' (WAI) in 1984. Special days of the month were set aside for general clean up by everybody - to unblock drains, clean residential and work places, and remove heap of rubbish. Kiosks, illegal structures and shanty towns in Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt and other urban centres were raided and ruthlessly demolished (Brimah, 1986; Nwaka, 1996). It should, however, be noted that most of the environmental health and sanitation programmes appear to be reminders of colonial segregation and oppression and have very little current relevance to Nigerian situation. For example, residential buildings are now widely used for home based activities in complete disregard of the official zoning regulations to

separate areas of presumed incompatible activities. Unfortunately, the potential merit of the programme was marred by overzealous officials and the military drive for quick results (Nwaka, n.d).

The WHO's Healthy Cities Programme seeks to highlight the health and environmental dimensions of urban development, and to promote a more integrated approach to urban management and human settlement development. Similarly, several initiatives are being implemented in the health sector to support the Transformation Agenda and National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP)'s goals. One of such initiatives is a vision to save one million lives by 2015, which was articulated. This represents a major paradigm shift in the approach to service delivery in the health sector. The NEEDS document concludes that while none of these programmes were completely without merits, the truth is that they did not have a significant, lasting and sustainable positive effect.

With reference to security, "Operation Fire-for-Fire" introduced in 2002 was aimed primarily at combating rising crime and the resultant insecurity felt across the nation, particularly in urban centres. However, this initiative raised concerns that the police would take it as an invitation to engage in disproportionate use of force. A pilot community policing project was introduced in Enugu State in April 2004. The community policing programme was meant to transform the culture and organization of the police, improve relations with ordinary citizens and quality of service delivery. The program has since been replicated in other states of the federation.

On his appointment in 2005, the new Inspector General of Police launched a new ten-point agenda on a broad range of issues, such as: improving the intelligence and investigative capacity of the police; combating violent and economic crimes; conflict prevention; community policing; improving relationships with the general public; anti-corruption; and improving the salary and welfare package of officers. A review of the Police Act started in November 2004 and is being undertaken by an interagency committee comprising police,

government and civil society representatives. This is because in the Nigeria Police, motivation was low, salaries were poor and not paid promptly, and promotions were rare, with officers frequently stuck at the same rank for upwards of eight to ten years. Other initiatives aimed at improving internal and external communications as well as the provision of adequate resources have been adopted, modern equipment purchased and improved training to boost capacity. The Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps was established in June 2003. Governed by the Immigration Prisons Services Board, the agency was formed to further enhance security by assisting in the maintenance of peace and order and also in the protection and rescuing of the civil populace during periods of emergency. Furthermore, they are responsible for monitoring the activities of private guard companies, surveillance of infrastructure and arrest, investigate and handover of suspected criminals to the Police. Despite all these efforts, urban crimes such as armed robbery, kidnapping and ritual killing have been on the increase.

4. Conclusion

Despite all the various policies, programmes and initiatives that have been put in place by the Federal Government of Nigeria, since the colonial era, Nigeria's urban problems still remain seemingly intractable. Nigerian town, cities and megacity are still beset with environmental degradation and decay, complex housing crises, growing rate of unemployment and increasing urbanization of poverty. Other associated problems are growing insecurity, ineffective institutional framework for planning, dearth of basic planning data and the declining economic base and fiscal resources.

This situation stems from the fact that urban development in Nigeria has been generally more politically motivated than demand driven. Inadequate funding, weak monitoring and evaluation mechanism, as well as lack of transparency, accountability and inclusive participation have also affected effective implementation of national urban development policies, programmes and initiatives.

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