PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIA

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KWASI GYAU BAFFOUR AWUAH
University of the West of England, Bristol

OLUVOLE MORENIKEJI
Federal University of Technology, Minna
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ACRONYMS

AfDB  African Development Bank
CBO  Community Based Organisation
C of O  Certificate of Occupancy
DFID  Department of International Development
FET  Faculty of Environment and Technology
FUT  Federal University of Technology, Minna
LGA  Local Government Area/Authority
NEMA  National Emergency Management Agency
NGO  Non-Governmental Organisations
SCP  Sustainable Cities Programme
SSA  Sub-Saharan Africa
UDB  Urban Development Board
UK  United Kingdom
UIREM  Urbanisation and Infrastructure Research and Evaluation Manager
URN  Urbanisation Research Nigeria
UWE  University of the West of England, Bristol
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Nigeria continues to experience increasing levels of informal urban developments. Although government authorities have often described the phenomenon as a nuisance, it is now being recognised by some stakeholders within the international development agencies and academia, among others, as making a substantial contribution to urban development. It is further acknowledged that lessons could be drawn from the informal urban development system to inform sustainable urban development and management initiatives in the country.

The research sought to examine the system of urban land acquisition, planning, and governance for informal land development in Nigeria. The aim was to provide a deeper understanding of the operations of the informal urban development system to aid policy formulation and practice. It was based on empirical evidence from two informal communities namely: Nyikangbe in Minna, the Niger State capital city, and Ugbo Odogwu in Enugu, the Enugu State capital city, as case studies.

A mixed-methods research design was employed to deliver the research. This utilised a combination of strategies and techniques beginning with a systematic identification and review of the relevant literature. This drew on multiple sources from academia and industry.

The literature review was complemented with city-wide stakeholder workshops in Minna and Enugu. The stakeholder workshops particularly in Enugu was organised with the assistance of the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA). The literature review and the stakeholder workshops helped to contextualise the research and inform the nature of data required, data collection strategies, sampling techniques and the design of data collection instruments. They also facilitated the empirical data collection.

Empirical data were collected through focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews with members and some key actors within the land development and management processes in the case study communities.

Further, surveys of residents/property owners in the communities were carried-out. These sought to explore issues on:

- land acquisition, planning and sub-division of land processes and their governance;
- access to infrastructure and services;
- equity in land development and management; and
- cost relating to land development processes in the communities.

Findings from the research established that current policy debate acknowledges informal development. It recognises that although the
informal development system and its outcomes have some weaknesses, it plays a relevant role in urban development and that lessons could be drawn from the system to inform Nigeria’s quest to achieve sustainable urban development and management. Accordingly, recent policy initiatives to promote sustainable urban development and management in the country are quite receptive to the system. Further, the findings show that incidence of informal urban developments keeps rising, and that the informal urban development system serves and provides land development needs for all categories of people including those from low, middle and high income groups, as well as those with different levels of education, and engaged in both formal and informal sectors of employment.

It was found that there are existing mechanisms for land development and governance for informal developments, as well as to access infrastructure and services, although the standards of these mechanisms do not necessarily match the standards within the formal development system. These existing mechanisms demonstrate that stakeholders, such as traditional authorities and the youth, wield a major influence and authority in the land development and management processes.

The findings also show some actors in both the informal and formal development systems collaborate in areas, such as land title perfection (land registration) processing, and provision of infrastructure and services. The findings further showed that informal communities are often ready to improve their access to infrastructure and services through self-help and household financial contributions.

The cost relating to the informal land development and management processes comprised:

- direct cost, such as professional fees for survey and demarcation of land, land transfer deed fee, community leader’s endorsement of land transaction honoraria, estate agent commission and household financial contribution towards infrastructure provision; and

- indirect cost such as cost of time lag, commuting cost, and commuting and waiting times to follow up on activities under the processes.

The direct costs are substantially higher than the indirect costs. The findings showed that the informal development system does not promote equity in urban development and management, and that the poor’s access to developable lands and inclusion in the land development and management processes are increasingly becoming limited. Further, some existing norms and practices continue to hamper women’s access to land through inheritance and sharing of family properties, as well as their participation and inclusion in land development processes.

Findings from the research reinforce the relevance of the informal urban development system, and justify the Nigerian government’s recent policy initiatives to achieve sustainable urban development and management.
Findings from the research also suggest there are existing processes for informal land development and that informal communities are willing to make both financial and “in-kind” contribution towards infrastructure provision. Further, the existing collaboration between actors in both informal and formal development systems could be developed and strengthened to contribute to Nigeria’s quest to achieve sustainable urban development and management.

Thus, policy makers and implementers, such as the ministries responsible for land, planning and urban development, and infrastructure and services provision agencies, could utilise the above opportunities to strengthen Nigeria’s efforts to achieve sustainable urban development. Further, findings, such as the extent of cost relating to informal urban land development processes upon comparison with similar cost in the formal sector, could help land development and management institutions like the Urban Development Boards (UDB) and ministries responsible for lands and urban development to undertake their responsibilities effectively. They could, for example, help them to design suitable programmes to render services at affordable cost and fees. In particular, the research developed a set of indicators to measure equity in urban development and management. This set of indicators could form a basis to develop global indices useful to governments and development agencies, such as DFID, to analyse equity in urban development across the developing world to generate insights for policy formulation.

Based on the foregoing findings and implications, the research proposes:

- The current informal land acquisition procedure and practices, particularly those that supervise land transactions to prevent fraudulent transactions, should be maintained and encouraged. However, the role of agents, such as friends, relatives and estate agents in the land acquisition process should be streamlined to promote proper records keeping, transparency and accountability. Similarly, working arrangements between local lands department (UDB) and the traditional community leaders where the officials from the former often consult the latter as part of the issuance of the C of O process to check the veracity of the genuineness of land transactions and the lands involved needs to be encouraged. This has the potential to reduce the issuance of C of O over wrong parcels of land, and prevent unnecessary dispute over land ownership and its associated transaction costs.

- The existing arrangement, such as the establishment of committees and the use of the influence of the local community leaders to facilitate development control should be maintained. However, this needs to be streamlined and improved upon to include professionals to ensure, for example, proper survey of lands and preparation of planning schemes, as well as the formulation of suitable development standards and their application. The role and influence of the Youth Development Union relating to land development and development control should be
encouraged. Nonetheless, the role and activities of the youth, in particular, should be reviewed. Such review should provide clear basis and structure for their role, and the constitution of the membership of their workforce, as well as the justification for the levies they collect. Further, mechanisms should be put in place to ensure that levies collected are used to promote development in the community. For example, they could be used as a contribution towards infrastructure financing in the community.

- Household financial contributions towards infrastructure financing and self-help for infrastructure provision should be sustained. However, leadership of the communities and, in particular, committees set-up for such purposes should be reinvigorated in terms of having the suitable personnel and motivation to rally all community members to commit to such projects. Further, the committees should develop clear basis for household financial contributions and continue to liaise with infrastructure agencies, relevant government departments, NGOs, financial institutions and international development agencies, such as the World Bank and UN-Habitat, to explore the possibility of securing suitable funding options, strategies and programmes for the provision of infrastructure.

- Leadership of the informal communities, particularly the Mai-Anguwa and the Igwe, should initiate programmes to remove practices that limit women’s complete access to land resource and participation in the land development processes. Also, modalities should be developed to ensure income poor households could access land, as well as included in the decision-making relating to land development and management in the communities.

- At the national and state government levels, increased engagement and dialogue to foster collaboration between actors in the informal and the formal urban development systems especially state governments, urban authorities, land and urban planning institutions, infrastructure provision agencies chiefs and other community leaders, civic leaders, landowners and developers, as well as other stakeholders, such as Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs), development agencies like the DFID and academia would be beneficial. This has the potential to create a platform to devise pragmatic and comprehensive urban development and management policies and programmes, which are receptive and acceptable to all interest groups in Nigeria’s urban environment.

- The existing strengths of the informal development system could be leveraged by policy makers and implementers to support Nigeria’s pursuit of sustainable urban development and management. These strengths include the existing household “in-kind” and financial contribution towards infrastructure and services provision, particularly
roads, electricity and water supply, and the influence of community leaders and the youth in development control.

- There is a need for pro-marginalised land development and management policies and programmes that ensure access to land by the poor, remove customary limitations on women’s access to land, and promote inclusion of all interest groups in land development and management processes. Such policies should also promote accountability and ensure family and communal land resources benefit all family and community members respectively.

A number of suggestions for further studies are made, including extension of this study to other cities in Nigeria to provide additional data to inform policy recommendations and practice.
INTRODUCTION

This is the final report on the Planning and Governance of Informal Urban Developments in Nigeria project under Theme “D” projects\(^1\) of the Urbanisation Research Nigeria (URN) programme. The implementation of the research project commenced in January, 2015 and ran for 24 months. The project was implemented by a team of UK and Nigerian based researchers.

This report catalogues how the research was delivered, its findings and implications for policy formulation and practice, and recommendations. The primary aim of the research project was to gain a deeper understanding of the operations of the informal urban development system in Nigeria to aid policy formulation and practice.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) continues to witness rising levels of informal urban developments (UN-Habitat, 2014a). Between 50-80% of all new urban developments in cities across the region are described as informal (Rakodi, 2007; Nkurunziza, 2008). Nigeria, the region’s most populous nation, is one country where the incidence of informal urban developments continues to increase (Egbru et al., 2008; Eko et al., 2012). Although often criticised for their non-compliance with planning and urban development regulations and their lack of adequate infrastructure and services, they are beneficial to the greater majority of the urban population in terms of provision of accommodation for housing and economic activities (Rakodi, 2007). Some of these developments are also regarded as standard developments and they are provided with some form of infrastructure and services (Rakodi, 2007; Wekesa et al., 2011).

The relevance of informal developments, thus, continues to engage the attention of multiple development stakeholders, such as development experts, government policy makers, international development agencies and the academia. This is against the backdrop of the exceptional inadequacies of a formal urban development system. Accordingly, it is proposed that the informal urban development system could provide useful insights for the achievement of sustainable urban development and governance not only in Nigeria, but across the SSA region (UN-Habitat, 2014a). Recent initiatives in Nigeria to achieve sustainable urban development and governance, such as the adoption of strategic planning and integrated approaches to urban development and governance, have sought to incorporate insights from the informal urban development system.

\(^1\) URN is made of four themes – “A” to D. Theme “A” focuses on urban change processes whilst themes “B”, “C” and “D” focus on urban economic growth, infrastructure and livelihood, wellbeing of urban citizens, and urban land, planning and governance respectively. Theme “D” comprise six research projects including this research project.
system. These include, for example, the propositions of the country’s National Housing and Urban Development Policy, and the adoption and implementation of the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP). These initiatives aim to promote inclusion and participation of urban sector stakeholders in urban development and governance. The rationale is that collective approaches to urban development and governance could provide the needed platform to harness the benefits of both the formal and the informal development and governance processes to inform the development and implementation of a sustainable urban development system (Ogbazi, 2013).

Although there is a quest to garner insights from the informal urban development system to inform the design and implementation of a sustainable urban development system, no comprehensive research has been undertaken into the operations of the informal system in Nigeria to bolster the quest. This is not to deny that some relevant studies, such as Ikejiofor et al. (2004), Ikejiofor (2006), Ujoh et al. (2010) and Abubakar (2014), have discussed informal urban developments in Nigeria. However, these studies are often limited in scope and tend to focus on the ills of informal urban developments. Indeed, a recent baseline study (Lamond et al., 2015) conducted as part of the implementation of the Theme “D” projects among other issues noted that:

- the existence of the dual urban development paradigms (formal and informal) in Nigeria partly account for the ineffective urban development system in the country;
- the spontaneous emergence of massively-scaled urban development still occurs under a variety of guises to meet the demand for space for urban accommodation, business and services from a diverse population with huge division between the wealthy and the urban poor; and
- the growing need to categorise and understand the diversity of urban developments in order to develop policies that adopt the strengths of informal developments, while pursuing national and state development goals of providing healthy and economically viable urban environments for all.

The findings from the baseline study, in part, further suggested a need for comprehensive studies into informal urban development system in Nigeria. The lack of comprehensive studies into the operations of the informal urban development system is not exceptional to Nigeria, but it is commonplace across SSA. Adam (2014 p 91) notes that while informal developments have their own forms of social ordering and systems, most governments in the region are not well informed about the social rules and institutions that govern how people act in the system.
Aim and Objectives

The central aim of this research project was to undertake in-depth investigation of the system of urban land acquisition, planning and governance for informal urban land development in Nigeria to provide a deeper understanding of the operations of the informal urban development system to aid policy formulation and practice. The research was based on two informal communities in Minna, Niger State capital city and Enugu, capital city of the Enugu State, as case studies.

The objectives of the research were to:

- Explore land acquisition, planning and sub-division processes for informal urban development;
- Investigate arrangements under which informal developments are provided with infrastructure and services;
- Examine the governance processes and management practices used under the informal urban development system;
- Assess the cost of planning and land sub-division including access to infrastructure and services; and
- Evaluate the level of equity under the informal urban development system particularly for the marginalised, such as the poor and women who are often perceived to lack access to land resources and are unable to participate in land development processes due to financial or customary limitations.

Relevance of Research

This research is relevant to policy formulation and practice, and makes a significant contribution to the existing literature. As part of efforts to promote sustainable urban development and management, several urban development and management initiatives and policies have been passed in Nigeria at both federal and state levels of administration. These initiatives and policies include:

1. Vision 20:2020, which is a key federal government policy document that seeks to transform and recommend strategies to develop smart and functional cities for rapid economic growth, and promotion of good governance in the country’s planning system;
2. The National Urban Development Policy, which was passed in 2012 and aims to address issues, such as access to land, improve urban economy and environment, infrastructure provision and slum upgrading;
3. The National Housing Policy, which aims to ensure Nigerians own or have access to decent, safe and sanitary housing in healthy environment with infrastructure at affordable cost;
4. The adoption of the SCP; and
5. The passage of the Gateway to Land and Housing Policy by the Niger State Government, which seeks to attain a safe, liveable, orderly, sustainable and aesthetically beautiful urban environment.

Findings from this research, therefore, provide additional data to help formulate new policies and revise the above existing initiatives and policies, as well as develop pragmatic strategies for their implementation. This is to ensure that cities and urban areas in Nigeria are not only sustainable and productive, but they are also resilient, inclusive and liveable, a key input for socio-economic progress. Further, the research highlights ways and areas where the strengths of the informal urban development system could be leveraged, for example, to improve access to land for development, land planning, sub-division plan preparations and development control, and access to infrastructure and services.

This would be very useful to the federal and state governments, in particular, the ministries responsible for land and urban planning, planning authorities and urban development boards. It would also be useful to stakeholders such as utility agencies, NGOs and CBOs involved in urban development and international development agencies, such as the DFID. In addition, this research extends the existing knowledge on the operations of informal urban development in Nigeria and also across the SSA region, and thus makes a contribution to filling the knowledge gap in the relevant literature. This knowledge will be useful to higher education institutions especially those that run programmes on urban planning and management, land economics, and environmental management, among others, particularly in Nigeria and elsewhere in the developing world.

Research Project Structure

The overall research project was divided into three main components; A-C. Component “A” focused on the inception activities, which comprised identification and review of the focal and incidental literature, stakeholder mapping, stakeholder workshops and selection of case study cities and communities, as well as the development of a conceptual approach for the research. Component “B” examined the selected case studies and concentrated on the empirical aspect of the research, whilst component “C” synthesised findings from the overall research in the form of discussion of findings to generate understanding of the operations of the informal urban development system in Nigeria. Figure 1 summarises details of the overall project structure.
Based on the research aim, objectives and the project structure, this report is organised into seven main sections. After this introduction, the next two sections discuss the relevant literature. This is followed by a presentation on the methodology deployed to deliver the research. The research findings and their discussions are then presented before conclusions and implications of the research are drawn and recommendations prescribed.
THE INFORMAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT DEBATE

It is a common knowledge that informal urban development continues to soar across the globe, particularly in developing regions, such as Africa, Asia and Latin America. For example, the majority of the over one billion of the world’s urban population who lived in inadequate housing at the commencement of the millennium were in the developing world (Gilbert, 2014). Indeed, 70% of SSA urban population resides in slums and suffer from more than two deprivations compared to 31% in Latin America, 55% in India and 60% in South-Central Asia (Gilbert, 2014). Further, it is estimated between 50-80% of all new developments in SSA cities are informal (Nkurunziza, 2008). The growth in informal developments in the developing world is expected to increase further in the face of the tripartite impetus of rapid urbanisation and urban growth, rising urban poverty and rising informal sector, which is estimated to provide employment opportunities to up to 80% of the population (Watson, 2009; Brown, 2012). However, several schools of thoughts have emerged especially following the “discovery” of the term informal economy by studies, such as Hart (1973), McGee (1973), Mathur and Moser (1984) and many others. This section discusses key orthodoxies as applied to informal urban development. The rationale is to highlight the basis of the current policy debates on informal developments and where this present research sits within the policy debate. In so doing, the section first examines the meaning of informal development and proceed to discuss the key schools of thoughts on urban informality, and the concept of equity in urban development and management.

URBAN INFORMALITY – KEY SCHOOL OF THOUGHTS

Informal urban developments, like informal economy, have become a subject of several views as to their continuous proliferation and what interventions should be instituted to manage them, especially in the developing world (Brown and McGranahan, 2016). For example, Fox (2014) notes that the subject of slums in SSA has been examined from several perspectives such as economics, sociology and political economy. However, the first major school of thought on informal economy was perhaps the dualist school of thought, which came into being following the International Labour Organisation’s Mission Report to Kenya in 1972 and the seminal work of Hart (1973). This school of thought espouses that informal economic activities are born out of the exclusion of people from modern economic opportunities due to imbalances between:

- Urban population growth and growth of modern industrial employment; and
People’s skills and the structure of modern economic opportunities.

Thus, technical change and the application of modern capital intensive technology were deemed to be crucial determinants of unemployment and underemployment (The Manifesto, 2016). Brown and McGranahan (2016) explain that industrialisation through such application of modern capital intensive technologies leads to excess supply of labour over demand culminating in unemployment and ultimately informal economic activities. The unemployment situation that occurred in the early 1970s was, in part, attributed to this industrial transformation. The authors, therefore, note that the informal economy is a sector that serves as intermediary between the formal economic system and complete unemployment. The focus of the actors is survivalist activities with minimal links to the formal system if any. As applied to informal urban developments, the core tenets of the dualist school resonates with the introduction of formal urban planning and development with its several regulatory requirements, which are often difficult to follow due to their resource requirements. Therefore, they are unable to satisfy the urban development needs of the majority of the urban population in terms of provision of developable lands and space for economic activities, infrastructure and services and speedy approval of development applications, among other issues. This results in urban development actors resorting to customary development practices and other alternative means to address their urban development needs. Indeed, the urban development literature (Rakodi, 2007; Egbu et al., 2008; Baffour Awuah et al., 2011; Ogbazi, 2013; Lamond et al., 2015) demonstrate that the proliferation of informal urban developments in SSA is partly due to the inadequacies of formal planning and development systems in the region. In particular, issues, such as inadequate access to developable lands; complex technocratic and bureaucratic policies, processes and procedures with demanding requirements; and slow and costly service delivery, are often cited.

The dualist school of thought also identifies the need for suitable policies to nurture the productivity of the informal economy, remove state restrictions and enhance their access to resources, such as capital. This suggests the need for a more receptive approach to the informal urban development system and its outcomes to refine their seemingly bad aspects and integrate the good ones. Nevertheless, most municipal governments around the world, to a large extent, do not recognise the potential of informal developments. Indeed, informal developments are often regarded by formal authorities as a nuisance; they do not follow urban development regulations, are not provided with infrastructure and services, and hamper government revenue mobilisation efforts (Rakodi, 2007). Governments’ approach to the sector has, therefore, been one of or a combination of neglect, frequent harassment, and fines and evictions (Rakodi, 2007; Brown, 2012). Brown (2012), in particular, notes that there are new cases of such approaches in seventeen SSA countries, such as Cote D’Ivoire, Zambia, Ghana and Ethiopia.
The next school of thought is the structuralist school. This school is inspired by the works of authors, such as Caroline Moser (1978), and Manuel Castells and Alejandro Portes (1989). The focus of this school is the characterisation of the relationship between the informal and formal sectors in production. This specifically relates to how the formal sector, with or without the support of the state, exploit vulnerable workers. The school, therefore, holds that informal economy results or thrives on the nature of capitalist growth, in particular, capitalists or formal sector operatives quest to: reduce labour cost and increase competiveness; and circumvent the power of organised labour and state regulation of the economy, among others, through exploitation of vulnerable informal workers. In the context of informal urban developments, this could be explained as the relationship between the actors in the formal and informal sectors in urban development in areas of collaboration, how officials of the state and the formal sector benefit from informal urban developments and, in particular, how politicians have ensured the survival of informal settlements and exploited them wrongly or rightly to achieve their political goals. These relationships are adequately discussed in the SSA urban development literature (Rakodi, 2001; Rakodi, 2004; Aribigbola, 2007; Adam, 2014). The structuralist school advocates for more regulation of commercial and employment relationships between formal and informal economies to address the existing unequal relationships (Brown and McGranahan, 2016). This implies the need for suitable policies to strengthen the relationship between the formal and informal systems of development for better and sustainable urban development and management.

Another key informal economy school of thought is the legalist school, which fundamentally hinges on the work of De Soto (1989). This school suggests informal economy is a market-led response to the excessive regulation of the market. As applied to the proliferation of informal urban developments, this could be attributed to the excessive regulation of the property market. For example, most urban planning regimes in the developing world demand that no development activity should take place within a statutory planning area unless the area is covered by an approved planning scheme and prospective developers meet other pre-development requirements relating to permits, architectural designs and titling. However, a substantial number of developers are unable to meet these requirements. The legalist school, therefore, advocates for less regulation of the market and institution of policies that will harness the potential of the informal economy, such as legalisation of informal property rights. This could be likened to regularisation of title to lands and properties of informal settlement dwellers and slum upgrading.

The last conventional school of thought is the voluntarist school. This school is largely driven by the work of Levenson and Maloney (1998) and Maloney (2004). The school suggests people voluntarily choose to undertake informal economic activities. However, they are motivated to do so or otherwise by evaluating the cost and benefit of operating in the informal and formal sectors. Fundamentally, these voluntarists seek to
enjoy the benefits of economic activities, but want to avoid the payment of taxes. As applied to informal urban developments, this implies actors in urban development are more likely to carry-out their developments informally where they are convinced that it costs less to do so compared to the formal approach. Studies, such as UN-Habitat (1999, 2009), Arimah and Adeagbo (2000) and Baffour Awuah et al. (2011), among others, argue that the majority of the urban population in SSA end up in the informal urban development system due to the high cost imposed on developers by the formal development system. The cost relates to:

- Official and unofficial fees paid for processing of urban development documentations at public agencies;
- Delays with the processing of the documentations, follow-up costs, such as commuting times and costs; and
- Waiting times to expedite action on documentations, and payments to consultants and agents, among others.

The voluntary school advocates for policies, which could institutionalise informal economic activities and bring them into the regulatory environment to widen the tax base and prevent unfair competition to formal businesses. This implies a need for suitable policies to institutionalise and upgrade informal developments if need be to promote better urban development and management, as well as improve government revenue from these developments. However, widening the tax base or imposing taxes on informal activities may tend to increase cost relating to activities in the sector, which could make such policies counterproductive.

**Emerging School of Thoughts**

There is an emerging school of thought, which is based on several viewpoints and relevant studies, such as Roy (2005), Watson (2009) and Lindell (2010). This school is often referred to as the inclusionist school. Although the underpinning inspiration focuses on how citizens and the grassroots could be mobilised to reconfigure the power relations that shape the terms upon which the poor are included or excluded from living and working in the city, the central idea is the need to include all citizens in state, market and civil society’s activities in ways that benefit the general public and, in particular, the marginalised, such as the poor. Therefore, according to Brown and McGranahan (2016), the informal economy results from anti-poor policies, regulations and increasingly neo-liberal urban governance. The school recommends collective action in urban development and management (Brown and McGranahan, 2016). This school, thus, resonates with the sustainable urban development and governance, which seeks to promote inclusion and participation of all urban sector stakeholders in urban development and governance based on collective action and development approaches (Ogbazi, 2013; Lamond et al., 2015).
Insights of the inclusionist school, therefore, support the need for appropriate platform to harness the benefits of both the formal and the informal urban development and governance processes to inform the development and implementation of a sustainable urban development and governance system. Indeed, the urban development literature recognises that in spite of the onerous aspects of informal developments, such as their non-compliance with development regulations, their development system offers several strengths that could provide useful lessons to the formal urban development and governance system (UN-Habitat, 2014a; Lamond et al., 2015). Apart from the strengths of the informal urban development system already noted elsewhere in this report, processes under the system are said to be flexible and they are less costly to follow. Another major strength, which is often cited and which this research seeks to analyse is the extent to which the system promotes equity in urban development and governance. The next section, therefore, examines equity in urban development and management to provide insights for the analysis.

EQUITY IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT

Equity has re-emerged as an important concept of urban policy. This is in relation to the achievement of sustainable urban development and management, especially in the developing world. The re-emergence of this concept stems from the notion that formal urban policies, especially in the area of planning, development and management over the years, have further marginalised and worsened the conditions of vulnerable groups, such as the poor and women. That said, cities and urban areas are a mass of humans and human activities. This mass of human beings and human activities are of a higher order and they are characterised by replacement of human-nature relationship with a complex structure of human-human relationships and its impact on the environment (Bithas and Christofakis, 2006; UN-Habitat, 2013; Baffour Awuah, 2016). Accordingly, sustainable development and management of cities require suitable governance arrangements to manage these complex relationships and promote equity given that inequitable arrangements could culminate in adverse urban environmental outcomes (UN-Habitat, 2013; IIED, 2015).

The concept of equity is often used interchangeably with fairness and justice, although there could be some nuances among them (Deakin, 1999). IIED (2015), however, defines equity, in broad terms, as the need for fairness. The UN-Habitat (2013) also professes that equity is a branch of law that emphasises that law should not be all about unthinking application of existing rules, but it should also be steeped in the spirit and habit of fairness, justness and right dealing. This presupposes that there is some form of consensus that equity could be equated to justice and fairness. This further implies that there is a need to examine what justice and fairness connote for in-depth understanding of the concept of equity.
Justice and fairness are themselves an elusive concept and may have several definitions (Deakin, 1999; Alterman, 2013). Deakin (1999) first, on the basis of a renowned USA legal scholar, Benjamin N. Cardozo’s definition, explained justice as impartiality where there is a basis in fact, and established rules and procedures are followed to produce impartial outcome. Deakin (1999) premised on the long tradition of Anglo-American Jurisprudence further acknowledged that justice does not always mean treating everybody equally. Rather, it is imperative that the law considers context and evaluate circumstances in the interpretation of facts and that where blind or rigid application of rules questions the sense of justice, equitable doctrines should step-in to ensure justice. In addition, Deakin (1999) broadens the meaning of justice using Rawlsian two principles of justice, the first of which supports Cardozo’s definition. The second principle posits that social and economic inequalities are just if they result in compensating benefit for everyone especially for the least advantaged ones in society. This suggests that any actions, which result in benefit to everyone in society, especially the least advantaged ones, could be judged as just and fair (Alterman, 2013). However, fairness and justness of such actions are often determined by the process for and the outcomes of instituting those actions (Deakin, 1999; Faistein, 2010; Alterman, 2013; UN-Habitat, 2013).

Urban land management and development before formal regulation of property markets were predominantly carried-out by socio-cultural political norms and market forces. However, in developing economies, such as those of SSA, socio-cultural and political norms were the main instruments, which were used to manage lands and developments (Alterman, 2013; Baffour Awuah, 2013). Both socio-cultural and political norms, and market forces created adverse externalities, such as incompatible land uses, environmental degradation and non-provision of public goods. This meant the outcomes of these management tools created some form of inequity and injustice to sections of society especially the disadvantaged and partly necessitated a need for intervention through formal urban development policies (Adams, 2008). These formal urban development policies have also proven inadequate to promote equity in most SSA cities and urban areas. Strikingly, the socio-cultural and political norms and practices under the informal urban development system are now being perceived to promote equity in urban development and they could help facilitate the sustainable urban development and management agenda in the region. Nevertheless, there is a question as to how the extent of equity promoted by these norms and practices could be analysed to generate the required insights for sustainable urban development and management. This constitutes the focus of the ensuing section.
MEASUREMENT OF EQUITY IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT

The preceding discussion established that equity is often determined by the process for, and the outcomes of instituting actions in this instance urban development and management policies formal or informal. The urban development, particularly the urban planning literature, demonstrates that the process pathway is predominantly driven by new planning and governance theories, such as the collaborative or communicative planning models (Harley, 2003; Agger and Lofgren, 2008) and the Just City (Fainstein, 2010). Thus, the process pathway examines the extent to which democratic credentials based on inclusiveness and participation in urban land, planning, development and governance processes by citizens, interest groups, private sector, NGO/CBOs and other stakeholders are adopted (Harley, 2003; Alterman, 2013).

To achieve inclusivity, participation and all the other democratic credentials in urban development and governance processes, there is a need for deliberative tools that ensure and improve communication, listening, responding, sharing knowledge, openness, respect, trust, relationship and consensus building. This is supposed to prevent intimidation, misinformation, and manipulation and distrust (Ogbazi, 2013). Actualising such deliberative tools in reality is often difficult. Even more difficult is how to evaluate the success or otherwise/achievement of inclusiveness and participation in the urban land, planning, development and governance process (Agger and Lofgren, 2008; Ogbazi, 2013). Ogbazi (2013) recognises that not many works have been undertaken in this area, but notes a few examples, such as Innes and Booher (2002) and Laurian and Shaw (2009). Even so, there is a lack of consensus among these studies due to the varying perspectives and interpretation of participation (Ogbazi, 2013). For example, some studies evaluate the success or otherwise of participation in terms of balances of exchanges between agencies and citizens, and power sharing, while others argue that success should be established first and then explanatory variables found. Such successes are often explained in terms of factors, such as ability of citizens to express their views, engagement with and collaboration between agencies and citizens, sharing of adequate and reliable information between agencies and citizens, transparency and agencies being accountable to citizens among others. An evaluation criterion that seems to be gaining recognition is the one based on the goals of participation in the urban land, planning, development and governance process goals (Ogbazi, 2013).

The outcome pathway focuses on the effect or impact of urban policies on especially the achievement of the often cited reason for the introduction of formal urban development processes/policies. It is a traditional criterion to evaluate equity and fairness (UN-Habitat, 2013). This fundamentally relates to distributional equity, which in this context seeks to improve the conditions of those who will suffer deprivation without the intervention of the formal urban development policies or processes (Alterman, 2013).
Nevertheless, it is also known that the formal processes create gains and losses. For example, as noted by Alterman (2013), a cardinal function of planning regulation is allocation of development rights for different land uses. Some of these land uses maybe lucrative to landowners, such as housing and commercial, but others like protected agricultural zone that does not allow development may not be. Similarly, regulation determines land and properties that will benefit from positive externalities and those that will suffer from negative externalities. The question, therefore, remains whether those who suffer the effects of formal policies and their processes should be compensated. Furthermore, since justice does not always mean treating everybody equally, there are often questions as to whether or not implementation of formal policies and processes should follow the same standard for everyone. For example, should the urban poor and the rich pay the same fee for land administration service, such as land title formalisation? The foregoing shows the determination of the extent of equity in urban development and management is not a straightforward issue. Different actors and stakeholders may perceive and measure equity differently. Indeed, a recent study carried out on equity relating to the conservation of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) located in Southwest of Uganda by IIED (2015) established that Uganda Wildlife Authority, local government officials, communities and conservationists perceived equity differently. That notwithstanding, a set of indicators was developed to aid the analysis of the extent of equity in informal urban development and management using data from the case studies. Table 1 gives details of the set of indicators.

Table 1: Indicators for Evaluation of Equity in Informal Urban Land Development and Management System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pathways</th>
<th>Broad Indicators</th>
<th>Measurement Indicators</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Process/Procedure</td>
<td>Inclusiveness</td>
<td>1. Community members determining land development and management activities, and agreeing major projects;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Attendance at urban development and management process activities;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. Expression of views on activities: e.g. meetings;</td>
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<td>4. Respect for views expressed;</td>
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<td>5. Support community members who are unable to participate in land development and management process activities due factors such as lack of resources;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Presence of collective responsibility; and</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Binding of agreement on decisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Awareness and Mutual Learning</td>
<td>1. Provision of information on land development and management activities to all community members; and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good governance</td>
<td>1. Level of opposition/acceptance of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| and Accountability | 1. Feeling of inclusion;  
| | 2. Level of trust; and  
| | 3. Building of relationships  
| | - Including the need for balanced relationship community leaders and members; and ensuring clear layout of responsibilities of all stakeholders in land development and management.  
| Social Goals | 4. Stakeholders (community members) awareness of all the benefits (revenue) from land development & management activities;  
| | 5. Land development and management activities should benefit community members. For example, it should contribute to employment opportunities to community members, provision of infrastructure and services to community members etc.;  
| | 6. Benefits of land development and management activities should target the poor irrespective of their identity;  
| | 7. Stakeholders (community) members should benefit from land development and management activities based on their socio-economic and cultural needs;  
| | 8. Payment of fair, adequate and timely compensation to stakeholders (community members) who suffer injurious affection as a result of land development and management decisions and their outcomes; and  
| | 9. Benefits of land development and management activities should at least be equal to their costs.  
| User-based Goals | 1. Satisfaction of participants with the process; and  
| | 2. Satisfaction of the public with process.  
| Outcome/Impact/Effect | 1. Stakeholders (community members) awareness of all the benefits (revenue) from land development & management activities;  
| | 2. Land development and management activities should benefit community members. For example, it should contribute to employment opportunities to community members, provision of infrastructure and services to community members etc.;  
| | 3. Benefits of land development and management activities should target the poor irrespective of their identity;  
| | 4. Stakeholders (community) members should benefit from land development and management activities based on their socio-economic and cultural needs;  
| | 5. Payment of fair, adequate and timely compensation to stakeholders (community members) who suffer injurious affection as a result of land development and management decisions and their outcomes; and  
| | 6. Benefits of land development and management activities should at least be equal to their costs.  

Source: Developed based on findings from the literature, stakeholder workshop and the qualitative study.
The development of the set of indicators was based on the synthesis of the findings from the literature review, stakeholder workshops held in the case study cities and the qualitative studies. Thus, it is an amalgam of all the variables that were identified from the literature, the stakeholder workshops and the focus group and semi-structured interviews as proxies for measuring equity in urban development. Where a variable repeated itself, it was counted once. Similar variables were also merged. Based on the pathways to assess equity, six broad indicators (five for the process pathway and one for the outcome pathway) were identified and their sub-indicators defined (Table 1). It is, however, important to state that although the indicators developed largely focused on community members, their application was varied to decouple the case study communities’ members to take account of interest groups, such as the poor and women who feel marginalised in terms of access to land and participation in the land development processes due to customary limitations. This was to ensure that all research objectives were addressed. Having, therefore, undertaken the conceptual discussions and outlined the policy debates, the next section examines informal urban development in Nigeria based on the literature.
INFORMAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA OUTPUTS

Incidence of informal urban development continues to soar in Nigeria. The extent of growth of these developments is not clear due partly to data challenges. The UN-Habitat (2008) estimated that Nigeria’s urban slum population alone as a percentage of the country’s urban population rose from 65% in 2000 to 65.8% in 2005 compared to a decrease from 69.6% and 63% for SSA as a whole. Also, studies, such as Arimah and Adeagbo (2000), Aribigbola (2007), Eko et al. (2012) and Abubakar (2014) provide various accounts, which give credence to the rise in informal urban developments in the country. For example, Yadua (2012) reports that 52% out of the 254 households surveyed in the Makoko area of Lagos live in planks or bamboo houses. Abubakar (2014) further noted that Abuja, the country’s capital city continues to grow and expand in size. However, the growth and expansion of the city are characterised by satellite informal settlements, such as Bwari Gwagwalada, Kubwa, Kuje, Nyanya, Karu, Lugbe and Suleja.

This section discusses informal urban developments in Nigeria based on the extant literature. It commences with an exposition on the nature of informal urban developments and their areas of concentration, the development process and governance followed by related cost, equity issues, and drivers of informal urban developments. The chapter concludes with existing policy response towards informal urban developments.

NATURE, CONCENTRATION, DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AND GOVERNANCE

Informal urban developments in Nigeria are in various forms. These range from slums through to well designed and soundly built developments, which nevertheless fail to comply with the formal urban development processes (Abubakar, 2014). Thus, as noted from the various schools of thought in the preceding section, informal developments in Nigeria are not uniform. However, they are fundamentally products of the informal urban development process, which is often equated to the customary land development processes/systems (Ikejiofor, 2006; Nkurunziza, 2008; Lamond et al., 2015). Although these developments are found in almost every part of cities in the country, they are often more concentrated in the inner and peripheral areas of cities (Eko et al., 2012; Abubakar, 2014; Onyebueke and Ikejiofor, 2014).

Unlike the formal development process particularly as pertains in developed economies, such as the USA and the UK where development activities are organised on large scale and often comprise eight groups of
actors/stakeholders (Isaac et al., 2010), the situation is different with the informal development process. The actors/stakeholders in the formal developments are usually land owners; developers; investors; the professional team; public and government agencies; financiers/financial institutions; the community and users of urban developments (Isaac et al., 2010; Squires and Heurkens, 2015). The informal development process is dominated by small scale/individual developers who construct properties often for their personal use, such as housing, which are often carried out on incremental basis (Baffour Awuah et al., 2014; Onyebueke and Ikejiofor, 2014). The development process and its activities accordingly differ (Baffour Awuah et al., 2014b). These are, however, broadly discussed as follows:

**Land Ownership, Acquisition and Developers**

Customary urban land holding arrangement among the various ethnic groups and states in Nigeria varies. However, land holding within the informal urban land delivery system is often classified into communal and family lands (Birner and Okumo, 2012; Adeniyi, 2013). According to studies, such as Birner and Okumo (2012) and Adeniyi (2013), communal lands refer to lands collectively held by a community. These lands are often held in trust for members of the community by headmen, chiefs or traditional rulers. Conversely, family lands are lands held by families. Families, however, constitute a component of a community. Several ways exist for the disposition or acquisition of urban land under the informal land delivery system in Nigeria. Nevertheless, three main ways are often identified in the literature. These are: 1. Non-commercial grants from customary land owning groups – community or family to members of the group; 2. Commercial grants/purchase of land from customary land owning groups; and 3. Subsequent transactions (Adeniyi, 2013; Lamond et al., 2015). Subsequent transactions occur under situations where a grantee of land from the two ways, transfers the land either through inheritance or sale to a third party. All these ways of acquiring land for development could result in what is often termed individual land, which is land held by an individual with exclusive right of use (Birner and Okumo, 2012). Apart from these arrangements, other lands for informal developments occur through squatting mostly on public lands.

Until recently, developers of land acquired under the informal land delivery system were private individuals who acquired these lands and constructed their developments mostly on an incremental basis. These developments were small scale in nature and often took a long period to complete. However, large scale commercial developers who often purchase large tracts of lands from customary land owners and develop them for sale, such as some of the emerging gated communities have now become part of informal land development (Ikejiorfor et al., 2004; Ikejiorfor, 2006).
Land Development Process, Activities and Governance

Land development process and activities, and governance under the informal development system are based on traditional or local norms, practices and arrangements and are undertaken under the supervision of community leaders, such as chiefs, tribal leaders and family heads. Apart from purely commercial grants of lands, non-commercial grants and inheritance are based on the entitlements of members of land owning groups. The exercise of these entitlements is often accompanied by performance of some traditional rites (Ikejiofor, 2006).

A number of activities take place prior to land grants whether commercial or non-commercial grants. Often grants under the informal land delivery system are made by heads of land owning groups; chiefs, tribal and family heads with the consent and concurrence of their elders. However, for some land owning groups, land allocation committees are constituted to help with land administration and management. Also, some forms of land preparations precede some of the grants. The land preparations comprise activities, such as surveying and demarcation of land and preparation of some form of planning schemes. Thus, the land owning groups engage their private surveyors to survey their land and prepare planning schemes based on which allocations are made. For land grants without such preparation, the local land grantors develop their mechanism for land surveying, demarcation and sub-division of the land into developable parcels. Conversely, with large scale commercial land grants especially to real estate development companies the lands are often not sub-divided. The companies organise for the survey, demarcation and sub-division of the land. The survey and demarcation, in particular, are usually organised as part of the sale arrangement (Ikejiofor, 2006).

There are usually middlemen, such as local agents, friends and relatives, who facilitate commercial land transactions. They usually provide prospective purchasers with information about availability of land, its location, asking price and they broker deals, among other things. The local agents, in particular, render these services at a commission or fee. Unlike non-commercial grants to members, which are evidenced by performance of rites in the presence of community elders, most commercial grants are evidenced by allocation notes, and in some situations receipts are provided to cover payments made for purchase of land. Commercial land transactions are also conducted in the presence of community elders who serve as witnesses to the transactions and can help to resolve future dispute that may arise over the land. Similarly, the allocation notes and receipts are used as evidence in case of future dispute. Although informal urban land transactions are often not entered in public records through land registration, some land grants end up in public records by registration and they are often undertaken through regularisation (Ikejiofor et al., 2004; Ikejiofor, 2006; Agbola and Agunbiade, 2009).

Most land developments under the informal system, with the exception of those undertaken by large scale commercial real estate developers, are
not preceded by provision of infrastructure and services. Provision of infrastructure and services is usually an afterthought or, at best it takes place side-by-side with the development. Access to these basic infrastructure and services is often through illegal connection to provisions under the formal urban development system (Rakodi, 2007) and collective action, such as community self-help (Afon, 2007; Ibem, 2009; Abubakar, 2014). For large scale commercial urban development, preparation of sub-division planning schemes and provision of infrastructure and services are undertaken by development companies with or without the participation and approval of formal urban development authorities. There are mechanisms based on local norms and practices for guiding and managing developments. For example, there are mechanisms for resolving land and development conflicts. That said, although informal urban land development depends on local institutions, actors and mechanisms, there are instances where customary land owning groups have successfully collaborated with formal institutions, such as planning authorities, local governments and utility agencies, to prepare planning schemes and ensure provision of infrastructure and services (Ikejiator et al., 2004). Figure 2 provides a summary of the informal development process.

**Figure 2: Summarised version of the Informal Urban Development Process**

*Source: Authors own construct based on the literature review.*

**COST OF INFORMAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS**

Urban development literature suggests the cost of the informal land development process is far less than that of the formal development process (Arimah and Adeabgo, 2000; Aribigbola, 2007; Egwu et al., 2008).
However, relevant studies do not often examine the extent of the cost. The few studies, which have attempted to analyse the extent of the informal development process give some insights. For example, Onyebueke and Ikejiofor (2014) in their study of Nike community in Enugu noted that the cost of perimeter survey of registrable land is in the region of about 2N100,000 (about USA$600 - then). Prior to registration, a subdivision of the land will have to be undertaken the cost of which is often paid in-kind (usually 10-12% of the total land stock). Apart from the cost of the perimeter survey, fees for demarcation of individual plots and production of certified survey plans at N60,000 (USA$360 - then) per plot will have to be paid. Also, individual plot owners will have to pay additional N5,000 (USA$30 - then) per plot for plot identification by the community land surveyor. Further, the study established that registration of the perimeter land attracts an official fee of N250,000 (USA$1,500 - then) depending on the land size and unofficial fees, which are often paid in-kind (number of plots – not disclosed).

In addition, the above study noted costs, such as the payment of fees relating to facilitation of land sale/purchase commission, lease documentation, official land receipt, development fee, annual ground rent, traditional rites, development clearance and youth levy. It also noted that land development process activities take time to complete. However, the study did not reveal the extent of time for the completion of the activities. Although this study gives some insights into the cost for the development process, the few studies that attempted to analyse the cost of the informal land development process are fraught with methodological challenges. These challenges are not peculiar to the informal processes, but they also apply to the formal processes (Baffour Awuah et al., 2013). For example, studies on cost relating to urban land development processes usually focus on social costs and seek to estimate them based on partial equilibrium framework. However, the unknown nature of the demand for these processes or the goods and services they impinge on makes it difficult to operate such a framework (Quigley, 2007).

EQUITY IN INFORMAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The discourse in the previous section (main section) established that equity in urban development, in the main, focuses on democratic credentials in urban planning, development and governance processes particularly issues of participation and inclusiveness, and the impact of planning and development policies. Within the Nigerian context, studies, such as Adeniyi (2013) and Ogbazi (2013), have been carried out into the formal urban development system. These studies exist beside studies that emphasise the inadequacies of conventional planning especially its

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2 Naira- the Nigerian currency
irresponsiveness to the needs of the majority of the Nigerian urban population. For the informal urban development system, not many studies have been carried out. The few existing studies tend to focus on the impact of development norms and practices on access to land for development by the marginalised, such as women and the poor who are often perceived not to have access to land resources due to such norms and practices, and financial limitations respectively. Two studies worthy of mention are Rakodi and Leduka (2004), and Ikejiofor (2006).

The two studies focussed on Enugu, and using mainly focus group discussions, they evaluated access to land for development by the urban poor and women. Findings from these studies established that there are restrictions against women access to land ownership and that increasing urbanisation and commodification of land is depriving the urban poor of land for development. Also, a more recent baseline study by Lamond et al. (2015) using interviews with key stakeholders in urban development in Abuja, Minna and Enugu found access to land by the poor under the informal urban land, planning, development and governance processes is becoming difficult due to rapid urbanisation and commodification of land. Further, the study recorded mixed outcomes with regard to women’s access to land under the informal processes noting, for example, affluent women are often able to easily access land for development. Given the foregoing, a comprehensive examination of equity in informal urban development is imperative.

**DRIVERS OF INFORMAL URBAN DEVELOPMENTS**

The increasing incidence of informal urban developments in Nigeria has fundamentally been driven by the inadequacies and strengths of the formal and informal urban development systems respectively (Rakodi and Leduka, 2004; Ikejiofor et al., 2004; Onyebueke and Ikejiofor, 2014; Lamond et al., 2015). The relevant literature demonstrates the inadequacies of the formal urban development system in terms of its excessive and prohibitive requirements have led to a substantial portion of the urban population to find alternative forms of development within the informal development system because they are unable to meet the requirements. For example, under the Nigeria’s conventional urban planning arrangement prospective developers must obtain building permits prior to the development of their lands. This requirement demands that prospective developers acquire pre-permit items, such as good and perfect land title (registered title) and architectural designs. However, the majority of the urban population especially the poor and the marginalised often do not have and, therefore, find alternative forms of development arrangement within the informal system. This resonates with the dualist school of thought propositions on the proliferation of the informal economy.
An extension to the above driver is the proposition of the legalist school of thought. Indeed, the country’s formal urban development legislation(s) and policies are often couched in languages that are not easily understood by the majority of people. These legislation and policies prescribe complex technocratic and bureaucratic processes and procedures. Consequently, apart from the numerous demands they impose on urban residents and prospective developers, planning and urban development institutions and agencies are weak, inefficient, and do not have the resources both human and material to implement the requirements and enforce compliance (Arimah and Adeagbo, 2000; Aribigbola, 2007; Egbu et al., 2008; Aluko, 2011; Ogbazi, 2013). Closely aligned to this is some politicians and the elites unwillingness to support enforcement of planning and urban development policies for fear of losing elections or truncating the services rendered by inhabitants of informal settlements. Aribigbola (2007), for example, cites an incidence where a politician in Akure, Ondo State had to stop a demolition exercise scheduled by the relevant planning authority for the fear of losing elections.

Another driver for the proliferation of informal urban developments is the high cost imposed by formal planning and urban development policies. The formal urban development system service delivery is often slow and costly. For example, it takes over a year and 36 steps for a building permit to be granted (Egbu et al., 2008). Conversely, the informal urban development processes are said to be expeditious and less costly. For example, between 2006 and 2007, 641 residential layouts under the informal urban development system were prepared in Akure compared to 20 under the formal development system (Aribigbola, 2007). This driver corroborates the voluntarist school of thought proposition for proliferation of informal developments. A further driver of informal urban developments in Nigeria is the responsiveness of the informal urban development process and the relevance of informal developments compared to the formal system. Unlike the formal development system, which is unable to produce adequate developable lands and tends to serve the needs of the few elite and the affluent (Ikejiorfor, 2006; Egbu et al., 2008), informal urban development processes are flexible and provide lands for various developments for the greater majority of the urban population including the marginalised, such as the poor (Onyebueke and Ikejiofor, 2014). Indeed, informal developments constitute a larger portion of urban developments in Nigeria (Lamond et al., 2015). The foregoing observation reinforces the stance of the emerging school of thought on the need to incorporate informal development norms and practices in urban development policies and programmes based on inclusion of all citizens, in particular, the marginalised, such as the poor and women in urban development process activities and decision making. It also inspires sustainable urban development and governance, which subscribes to inclusion and participation of all urban sector stakeholders in urban development and governance based on collective action and development approaches.
Although some of the informal urban developments in Nigeria are good developments and are provided with some form of planning schemes, infrastructure and services, they are often criticised as a nuisance. This is because they are perceived to be unplanned, and not supplied with infrastructure and services. They, thus, breach planning and urban development regulations and lead to loss of government revenue (Rakodi, 2007; Lamond et al., 2015). Where infrastructure and services are provided, they are often sub-standard. Planning schemes prepared for informal developments usually do not incorporate the broad socio-economic development vision of urban areas and their regions. The land owners also often overlook some ancillary land uses, such as community parks, green belts, schools and social centres due to profit considerations or perceptions of their irrelevance. Lamond et al. (2015), for instance, cite such planning schemes in Minna where no provision was made for civic and cultural, educational and institutional land uses for 104 layouts prepared by residents. The schemes comprised 7,893 plots (7164 residential plots, 151 commercial plots and 528 industrial development plots).

In spite of their own social ordering as discussed in the previous sections, the informal urban development processes and activities are often not documented. This has often led to multiple sales of the same parcels of land, with aggrieved parties usually harassing or preventing prospective developers from developing their lands (Ikejiorfor, 2006). Further, with increasing commodification of land and urbanisation, the poor is being priced-out of lands supplied through the informal urban development system (Ikejiorfor, 2006; Lamond et al., 2015). The foregoing suggests that for informal urban development processes and developments to contribute to the sustainable development agenda in Nigeria, there is a need for suitable policies to address their shortcomings. In the ensuing discussion, the policy response to informal urban developments in the country is examined.

POLICY RESPONSE

The main urban development policy, which has traditionally been used to manage urban developments including informal developments, was the Town and Country Planning Ordinance (1946) with its development control sub-legislation, guidelines, programmes and practices (Egibu et al., 2008; UN-Habitat, 2014b). This was a colonial policy, which subsisted until the passage of the Land Use Decree (now Act) in 1978 and the Urban and Regional Planning Law in 1992. The Urban and Regional Planning Law, in particular, was complemented by a National Urban Development Policy and Urban Development Bank to finance public infrastructure development and facilities. The overall aim of these policies was to plan and manage urbanisation to ensure that urban settlements promote sustainable economic growth and good living conditions. The specific objectives include:
Promotion of efficient urban development and management;

Definition of responsibilities of each level of government to ensure efficient planning implementation, monitoring and evaluation;

Provision of appropriate financial mechanisms across the three levels of government to implement slum upgrading, infrastructure and other project developments; and

Revision and implementation of sectorial programmes in areas, such as housing, employment and environment to make them more responsive to the country’s urban problems.

These policies, thus, sought among other things to address the incidence of informal developments across Nigeria. However, like most SSA countries, particularly urban and municipal governments’ approach has often been one or a combination of neglect, frequent harassment, threats of demolition and fines and evictions (Rakodi, 2007; Brown, 2012). For example, the Nigerian Slum and Informal Settlement Federation (in October 2016) reported that the Lagos State Government threatened to demolish some of their member communities and estimated that the intended action threatened at least 300,000 people with homelessness based on profiling 40 such communities. Besides, evidence shows that the above policies, in broad terms, were poorly implemented (Aluko, 2011).

The foregoing partly culminated in the formulation of the Nigeria 2012 National Urban Development Policy. This current policy recognises numerous urban problems that confront the country including informal developments and focuses on areas, such as access to land, urban economy, environment, infrastructure provision and slum upgrading. Closely aligned to the above-mentioned policy is the country’s Vision 20:2020, a key government policy document, which hinges on a transformation agenda. As applied to urban areas, it recommends strategies for the development of smart and functional cities for rapid economic growth and promotion of good governance of the country’s planning system.

Beyond this, a National Housing Policy with the aim of ensuring that Nigerians own or have access to decent, safe and sanitary housing in healthy environment with infrastructure at affordable cost, with secure tenure was formulated in 2012. In accordance with this, the National Building Code, which was passed in 2006, is currently being revised. Further, the country since 2007 has been partnering the UN-Habitat to prepare structure plans for cities including the adoption of a participatory slum upgrading framework and rapid urban sector profiling methodologies (Lamond et al., 2015). Indeed, part of this arrangement led to the adoption and implementation of the SCP by Ibadan, Enugu and Kano (Ogbazi, 2013). Also, as part of improving access to land and security of title to land for the marginalised, such as the poor and women, programmes such as the DFID funded Growth and Employment in States (GEMS3) are being implemented in the country (Buckley, 2014). The
programme currently focuses on three states, namely: Lagos, Kano and the Cross River states. As a result of the programme, the land registration systems in these states are being streamlined to increase land registration and also to expedite the registration process. Further, initial results from the programme suggest that more women and the poor are being involved in decision-making, and they are beginning to gain access to land for both housing and economic activities (GEMS3, 2015).

At State level, excepting the adoption and implementation of SCP, it appears that not much has been recorded as being done in the area of policy in Enugu. However, under the current State Government Administration, a State Economic Advisory Committee has been constituted. The Committee has earmarked urban development and infrastructure provision as one of its main priorities. Conversely, the Gateway to Land and Housing Policy Document continues to be a major urban development and management policy in Minna. The vision of the policy is to attain a safe, liveable, orderly, sustainable and aesthetically beautiful urban environment. Further, its mission is to conceive and execute programmes and projects that shall lead to the realisation of the vision and make Niger State one of the three top economies in Nigeria by 2020. For example, as part of the mission, the Niger State Government intends to construct 5,000 housing units yearly to address the housing deficit in Minna. Also to incentivise land owners to regularise their titles to land, the official fees for processing of Certificate of Occupancy (C of O) in Niger State has now been reduced from N90,000 to N15,000 and N5,000 for urban and rural lands, respectively, irrespective of type of use (Niger State, 2017).

At the operation level, relevant government institutions and agencies do sometimes collaborate with customary land owners and informal communities to prepare planning schemes, re-plan unauthorised developments in government land areas and arrange for the provision of infrastructure and services. Such practices were identified by Ikejiorfor et al. (2004) at Achara in Enugu, where the local planning authority was contacted by the community to prepare planning schemes for them. Similar arrangements between some informal communities and government planning authorities are in Minna. Further, informal communities under the aegis of their association, the Nigerian Slum and Informal Settlement Federation continues to call for dialogue with government authorities on suitable management strategies and programmes for informal developments.

Although recent government policy initiatives both at the federal, state and operational levels have had some positive impacts, not much has been achieved. Indeed, there have been difficulties with implementation of these policies. As noted by UN-Habitat (2014b) part of the difficulties with the implementation stems from shortage of technical staff and lack of resources and evidence/information to implement effective urban planning, the reliance on outmoded planning paradigm and the inability of national government (federal government) to influence policy and
decisions at the state level. However, revision of existing policies and formulation of new suitable policies and implementation strategies to ensure informal urban developments and their processes contribute meaningfully to the country’s sustainable urban development and management agenda will require a full understanding of the planning and governance of these informal urban developments. It is to this end that this research is fashioned to contribute to building the evidence base and the provision of information to aid revision, formulation and implementation of suitable pragmatic policies and strategies. The next chapter presents the methodology employed to deliver the research.
METHODOLOGY

A mixed-methods research methodology was used to deliver the research. The fundamental aim of the research was to gain a deeper understanding of the operations of the informal urban development system to aid policy formulation and practice. The study, therefore, set out to undertake in-depth exploration of the informal urban development and management processes, as well as analyse the extent of cost relating to the processes. These required a pragmatic approach based on multiple philosophies, strategies, data collection methods and analytical tools to implement the research and, hence, the use of the mixed-methods research design (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Ogbazi, 2013; Creswell, 2014). The use of the mixed-methods methodology also provided a platform for a better understanding of the operations of the informal urban development processes and to build a robust evidence base to address the fundamental aim of the research due to its reliance on a combination of philosophies, strategies and methods. Since the phenomenon under reference could not be studied across the entire urban areas/cities in Nigeria, a case study approach was employed at the operational level to deliver the research.

The terms of reference for this research project, among others, required a geographical spread in the selection of case study cities – the need to use cities from both the northern and southern parts of the country. There was, however, a security challenge especially in the northern part of the country as at the commencement of the implementation of the project. Two informal communities in Minna, Niger State in North-Central geopolitical zone, and Enugu in the South-East geopolitical zone, were used as case studies. The case study informal communities were Nyikangbe and Ugbo Odogwu, respectively. Minna was one of the case study cities for the Theme “D” baseline study. The city is experiencing an upsurge in informal developments. For example, the Gateway to Land and Housing Policy Document of the Niger State reports that a study carried-out by the Federal University of Technology (FUT), Minna, suggests that 70% of the population of Minna lives in slums and squatter settlements. The foregoing meant that the city had the potential to provide insights, which could be used to address the aim and objectives of the research. Enugu was also one of the cities, which was used for the baseline study. The incidence in informal developments in the city continues to rise. Further, a number of relevant studies have been undertaken on the city. Indeed, Onyebueke and Ikejiofor (2014) note that informal developments are rife in the city and they are spread along all the arterial roads. The choice of the city was, thus, informed by the afore-mentioned factors, which were useful to aid a comprehensive investigation of the issue under reference. Table 2 summarises the research methodology used to deliver the research. Refer to section five (main) for a detailed profile of the case study cities and communities, as well as the justification for the selection of the case study communities.
The deployment of the mixed-methods research design was carried-out through the implementation of four main activities namely: inception activities - literature identification and review, and stakeholder workshops; data collection; data analysis; and compilation of the research report.

### INCEPTION ACTIVITIES

As stated in the previous section, the inception activities focused on literature identification and review, hosting of stakeholder workshops and the development of a conceptual approach for the study

#### Literature Identification and Review

The primary aim of the literature identification and the review was to obtain background insights into planning and governance of informal urban developments for systematic inquiry. It was also to help identify key actors for the stakeholder workshops and suitable case studies for the implementation of the empirical phase of the research. This activity focused on the focal literature and methodologies for analysing the cost of informal urban development processes. The identification and review of the focal literature examined the urban informality schools of thought and...
policy debates, equity in urban development and informal urban development in Nigeria with emphasis on their incidence, areas of occurrence, and the development and governance processes. The remainder was the cost relating to the development and governance processes, equity issues, drivers of the proliferation of informal urban developments and some policy responses.

A systematic literature identification and review were undertaken. It built on literature(s) identified and assembled during the scoping and baseline studies for Theme “D” of the URN programme and their outcome(s). The literature search was based on relevant keywords, which were used to identify the needed literature from databases, such as Science Direct, Web of Knowledge, Google Scholar and Emerald. Similar searches were also conducted on websites of international development agencies, such as the World Bank, UN-Habitat, DFID, Cities Alliance, African Development Bank (AfDB), and government and professional bodies. The literature(s) identified were categorised into peer-reviewed journal articles, conference papers, books and book chapters, documents and reports/write-ups from international development agencies, NGOs, government authorities and professional bodies. Most of the peer-reviewed journal articles/literature(s) were identified from sources, such as Habitat International, Geoforum, Cities and World Development. It was noted that there was a general lack of literature on planning and governance of the informal urban development system, in particular, the cost and methodologies for analysing the cost relating to the development and governance processes, and how to evaluate equity within the system in Nigeria and across the SSA region. This further emphasised the need for the subject research. The literature identification and review, therefore, helped to contextualise the research, identify suitable case studies and the design of the interview schedules and questionnaires to collect data for the delivery of the research.

**Stakeholder Workshops**

A one-day stakeholder workshop (one for each place) was held in Minna and Enugu. The workshops were to complement the literature identification and review to gain background insights, as well as to facilitate data collection to deliver the research through engagement with key urban sector stakeholders. Armed with information from the literature review and insights from key informants within the Nigerian urban development and management sector, such as officials of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planning and the Niger State office for Geographic Information Systems, a stakeholder mapping was undertaken to identify the key stakeholders for the workshops. The stakeholder workshop in Minna was held on January 29, 2016 at the Nasfah Hotel. It was attended by 30 urban sector stakeholders. These included legal practitioners, estate surveyors and valuers, planners, officials from Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps, Environmental Protection Agency, Electricity Distribution Company, NEMA, Fire Service and Academia, among others. The Enugu
workshop took place on March 24, 2016 at the Toscana Hotel. Thirty-two (32) similar stakeholders also attended the workshop. Excerpts from both workshops are presented in section five (main).

The two workshops had the same organisation format. They were, in the main, divided into three phases. The first phase focused on presentations, which concentrated on the research background, findings and accounts of informal developments in the two cities. Thus, a total of three presentations were made. However, for the Minna workshop a video clip on informal settlements in the city was shown to the participants. The second phase was devoted to a breakout session, where participants were divided into five groups to discuss pertinent themes on the research based on pre-formulated questions. The themes were: “meaning and incidence of informal urban developments”; “causes/drivers and impact of informal developments”; “informal urban development process”; “Equity”; and “cost relating to informal urban development and governance processes”. The group discussions were facilitated by a chairperson. Also, all the groups had a rapporteur who recorded the outcome of the discussions. The third phase was the plenary session where rapporteurs for the groups presented the outcomes from their discussions. All the outcomes were further discussed by all the participants. The workshops, thus, provided further contextualisation of the research, and also provided useful information for the choice of suitable case study informal communities and the design of the data collection instruments. However, depth and coverage of the outcome from the stakeholder workshops might have been extended with the inclusion of residents of informal settlements or their representatives as part of the workshop participants. This could have provided opportunities for the participation of other informal settlements within the case study cities and also to learn from them. Their exclusion from the stakeholder workshop was, therefore, a possible limitation to the study.

DATA COLLECTION

Three main techniques were used to collect data to deliver the research. These techniques were: focus group discussion sessions with case study community members; semi-structured interviews with key community and civic leaders, and residents who had extensive knowledge of the land development processes in the communities; and questionnaire surveys of residents/property owners in case study communities. Prior to the implementation of these techniques, ethical approvals were obtained from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Environment and Technology, University of the West of England, Bristol (FET, UWE) as part of efforts, which ensured that the research was carried-out under the highest possible ethical standards. The data collection activities in Enugu were undertaken with the assistance of the NEMA.
Focus Group Discussion Sessions

To help address objectives one-to-three of the research, focus group discussions were held in the case study informal communities (Nyikangbe and Ugbo Odogwu). Thus, the focus group discussion sessions were held to gain further understanding of:

- Land acquisition, planning and sub-division of land processes in informal communities;
- Arrangements under which infrastructure and services are provided; and
- The governance processes and management practices used within the subject communities (Refer to appendix of this report for a copy of the focus group discussion schedule).

The focus group discussion in Nyikangbe Community took place on March 22, 2016 at the forecourt of the Community Chief’s Palace. The discussion sessions took five hours. Participants who took part in the discussions were drawn from the leadership of the community, the elderly, men and women, and the youth. Given the lack of a reliable sampling frame, the selection of participants was based on purposive and convenience sampling techniques. A total of 42 people participated in the discussions. The participants were divided into four groups to facilitate coherent and useful discussions. However, based on the customs and traditions of the community, women were not grouped with the men. Thus, a separate group was created for women. Each of the groups was provided with two people to run the discussions. These people were lecturers and researchers at the FUT, Minna, who were trained purposely for the assignment, and could communicate in and understand the local language. One of them facilitated the discussion, whilst the other was a rapporteur who recorded proceedings of the discussions. The proceedings at the workshop were recorded in notebooks and also with voice recorders. The recordings were later transcribed for analysis.

The focus group discussion session in Ugbo Odogwu took place on May 21, 2016 at the Scripture Union Church Hall. Organisation of the discussion sessions and the recordings of the outcomes followed the same format as that of Nyikangbe. Thirty-seven participants took part in the discussions. They were drawn from the leadership of the community, the elderly, men and women, and the youth based on purposive and convenience sampling techniques. The participants were divided into three groups. However, for the purpose of consistency a separate group was also created for women. The Ugbo Odogwu focus group discussion sessions were organised with the assistance of NEMA.

Semi-Structured Interview Survey

A semi-structured interview survey of purposively selected community and civic leaders, as well as persons often involved in the land development processes in the communities, was carried-out to complement the focus
group discussion sessions. Thus, the purpose of the interview surveys was to enhance understanding of the land development and governance processes in the communities. Eight interviews were conducted in both Nyikangbe and Ugbo Odogwu. A total of 16 interviews were, therefore, conducted. The interviews were carried out between April and May, 2016 at homes and workplaces of the respondents. The interviews were conducted by academics/researchers from the FUT, Minna, and with the assistance of officials from the NEMA office in Enugu. The interviews covered issues, such as land ownership types, access to land for development, planning and sub-division of land, cost relating to the development processes and equity issues among others. The interviews were recorded with a voice recorder and later transcribed for analysis (refer to the appendix for a copy of the interview schedule).

Questionnaire Surveys
A questionnaire survey of property/land owners and residents in the case study communities was undertaken between June and August, 2016. The surveys were carried mainly to obtain data to address objectives four and five. The questionnaire was designed based on insights from the literature review, findings from the stakeholder workshops, and the focus group discussions and interview surveys. The questionnaire was divided in five parts covering background of respondents, and cost relating to land acquisition and documentation, land sub-division, infrastructure and services, and equity in the development processes in the case study communities. The questions contained in part five of the questionnaire were designed based on Likert scales.

The questionnaire was pre-tested prior to its administration. This was to ensure that it passed face and content validities tests. Eight pilot questionnaires were sent to residents within the Nyikangbe Community to evaluate the questionnaire with respect to whether or not it covered what it sought to achieve, and the effectiveness of how the research variables were to be measured. The questionnaires were self-administered (face-to-face questionnaire administration) by a team of academics/researchers from the FUT, Minna, who were recruited and trained for that purpose. The academics/researchers used to administer the questionnaires could communicate in and understand the local languages of both case study informal communities. This enabled them to explain the questions to the respondents appropriately to obtain the requisite answers. The questionnaire administration in Ugbo Odogwu was carried out with the assistance of the NEMA office in Enugu.

A total of 120 questionnaires were administered to the respondents in each of the case study communities, based on a systematic sampling procedure with development patterns in the communities as guides. Thus, proceeding from one end of the various development patterns encountered in the communities, the first property was selected and the questionnaire(s) were administered to suitable occupant(s) of the property. This was then followed by the selection of every third property for the
questionnaire administration. The stakeholder workshops, and the focus group discussions and the interview surveys held prior to the questionnaire administration helped to sensitise the respondents about the research. This partly facilitated the smooth administration of the questionnaires, as the respondents had already become familiar with the research. Nevertheless, the questionnaire administration team got in touch with the communities’ leadership who in turn informed members of the communities about the questionnaire administration. Response rates of 72.5% and 83% were obtained for the questionnaire administration in Nyikangbe and Ugbo Odogwu, respectively.

**DATA ANALYSIS**

Outcomes from the discussions, which emerged during the stakeholder workshops were recorded in note books. This was undertaken based on the themes, which were used to divide the workshop participants into groups, and ensured that agreements and disagreements were noted. The focus group discussions and the semi-structured interviews were analysed using the thematic analysis, a procedure, which allowed a narrow perspective of the respondents to inform the broader understanding of the research issue. Therefore, all the recorded interviews and discussions were initially transcribed verbatim into written statements. These were read to identify common patterns in the transcripts and core themes that explain how the respondents describe the research issue(s). Commonly used words in the transcribed data were, therefore, used as keywords and their frequency of occurrence noted. Similar keywords were subsequently combined to create themes, which were then reviewed to arrive at the outcomes. These allowed for the development processes to be mapped. The semi-structured interview respondents were labelled “participant (P) 1” to “(P) 8” for Nyikangbe and (PP) 1” to “(PP) 8” for Ugbo Odogwu.

The questionnaire survey data were first entered into spreadsheets and thereafter coded, and analysed in SPSS. The data was then explored, cleaned, diagnosed and checked for consistency. They were subsequently subjected to statistical analysis to draw inferences to help address the relevant objectives of the research. Descriptive statistics, in particular, mean, median and percentages, were predominantly used to analyse the cost relating to the land development processes data. The outcomes from these analyses were further analysed using the relevant cost estimation frameworks developed by Baffour Awuah et al. (2013) as adjusted.

Based on the literature discussions and findings from the stakeholder workshops, focus group discussions and the interview surveys, the land development processes in the case study informal communities were identified. These processes comprise the execution of several activities, such as land acquisition, land sub-division and connection of developments to infrastructure and services. The activities are also made up of numerous sub-activities including, for example, follow ups made to land owners to ensure that transfer documents are drafted and endorsed in an
expeditious manner. The cost incurred in relation to the execution of all these activities, thus, constitute the cost relating to the land development processes. It was noted from the findings from the analyses of the focus group discussions and the interview survey data that community members contribute towards infrastructure and service provision. This is done on household basis. Further, land registration or processing of C of O, and permission of local planning authorities were considered as formal urban development activities. Therefore, they were beyond the scope of this work. Thus, the cost relating to land development and management processes, which was assessed for the purpose of this work are land acquisition and sub-division of land (planning scheme/layout preparation) costs, and contribution towards infrastructure development. The land acquisition and land sub-division costs were assessed based on 0.045 of a hectare (0.11 acre) land, whilst the contribution to infrastructure development was assessed on household basis. The 0.045 of a hectare was used as a unit of analysis because that land size is often offered for residential developments in the two case study communities. The cost assessments were carried out as follows:

The land acquisition cost was assessed by the formulae:

$$LA_c = \left( \sum_{i=1}^{n} y_i \right) (1+i)^n$$

Equation 1

Where:

- $LA_c$ = Land Acquisition cost;
- $y_1, y_2, y_3, \ldots, y_i$ = Variables, such as costs of survey, demarcation, pillaring, site plan, deed preparation, community chief Honoria, commuting cost for follow-ups to vendor and community chief to expedite action on the acquisition process; and
- $(1+i)^n$ = Compounding factor that takes account of cost of time lag. That is time value of money and has $i$ as the capitalisation rate signifying cost of capital and $n$ as time lag.

The cost relating to land sub-division was assessed using the formulae:

$$LS_c = \frac{x}{T_L} \times \left[ (\alpha \times Y) \right]$$

Equation 2

Where:

- $LS_c$ = Land sub-division cost;
\[ x = \text{The land size used as the unit of analysis (0.045 hectare);} \]

\[ T_L = \text{The total land area with uses that are subject to common land uses cost allotment under land sub-division scheme and it is less than } \gamma; \]

\[ \alpha = \text{Land sub-division cost per land area/one acre; and} \]

\[ \gamma = \text{Total land area for sub-division.} \]

The formulae works on the presumption that the cost of sub-division of land should be shared proportionally among individual parcels of land produced from the sub-division except for parcels of land envisaged for common or ancillary uses, such as roads, and electricity poles and cables. In assessing the cost relating to sub-division of land per the unit of analysis, the cost for sub-division of one acre of land was initially assessed.

For infrastructure and services, the study sought to estimate the financial contributions made by households towards their development. The study dwelt on descriptive statistics to determine the contribution.

The data on equity within the land development processes in the case study communities were obtained based on a five-point Likert scale and the indicators spelt out in section two. Details of the Likert scale were: (1 = Very low, 2 = Low, 3 = Quite low, 4 = High and 5 = Very high). Responses obtained based on the Likert were analysed with the consensus/agreement around the mean analytical framework identified by Tastle and Wierman (2007), and subsequently modified by Tastle et. al (2009), to allow for consensus around a given target. The target used in this instance was five, the highest score on the Likert scales. The formulae used is as follows:

\[
Agr \left( X|S \right) = 1 + \sum_{i=1}^{n} p_i \log_2 \left( 1 - \frac{|X_i - S|}{2d_X} \right) \quad \text{Equation 3}
\]

Where:

\[ Agr = \text{The level of agreement on evaluation of an attribute;} \]

\[ X = \text{The scores;} \]

\[ S = \text{The highest score;} \]

\[ X_i = \text{Each score; and} \]

\[ d_X = \text{The range of } X \left( d_X = X_{\text{max}} - X_{\text{min}} \right) \]
The above formula is designed to cater for the ordinal nature of the Likert scale scores, and it ranges between zero (0) and one (1). One signifies complete agreement. Conversely, zero indicates a complete lack of agreement. Thus, the measure in this research calibrates the extent of the respondents’ agreement towards the last option on the Likert scale (5 on a scale of 1-5). Given that five was the highest and the target score, if all the respondents, for example, rated their feeling of inclusion in the land development processes in their communities very high by selecting five on the Likert scale, then the consensus measure will result in one. However, if they rated it very low by choosing one on the scale, then the consensus measure will be zero.

REPORT WRITING

The full research report was written and a draft of the report submitted to two experts with extensive research experience in SSA urban development issues for peer review. Comments and suggestions received from the review were then used to revise the report. A draft finalised version of the report was then submitted to the DFID for comments and then re-submitted after the redress of the comments.
RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research findings are organised based on the case studies and focus on:

- The outcome of the stakeholder workshops;
- Results from the analysis of the focus group discussions and the interview survey data; and
- Results from the analysis of the questionnaire survey(s) data.

The reportage of the above outcomes is, however, preceded by profiles of the case study cities and informal communities. For the purpose of this research Minna and its informal community of Nyikangbe were labelled Case Study One, whereas Enugu and Ugbo Odogwu were labelled Case Study Two.

MINNA AND NYIKANGBE – CASE STUDY ONE

Minna is the capital city of the Niger State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The city is often referred to as the capital of the Power State. This is because it accommodates three hydro-electric dams that power the two main hydro-electric power stations in Nigeria. Minna is located about 150km north-west of Abuja, the Federal Capital and 494km of Lagos, the Commercial Capital. It lies between latitudes 9°37’ and 9°41’N of the Equator and longitudes 6°30’ and 6°33’E of the Greenwich Meridian. It is bounded on the east by a geological base of predominantly gneiss and magmatite, and on the northeast by a steep outcrop of granite. The city, thus, lies within the north-central part of Nigeria and is accessible by road through the Minna-Suleja Road and Minna-Tegina Road, and serves as an important railway Junction that connects the northern and southern parts of the country. Figure 3 shows the location of Minna.

Figure 3: Map of Minna showing Nyikangbe
Source: FUT, Minna.
Although an old settlement, Minna’s recent development history is categorised into four phases. These are:

- The commencement of the construction of rail line to link Baro and Minna, which partly opened-up the city and attracted several kinds of labour;
- The appointment of a judge to adjudicate among the several tribes in the area;
- The beginning of the deliberate planning of the area into wards following the transformation of the city into a new colonial administrative centre, the appointment of a colonial resident officer in 1910, the completion of the main Minna railway line in 1911, the construction of Minna aerodrome in 1929, the construction of the first water works in 1949, and the establishment of the National Electricity Power Authority then Electricity Corporation of Nigeria in 1962; and
- The transformation of the city into the capital of the Niger State, which was created in 1976.

An executive governor administers the city together with the other parts of the Niger State with the assistance of established bureaucracies. The city is made up of Chanchaga and Bosso Local Government Areas/Authorities (LGA). Chanchaga Local Government is made up of Eleven (11) Wards while Bosso Local Government consists of Ten (10) Wards (Babatunde et al., 2014). Minna falls within the Bosso Local Government Area. Elected local government chairmen and councillors are in charge of local government administration. Apart from formal sector employment, the main sources of employment in Minna are: farming especially cultivation of guinea corn, cotton, ginger and yam; cattle trading; shea butter processing; gold mining; and manufacturing of traditional crafts such as leather and metal works. It is also home to a number of hospitality businesses, such as Hydro Hotel, Doko Hotel, Golden Palace Guest Inn, the Shiroro Hotel, Aloe Vera, Ajuba Hotels, Sahara Food and Confectionaries, T-I’S Bite, Peak, Ibahosa and Mr Biggs restaurants.

Minna has modest infrastructure development. These include an airport and a rail network, which connects the city to other urban centres such as Kano, Ibadan, Lagos and Ilorin, and a number of motorable roads. The main modes of transportation are buses, taxis and motor bikes. The city is also connected to electricity and pipe-borne water network. However, only about 36.4% of the population have access to pipe-borne water. The rest of the city’s population depend on ground or well water. Furthermore, the city has a number of social amenities such as hospitals, primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, and tourism and recreational centres. These include the Albarka Hospital and the General Hospitals, and the Federal University of Technology. Land holdings in the city may be classified as state and customary/communal (Nuhu and Aliyu, 2009). The main land utilisations in the city are residential, mixed uses and commercial.
Developments in the city comprise commercial buildings usually meant for offices, hotels and shop buildings, and residential developments.

Minna continues to experience rapid growth both in terms of population and expansion in land area. The city has grown to engulf satellite settlements, such as Bosso, Maitumbi, Dutsen Kura, Kpakungu, Shango and Chanchaga. The rapid growth of the city is partly attributed to its proximity to Abuja (Mohammed et al., 2007; Ojigi, 2012). The rapid urban growth and expansion continue to outpace urban planning and governance in the city. Although urban planning and governance in the city date back to the colonial period, they are weak and inadequate. Minna, for example, lacks a coordinated master plan. The existing master plan was framed in 1979 and has never been revised. This has, therefore, resulted in proliferation of informal developments, and unmet amenities and infrastructure (Mohammed et al., 2007; Ojigi, 2012). As stated in the previous section (main), for example, a total of 104 informal layouts were recently prepared in the city (Housing Strategy in Niger State, 2014). Nevertheless, there are renewed efforts to review the regional plan for the Niger State produced by the Max Lock Group Nigeria Ltd in 1979 to guide development in the entire state.

Although there are a lot of informal communities in Minna, Nyikangbe was selected as the case study informal community for the research project. The community was selected following insights from a reconnaissance survey of informal communities in Minna in July 2015, the literature review and the stakeholder workshop. Nyikangbe was selected because it appeared to have a well organised governance structure and some basic infrastructure, and orderly developments. Further, based on interactions with the informants, the settlement had the potential to offer easy access to data, which was a critical issue given the limited time and resources allocated for the implementation of the research.

The Nyikangbe community is located within Chanchaga Local Government Area. It is within the south western region of Minna, less than 49 kilometers away from the Minna-Bida Road axis with a geographical coordinate of 6 30’ 25” E, 9 35’ 45”N. The settlement shares common boundary to the west, east, north east and south with Gbarako River and Gidan Mangoro, Dutsen Kura, Kpakungu and the Bida-Kwarankota Road respectively. Figure 4 is an aerial photograph of Nyikangbe.
Nyikangbe covers an approximate land area of about 3.81 km². Anecdotal evidence suggests that it is predominantly a Gbagyi settlement, which has been in existence for centuries. Originally, a farming community founded by a single family with two structures, it has turned to a settlement characterised by thousands of people, likewise thousands of structures developed without direction from formal planning. Although the people in the area were predominantly Gbagyis, with the rapid growth and development of the core area (Minna), which have had influence on the area, the ethnic structure of residents has become diversified, and now comprise Yorubas, Igbo, Tiv, Fulani and Nupe among others. Similarly, there has been a diversification of the nature of occupation of residents, which used to be predominantly farming and fishing, to include service provision – such as mechanics, other forms of artisans, crafting and formal sector occupations.

**Outcome from the Stakeholder Workshop**

Plate 1 is an excerpt from the workshop. Findings from the workshop are reported under the themes used for the discussions below:
Meaning and Incidence of Informal Developments

Participants at the workshop agreed that informal developments are developments, which are not governed by the rules and regulation that govern formal developments. Further, informal developments are not planned and regulated, and they are often haphazard. Also, the participants identified the characteristics of informal development settlements as follows:

- Have high population density;
- Unapproved structures and developments;
- No consideration for service lines including those for water supply (pipe lines), electricity and drainage systems; and
- No provision for basic amenities, such as hospitals, schools and waste management structures.

It was agreed that there is high incidence of informal developments in Minna and Nigeria as a whole, and that they are often found at: outskirts of cities; near waste dumps; river banks; on drainage(s); farmlands; and flood plains. Several examples of informal development settlements in Minna were given as:

- Sauka Kahuta;
- Barkin Sale;
- Kpakungu;
- Shango;
- Kafuntela;
- Angwan Daji;
Anguwan Biri;  
Anguwan Kadara;  
Sabon Gari;  
Anguwan Kaje; and  
Nyikangbe.

**Drivers and Impact of Informal Developments**

The workshop identified several drivers of informal developments. These were: increasing levels of income poverty, which participants noted prevents a lot of urban residents from acquiring and developing lands within the framework of the formal development system; and the clustering of low income urban residents from particular tribes in certain land areas in cities. Examples of such settlements cited in Minna were Kwangila and Sabon Gari Wards mainly dominated by the Yorubas and Igbos respectively.

The other drivers identified were:

- Non availability of planned lands and extensive bureaucracy with the formal urban land development system that demand a lot of requirements and also tends to delay the development process;
- Distrust between land owners and government;
- Political factors; and
- Comparatively low prices of land in informal settlements.

Participants at the workshop said that distrust between land owners and government is often informed by government’s inability to honour its obligation for payment of compensation when lands are acquired for public purpose. In such circumstance, land owners are usually motivated to encroach on the acquired land giving rise to informal developments. Encroachments on FUT campus site was given as an example. Conversely, the participants said that political factors relate mainly to political leaders unwillingness to address the springing up of informal developments for several reasons, including honouring of campaign promises and the fear of losing elections.

Mixed impacts of informal developments were noted by the workshop participants. The participants, in particular, noted the negative impacts of informal development settlements below:

- The settlements serve as safe haven for criminals and practitioners of social vices;
- They are prone to disaster such as flooding due to their often unplanned and unregulated nature. An example of Kpakungu/Barkin sale flooding in Minna was given;
- Their enronments create all forms of pollution;
They lead to low government revenue;
- Land disputes are rife;
- Encroachment on public open spaces and sites for social amenities; and
- Businesses within such settlements are often unregulated and there is always paucity of data on activities.

The participants also recognised that informal developments have positive impacts, such as the provision of accommodation for housing and economic activities as well the creation of jobs. Although these findings affirm the findings from the literature, they place much emphasis on the ills of informal developments.

**Informal Urban Development Process**

The workshop established that lands are acquired for development in informal development settlements through the traditional land tenure management arrangements. Land acquisitions take place with the help of local agents who sometimes work, in conjunction, with professionals. Additionally, the participants noted that in Minna, local agents prepare sales agreement between land owners and purchasers of land upon sale. The sales agreements’ also require to be witnessed by a third party. Beyond that, the sales agreements’ are then presented to the “Mai Anguwa” – local chief who prepares consent letters to cover the transactions. Further, surveyors are engaged to prepare site plans for the lands after which all the documentation(s) are submitted to the UDB. This suggests that government institution at this stage is involved in the development process.

Participants said that infrastructure developments in informal communities are usually provided by the communities themselves. However, they are sometimes assisted by government. The participants further intimated that informal urban development activities are governed and managed by informal communities themselves through their leaders. Such communities often developed their institutions, rules and regulations for doing so. However, they identified community leaders, town planners and the courts as the individuals and institutions used to resolve disputes and conflicts in urban development. The participants noted that collaboration between the informal and formal development actors is often seen in informal urban land developers applying to local authorities/UDB for C of O – (land registration) over their lands and properties. The participants further said that the informal urban development processes, institutions, norms and practices could be improved through collaboration between community leaders and government.
**Equity**

Participants regarded equity as equal access to land, services and opportunities. They noted that although rules and regulations within the informal development system do not discriminate based on income and social status, developments within the system do not often take into account the social strata in society. For example, they said there is no proportional provision in land allocation, no equal access to land, infrastructure and services, and no equal economic opportunities. The workshop, however, identified what equity should cover in informal urban development. These are:

- Land allocation and administration;
- Infrastructure and services provision;
- Poverty and livelihoods; and
- Development of a framework for equity.

Participants further noted that equity should also focus on the urban poor, disadvantaged groups, such as the physically challenged, and both indigenes and non-indigenes. The participants identified three main ways by which equity in urban development and management could be measured. These are:

- Level of access to land resources;
- Level of access to infrastructure and services; and
- Level of access to economic opportunities.

Additionally, they identified three ways by which equity can be improved in informal urban development and management. These are:

- Increased access to land for development by the poor;
- Provision of more infrastructure and services; and
- Introduction of pro-poor land development and management services as well as poverty and livelihood programmes in informal settlements.

**Cost Relating to Informal Urban Development**

Participants at the workshop perceived cost relating to informal urban developments to be high. This is because informal development land areas are usually not opened up and they are often not provided with infrastructure and services. Also, the workshop participants noted that cost relating to informal urban development should entail: ancillary cost such as additional payments to natives of such communities to obtain access to purchased land for development; litigation cost; and infrastructure and services cost. Further, it was established that assessment of cost relating to informal development should be examined from government and user perspective, and it should consider patronage – demand/need and affordability.
Results from the Analysis of the Focus Group Discussion and Interview Data
To facilitate systematic analysis, the four focus groups were labelled as FG1 (the women group), FG2 (the elderly men group), FG3 (the elderly men and youth group) and FG4 (the youth group). Findings from the analysis of the focus group discussion data are presented as follows:

Plate 2: Excerpts from the Focus Group Discussion Session at the Forecourt of the Chief’s Palace Nyikangbe, Minna

Land Ownership and Acquisition
It emerged from all the focus group discussions that lands in the Nyikangbe community are held by the royal family and other families. However, it emerged from the FG2 discussions that lands in the community originally belonged to two major royal families Mai Anguwa and Pketu. These families had clear boundaries as to the extent of their lands, but they later demarcated and divided the lands into five parts and shared among the families, which had then grown into five units. These five units were Pketu, Sarkin Samari, Wakili and Turaki. There have since been several subsequent families with the growth of the families. Thus, lands in the community are held by the original royal families and the emergent families. These families have sold lands to people and families who in turn become land owners and, thus, sell lands. It further emerged from the discussions that the ward head or chief of the community, known as Mai
Anguwa, oversees all land acquisitions. The mechanics of this supervision, which is encapsulated in the land acquisition process, was explained as follows:

A prospective purchaser through family members, friends or agents negotiate with a landowner or head of a land owning family for the purchase of a land upon enquiries and availability of the subject land. Subsequent to an agreement of the purchase price, the transaction is then referred to the Mai Anguwa. Both parties to the transaction will have to appear before the Mai Anguwa in his palace. The prospective purchaser pays the purchase price to the Mai Anguwa, who in turn gives it to the land owner or pays the land owner in the presence of the Mai Anguwa. Thereafter, a receipt is issued to the purchaser by Mai Anguwa. The Mai Anguwa also prepares a transfer document or this may be done for the purchaser by the vendor. The documents issued by the Mai Anguwa are used by land purchasers to process C of O or perfect their titles to land at the local Lands Department/UDB. Alternatively, the land owner especially (in the case of the other five main families) accepts the purchase price after completion of the land transaction and issues out a receipt, as well as prepares a transfer document for the purchaser. However, the transfer document or forms have to be endorsed by the Mai Anguwa and his secretary. The position that land transactions in the community have to receive authorisation from the Mai Anguwa was shared by all the groups. A member of FG1, for example, noted that:

*Of a truth, the purchase of land and ownership of land in this area is through the community head (Mai Anguwa). I was small when I was brought in here as a result of my marriage to a native of this area, I have never heard that anybody got any land from the government in this area. All lands are gotten through the community head, his children and his subjects.*

Another participant in FG3 also stated that:

*For example, if you approach me that you want to acquire land in Nyikangbe, if I have I will take you there and if you are interested, I will then take you to my elder brother or the Mai-Anguwa that this person wants to acquire land and I have taken him to the plot and he says "he is interested and would like to have the land". After seeking the consent of Mai-Anguwa and my elder brother, we can now negotiate on what to pay. If you like you can pay in the presence of the Mai-Anguwa who will write the amount paid for the land on the document.*

The rationale behind the need to seek the consent of Mai Anguwa prior to the completion of all land transaction is to prevent fraudulent transactions. A participant in FG2 in a narration of the land acquisition process in the community said among other things, that:
But it is important to note that every land sales passes through the Mai Anguwa. For a successful land deal, after sitting the land before payment to the seller, the buyer and the seller would have to come to the palace of Mai Anguwa who will ask of the location and verify that the land belongs to the seller before the Mai Anguwa will issue receipt to the buyer.

Land Development, Provision of Infrastructure and Services, and Governance
It emerged from the focus group discussions that the land development process in Nyikangbe commences with land acquisition. Apart from the land acquisition activities and the actors involved mentioned in the previous discussions, land acquisition in the community is preceded with some form of survey, demarcation and pillaring of the land. It came to the fore during the discussions that unlike previously when land ownership boundaries were marked by farms and the extent of land being sold indicated by throwing of a stone, conveyance of lands is now accompanied by better measurements. One of the participants from FG3 observed that:

Years back you just throw a stone to give out land because there were no form of conventional survey. Where ever the stone lands, is the extent of your land. Years back no one gave regard for accessibility because the common modes of transportation then were walking, and the use of motorcycle and bicycle. So there was no need to leave large space for road. In contemporary Nyikangbe, you must have a layout before development because we all want this community to advance.

Another participant from the same group corroborated the above statements by saying that:

There is a "big" difference between what pertains now and the situation years’ back. I agree with xxx, before if someone wants to give you a piece of land, the person will just stand at the edge of the land and just throw a stone, wherever the stone lands, that is the extent of your land. There was no form of formal survey. And if access road was to be given, the person will just use his hand to describe the width of the road. The man will just stand at one end and tell you ‘from here to here is your road’ no one will measure the road with a tape at that time. Our people were just interested in foot and bicycle paths but with civilisation you have to measure your land before you can sell. Like me, I am a land owner and I must measure my land before I sell.

For large tracts of land some forms of sub-division of lands are sometimes practiced after surveying and marking of land boundaries. For example, a participant from FG3 noted that:

When large tracts of land are acquired by speculators or the government from the community, the government or the speculators will sub-divide the land or lay it out before they resell it or before the commencement of any
development. For example, the large tracts of land acquired by the government at Nyikangbe junction were laid out by the government before it was resold.

Government officials, in particular, local town planning officials are also involved in the land development process. Their involvement often relates to the processing of C of O. The planning officials will have to inspect the land to ensure that the relevant application relates to the correct parcel of land. They also check the ownership status of the land from the Mai Anguwa. A member of FG3 in narrating the land development process in the community, among other things, stated that:

Before you can buy a land in this community, you must first see the community head (Mai-Anguwa) who will give you some document after which you will proceed to the local government or the state planning office. You need to get the planning officers informed that you bought a piece of land at a particular location. These officers will follow you to the land for inspection or verify if the size of the plot really conforms to what is written on the document. After the confirmation the planning officials from the local government or state government will now go to the ‘Mai-Anguwa’ to confirm if the person in question really bought the land. If the Mai-Anguwa agrees that the land was bought, then the processing will begin after which the planning officials will give you the "sketch" of your land.

FG1 corroborated the involvement of planning officials in the land development process, but noted that their involvement was partly in response to the need to reduce land ownership disputes and conflicts. A member of the group, for example, noted that:

Sometime back because of the conflicts recorded in this community, the community and family heads were summoned to the local government where instructions were given that any land sales or allocations done in the community must always come with government consent and this has actually helped to reduce this issue of conflict. So most of the conflicts you still see, are those before the decision for government to get involved since 2014. So presently, land purchase and sales are still from the community but requires government consent.

Nevertheless, actual development could commence upon completion of the land transaction with the consent of the Mai Anguwa. The actual development activities may commence with or without the consent of the land owner/vendor.

The majority of the participants across all the focus groups noted that infrastructure and services in the community ordinarily should be provided by government. However, the community have inadequate infrastructure and services. It emerged from the discussions that government has not done enough with the provision of such facilities and the few of the facilities, which have come from government came as a result of electoral
promises. The community, thus, provides most of its infrastructure and services particularly electricity, water and roads through self-help and financial contributions of its members. A member of FG4, for example, stated that:

*When you want to look at provision of basic infrastructure here, it shows that government has been doing something, although it may not be enough*.

FG2 noted that:

*Infrastructure and services supplied to this community are initially sponsored locally by the community. Road networks and electricity supply were all done by the community effort and later supported by the local government. For the electricity supply, residents who newly relocated to the area were asked to pay N15,000 to connect to the local electricity grid within the community and such monies are kept with the Mai Anguwa for maintenance. Now we are planning on contributing certain amount of money to acquire electricity transformers so that the load shedding programme by the electricity company would be stopped because we have only one transformer which is overloaded and that calls for load shedding we are experiencing now.*

The community has several committees on provision of the several types of infrastructure and services. The committees meet regularly to deliberate on the infrastructure needs of the community and how they could be provided. The committees make contacts with government agencies or politicians to lobby for such facilities where need be. In the case of electricity, for example, a member of FG4 noted that:

*Where there is a need for electricity, we first go to the committee in charge of electricity. The committee then gives directive on how to contact the “NEPA” (National Electric Power Authority as it was then known) so as to determine on what we will do.*

Governance of the land development processes and activities in Nyikangbe mainly relate to resolution of land ownership disputes and development control. The Mai Anguwa and his elders constitute some form of a local court to resolve all forms of land disputes within the community. However, where a party to a dispute is not satisfied with the outcome of the resolution such a party could proceed to the Police Station or the Magistrate Court for resolution. A member of FG2, for example, explained that:

*The Mai Anguwa is the court for land disputes. He calls on the parties involved, listen to them and settles their disputes. Except where a party is not satisfied with the Mai Anguwa’s judgement he could take the case to the magistrate court/Police station. But on most occasions, the court and police officers usually advise that land dispute cases be settled with the Mai Anguwa.*
The Mai Anguwa and his elders from time to time introduce certain norms and practices that regulate land developments in Nyikangbe. They also, with the support of community members and sometimes in collaboration with government, earmark certain parcels of land for community projects and infrastructure. To ensure that the development norms and practices are not breached and lands earmarked for community projects are not encroached, a committee has been established by the Mai Anguwa to enforce the norms and, as well as prevent or remedy encroachments. A member of FG3 recounted where a developer was made to demolition a portion of a structure, which had encroached on an access road as follows:

There was a time someone was building and it encroached on an access road. The committee in the community informed the Mai-Anguwa and the person in question was asked to break the portion that extended to the access road. If your development encroaches on an access road, the committee will tell you to stop work.

Cost Relating to Land Development Processes
Several costs relating to the land development processes in Nyikangbe emerged from the focus group discussions. These cost related to: land/estate agent fees or commissions; survey, demarcation and pillaring; sub-division of land; the Mai Anguwa receipt fees; legal fees for preparation of transfer documents by a lawyer and C of O processing fees. A member of FG2 itemise as follows:

The present cost of a plot of land in this community depends on the location. If the land is close to access road it will cost about N600,000 for 50 by 100 feet but if the plot of land is inside, that is, a bit far from the road it will cost about N400,000 for 50 by 100 feet plus in direct costs like the Mai Anguwa receipts fee (N5,000), if the buyer so wish to seek the services of a lawyer he pays (N10,000) and local government land documents (N15,000). Sometimes a plot of land is sold or bought through agents who act as intermediary between the buyer and the seller and, therefore, they charge for their services which are usually negotiable depending on the cost of the land. But many land buyers don’t bother about a lawyer and local government land documents.

Equity in Development
Equity was perceived across all the focus group to mean equal access to land for development. However, members of FG2 further noted that equity in land development should encompass truthfulness, transparency and fairness in all land acquisition transactions and development activities including infrastructure provision. However, whilst all the groups noted that there is no discrimination as to access to land for development particularly in the area of land sales and purchases, FG4 had a different view. Members of the group noted that based on existing traditions, men are always favoured when it comes to access to land for development through inheritance. A member of FG4, for example, noted as follows:
No, we don’t have equal right on land with our local women. Assuming there is land, which belongs to a family (of the same father with the women), the men will be given 100ft x 100ft, while the women (girl child) will have just half of it 100ft x 50ft or half of the land proceeds.

Mixed outcomes were noted on the issue of participation of all stakeholders in the land development process. For example, whilst FG2 explained that members of the community are usually involved in the land development process and noted that community projects are undertaken based on collective approaches, FG1 and FG3 members made a different assertion. FG1 said women are mostly not involved in the land development processes especially the land acquisition process. Conversely, FG3’s issue was with sub-division of land by purchasers of large tracts of land, which often do not involve members of the community.

Recent Experiences and Recommendations
All the focus groups identified a number of recent positive and negative experiences relating to planning and governance of land developments in the community. They made several suggestions for improvement. FG1 noted that ever since land owners started planning their lands and preparing layouts, the community is becoming more accessible and beautiful. FG2 mentioned the resolution of land ownership conflict borne out of a claim of land in the community by Gbeganu people. FG3 identified the introduction of planning, and survey and measurement of land prior to sale as well as effective enforcement of development norms and practices as recent positive experiences. FG4 noted that land transactions in the community are usually free from problems, unlike other communities in the country. Notwithstanding these positive experiences, FG1 observed that there are still some incidents of multiple sales of the same parcels of land, which often lead to land conflicts. A member of FG1, for instance, noted as follows:

Our husbands do not train their children with proceeds from land sales and the children are now turning around to resell the lands, thereby leading to frequent litigations.

The groups made some recommendations for the improvement in planning and governance of land developments in the community. FG1 suggested that:

- There should be improvement in layouts preparation;
- Government should help to provide infrastructure, such as opening more roads, construction of culverts, schools, provision of more transformers and police station to control crime so as to improve lives in the community;
- Men should be compelled to begin to respect the opinions of the women with regards to land allocation;
Government should consistently meet and collaborate with the people of the community;
Men should take care of their families - wife and children with proceeds from the sale of lands. Therefore, the process of land allocation should involve members of the immediate family of the sellers;
The need for everyone who buys land to have adequate documentation and plans before the commencement of developments; and
Lands embroiled in ownership contention should be used to provide community facilities to enrich the community, and land speculators who sell lands belonging to other people should be punished severely.

FG2 recommended for the prevention of land speculation and the need for purchasers of land to develop their lands to avoid unnecessary problems. The group also suggested that illegal land transactions should be discouraged. FG3 recommended that prospective land purchasers should strive to deal with rightful land owners and where they are in doubt they should always consult the Mai Anguwa. FG4 recommended for the provision of infrastructure and services, and the need for the Mai Anguwa to engage experts to advise on proper planning and development of the community.

Results from the Analysis of the Interview Data
Findings from the analysis of the interview data largely resonated with the findings from the focus group discussions albeit with some variations. The findings are presented under similar headings as the focus group discussions as follows:

Land Ownership and Acquisition
Like findings from the focus group discussions, it emerged from the analysis of the interview data that lands in Nyikangbe are primarily customarily owned and vested in families. However, the ownership devolves from the royal family and by extension the Mai Anguwa. P1, for example, explained that lands in the community were owned by the father of the present Mai Anguwa who shared them between his two sons and, thus, two families. These families have since grown and expanded and each of them has taken its share of the lands and become land owners. There are, however, families and people who have become land owners through purchase and may resell these lands or part of them. This account somewhat corroborates similar account, which emerged from the focus group discussion. It also emerged from the interviews that lands are acquired through relatives, friends and agents, and after inspection of the subject land and agreement of the purchase price, the transaction is sent to the Mai Anguwa for completion. However, as part of the acquisition process, the lands are somewhat surveyed, demarcated and pillared with beacons. Similar accounts to those of the focus group discussions of the rationale for sending the transaction to the Mai Anguwa for approval and
the role of town planning officials regarding processing of C of O over acquired lands were given. For example, P3 noted that:

Yes, it must, as I said earlier before you can buy a land in this community, you must first see the community head (Mai-Anguwa) who will give you some documents after which you will proceed to the state planning office for further process. You need to get the planning officers informed that you bought a piece of land at a particular location. These officers will follow you to the land for check or confirm if the size of the plot really conform with what is written on the documents. After the approval, the planning officials from the State Government will now go to the “Mai-Anguwa” to confirm if the person in question really bought the land. If the Mai-Anguwa agrees that the land was bought, then the land processing will begin after which the planning officials will give you the ‘sketch’ of your land.

Land Development, Provision of Infrastructure and Services, and Governance

Findings from the interviews showed that the land development process in Nyikangbe commences with survey, demarcation and pillaring of lands. This is followed by sub-division or layout of lands then acquisition of the lands, and preparation and approval of building plans before actual construction works begin. However, such process is not often followed and that developers carry-out developments based on their own choices. P1 observed, for example, that:

Land development process in this community starts from when surveyors are called to survey the land and agreements and signing are carried out, the beacons are put, a building plan is drawn/approved then development begins. This only happens on rare occasions. For example, this happened in my father’s house because he is an Architect. In general, development in this community is based on people’s choice, they just build whatever they want.

However, whilst the majority of respondents said that there is some form of planning and layouts within the community other respondents indicated there is no planning and layout at all. The respondents who said there is some form of planning although not formal indicated that, planning and layout of the community are usually carried-out through the Mai-Anguwa and his family members. For example, P2 observed as follows:

I don’t think developments here are planned. The community is more of a traditional setting like in my family, we all build close to each other but it was not guided by any authority. Some people have changed the developments on their lands from one use to another, like the school close to my house. This type of developments may be planned but I am not too sure.
Conversely, P3 noted that:

*...planning in this community is done by Mai Anguwa’s children who have understanding of planning and this area is one of the best communities in Minna, even though there is no sub-division for different land use because there is no provision for market and other social amenities, but with arrangement of residential buildings, the area is well planned, every plot of land has access to road.*

P8 also said that:

*The planning done in this community is at local level, so there are still elements of planning found in this environment though not up to standard.*

The above finding suggests that whilst the community has its own form of planning, which may be described as informal certain section of the community or individuals do not regard it as planning.

Mixed outcomes were also noted on the account of infrastructure and services provision in the community. Whilst some respondents said that infrastructure and services in the community are provided by government and that the community only undertakes repairs of the facilities others said these facilities, in particular, electricity, roads and water are provided by the community through self-help and financial contributions. It further emerged from the analysis that there are sets of norms, practices and rules and regulations that the Mai-Anguwa and his elders use to govern and control developments in the community. Some of these norms are religiously oriented. P1 observed that:

*There is no planned arrangement for developments in this community, but certain restrictions are set by the Mai-Anguwa in terms of schools, markets and roads. For example, if anybody builds into a road, land surveyors are invited to prove it, then an ultimatum is given after which the structure will be broken down.*

P4 also said that:

*This area is just for residential development, Christians cannot just come here and build a church in this community, they won’t be allowed to do so, but if it is a residential building anybody can buy a land and build on it whether you are a Christian or Muslim. But mosque and church are not permitted to be built. However, you can attach small mosque to your building without putting loud speaker to avoid public disturbance.*

P1 explained that there is a governance structure in place in the community. The structure is headed by the Mai-Anguwa followed by Madaki (second in command), Hakimi (takes charge in the absence of the first two), Wakili (also take charge when the first three people are not there), then finally the Sarkin Samari (vigilante head). Further, disputes are resolved at the Mai-Anguwa’s palace in the presence of the Sarkin Samari.
and the conflicting parties. Development sanctions range from demolition of illegal structures and handing offenders over to the police. Some of the development problems are, however, referred to the Magistrate courts in situations where the Mai-Anguwa is unable to resolve or an aggrieved party is not satisfied. The Mai-Anguwa’s resolution of dispute particularly with respect to land ownership sometimes involves the offer of a replacement land to end a dispute.

**Cost Relating to Land Development Processes**
Like the findings from the focus group discussions, it was noted from the analysis of the interview data that the cost relating to the land development processes in the Nyikangbe community are: land/estate agent fees or commissions; survey, demarcation and pillaring; sub-division of land; the Mai Anguwa receipt fees; and legal fees for preparation of transfer documents by a lawyer and C of O processing fees.

**Equity in Development**
It was established from the analysis of the interviews that equity in land development was mostly perceived as equal access to land and resources, as well as infrastructure, and participation of all stakeholders in the land development processes. It was further noted from the interviews that all sections of the community, men and women or rich and poor have equal access to land for development provided they have the means or resources to purchase the land. However, P6 and P7 observed that resources are not evenly distributed. Therefore, it is important that strategies are put in place to ensure that the poor can also access land for development. It was established that women are not involved in planning and community development issues. P4, for example, noted as follows:

...women are usually not involved in planning and community development. They are, therefore, not active in this area yet.

P4 also said that there is no equal access to infrastructure and noted that access to water within the community is through bole holes. However, the bole holes in the community are not evenly distributed.

**Recent Experiences**
It emerged from the interviews that multiple sales of the same parcels of land are on the increase. Therefore, purchasers are often advised to commence development immediately after the purchase of land to avoid such problems. The respondents also recognised the need for improvement in planning and development control in the community. They, in broad terms, recommended that the Mai-Anguwa engages the services of professionals to advise on land development and management, as well as find ways to deepen collaboration with relevant government authorities for the purpose of effective and efficient land development and management.
Results from the Analysis of the Questionnaire Survey Data

Eighty-seven out of the 120 questionnaires administered to land and property owners/residents of Nyikangbe, were received. This represents 72.5% response rate and compares favourably with other studies, such as Aribigbola (2007) and Egbu et al. (2008). However, some of the respondents did not provide answers to all questions. These were taken into account in the analysis. A total of 97.7% of the respondents were male, compared to 2.3% who were female. The striking difference between the male respondents and that of their female counterparts could stem from the rather low level of female land ownership rate in the community, as well as customary limitations placed on women relating to land development processes as noted in the findings from the focus group discussions and the interview surveys. However, contrary to the section of the literature that put all women in the same category and suggests that they are marginalised, the finding shows that not all women are marginalised. These women respondents from the findings belong to one or a combination of the following groups: heads of household, not income poor, had access to land/property owners, and involved in the land development processes or had knowledge of it. This, in part, corroborates other literature that professes that affluent women have easy access to land resources.

The educational level of the respondents ranged between primary and tertiary levels. Most of the respondents, however, had post-secondary level of education. This was followed by primary and secondary/technical/vocational levels of education, JSS/Elementary and tertiary levels of education, and other forms of education such as Quranic education. Table 3 summarises the educational background of the respondents.

Table 3: Level of Education of Respondents – Nyikangbe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Frequency (n = 87)</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSS/Elementary</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary/Technical/Vocational</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Secondary</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
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A total of 32.2% of the respondents were employed as civil servants, compared to 6.9% of them who were in other forms of occupation. Also, 23% of the respondents were public servants, whilst those engaged in trading, farming and artisanal works constituted 12.6% each of the occupation of the respondents. Figure 5 details the occupation of the respondents.
The majority of the respondents (n = 56) (64.4%), on average, earned an income of N80,000.00 compared to only (n = 6) (6.9%) respondents whose monthly average incomes were between N20,000 and N39,000.00. Figure 6 provides details of the average monthly income of the respondents.

Cost Relating to Land Development Process
As stated in the methodology section, the extent of the the cost relating to land development and management processes, which was assessed for the purpose of this work were land acquisition and sub-division of land (planning scheme/layout preparation) costs, and contribution towards
infrastructure development. The cost assessments were carried-out as follows:

**Land Acquisition Cost**

The land acquisition cost was assessed by Equation 1. Like the rest of the cost assessment, the variables in the formulae were predominantly determined using descriptive statistics and arithmetic calculations. Further, medians instead of means were used as representatives in virtually all the responses obtained. This was because the distributions of these responses were not normal and under such circumstances medians are better representatives (Field, 2005). Table 4 presents details of the cost.

**Table 4: Cost Relating to Land Acquisition - Nyikangbe**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost Relating to Land Acquisition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land Acquisition Cost</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price of Land (0.045 Hectare)</td>
<td>N500,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of survey and demarcation</td>
<td>N32,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Plan cost</td>
<td>N15,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer Document (Deed)</td>
<td>N17,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional fee for Land Acquisition (Land Agent Commission)</td>
<td>N20,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Costs (Such as Mai Anguwa Signing fee) (Median)</td>
<td>N10,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting cost (per follow–up N300.00)</td>
<td>N1,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of time lag (at average lending rate of – compounding factor@ 26.81%)</td>
<td>N768.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration for completion of land acquisition transaction (including transfer document)</td>
<td>0.5 Month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of follow-ups to vendor and Mai Anguwa to complete land transaction</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting time (per follow up – 0.5 Hour)</td>
<td>2.5 Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiting time (per follow-up – 0.83 Hour)</td>
<td>4.15 Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cost per Land Acquisition Transaction</strong></td>
<td>N596,768.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on Field Survey

The commuting cost was assessed by multiplying, on average, the total number of follow-ups made to facilitate the completion of a land transaction and the commuting cost per follow up. The same reasoning was used to assess the total commuting and waiting times. Further, a compounding factor at annual lending rate of 26.8% was used to assess the cost of time lag. This was an average of the highest lending rates for the first three months when the actual field work started. The rates were obtained from the Central Bank of Nigeria. It was, thus, established from the analysis that the cost relating to land acquisition transaction per the subject land in Nyikangbe is N96,768 (Table 4)

**Cost Relating to Land Sub-Division**

The cost relating to land sub-division was assessed based on Equation 2. Table 5 provides details of the activities and the corresponding cost.
Table 5: Cost Relating to Land Sub-division - Nyikangbe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost Relating to Land Sub-Division</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cost of survey and demarcation</td>
<td>N44,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-division with plan</td>
<td>N17,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission for facilitating sub-division</td>
<td>N1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Costs (such as stationary)</td>
<td>N5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting cost (per follow –up N350.00)</td>
<td>N2,450.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of time lag (at average lending rate of – compounding factor@ 26.81%)</td>
<td>N11,980.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration for completion of sub-division of land with plan</td>
<td>2 Months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of follow-ups made to “surveyors/planners” to facilitate sub-division of land</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting time (per follow up – 1 Hour)</td>
<td>2.5 Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiting time (per follow-up – 1.75 Hour)</td>
<td>4.15 Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost Relating to Sub-Division of One Acre Land</td>
<td>N81,430.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Sub-Division of Land per 0.11 Acre (0.045 Hectare) Land</td>
<td>N10,180.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on Field Survey

Based on the practices in the subject community, 10% of the one acre land area was assumed to be earmarked for common or ancillary land uses, in particular, access roads. This was, therefore, factored in the activation of the relevant formulae. The cost of sub-division of land in the subject community relating to 0.11 Acre (0.045 Hectare) land was assessed at N10,180 (Table 5).

Infrastructure Cost

As noted previously, infrastructure and services in informal communities are often provided by community members usually through self-help and household financial contributions. Indeed, it was established that self-help and household contribution in infrastructure provision are a common practice in the subject community. The idea of infrastructure cost assessment was to identify the extent of financial contributions households make towards infrastructure provision. The infrastructure and services covered are electricity, water supply and roads. Table 6 presents the areas and extent of contributions made by households in recent times. Thus, these contributions are not organised regularly, but are made when the need arises.

Table 6: Infrastructure Cost - Nyikangbe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infrastructure Cost</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household Contribution to Infrastructure Cost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Supply</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution to borehole construction</td>
<td>N20,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contribution to the purchase of Electric Transformer  N30.00
Contribution to the purchase of electric poles and other accessories  N2,000.00

Rocks
Contribution to Road Grading Cost  N13,000.00
Contribution to Culverts Construction Cost  N15,000.00

Source: Based on Field Survey

Extent of Equity in Land Development and Management
A 5-point Likert scale was used to solicit the requisite data based largely on the indicators/variables (reported in Table 1) to analyse the extent of equity in land development and management in the case study communities. Table 7 provides details of the scaling. Equation 3 was used to evaluate the extent of equity in land development and management in the communities. The results show that with the exception of the indicator/variable – the presence of and the degree of conflicts in land development and management activities, which the respondents rated high or very high (Agr|5 = 0.72) in the subject community all the other equity indicators/variables were rated very low or low (Table 7). The rating of the presence of and the degree of conflicts in land development and management activities as being high or very high somewhat reinforces the overall finding as it suggests the presence of dissatisfaction from some of the actors in the land development and management processes. Further, the results regarding participation in the land development and management processes to a large extent correspond with the results from the stakeholder workshop, findings from the focus group discussions and the interview surveys. Conversely, the results on access to land by women and the poor for development (Agr|5 = 0.27; Agr|5 = 0.25) contradict, in broad terms, findings from the focus group discussion although they correspond with views expressed by FG4.
<p>| Indicator/Variable | No | Frequencies (%) | Min | Max | Mean | Median | Mode | Agr|5 |
|-------------------|----|-----------------|-----|-----|------|--------|------|----|
|                  |    | 1   | 2  | 3   | 4 | 5 |       |     |   |
| ICMLA             | 85 | 67.10 |10.60 |16.50 |3.50 |2.40 |1  | 5 |1.64|1 |1 |0.18 |
| CMDLAMA           | 86 | 51.20 |23.20 |16.30 |8.10 |1.20 |1  | 5 |1.85|1 |1 |0.25 |
| CMAMP             | 86 | 44.20 |27.90 |15.10 |11.60 |1.20 |1  | 5 |1.98|2 |1 |0.28 |
| CMPDLDP          | 85 | 40.00 |30.60 |20.00 |7.10 |2.40 |1  | 5 |2.01|2 |1 |0.30 |
| CMEVOLDA         | 85 | 51.80 |25.90 |14.10 |7.10 |1.20 |1  | 5 |1.80|1 |1 |0.23 |
| CMVAR             | 84 | 50.00 |22.60 |22.60 |3.60 |1.20 |1  | 5 |1.83|1.50|1 |0.25 |
| SCMP              | 84 | 50.00 |26.20 |19.00 |2.40 |2.40 |1  | 5 |1.81|1.50|1 |0.24 |
| PCR               | 85 | 40.00 |25.90 |24.70 |5.90 |3.50 |1  | 5 |2.07|2 |1 |0.31 |
| ADBB              | 85 | 47.10 |22.40 |14.10 |8.20 |8.20 |1  | 5 |2.08|2 |1 |0.30 |
| PILDMTA           | 86 | 51.20 |30.20 |17.40 |1.20 |0.00 |1  | 4 |1.69|1 |1 |0.20 |
| ETIRKG            | 86 | 51.20 |23.30 |19.80 |5.80 |0.00 |1  | 4 |1.80|1 |1 |0.24 |
| LAOD              | 86 | 44.20 |25.60 |25.60 |3.50 |1.20 |1  | 5 |1.92|2 |1 |0.27 |
| PADC              | 86 | 4.70 |12.80 |24.40 |23.30 |34.90 |1  | 5 |3.71|4 |4 |0.72 |
| RLDMA             | 85 | 38.80 |38.80 |17.60 |2.40 |2.40 |1  | 5 |1.91|2 |1 |0.27 |
| ALDR              | 85 | 49.40 |24.70 |18.80 |7.10 |0.00 |1  | 4 |1.84|2 |1 |0.25 |
| PPI               | 85 | 49.40 |29.40 |14.10 |5.90 |1.20 |1  | 5 |1.80|2 |1 |0.24 |
| CMAAP             | 85 | 52.90 |12.90 |25.90 |5.90 |2.40 |1  | 5 |1.92|1 |1 |0.27 |
| FOI               | 86 | 51.20 |19.80 |22.10 |5.80 |1.20 |1  | 5 |1.86|1 |1 |0.25 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Value 1</th>
<th>Value 2</th>
<th>Value 3</th>
<th>Value 4</th>
<th>Value 5</th>
<th>Value 6</th>
<th>Value 7</th>
<th>Value 8</th>
<th>Value 9</th>
<th>Value 10</th>
<th>Value 11</th>
<th>Value 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EOTA</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>51.20</td>
<td>17.40</td>
<td>24.40</td>
<td>5.80</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EOBR</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>51.20</td>
<td>20.90</td>
<td>20.90</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOSOPWLDP</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>47.70</td>
<td>24.40</td>
<td>20.90</td>
<td>5.80</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOSOCMWLDP</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>53.50</td>
<td>18.60</td>
<td>22.10</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOPTLSSL</td>
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<td>51.70</td>
<td>24.10</td>
<td>13.80</td>
<td>9.20</td>
<td>1.10</td>
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<td>1.84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWTLSL</td>
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<td>18.60</td>
<td>17.40</td>
<td>10.50</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACMOLR</td>
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<td>49.40</td>
<td>25.30</td>
<td>21.80</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRAMBP</td>
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<td>16.30</td>
<td>17.40</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBCTTM</td>
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<td>24.10</td>
<td>16.10</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.67</td>
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<td>FACPTPSL</td>
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<td>15.10</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.22</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLAMAEC</td>
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<td>57.50</td>
<td>18.40</td>
<td>16.10</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 = Very Low, 2= Low, 3= Quite Low, 4= High, 5 Very High

ICMLA = Community members involved/determine land allocation, CMDLAMA = Community members determine land development and management activities, CMAMP = Community members agree on major projects, CMPLDP = Community members attend/participate in urban development process activities, CMVAR = Community members are able to express their views at urban development activities (example: meetings), CMEOVOLDA = Community members views are respected, SCMP = There is support for community members who are unable to participate in urban development and management process activities due to factors such as lack of resources, PCR = There is presence of collective responsibility, ADBB = Agreement of decision become binding, PILDMTA = Provision of information on land development and management activities to all community members, ETIRKG = The extent to which community members receive information and gain knowledge from land development and management activities, LADD = Level of acceptance of land development and management decisions, PADP = Presence and degree of conflicts on land development and management activities, RLDMA = Reflection of outcomes of land development and management activities to community members priorities, ALDR = Acknowledgement and acceptance of community members land development and management rights, PPI = Provision of periodic information (e.g. Report) showing the extent to which community members’ decisions are being achieved, CMAAP = Community members’ awareness of the extent to which their decisions and priorities are being achieved, FOI = The extent to which community members feel included in land development and management processes, EOTA = The extent of trust among actors in land development and management processes, EOBR = Level of building relationships among actors (e.g., balanced relationship between community leaders and members, clear layout of responsibilities for all the stakeholders in the land development and management activities, LOSOPWLDP = Level of satisfaction of participants with land development and management processes, LOSOCMWLDP = The level of satisfaction of the public/community members with the land development and management processes, AOPTLSSL = Access of the poor to land and secure land tenure, AWTLSL = Access of women to land and secure land tenure, ACMOLR = Awareness of community/family members of the revenue generated from land and resource administration and management, LRAMBP = Land and resource administration and management provide opportunities and benefit such as employment opportunities, infrastructure and social amenities etc to community members, OBCTTM = Opportunities and benefits created by land administration and management specifically target the marginalised such as the poor households and women, FACPTPSL = Fair, adequate and timely compensations are paid to people who suffer losses/injurious affection as a result of land development and arrangements, and BLAMAEC = The benefit of land development and management arrangements is at least equal to the cost.
ENUGU AND UGBO ODOGWU – CASE STUDY TWO

Enugu is the capital city of the Enugu State. It is located in the south-eastern part of Nigeria. The city’s boundaries spread towards Kogi and Benue States to the north, Abia and Imo States to the south, Ebonyi State to the east and the Anambra State to the west. The location of Enugu is shown on Figure 7. Enugu is one of the most vibrant cities in Nigeria. The city was predominantly built as a colonial coal mining town by the British colonial authorities, although it began as a traditional settlement. The city, therefore, benefited from a railway station in the early twentieth century, and its first master plan, one of the oldest in the country, was prepared by the British colonial administration in 1917 (Adinna et al., 2009; Ogbazi, 2013).

Figure 7: Map of Nigeria showing Enugu

Source: Onyebueke and Ikejiofor (2014 p499)

The city, administratively, comprised three LGA and twelve major districts (Onah et al., 2006; Nzeadibe, 2009). The LGAs are Enugu North, South and East. The physical structure of the city, however, reflects a mixture of urban settlement in the central areas and rural developments at the periphery. As industrial and administrative centre, Enugu begun to attract migrants right from its inception. This resulted in it being given township status in 1917 (Adinna et al., 2009). Although the coal mining activities have since reduced drastically, the city continues to experience growth due to its location as a centre for economic (especially informal), social and cultural activities.

Land holdings in the city are classified as state and customary (Ikejiofor, 2006). The main land utilisations are residential, mixed uses and
Developments in the city comprise high and low-rise commercial buildings usually meant for offices, hotels and shops, and 1 - 3 bedroom residential developments. Like other urban centres in Nigeria, the growth of Enugu has outpaced planning and management of the city resulting in informal and sprawl developments, and unmet amenities and infrastructure (Ali, 2010). Recent effort to address urban development and management problems was through the adoption of Sustainable Cities Programme in 1996 (Ogbazi, 2013). As part of this programme, a participatory approach towards identification of the city problems and prescription for solutions was adopted. Subsequently, a strategic plan was prepared for certain parts of the city including the old market (UN Habitat, 2008).

Ugbo Odogwu was chosen as the case study informal community out of the several such communities (refer to the next section) for the research. The community was chosen primarily because of its potential to offer easy access to data in the face of the limited time and resources for the delivery of the research. Ugbo Odogwu is an escarpment on Udi Hill, a very difficult terrain. The community’s location is shown on Figure 8.

![Figure 8: Map of Enugu showing Ugbo Odogwu](source:FUT, Minna)

The community’s population is estimated at 7,800 people. The residents are mainly farmers who migrated from different places in south eastern Nigeria and formed a very strong farming community. In fact, the term ‘Ugbo’ in the name of the community means farm. However, there are other forms of occupation, such as crafting, mechanic and other artisan works, as well as public service occupations. As an informal settlement, the
community is characterised mainly by unplanned houses, poor medical and social facilities, lack of access roads, irregular supply of electricity and poverty.

Outcome from the Stakeholder Workshop
Plate 3 is an excerpt from the workshop. Findings from the workshop are reported under the themes used for the discussions below:

Plate 3: A Group Picture of Some of the Stakeholder Workshop Participants at the Toscana Hotel, Enugu

Meaning and Incidence of Informal Developments
The workshop participants mainly described informal developments as developments, which are not approved by government or are not sanctioned by formal approved plans. They further noted that such developments often occur when people acquire lands from indigenous land owners and undertake developments without government’s approval. The workshop participants identified informal urban development characteristics as follows:

- The developments are often constructed with inferior materials;
- The developments or houses are often clustered;
- The developments often lack good access roads and drainage systems, and they are prone to flooding;
- They lack good infrastructure and social amenities; and
- They are prone to fire outbreaks, environmental hazards, crime and prostitution.
Like the workshop in Minna, the participants agreed to a large extent that informal developments are on the rise not only in Enugu and its environs, but across the entire Nigeria. They also agreed with views expressed by the Minna workshop participants that these developments are often located at: outskirts of cities; near waste dumps; river banks; on drainage(s); farmlands; and flood plains. The participants identified several informal developments in Enugu including the following:

- Ugwu Aron;
- Ngenevu;
- Ikiriki;
- Ugbo Odogwu;
- Onuato (Obiagu);
- Agu Abor;
- Ugwu Alfred; and
- Aguabor.

Drivers and Impact of Informal Developments
Several drivers and impact of informal urban development were noted from the stakeholder workshop. These were quite similar to those identified from the Minna workshop. The drivers identified were:

- The comparatively less expensive cost for the informal urban development processes;
- Provision of expeditious process for acquisition and development of land;
- Provision of simple and flexible land acquisition;
- Provision of liberty to develop according to the taste of prospective developers; and
- The quest to maintain ties and cultural affinity with tribes and kinsmen who are already located in informal settlements.

The workshop participants also identified several impacts of informal urban developments. These were both positive and negative, and cut across social, economic and environmental facets of life. The participants noted that informal developments often cause overcrowding and provide safe haven for criminals thereby leading to criminal activities in society. It was also noted that the rise in incidence of informal developments exacerbate the already poor infrastructure and services in such societies. Further, the participants said that the land acquisition process for informal developments could lead to disputes and litigations due to poor records keeping of land transactions and land titles, and improper surveys and demarcation, which often characterise the processes. Environmentally, the participants noted that informal developments are prone to flooding, and fire and disease outbreaks. Nevertheless, they acknowledged that the
informal developments provide accommodation for the majority of the urban population, in particular, those in the low income bracket.

**Informal Urban Development Process**

Similar to the relevant findings from the Minna workshop, the participants noted that the informal development process commences with prospective developers acquiring lands from indigenous land owners with or without the help of friends, relatives or agents. It was further gathered from the workshop that such land purchases are evidenced by sales agreement. Subsequent to the acquisition, prospective developers may go to relevant government agencies, such as the Lands Department to regularise their titles to the lands and obtain permission for development. Such permissions often come from youth organisations. This is an acceptable practice recognised by the leadership of the community. Prospective developers will also have to pay local development levies prior to development. The participants noted that infrastructure and services are often provided by communities themselves through self-help initiatives. However, there are times where politicians use their influence to secure some of these infrastructure to informal communities. In terms of governance, it was gathered from the participants that development activities are governed and managed by local institutions, rules and regulations, but there are situations where government institutions, such as the Lands Department, Planning Authorities and the Law Courts are involved.

**Equity**

The workshop participants observed that equity in urban development appears to be a concept that is known by everybody, but how it is perceived may differ among communities and individuals. However, they said that equity in informal urban development should focus on the issues below:

- Access to land, in particular, by the poor and women;
- Access to Infrastructure and services;
- Access to development permit; and
- The participation of all citizens in land development process.

The workshop participants further noted that such issues should be considered in the measurement of equity in the informal development. As to how equity could be improved in informal development, the participants suggested the following:

- The provision of enabling guidelines to promote equity;
- Provision of clear sanction for inequitable behaviours and actions;
- Strengthening of relevant institutions to ensure the promotion of equity; and
- Promotion of equity advocacy and sensitisation.
Cost Relating to Informal Urban Development
The workshop participants observed that the costs relating to the informal development processes are comparatively lower than those of the formal development processes. Also, similar to the relevant findings from the Minna workshop, the participants suggested that the cost relating to informal development process should include: local development levies; ancillary cost, such as additional payments to natives of such communities to obtain access to purchased land for development; and infrastructure and services cost.

Results from the Analyses of the Focus Group Discussion and Interview Data
The focus groups were labelled as FG1-FG3 similar to what was used for the Nyikangbe community focus group discussion analysis. The men focus group was denoted as FG1. Those for the women and the youth focus groups were denoted as FG2 and FG3 respectively. Plate 4 presents excerpts from the focus group discussions in Ugbo Odogwu.

Plate 4: Excerpts from the Focus Group Discussion Session at the Scripture Union Church Hall, Ugbo Odogwu, Enugu

Findings from the analysis of the focus group discussion data are presented below:
Land Ownership and Acquisition
It emerged from the focus group discussions that lands in the Ugbo Odogwu community are predominantly customary lands. Their ownership is vested in communities, families, and individuals often through subsequent transactions. It, however, came to the fore during the discussions that the Abor Community and families within the community are actually the original land owners. Therefore, most prospective developers acquire lands for development from the chief and people (families) of Abor. The acquisition or purchase of land process entails the use of the services of agents or relatives and friends of both purchasers and vendors. A purchaser’s agent often make enquires about availability of lands once the purchaser makes contact for a land to buy. Upon identification of the availability of lands for sale, the agent together with the prospective purchaser then contact the land owner(s) and his/her agents, the community leader and surveyor who will show the prospective purchaser the parcel of land and ultimately mark out the land for the purchaser when a deal is brokered. Upon inspection of the land, both parties will then negotiate and if an agreement is reached the purchase price is paid. Thereafter, the vendor issues a receipt and a transfer document, which has to be endorsed by both parties and their witnesses. Where the land involved is a community land, the first port of call for the prospective purchaser and his/her agent is the community surveyor. The purchaser may, thereafter, take the documents to the Lands Department for regularisation of his or her title. In giving account of the land ownership and acquisition process, a member of FG3 noted as follows:

The whole of this community belongs to Abor people who are the original land owners and it is from this people that every individual acquires his/her own land for development. The type of land ownership we have in this community is either communal land ownership or individual land ownership. The moment you acquire your land it has automatically become yours and passed from one generation to another except you or your family decide to sell the land to a third party.

Another member of FG1 also observed that:

...you and your agent need to meet the individual that owns that plot (s), agents of the seller and the surveyor and the community leader. Then, if the transaction is concluded, the buyer will sign an agreement with the vendor, which incorporates the amount he / she will be paying for the renewal of the land as demanded by the custom of Ngwuagu Abor community.

The need to meet the community leader as in the case of Nyikangbe community is for the leader to serve as a witness and to ensure that genuine transactions take place.

Land Development, Provision of Infrastructure and Services, and Governance
It emerged from the focus group discussions that the land development process ordinarily commences with preparation of some form of layouts
especially with large tracts of land. Prior that survey of the land is carried-
out before prospective developers come in to purchase individual parcels
of land for development. For prospective developers, however, the
development process begins with the purchase of land. The next step is for
prospective developers to obtain some form of permission from the Udi
LGA. The developers also have to pay some fees to the Youth Development
Union known as the ‘Ogbonecheagu’, town planning fees and community
development fee. Without payment of these fees and permission from Udi
LGA, prospective developers will not be allowed to commence
development by the Youth Development Union. A member of FG1 in giving
account of the development process noted as follows:

The person that wants to acquire a land with an agent will meet the
surveyor if it is a communal owned land but the person meets the landlord
if it’s an individual/personal owned land. The buyer after negotiation with
the seller pays the surveyor or the individual land owner. The buyer after
paying for the land in question, pays some money to the youth called
Ogbonecheagu and the town planner, and also pays community fine before
he/she can proceed to develop the land.

Another participant from FG3 also observed as follows:

You must go to UDI LGA that has the original plan of the land. These people
will give you a cover letter; showing that you have purchased a land here
otherwise the Youth Development Union will interrupt you from developing
your land.

Land developments in the community often precede infrastructure and
services provision. Indeed, it emerged from the focus group discussion that
developers develop their land without waiting for infrastructure and
services, and that these facilities are poor and inadequate in the
community. A member of FG2, for example, observed that:

We have no infrastructure for now. We get our water, school, health care
from outside the community. The community has been neglected on these
issues. We get promises from government. They start a work and they
won’t finish it, like the experience we had with power (electricity) in this
community.

Like the Nyikangbe community in Minna, the few infrastructure and
services, such as electricity, water and drainage available in the
community, were mostly provided by the community members through
self-help and financial contributions. One of the participants from FG3
recounted as follows:

Firstly, there is no infrastructure supply in this community. The only time
government brought high tension wires was a very long time ago and after
that nothing was done to ensure light (electricity) was brought to the
community. Individuals contributed some amount of money each which
was used to connect the community to the national grid. Intermittently, we
have seen road and civil engineers in the community who come to take
measurements but we do not see any result from such exercises. We dig wells here to get water and no public tap line is functional because we do not have Water Corporation in Enugu town so the rich rely on pure water whilst the poor make use of well water.

The community head (Abor community) and his elders in collaboration with the Youth Development Union are responsible for governance and management of developments in the community including resolution of land and development disputes. Some of the cases are also referred to the Law Court for adjudication. For example, a participant from FG3 observed that:

*Everybody is equal before the law and for that reason everybody is treated equally in land matters. Any accused person of any land matter is arrested by the police and prosecuted by the court.*

**Cost Relating to Land Development Processes**

It emerged from the focus group discussions that there are several costs related to the land development processes. These include surveying and sub-division (layout) cost, as well as youth development union, town planning and community development fees. The others are cost relating to land registration upon land acquisition (obtaining C of O from the Ministry of Land and Development) and obtaining permission from Udi LGA for development.

**Equity in Development**

Like the findings from the Nyikangbe community in Minna, equity was perceived as treating all the land development stakeholders equally, and all the members of the community having equal access to land for development, as well as being included in the land development processes. Whilst members of FG1 and FG3 noted that all members of the community have equal access to land, FG2 said that there is no equity in land acquisition in the community. A member of FG3, for example, noted as follows:

*In this community there is no partiality on land matters because everybody is treated equally on land matters irrespective of your gender, status and tribe. Anybody found guilty of doing otherwise would be punished accordingly.*

Conversely, a member of FG2 noted as follows:

*In this community, we work independently. We don’t have community association, most of the time we take directives from Abor people. In an ideal community, individual voice counts but in our own case, it is not so. In advanced society community members have equal right, but here it is your money that determines what you have or if you are rich you will be respected.*

Another member of the group also observed as follows:
Well, there can never be equity in land acquisition here because the seller pays ten percent of the amount he sold the land to agents that initiated the business. The land we occupy here is not a public land it belongs to a family (Abor family) so the issue of equity does not work.

Mixed outcomes were also noted in the case of participation in the land development process. Whilst FG1 members reported that all stakeholders are often involved in the process, FG2 and FG3 expressed contrary views. FG2 members, in particular, noted that women are not involved in decision-making relating to planning and management of land development in the community. A member of FG2 observed as follows:

*Women are not allowed to take decision when it comes to land matter in this community. Women can be among the community leaders, but they are not regarded as stakeholders in land development in this community and are not involved in decision-making.*

Further, a participant from FG3 noted that:

*The elders mostly make the decision.*

Another participant from the same group also observed that:

*There is no stakeholders’ participation and inclusion in planning, development and management in this community because it is only the Abor people (the original land owners) or other land owners who bought from the original land owners that sell land to buyers for development of any kind they wish to do. The land owners sell their land to anybody with cash. As for planning and development, it is solely done by the land owners and no government intervention.*

**Recent Experiences and Recommendations**

The main issues identified by the groups as recent bad experiences were indiscriminate selling of lands particularly those meant for community projects, such as roads and health centres, high land transaction cost and sometimes apathy among community members towards undertaking community projects. A member of FG2 noted as follows:

*I paid for my land before I was told about other hidden fees. One terrible experience I have had here is indiscriminate selling of the lands earmarked for community project like Health Centre. For example, people secretly went and sold the place we mapped out for community project. Also, the land owners charged us a lot of money to complete transactions.*

An FG3 member also observed that:

*Sometimes I get disappointed with the attitude of the people in this community most especially when the major road leading to the community is faulty, the people are too individualistic and often not ready to contribute to repair the road either in cash or in kind. Everybody does things alone.*
The above notwithstanding, it emerged from the discussions that there is a clear way of land ownership determination in the community and that the community is always willing to testify about who owns what land. The groups recommended for cooperation among the community members especially for the purpose of infrastructure provision, and repair of roads and drainage. They also recommended for the establishment of relevant committees to address infrastructure provision and land development issues, such as encroachments. It was also recommended that these committees should liaise with government authorities where need be to address the issues. A member of FG3, for example, noted as follows:

If am in charge I would constitute a land acquisition, development and management committee in this community that will liaise with the Ministry of land and urban development to ensure that before any land is sold or development commences the committee must certify that the building plan is in accordance. Also, the committee will always be in charge of the infrastructural development of the community like roads, electricity and drainages, and will ensure that everybody in the community contributes to this development.

Results from the Analysis of the Interview Data
Like Case Study One, findings from the analysis of the interview data largely corroborated those from the analysis of the focus group discussions. The findings are presented as follows:

Land Ownership and Acquisition
It emerged from the analysis that ownership of lands in the community is vested in the chief, families and people of the Abor community. It was further established that acquisition of land for development in the community could be done through agents or the prospective purchaser could contact the land owners directly. However, every land transaction needs to be certified by the chief of Abor and a transfer document or agreement should be prepared to cover it. Subsequently, the purchaser could send the document to the Ministry of Lands for processing of a C of O. It also emerged from the interviews that a land purchase transaction may be deemed incomplete if the necessary payments including youth and Igwe (chief) fees, as well as elders’ cola or drink are not made.

Land Development, Provision of Infrastructure and Services, and Governance
It came to the fore that development fundamentally commences upon acquisition of land. However, some form of land preparation, such as the survey of the land, and sub-division and preparation of layout especially in the case of large tracts of land, is sometimes carried-out prior to development. Also, building plans are prepared, and approval from the Ministry of Land and Urban Development is obtained before the commencement of development. PP3, for example, stated as follows:
For a piece of land to be developed, it has to be paid for first; I mean all the necessary fees have to be paid then development can now take place. After all payments of the land and other costs, the building plan has to be taken to the Ministry of Land and Urban development for approval before development on the land can start. For large scale grants for real estate, I do not think the arrangement is different because we all buy the land (both small and large scale) from the Abor people or third party, pay for land preparation arrangements, seek approval from the Ministry before proper development can start on the land. But so far we have just a few estates in this community.

Like findings from the analysis of the focus group discussions, it emerged from the interview data analysis that infrastructure and services are mainly provided by community members through self-help and financial contributions. As regards governance of land developments, it was established that the chief and leaders of the community, as well as the Youth Development Union and the local government ensure that developments occur in accordance with established norms and practices. It was, however, noted that the governance arrangement is weak. PP4 observed as follows:

As far as a good governance system is concerned we have weak governance system. Sometimes we face some challenges because people are sometimes very difficult to manage and at times refuse to contribute for either electricity poles/transformers or roads rehabilitation and the community just make do with whatever others have contributed which on most occasions are not adequate.

Cost Relating to Land Development Processes
Apart from fees payable for processing of C of O and development permissions at the Ministry of Lands and Urban Development, the respondents identified several other cost relating to land development in Ugbo Odogwu. These include land agent fees, and Igwe and Youth Development Union fees. PP6 observed as follows:

We have different cost for land in this community which is based on the location, topography and time of purchase of the land. That is, remote, semi-developed and developed. For remote area, the cost of land is N1,500,000 for 50 by 100 feet. For semi – developed area, the cost of land is N2,000,000 for 50 by 100 feet. For developed area, the cost of land is N2,500,000 – N3,000,000 for 50 by 100 feet. There are other costs like:

1. Community youth development = N70,000;
2. Igwe’s cabinet kola = N150,000;
3. Connection to electricity = N5,000;

Total = N225,000 + the cost of land;

So, therefore, the cost of land for Remote area = N1,500,000 + N225,000 = N 1,725,000;
For semi-developed area = N2,000,000 + N225,000 = N2,225,000;
For developed area = N2,500,000 + N225,000 = N2,725,000; and Sometime you may get land for developed area = N3,000,000 + N225,000 = N3,225,000.
Equity in Development
Equity was perceived as equal treatment of community members whether rich or poor or male or female in land development. PP2 noted as follows:

*Well my understanding of equity means equality before the law. For me I think equity in planning and development means treating everybody equally on land matters. To me it means to have same right, whether you are poor or rich, we all should have equal right. It means equality among people. Equity means everybody should be treated equally. Equity means equality for everyone.*

It emerged from the analysis that the view of the respondents as regards the meaning of equity does not largely exist in the community in relation to access to land for development and participation in the land development process.

Recent Experiences
The main land development issue that emerged from the interviews was erosion and its adverse impact on the roads and drainage in the community. For example, PP8 noted as follows:

*We experience environmental problems in this community but the most pressing issue is that of erosion, which is seriously disturbing the community. During rainy season, most of our streets become unpassable and water flows into our houses.*

PP7 also observed that:

*Well for the erosion issue, individuals in the community use sand bags to barricade running water from entering into our homes during rainy season and we make sure our gutters are not blocked since we cannot afford concrete drainage system. Sometimes individuals within the community pay labourers to clear gutters.*

The respondents noted that although some individuals within the community sometimes engage labourers to clear drains and gutters to ensure free flow of water when it rains, a concerted effort among the community members and between the community and government is necessary to address the problem.

Results from the Analysis of the Questionnaire Survey Data
One hundred questionnaires were completed and received. This constituted 83.3% of the total number of questionnaires (120) administered. The response rate is similar to relevant studies mentioned previously. Like the survey in Minna, some of the respondents did not provide answers to some of the questions. Nonetheless, 82% of the respondents were male, compared to 18% who were female. Table 8 presents details of the educational background of the respondents. Respondents with tertiary and secondary/technical/vocational levels of
education had the highest frequency (25 each) compared to 9 who had no formal education.

Table 8: Level of Education of Respondents - Ugbo Odogwu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Frequency (n = 100)</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSS/Elementary</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary/Technical/Vocational</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Secondary</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9 presents details relating to occupation of the respondents. The Figure shows that 44% of the respondents were engaged in trading, compared to 5% who were artisans. Further, 18%, 14% and 8% of the respondents were civil servants, farmers and public servants, respectively, whilst 11% of them were engaged in other forms of occupation.

Figure 9: Occupation of Respondents

Analysis of the data also established that 44% of the respondents, on average, earned N80,000.00 or more per month compared to 7% who earned between N60,000 and N79,000 per month, on average. Figure 10 summarises the monthly income of the respondents. The Figure shows that 18%, 20% and 21% of the respondents earned, on average, a monthly income of below N20,000 and between N20,000 and N39,000, and N40,000 and N59,000, respectively.
The same procedure and reasoning adopted to assess the cost relating to the land development processes in Nyikangbe, Minna were used to assess that of Ugbo Odogwu, Enugu. Thus, Equations 1 and 2 were used to assess, the cost relating to land acquisition and sub-division of land (planning scheme/layout preparation) costs respectively. Findings from the cost assessments are as follows:

### Land Acquisition Cost
Table 9 details the activities and the cost relating to acquisition of land in the subject community.

**Table 9: Cost Relating to Land Acquisition - Ugbo Odogwu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost Relating to Land Acquisition</th>
<th>N5,300,000.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Price of Land (0.045)</td>
<td>N3,000,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of survey and demarcation</td>
<td>N60,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Plan cost</td>
<td>N50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer Document (Deed)</td>
<td>N20,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional fee for Land Acquisition (Land Agent Commission)</td>
<td>N30,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Costs (Such as Igwe and Youth Development fee) (Median)</td>
<td>N220,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting cost (per follow –up N700.00)</td>
<td>N6,300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of time lag (at Average lending rate of – compounding factor@ 26.81%)</td>
<td>N67,422.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration for completion of Land Acquisition transaction (including transfer document)</td>
<td>1 Month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of follow-ups to vendor and Igwe to complete land transaction</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting time (per follow up – 1 Hour)</td>
<td>9 Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiting time (per follow-up – 1 Hour)</td>
<td>9 Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cost per Land Acquisition Transaction</strong></td>
<td><strong>N3,453,822</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on Field Survey
From Table 9, it was established from the analysis that the cost relating to land acquisition transaction per the subject land in Ugbo Odogwu, Enugu is N3,453,822.

**Cost Relating to Land Sub-Division**

Table 10 summarises details of the activities and the corresponding costs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Sub-Division Cost</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cost of survey and demarcation</td>
<td>N110,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-division with plan</td>
<td>N100,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission for facilitating sub-division</td>
<td>N30,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Costs (such as stationary)</td>
<td>N10,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting cost (per follow –up N700.00)</td>
<td>N2,800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of time lag (at Average lending rate of – compounding factor@ 26.81%)</td>
<td>N10,229.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration for completion of sub-division of land with plan 2 Months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of follow-ups made to “surveyors/planners” to facilitate sub-division of land</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting time (per follow up – 2 Hour)</td>
<td>8 Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiting time (per follow-up – 1 Hour)</td>
<td>4 Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost Relating to Sub-Division of One Acre Land</td>
<td>N263,029.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Sub-Division of Land/ 0.11 Acre (0.045 Hectare) Land</td>
<td>N32,879.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on Field Survey

Like Nyikangbe, 10% of the one acre land area was assumed to be earmarked for common or ancillary land uses, in particular, access roads. This was, thus, factored into the assessment of the cost relating to sub-division of land in the subject community. It was established from the analysis that the sub-division of land cost per 0.11 Acre (0.045 Hectare) land was N32,879.00 (Table 10).

**Extent of Equity in Land Development and Management**

Table 11 provides details of the ratings of equity in land development and management in Ugbo Odogwu. The outcomes from the ratings of the equity indicators/variables were predominantly similar to findings on Nyikangbe although the scores were much lower. Indeed, all the equity indicators/variables were rated very low or low (Table 11). This implies that the land development and management processes in the community do not promote equity.
Table 11: Extent of Equity in Land Development and Management in Ugbo Odogwu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator/Variable</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Frequencies (%)</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Agr$/S</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>EOTA</td>
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<td>65.00</td>
<td>24.00</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>Value</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>Median</td>
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1 = Very Low, 2= Low, 3= Quite Low, 4= High, 5 Very High

ICMLA = Community members involved/determine land allocation, CMMDLAMA = Community members determine land development and management activities, CMAM = Community members agree on major projects, CMPLDP = Community members attend/participate in urban development process activities, CMVAR = Community members are able to express their views at urban development activities [example: meetings], CMEVOLDA = Community members views are respected, SCMP = There is support for community members who are unable to participate in urban development and management process activities due to factors such as lack of resources, PCR = There is presence of collective responsibility, ADBB = Agreement of decision become binding, PILOMDTA = Provision of information on land development and management activities to all community members, ETIRKG = The extent to which community members receive information and gain knowledge from land development and management activities, LADOR = Level of acceptance of land development and management decisions, PADC = Presence and degree of conflicts on land development and management activities, RLDMA = Reflection of outcomes of land development and management activities to community members priorities, ALDR = Acknowledgement and acceptance of community members land development and management rights, PPI = Provision of periodic information [eg. Report] showing the extent to which community members' decisions are being achieved, CMAAP = Community members' awareness of the extent to which their decisions and priorities are being achieved, FOI = The extent to which community members feel included in land development and management processes, EOTA = The extent of trust among actors in land development and management processes, EOBRA = Level of building relationships among actors [eg balanced relationship between community leaders and members, clear layout of responsibilities for all the stakeholders in the land development and management activities, LOSOPWLDP = Level of satisfaction of participants with land development and management processes, LOSOCMWLDP = The level of satisfaction of the public/community members with the land development and management processes, AOPTLSSL = Access of the poor to land and secure land tenure, AWTLSSL = Access of women to land and secure land tenure, ACMOLR = Awareness of community/family members of the revenue generated from land and resource administration and management, LRAMPB = Land and resource administration and management provide opportunities and benefit such as employment opportunities, infrastructure and social amenities etc to community members, OBCTTM = Opportunities and benefits created by land administration and management specifically target the marginalised such as the poor households and women, FACPTPSL = Fair, adequate and timely compensations are paid to people who suffer losses/injurious affection as a result of land development and arrangements, and BLAMAEC = The benefit of land development and management arrangements is at least equal to the cost.
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This penultimate section discusses findings from the research. It is divided into six sub-sections taking into account the research objectives. These sections focus on the nature of informal urban land developers, land development process and governance, access to infrastructure and services, cost relating to land development processes, equity in land development and management, and strengths and weaknesses of the informal land development processes and governance. Prior to doing so, it is important to acknowledge that the concentration on two case studies given a large range of informal land developments and settlements of various ages and conditions across Nigerian cities is a limitation to the study. This is because it was not possible to investigate all the issues relating to informal developments and their processes of emergence including within the different socio-economic and cultural settings that occur across the different cities in the country. For example, the issue of waste management within informal communities continues to engage the attention of urban authorities and residents not only in Nigeria, but across the African Continent. Yet limited studies have investigated this issue (Nzeadibe, 2013; Abubakar, 2014). This issue was also beyond the scope of this study signifying a need for an extension of this study to other cities in the country to widen the existing literature, as well as provide additional evidence to inform policy recommendation and practice. An extension to this limitation was the inability of the study to include residents of informal communities or their representatives across the case study cities. This may have provided opportunities to extend the coverage of the research and deepen the knowledge obtained.

Informal Urban Land Developers

As noted in the literature discussions, informal developments, until recently, were often equated to slum developments (Wekesa et al., 2011) (Section Two). The majority of owners/occupants of these developments were perceived to fall within the low income bracket and to earn their livelihoods from occupations such as small scale trading, farming and other artisanal works (Hart, 1973; Brown and McGranahan, 2016). Further, they were perceived to have minimal or no formal education. However, findings from the research, both the literature review and the empirical data, highlight that informal urban land developments are not the preserve of a specific group(s) of people as previously mentioned. Rather, informal urban developments are undertaken by all categories of people including those from low, middle and high income groups, as well as those with different levels of education, and engaged in both formal and informal sector employment. In particular, the questionnaire survey carried-out in Nyikangbe established that the majority of the respondents (64.4%)
earned, on average, N80,000 or more a month. This implies that the majority of the respondents actually were in the middle income category or in some cases above (Robertson et al., 2011). The survey also showed that 32% and 23% of the respondents were civil and public servants respectively whilst 12.6% (each) were farmers, traders and artisans with 6.9% engaged in other forms of occupations, such as palm wine tapping. In terms of educational level, most of the respondents (59.8%) had post-secondary level of education followed by primary and secondary/technical/vocational levels of education (10.3%), then tertiary and JSS/elementary levels of education, which had 8% (each) and finally other forms of education, such as Quranic education, which recorded 3.4%.

The survey carried-out in Ugbo Odogwu also established that 44% of the respondents earned N80,000 or more a month, on average, whilst most of the remainder of the respondents earned between N20,000 and N59,000. Conversely, unlike the survey in Nyikangbe it was established that more of the respondents (44%) were traders whilst 18%, 14% and 8% were civil servants, farmers and public servants respectively. Further, 5% were artisans, whilst 11% were engaged in other forms of employment. The educational background of the respondents ranged from 9% who had no formal education to 25% who had tertiary level of education. Another 25% of the respondents had secondary/technical/vocational level of education, whilst 8%, 13% and 20% had JSS/elementary, primary and post-secondary levels of education respectively. Thus, the findings demonstrate that the informal urban land development system serves all sections of the Nigerian society, including the rich, well-educated and even formal sector workers. Whilst this may once again signify the inability of the formal urban land development system to deliver adequate developable lands, it reinforces existing knowledge that the informal urban land development system provides accommodation for the greater majority of the urban population not only in Nigeria, but across the SSA region (Rakodi, 2007; Lamond et al., 2015). Indeed, the literature review established that informal urban developments in Nigeria are rife and, in the case study cities, they are found almost everywhere. The city-wide stakeholder workshops also identified several such informal settlements in both of the case study cities. The findings also show that a lot more people who are well-educated and are in the middle to high income groups are patronising informal urban land developments. This could potentially affect access to land for developments by the marginalised, in particular, the poor and, thus, resonates with the growing body of literature that suggests increasing commodification of land within the informal urban land development system is adversely affecting the poor’s access to land for development (Ikejiofor, 2006; Lamond et al., 2015).

**Land Development Process and Governance**

The research found that the land development processes and governance practices for the two case studies were quite similar. These processes and
practices also resonate with what was identified in the literature and the outcome from the stakeholder workshops. Like the existing knowledge (Section Three), lands in both case studies are predominantly customarily owned; family and communal lands. Prospective developers, therefore, acquire lands from the community leaders (for Nyikangbe – Mai Anguwa and Ugbo Odogwu – Igwe of Abor). There are also subsequent transactions where a purchaser resells an acquired land(s). However, land acquisitions are often facilitated by family members, friends and, in most cases, agents who receive commission for their services. These agents are initially contacted by prospective purchasers and they provide information on availability of lands and their prices, and ultimately broker deals between vendors and purchasers. The land acquisition processes also entail the survey, demarcation and identification of relevant lands, as well as the issuance of receipts and transfer documents, which must be endorsed by the Mai Anguwa or Igwe in the relevant communities. In Nyikangbe, for example, all land transactions whether initial grants or subsequent transactions have to come before the Mai-Anguwa for endorsement to ensure the authenticity and genuineness of the transactions. After acquisition of land, purchasers of lands may proceed to relevant public institutions, such as the UDB in Minna and the Ministry responsible for Lands in Enugu to obtain C of O (perfect their titles or register their lands). In Nyikangbe, in particular, it was established that some form of collaboration existed between the Mai-Anguwa Office and the planning authorities at the UDB where, as part of the C of O acquisition process, planning officials will have to inspect the subject land and liaise with the Mai-Anguwa to ascertain the true ownership status of the land. It was also established in both case study communities that some form of land subdivision or preparation of planning schemes over lands is carried out. This is usually performed by professionals, such as land surveyors and planners or local people/agents.

The research findings show, in broad terms, developers could commence development immediately after the purchase of land. However, in Ugbo Odogwu, purchasers of land have to obtain a permission letter from Udi LGA and pay fees, such as youth development fee (Ogbonecheagu), before development can take place. Without compliance with these requirements, the youth will not allow a prospective developer to undertake any form of development. Development control in the community, therefore, is carried-out by the Igwe and his elders and the youth. Land disputes are also resolved by the Igwe and his elders, and in a relevant situation the police and the Law Courts. In Nyikangbe, the Mai-Anguwa has established a committee that carries out regular inspection of developments in the community to ensure that developments conform to set norms and lands earmarked for infrastructure, such as roads are not encroached. Indeed, the findings established that there have been instances in the community where such encroachments have been demolished. The findings further highlight that land disputes are resolved by the Mai-Anguwa and his elders through sanctions and provision of alternative parcels of land. However, where parties are not satisfied the
matter may be referred to the police or the Law Court. The foregoing demonstrates that there are established mechanisms for land development processes and governance for informal developments, although they may not be documented and do not necessarily match the standards for formal developments. Nevertheless, these mechanisms could be leveraged to promote sustainable urban development and management. Further, these finding, apart from concurring with relevant Nigerian studies, corroborate relevant studies in other SSA countries, such as the study carried out by Adam (2014) in Ethiopia.

It is evident from the above discussion and as seen from the next sub-heading, the research highlights the extensive role of agents, such as land and estate agents, friends and family members, professionals, and youth development associations in the informal land development process. Although the study gives some exposé on the role of these agents, it was impossible to undertake in-depth investigation into their role. Further, limited studies seems to have been carried-out into the role of these agents across SSA. A further study into the role of the agents would be useful to provide a detailed understanding for policy formulation purposes.

Access to Infrastructure and Services
Consistent with the literature (Ikejiofor, 2006; Ibem, 2009; Lamond et al., 2015), the findings show the government’s commitment towards infrastructure and service provision in the case study communities is minimal. Efforts in infrastructure provision in these communities have often come on the back of political promises usually made by politicians to advance their interests. This finding, in part, reinforces the structuralist informal economy school of thought that partly focuses on the explanation of the relationship between the actors of the formal and informal economies particularly how politicians benefit from informal settlements (Section Two). Given the Government’s limited role in infrastructure provision, the few infrastructure and services in these communities are often carried-out through self-help and household financial contributions. To ensure the effectiveness of such community self-help and household contributions towards infrastructure and service provision, committees are usually constituted that mobilise residents and also determine fees payable by households as and when necessary to finance a particular infrastructure or services. Further, such committees liaise with utility agencies and relevant government institutions (including politicians) for the purpose of connecting or providing their communities with infrastructure and services. In Nyikangbe, for example, findings from the focus group discussions and the interview survey established that such a committee has been created by the Mai-Anguwa, and through their efforts and liaising with relevant government institutions, certain areas of the community are connected to electricity and have been provided with water borehole. Also, some of the artillery roads are provided with culverts and graded periodically. Conversely, part of the findings also show that such community efforts at infrastructure and service provision could suffer
from community members apathy, as noted from the outcomes of focus group discussions and interview survey in Ugbo Odogwu (Section Five). Thus, although the findings demonstrate informal communities readiness to contribute to infrastructure and service development, such commitment could be frustrated by other community members if arrangements to that effect are not properly administered and managed.

Cost Relating to Informal Urban Development Processes

The literature review established limited studies have been carried-out into the extent of cost relating to informal urban land development processes (Section Three). The limited studies also focus on direct cost, such as professional fees for survey and demarcation of land, sub-division of land and estate agent commission, for facilitating land acquisition (Onyebueke and Ikeji, 2014). Findings from the research, however, highlight that the cost relating to informal urban development processes is both direct and indirect. The costs are informed by the activities that constitute the informal urban development processes. The direct cost comprises professional fees for survey and demarcation of land, sub-division of land, transfer deed cost, community leaders endorsement of transfer of deed honoraria, estate agent commission for facilitating land acquisition, youth development fees (in the case of Ugbo Odogwu) and household financial contribution towards infrastructure and service provision. Conversely, the indirect cost consists of costs such as cost of time lag, commuting cost for follow ups to expedite action on the implementation of informal development activities, commuting and waiting times, and in-kind contribution towards infrastructure provision. Due to data challenges, not all the costs were assessed. Indeed, for the Nyikangbe community the extent of cost assessments was limited to land acquisition and land sub-division costs, and household financial contributions to infrastructure provision. That of Ugbo Odogwu was limited to the first two cost items (Section Five). The extent of costs assessed relating to direct costs under the cost items from the survey data, in broad terms, for Ugbo Odogwu, corresponded with what were noted from the literature (Onyebueke and Ikeji, 2014), and the focus group discussions and the interview survey. Overall, the direct costs constituted the bulk of the cost (Section Five). However, there were significant differences in the assessed costs for Nyikangbe and Ugbo Odogwu. The assessed costs were substantially higher in Ugbo Odogwu.

There were also differences in follow ups made to expedite action on land acquisition activities as well as commuting and waiting times for the follow ups (Section Five). For cost relating to sub-division of land, costs in Nyikangbe are about a third of that of Ugbo Odogwu. Like the land acquisition cost assessment, there were differences in follow ups made to expedite action on land sub-division activities as well as commuting and waiting times for follow ups (Section Five).

Whilst the differences in cost assessment could be traced to the variables considered in the cost assessments, the high scale of fees charged in Enugu
could be the main reason for the difference in the assessed costs. This could also be steeped in the socio-economic characteristics of the case study cities. Enugu’s population, which is about 800,000 notably is more than that of Minna (300,000) (Sanusi) and it is comparatively undergoing rapid urbanisation. Further, whilst Minna’s economy is predominantly agrarian with most of the people engaged in guinea corn, cotton, ginger and yam production, Enugu’s economy is mainly characterised by a mixture of commercial, industrial and service activities. Enugu has substantial bottling industries, a Mercedes Benz Assembly Plant, a number of factories that produce steel, cement, asbestos, and petroleum and pharmaceutical products, as well as a film industry and a host of informal economic activities. Enugu, thus, has a comparatively vibrant economy. Indeed, poverty level, which is estimated at over 50% in Minna, is more than that of Enugu (Sanusi, 2011). This partly continues to attract people from within and outside Nigeria to live and conduct business in Enugu. This implies increases in demand for land and real estate, as well as their associated services in the city, and therefore, increases in their prices.

Ordinarily, estimated costs relating to land development processes under the informal development system should have been discussed in relation to that of the formal development system. However, as noted in the literature, evidence of the extent of costs relating to formal land development processes is scanty or unclear due to limited studies and weaknesses in methodologies employed by relevant studies, among others. Nevertheless, it is evident from the literature that acquiring development rights to undertake land development under the formal development system, for example, could take over one year, in addition to following many steps and complying with several other requirements (Egbu et al., 2008). In contrast, evidence from both case studies used in this study show that land developments could take place as early as two weeks or less after purchase of land with relatively flexible requirements. That said, it will be useful for in-depth studies to be carried-out to analyse the cost relating to the formal land development processes to complement studies, such as this study to help build a comprehensive evidence base to inform Nigeria’s efforts to promote sustainable urban development and management.

**Equity in Land Development and Management**

Findings from the research highlight that equity in land development and management is very elusive to determine. Nevertheless, the findings demonstrate that it was predominantly perceived in terms of access to land and other resources, as well as participation and inclusion of community members and stakeholders, especially the marginalised, such as the poor and women in the land development and management processes. Outcomes from the focus group discussions and the interview surveys largely demonstrate there is unequal access to land and other resources, as well as a lack of participation and inclusion of the subject community members in land development and management processes.
with the poor and women mostly being at a disadvantaged position. Although the majority of respondents in Nyikangbe noted that there is equal opportunities for land purchases, they also recognised that one needs to have the financial resources to utilise such opportunities. This means the poor cannot access such opportunities. Further, it came to the fore that access to land through sharing of family properties or inheritance does not favour women as the prevailing customary norms and practices give men precedence. These findings corroborate findings from studies, such as Ikejiofor (2006) and Lamond et al. (2015), which noted among other issues that increasing commodification of lands under informal urban development system is reducing the urban poor access to land for development.

Apart from the foregoing, literature (Harley, 2003; Agger and Lofgren, 2008; Alterman, 2013) shows that the extent of provision of democratic credentials, such as inclusiveness and participation in urban land, planning, development and governance processes by citizens, interest groups, private sector, NGO/CBOs and other stakeholders is, vital to the achievement of equity in urban development and management. These could be manifested through ensuring and improving communication, listening, responding, sharing knowledge, openness, respect, trust, relationship and consensus building as regards land development processes and management, and their activities. Other considerations to promote equity are the extent to which communal/family land resources benefit all interest groups in the community in terms of access to land, employment opportunities and payment of compensation among others (Fainstein, 2010; Alterman, 2013). Results from the questionnaire surveys, which were based on these indicators including access of the poor and women to land, and their participation and inclusion in the land development and management processes (Section Five) further reinforce the earlier findings. In fact, apart from the indicator, the presence and degree of conflict regarding decisions on land development and management, the extent of which was rated high or very high in the Nyikangbe survey, the extent(s) of all the indicators for equity in land development and management were rated very low or low. This means that provision of equity in land development and management in the two case studies is low.

Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that rating the extent to which communal/family land resources benefit all interest groups in the community in terms of, for example, employment generation could have been challenging for the respondents because it was not a direct benefit from community land holding. Besides, it was possible that they might not have had the requisite information to undertake the rating. Further, the stakeholder workshops, in particular, the one which took place in Minna, noted that equity in urban development and management should cover interest groups such as the physically challenged and non-indigenes. However, the questionnaire survey could not specifically cover these interest groups. Therefore, a further study into the extent to which
Informal land development and management practices are equitable to these interest groups is necessary.

**Strengths and Weaknesses**

Findings from the research reinforced some of the strengths and weaknesses of the informal development system discussed in the literature. For example, findings from the empirical part of the research highlighted the flexibility of the informal development processes, the opportunities it presents to prospective developers to commence development expeditiously and, above all, its ability to provide developable lands to a significant proportion of the urban population. Indeed, whilst purchasers of land under the informal urban development system could in most cases commence development of their lands after purchase of land, their counterparts under the formal system may have to wait for over a year to obtain development permits to able to do so (Egbu et al., 2008). Conversely, the findings also emphasised the shortcomings of the informal development system. In particular, the unplanned nature of developments, their lack of adequate infrastructure and services, the creation of the platform for some actors especially prospective purchasers of land to be susceptible to exploitation by unscrupulous persons, and the tendency of some of the system’s processes to result in disputes over land ownership were highlighted.
CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research investigated the system of land acquisition, planning and governance of informal urban land developments in Nigeria. The primary aim was to provide a deeper understanding of the operations of the informal urban development system to aid policy formulation and practice. The research was driven by the increasing incidence of informal urban developments in the country and a need for a comprehensive inquiry into the informal urban development system to provide insights to inform current efforts to promote sustainable urban development and management. A mixed-methods research methodology dwelling on two case study informal communities namely Nyikangbe in Minna, Niger State capital city and Ugbo Odogwu in Enugu, Enugu State capital city were used to deliver the research. Specifically, a combination of a comprehensive literature review, city-wide stakeholder workshops, focus group discussions, and interview and questionnaire surveys were employed to obtain relevant data to undertake the research.

Although the research provides new information on informal land developments and settlements, the reliance on two case studies against the evidence of a large range of informal land developments and settlements of various ages and conditions, among others, suggest the study was unable to cover all the different forms of informal land developments and settlements across cities in the country. There may, therefore, be a need for further studies across other cities to provide additional data to inform policy recommendations and practice.

Current policy debate does not discount informal urban land developments. Rather, whilst the debate notes the weaknesses of the informal urban land development system, it also recognises the system’s relevance and huge contribution to urban development, especially in the developing world and proposes several interventions to improve the system. These interventions, in particular, from the emerging inclusionist school of thought on informal developments align with propositions of sustainable urban development, which espouse inclusion and participation of all urban sector stakeholders in urban development and governance based on collective action and development approaches. In part, with propositions arising out of current policy debates and the quest to achieve sustainable urban development and management, Nigeria has instituted several initiatives and policies. They include:
The 2012 National Urban Development Policy, which recognises the numerous urban problems that confront the country and the need to address issues, such as access to land, improve urban economy and environment, infrastructure provision and slum upgrading;

Vision 20:2020, which is a key government policy document that hinges on a transformation agenda and it recommends strategies for the development of smart and functional cities for rapid economic growth, and promotion of good governance in the country’s planning system;

The National Housing Policy, which aims to ensure that Nigerians own or have access to decent, safe and sanitary housing in healthy environment with infrastructure at affordable cost;

Revision of the National Building Code passed in 2006;

Adoption of the SCP, which is aimed to help development and redevelopment of Nigerian cities based on sustainability principles;

Adoption of the DFID funded Growth and Employment in States (GEMS3);

The constitution of Economic Advisory Committee by the Enugu State Government to promote sustainable urban development and infrastructure provision;

Formulation of the Gateway to Land and Housing Policy by the Niger State Government, which aims to attain safe, liveable, orderly, sustainable and aesthetically beautiful urban environments; and

Reduction of official fees for processing of C of O in the Niger State to incentivise land/property owners to regularise their titles to land.

These policies appear to depart from conventional approaches of government that sought to neglect informal settlements, harass residents of these settlements and in some cases demolish the settlements.

The incidence of informal developments in Nigeria continues to rise and constitutes an important part of the country’s urban development. The informal urban land development system serves and provides developable lands for all categories of people including those from low, middle and high income groups, as well as those with different levels of education, and engaged in both formal and informal sector employment. The system, thus, requires serious policy attention and, in part, justifies the introduction of the current policy initiatives.

There are existing mechanisms for land development and governance for informal developments. This is particularly in relation to land acquisition, sub-division of land for development and other land development and management processes, such as development control, resolution of disputes over land ownership and access to infrastructure and services. These mechanisms demonstrate that stakeholders, such as traditional authorities and the Youth Development Union, for example, in Ugbo Odogwu, wield a lot of influence and authority in urban development in
terms of land acquisition, development control and dispute resolution among other things. These existing mechanisms could be adapted by policy makers and practitioners to facilitate the achievement of sustainable urban development and management especially in the areas of effective, efficient and transparent land markets, intergrated and orderly developments, and community upgrading among others. Further, there are areas where actors in the informal urban land development system are already collaborating with the the formal development system. For example, it was established that as part of the title perfection process (acquiring of C of O) after the purchase of land in Nyikangbe, state planning officials at the UDB will have to inspect the land and liaise with the Mai-Anguwa’s office to ascertain whether or not the applicant is the owner of the land. Also, the community has an infrastructure and services committee that liaise with utility agencies, and other relevant government institutions and officials for the purpose of accessing infrastructure and services into the community. These existing relationships could be strengthened and used as meaningful platforms to assist in the implementation of some of the new urban development and management initiatives and policies.

Findings from the research also demonstrate the expeditious nature of the land acquisition and development processes under the informal urban land development system. Lessons could, thus, be drawn from the details of these processes as identified by this study to develop a streamlined urban development and management regime. Closely aligned to the aforesaid is the provision of volumes of data by this research, such as the extent of cost relating to informal urban land development processes. There are several costs within the informal urban development system. These costs are both direct and indirect. The direct cost comprise costs such as professional fees for survey and demarcation of land, sub-division of land, cost of land transfer deed, community leaders endorsement of transfer deed honoraria, estate agent commission for facilitating land acquisition, development levies and household financial contribution towards infrastructure and service provision. The indirect cost consists of costs such as cost of time lag, commuting cost for follow ups to expedite action on the implementation of informal development activities, commuting and waiting times, and in-kind contribution towards infrastructure provision. The direct costs account for a substantial portion of the cost. In spite of these several aspects of the cost relating to the informal urban development and management processes, existing studies tend to focus on the direct cost and are often descriptive. This comprehensive analysis of the costs detailing their composition and extent, when evaluated with data on cost relating to the formal development processes, could enable relevant policy makers and practitioners, such as utility agencies and government land administration institutions and planning authorities to design receptive programmes that offer affordable service delivery across different spectrum of society to promote sustainable urban development and management, and prevent adverse urban environmental outcomes.
Infrastructure and service provision at all levels of society is critical to Nigeria’s pursuit of sustainable urban development and management. Findings from the research demonstrate the readiness of informal urban communities to contribute to infrastructure and services provision through the creation of relevant committees, collective action in the form of self-help and household financial contribution. The research gives some evidence of the extent of contributions made by households, particularly in Nyikangbe. The existing commitment of the informal communities to contribute to infrastructure and service provision, and the evidence of household contributions could be leveraged by federal and state governments, as well as utility agencies to develop suitable programmes to provide such facilities to informal communities as part of the sustainable urban development agenda.

The informal urban land development system as it operates in the case study communities currently does not promote equity in land development and management. In particular, the poor are increasingly being deprived of access to developable land and inclusion in land development and management processes. Although affluent women could access land for development through purchase, access to land through sharing of family properties or inheritance does not favour women as the prevailing customary norms and practices give men precedence over them. Further, women are largely excluded from land development and management processes and decision-making. This, therefore, requires urgent policy to prevent further exacerbation of the already vulnerable conditions of the poor and women. That said, in analysing the prevalence of equity in land development and management processes in the case study communities, a set of indicators for measuring equity was initially developed. This set of indicators could be used by policy makers and implementers in the formulation of new policies and implementation of existing policies to promote equity in urban development and management. It could also be used by international development agencies, such as the DFID, as a basis to promote equity in urban development and management across the developing world. Further, it could be used to evaluate equity in urban development in other parts of Nigeria to generate additional data to inform policy formulation and practice.

The research reinforced some of the strengths of the informal urban development system, such as its flexible processes and opportunities for land purchasers to commence development immediately after purchase of land. However, it also noted its weaknesses including the creation of avenues for unscrupulous persons to exploit innocent purchasers of land for development, and the existence of norms and practices that continue to limit the poor and women’s complete access to land and inclusion in the land development processes in some informal land development system. These limitations have the potential to worsen the conditions of the poor and women, and make them more vulnerable. Therefore, whilst these strengths of the informal system could be borrowed and infused into the formal development processes, there is a need for pragmatic policies and
strategies to redress the weaknesses as part of the sustainable development and management agenda.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings from the research and the conclusions show that the informal urban land development system constitutes an integral part of Nigeria’s urban development and management. The system also has a number of strengths, as well as weaknesses. This means that the informal urban land development system cannot be wished away, but should be incorporated together with the formal development system into the scheme and agenda to promote sustainable urban development and management in the country. This will require adoption of the strengths of the system and at the same time finding ways to redress its inadequacies. Given the foregoing, the research proposes the recommendations below:

■ Existing informal land acquisition procedure and practices, particularly those that supervise land transactions to prevent fraudulent transactions, should be maintained and encouraged. However, the role of agents, such as friends, relatives and estate agents in the land acquisition process should be streamlined to promote proper records keeping, transparency and accountability. Similarly, working arrangements between local lands department (UDB) and the traditional community leaders where the officials from the former often consult the latter as part of the issuance of the C of O process to check the veracity of the genuineness of land transactions and the lands involved needs to be encouraged. This has the potential to reduce the issuance of C of O over wrong parcels of land, and prevent unnecessary dispute over land ownership and its associated transaction costs.

■ The existing arrangement, such as the establishment of committees and the use of the influence of the local community leaders to facilitate development control should be maintained. However, the arrangement needs to be streamlined and improved upon to include professionals to ensure, for example, proper survey of lands and preparation of planning schemes, as well as the formulation of suitable development standards and their application. The role and influence of the Youth Development Union relating to land development and development control should be encouraged. Nonetheless, the role and activities of the youth, in particular, should be reviewed. Such review should provide clear basis and structure for their role, and the constitution of the membership of their workforce, as well as the justification for the levies they collect. Further, mechanisms should be put in place to ensure that levies collected are used to promote development in the community. For example, they could be used as a contribution towards infrastructure financing in the community.

■ Household financial contributions towards infrastructure financing and self-help for infrastructure provision should be sustained. However, leadership of the communities and, in particular, committees set-up
for such purposes should be reinvigorated in terms of having the suitable personnel and motivation to rally all community members to commit to such projects. Further, the committees should develop a clear basis for house financial contributions and continue to liaise with infrastructure agencies, relevant government departments, NGOs, financial institutions and international development agencies, such as the World Bank and Habitat International to explore the possibility of securing suitable funding options, strategies and programmes for the provision of infrastructure.

Leadership of the informal communities, particularly the Mai-Anguwa and the Igwe, should initiate programmes to remove practices that limit women complete access to land resource and participation in the land development processes. Also, modalities should be developed to ensure that income poor households could access land, as well as included in the decision-making process relating to land development and management in the communities.

For the purpose of promoting sustainable urban development and management, there should be constant collaboration and dialogue between the actors in both the informal and formal development systems, as well as other stakeholders, such as NGOs and CBOs, academia and international development agencies, like the DFID. This collaboration should aim to help the development of pragmatic and comprehensive urban development and management policies and programmes, which are receptive and acceptable to all interest groups in Nigeria’s urban environment. Such collaborative practices should not be limited to proposed policies and programmes, and their implementation, but they should be extended to formulation of strategies for the implementation of existing initiatives and policies, such as the recent urban development policies introduced in the country. It is noteworthy to mention that the literature review established that some informal settlements’ associations continue to call for dialogue with government and formal development institutions on how to improve conditions in their settlements. For instance, the Nigerian Slum and Informal Settlement Federation (in October 2016) called for such dialogue with the Lagos State Government. Also, the literature review and findings from the empirical part of the research established that there is already existing collaboration between not only the case study communities, but some other informal communities and formal development institutions in the areas of land administration and management, planning and sub-division of land and infrastructure provision. These existing collaborations should be strengthened to provide the platform to improve planning and sub-division practices, reduce disputes over land ownership and exploitation of innocent land purchasers, as well as increase access to infrastructure and services.

Policy makers and implementers, in particular, formal urban land development institutions, such as the Niger and Enugu State Governments and their bureaucracies including ministries of land and
town planning, UDB and Geographic Information Systems Outfit, should build on the strengths of the informal urban land development and management to roll out sustainable urban development and management programmes. The findings from the research established that the informal urban development system has somewhat organised arrangement for land acquisition, sub-division of provision. Under these arrangements in Nyikangbe, for example, the community leader, his elders and relevant committees wield a lot of influence in land acquisition and allocation, and development control among others. Similarly, the community leader and his elders, and the youth in Ugbo Odogwu, the second case study community have a major influence in urban development and management in the community. Further, the findings highlighted several costs including Youth Development Fees, which are often incurred by developers within the land development and management processes. In the area of access to infrastructure and services, the research noted the readiness of informal communities to make contribution to infrastructure and service provision through self-help and household financial contributions. Policy makers and implementers, such as the ministries responsible for lands, planning and urban development, urban development institutions, and infrastructure and utility agencies, could, on the back, of these enabling conditions design suitable programmes, in consultation, with relevant stakeholders to render quality and receptive land administration services, and provide standard infrastructure and services to informal communities. These programmes could, for example, include arrangement of concessionary loans or grants to provide infrastructure or carry-out community upgrade/facelift and the loans to be paid back from household financial contribution or agreed percentage of proceeds from land sales.

The collaboration and dialogue between actors in both the informal and formal urban land development system should promote and also ensure the institution of equitable practices in land development and management processes. In particular, the outcomes of such collaborations and dialogues should ensure the institution of pro-marginalised land development and management policies and programmes, which will ensure access to land by the poor, the removal of customary limitations on women with regard to sharing family properties and the inclusion of all interest groups in land development and management processes. Further, the policies and programmes should promote accountability and ensure that community members benefit from the proceeds of their land resources.

Given the large range of informal land developments and settlements of various ages and conditions across Nigeria, the research dwelling on two case studies could not have possibly covered all the different forms of informal land developments and settlements. Therefore, there is a need for extension of this study to other cities in the country to provide additional data to inform policy recommendations and
practice. Also, the research highlighted the extensive role of agents, such as land and estate agents, friends and family members, professionals and youth development associations in the informal land development process. However, this role is understudied and requires in-depth investigations to provide a detailed understanding for policy formulation purposes. Further, the stakeholder workshops, particularly the one which took place in Minna, noted that equity in urban development and management should cover interest groups, such as the physically challenged and non-indigenes. However, this study was unable to specifically cover these interest groups. A study that focuses on these specific groups will be very useful to enhance understanding and provide input for policy formulation. It is also imperative that the cost relating to both the formal and informal land development processes be evaluated. From the literature discussions, however, there is currently a dearth of in-depth studies that seek to estimate the cost relating to the formal development processes. Studies into this area are recommended.
REFERENCES


ANNEXES
ANNEX 1: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS AND QUESTIONNAIRES

Focus Group Discussion Schedule: Planning and Governance of Informal Urban Developments in Nigeria

Introduction
Good morning and welcome to this focus group discussion session. Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this discussion session and also for taking time out of your busy schedule to talk about land developments in Nyikangbe/Ugbo Odogwu community, Minna/Enugu. My name is…… I am being assisted by …….. We are from the Construction and Property Research centre, University of the West of England (UWE), Bristol, UK and Federal University of Technology (FUT), Minna, Nigeria respectively. As you read from the information sheet or was explained to you, this discussion session forms part of activities to obtain data from selected residents of …… to deliver the research on planning and governance of informal urban developments in Nigeria, which is being undertaken by the Construction and Property Research Centre, UWE in collaboration with FUT, and funded by the DFID. We would like to obtain information on your experiences and perceptions about the land development processes in this community. We would want to know a number of things such as how land is planned and acquired, how infrastructure services are obtained, the rules and institutions involved as well as the cost incurred. The purpose is to gain a deeper understanding of how planning, acquisition, development and management/governance of land occur in this community as well as their related issues. Several such discussions are taking place in other parts of the country.

You were invited not only because you are a resident of this community, but also you have experience and deep knowledge about land and community development processes in this area.

There are no wrong answers in this discussion. Rather, there are different experiences, thoughts and opinions. Therefore, please feel free to share your experience or view point even if it is not the same as what the others have said. You might have seen some tape recorders around. We are recording the session. The idea is that we don’t want to miss any of the things you say. People often say useful and valuable things in such discussions, but we are not fast enough to write everything down.

We will be on first name basis, and as indicated on the information sheet we won’t use names in our reports. You are, therefore, assured of confidentiality. The output from this work will be used to aid policy formulation and practice to improve urban community planning, land acquisition, development and management/governance in this community.
and all the other urban communities across Nigeria.

We have placed name cards on the table in front of you to help us remember each other’s name. We will begin by introducing ourselves. Please tell us your name and where you live.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How familiar are you with planning and land development issues in this community?</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tell me about the types of land ownership that exist in this community?</td>
<td>Think of: Type of land holdings and ownership arrangements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. If you are to tell a friend about the processes, institutions/individuals and rules/norms involved and their role/relevance in acquiring land for development in this community, what would you say?</td>
<td>Think of: People, institutions, rules and norms that make land acquisition system operate including dissemination of information to aid execution of land transactions. Consider listing on a flip chart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. What do you know about people acquiring large tracts of land for development in this community?</td>
<td>Think of: Large scale commercial grants and practices associated with them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Think back for all the years you have lived in this community and tell me what you know about how land is planned and sub-divided for grants in this community, and how lands are surveyed, demarcated and sub-division plan prepared to cover them before grants are made?</td>
<td>Think of: Survey and demarcation of land as well as sub-division of land for the purpose of grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. If you are to explain the land development process in this community to a friend, what would you say?</td>
<td>Think of: Land development process – stages. Consider listing on flip chart. Rules, regulations and practices involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Think of:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tell me about how infrastructure and services are supplied to this community, and also how individual residents in this community access basic service(s)?</td>
<td>Activities concerning how infrastructure and basic services are supplied to the community, and how individual residents are able to access basic services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. What are the people and institutions involved in the provision of infrastructure and services in this community?</td>
<td>People and institutions involved infrastructure and services provision including their roles Consider listing on a flip chart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Tell me about your knowledge on the involvement of government agencies and departments in land acquisition, development, management and infrastructure provision in this community?</td>
<td>Collaboration between customary authorities, and the rationale behind such collaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Based on your knowledge and experience give an account/describe how planning, acquisition, development &amp; management of land are governed and disputes resolved in this community?</td>
<td>Governance arrangements including dispute resolution and sanctions Consider giving papers for participants to draw diagrams of the governance structure or show participants diagram for them to make comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. What are your experiences/knowledge about the cost an individual property owner usually incurs on land acquisition, development,</td>
<td>Idea about cost of land acquisition, development and management, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>management and access to infrastructure, and its composition?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Tell me about your understanding of equity in planning, acquisition, development and management of land including infrastructure and basic service provision in this community?</td>
<td>Think of: Perception of equity – components/indicators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. What should be the composition of equity in land acquisition, development and management in this community, and what should each component seek to achieve?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. What are your experiences/knowledge about community members/all stakeholders’ participation and inclusion in planning, acquisition, development and management of land decision-making/activities in this community?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. What are your experiences/knowledge about women and the poor participation in all the planning, acquisition, development and management of land activities in this community?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. What are your experiences/knowledge about women and the poor access to land for development in this community?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Tell me about the positive experiences you have had with the planning, acquisition, development and management of land practices in this community?</td>
<td>Think of: Strengths of the informal urban land, planning &amp; governance arrangements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Tell me about the disappointments</td>
<td>Think of: Weaknesses of the informal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
you have had with the planning, acquisition, development and management of land practices in this community?

urban land, planning & governance arrangements

19. What needs improvement among the planning, acquisition, development and management of land practices in this community?

Think of:
Specific areas of the informal urban land, planning & governance arrangements that pose problems for residents

20. Assuming you were in charge and could make one change that would make planning, acquisition, development and management of land practices better in this community, what would you do?

Think of:
Recommendations for improvement

21. What can each one of you do to make the planning, acquisition, development and management of land better in this community?

22. By way of a summary of our discussions, you said that:
........................................... is this an adequate summary of what we discussed

23. We have discussed planning, acquisition, development and management/governance of land issues in this community. The purpose was to gain a deeper understanding of how these activities are undertaken in this community, how infrastructure and services are provided & accessed, the cost relating to all these activities, the strengths & weaknesses relating to how these activities are undertaken in this community as well as suggestions
**Interview Schedule for semi structured interviews**: Planning and Governance of Informal Urban Developments in Nigeria

**Pre-amble:**
Good morning/afternoon/evening and thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this interview. I believe you have had the opportunity to read the information sheet and the participant consent form, and you are happy to proceed. This interview focuses on obtaining information to aid deeper understanding of planning and governance of developments in this community. It borders issues such as how land is planned and acquired, how infrastructure services are obtained, the rules and institutions involved as well as the cost incurred. We will start with questions relating to types of land ownership and move on to talk about urban planning and then the other urban development issues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Question</th>
<th>Prompts/clarifications use any or all</th>
<th>Requests for detailed information use any or all if response to question indicates appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What types of land ownership do you have in this community and their access for development?</td>
<td>You might like to think about:</td>
<td>Have you any documents that show how policy relates to this or has changed in this regard?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. a. Differences in land ownership and land holding arrangements in the community?</td>
<td>Can you give any specific examples?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. b. How lands are brought forward for development in the community?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. c. The types of grants usually given for the various landholdings in the community – large scale commercial grants for real estate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>You might like to think about:</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Rights associated with the various types of grants?</td>
<td>a. Are lands planned before developments?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>e. How the rights are secured across the various land types &amp; grants?</td>
<td>b. What about planning after developments?</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. Individuals [including middlemen, agents, friends &amp; family members] and institutions involved in urban land acquisition and security of land rights (tenure) and the role they play [including dissemination of information on land &amp; transactions]?</td>
<td>c. How sub-division plans are</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. How lands are surveyed, demarcated &amp; parcelled out?</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. Rules, regulations and practices, norms governing land acquisition and security in the community?</td>
<td>Have you any documents that show how policy relates to this or has changed in this regard?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. How they are implemented?</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. How effective they are?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. The biggest problems of access to lands in this community?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>l. Security of tenure problems?</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>m. How can the existing land acquisition system and tenure security be improved?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How do land developments take place in this community?</td>
<td>You might like to think about:</td>
<td>Have you any documents that show how policy relates to this or has changed in this regard?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. The processes involved in land developments in this community?</td>
<td>Can you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. The individuals and institutions involved in the development processes and their role?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Rules, regulation, norms &amp; practices in the development processes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Effectiveness of these rules, regulations and practices?</td>
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<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Typical infrastructure and services available in the community.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>How infrastructure is provided/extended to the community?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>How individual residents in this community access basic services?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>People and institutions involved in the provision of infrastructure and services in this community?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>Involvement of government agencies and departments in land acquisition, development, management and infrastructure provision in this community?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>Rules, regulations and practices involved in infrastructure provision?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td>How effective are these rules, regulations and practices?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>give any specific examples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4. How would describe the entire governance arrangement?

You might like to think about:

- **a.** Description of the entire governance structure?
- **b.** Conflict/dispute resolution?
- **c.** Sanctions?
- **d.** Effectiveness of conflict/dispute resolution mechanism & sanctions?
- **e.** How can the governance mechanism be improved?

Have you any documents that show how policy relates to this or has changed in this regard?

Can you give any specific examples?

### 5. Based on your knowledge & experiences, what are the costs relating to land acquisition, planning, development, management/governance?

You might like to think about:

- **a.** Cost relating to land acquisition & its components – direct & indirect?
- **b.** Cost relating to planning/sub-division & urban development & their components – direct & indirect?
- **c.** Cost relating to infrastructure provision & access, and their

Do you have any evidence that this will help?

Can you give specific examples where it has helped?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components – direct &amp; indirect?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d. Cost relating to governance &amp; dispute resolution &amp; their components – direct &amp; indirect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. How do understand equity in planning, acquisition, development and management of land including infrastructure and basic service provision in this community

| a. What equity means in urban development & management? |
| b. It components? |
| c. What each component seeks to achieve? |
| d. Indicators by which it should be measured |
| e. Community members/all stakeholders’ participation and inclusion in planning, development, acquisition and management of land decision-making/activities? |
| f. Positive & negative issues during participation? |
| g. Women and the poor participation & inclusion in all the planning, acquisition, development and management of land activities in this community? |
| h. Women and the poor access to land for development in this community? |

Can you give examples
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Would you like to be informed about the findings? (YES/NO)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Would you be prepared to be identified in the final report? (YES/NO)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Would you be prepared to take part in a follow up workshop / interviews? (YES/NO)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY**

1.0 Planning and Governance of Informal Urban Developments in Nigeria
Part 1: Background Profile of Respondents

Q1. Are you a resident of Nyikangbe/Ugbo – Odogwu? Please tick [v] one option below:
   1. Yes [Please indicate length of residency………………………..]
   2. No

Q2. Gender: Please tick [v] one option below:
   1. Male
   2. Female

Q3. Education Level: Please tick [v] below:
   1. None
   2. Quranic Education [Please indicate level ………………………..]
   3. Primary
   4. JSS/Elementary
   5. Secondary/technical/vocational
   6. Post-secondary
   7. Tertiary
   8. Other [Specify]  

[ ] I agree to take part in this research, and understand that it is entirely anonymous
Q4. Current occupation: Please specify

Q5. For how many years have you been working in your current occupation: Please tick [✓] below:

1. Below 5 years
2. 5 – 9 years
3. 10 – 14 years
4. 15 -19 years
5. 20 – 24 years
6. 25 years & above

Q6. Income per month, on average: Please tick [✓] below:

1. Below N20,000
2. N20,000 – 39,000
3. N40,000 – 59,000
4. N60,000 – 79,000
5. N80,000 & above
The questions in this section relate to land acquisition for development, its documentation and the cost involved. This section focuses on land/property owners and professionals in the built environment.

Q7. On average, how much is a normal sized building plot [15m X 30m] sold for in Nyikangbe/Ugbo – Odogwu? Please specify [N…………………………………] 

Q8. On average, how long (in months/days) does it take for a transaction on the purchase of such land to be completed? Please specify below: 

________________________

Q9. On average, how many follow-ups (times in a month) are made to a vendor [customary land owner]/representative (s) including inspection of the land to ensure completion of the transaction? Please specify below: 

________________________

Q10. How long, on average, do deliberations take (in hours) per follow up? Please specify: 

________________________

Q11. On average, what is the commuting time (in hours) per follow-up? Please specify? 

________________________

Q12. On average, what is the commuting cost per follow-up? Please specify? 

________________________

Q13. On average, how long (in months) does it take for a deed/a transfer document on such land to be completed? Please specify below: 

________________________

Q14. On average, how many follow-ups (times in a month) are made to a vendor[customary land owner]/representative (s) to ensure completion of the preparation of the deed/transfer document over the land?
Q15. How long, on average, do deliberations take (in hours) per follow up? Please specify: __________

Q16. On average, what is the commuting time (in hours) per follow-up? Please specify? __________

Q17. On average what is the expenditure on the deed/transfer document in terms of the following?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost in N (please specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Commuting cost per follow-up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Demarcation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Site Plan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Deed preparation (including eg. Legal fees, stationary, secretarial works)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other(s), please specify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q18. On average, how long (in months) does it take to receive certification for the transfer transaction from the relevant public institution [eg Urban Development Board]? Please specify: ______________________

Q19. On average, the number and time spent on follow-ups at the relevant public agency for certification of the transfer transaction: Please specify below:

| Number & Time spent on Follow-ups on Certification Activity |
Q20. On average, expenditure on certification of land transfer transaction at the relevant public agency: Please specify below:

**Expenditure on Certification at Relevant Public Agency**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items/Agency</th>
<th>Public Agency (eg. UDB)</th>
<th>Other Agency (specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Official fees
2. Unofficial fees
3. Commuting cost per follow up
4. Other(s), Please Specify

Q21. What is the professional fee, on average, for undertaking the following [see the table below]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Charge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part 3: Land Sub-division Cost

The questions in this section relate to sub-division of land for development and the cost involved.

Q22. On average, how long (in months) does it take for a sub-division of an acre land for development to be completed? Please specify below:

Q23. On average, how long (in months/days) does it take for survey & demarcation of such land to be completed as part of the sub-division process? Please specify below:

Q24. On average, how long (in months/days) does it take for a sub-division plan with report for such land to be completed as part of the sub-division process? Please specify below:

Q25. On average, the number and time spent on follow-ups on sub-division of land activities: Please specify below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>No. of Follow-ups (in months)</th>
<th>Time Spent/ Follow-up (in hours)</th>
<th>Commuting Time/Follow-up (in hours)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey &amp; demarcation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q26. On average, expenditure on sub-division of land: Please specify below:

**Expenditure on land sub-division activities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a. Commuting cost per follow up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Demarcation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. Commuting cost per follow up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sub-division plan with report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. Commuting cost per follow up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Professional fees for facilitation land sub-division</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Other(s), Please Specify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part 4: Electricity Connection, Water Supply, Roads & Cost

Q27. On average, expenditure on electricity connection: Please specify below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Contribution for transformer [mains]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Contribution for electric poles [mains]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other(s), Please Specify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expenditure on Water Supply

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Contribution to bole hole construction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other(s), Please Specify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q28. On average, expenditure on water supply: Please specify below:

Expenditure on Access and Main Community Roads Construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Q29. On average, expenditure on access and main community roads construction: Please specify below:
### Part 5: Equity in Urban Development & Management

The questions in this section relate to equity in urban development and management. This section focuses on residents in Nyikangbe/Ugbo – Odogwu.

Q30. Please indicate on a scale of 1-5 (1 = Very low & 5 = Very high) rate the extent of inclusiveness of community members/stakeholders in urban development and management processes as per the activities specified in the table in Nyikangbe/Ugbo – Odogwu:

1 = Very Low, 2 = Low, 3 = Quite Low

4 = High, 5 Very High

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Contribution to road grading [main community road]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Contribution to culverts construction [main community road]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Contribution to drainage construction [main community road]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusiveness (Activities)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community members involved/determine land allocation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community members determine land development &amp; management activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community members agree on major projects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community members attend/participate in urban development process activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community members are able to express their views at urban development activities [example : meetings]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community members views are respected</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is support for community members who are unable to participate in urban development &amp; management process activities due to factors such as lack of resources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is presence of collective responsibility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement of decision become binding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q31. Please indicate on a scale of 1-5 (1= Very low & 5 = Very high) rate the extent to which urban development and management promote
Public Awareness & Mutual Learning (Activities)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provision of information on land development and management activities to all community members</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The extent to which community members receive information and gain knowledge from land development and management activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q32. Please indicate on a scale of 1-5 (1= Very low & 5 = Very high) rate the extent of good governance and accountability in land development and management as per the activities in the Table below in Nyikangbe/Ugbo – Odogwu:

1 = Very Low, 2 = Low, 3 = Quite Low
4 = High, 5 Very High
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good governance &amp; Accountability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ □ □ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ □ □ □</td>
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<tr>
<td>□ □ □ □</td>
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<td>□ □ □ □</td>
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<tr>
<td>□ □ □ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ □ □ □</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q33. Please indicate on a scale of 1-5 (1= Very low & 5 = Very high) rate
the extent to which the land development and management arrangement promote social goals as per the activities in the Table below in Nyikangbe/Ugbo – Odogwu:

1 = Very Low, 2 = Low, 3 = Quite Low
4 = High, 5 = Very High

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social goals</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The extent to which community members feel included in land development and management processes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The extent of trust among actors in land development and management processes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of building relationships among actors [eg balanced relationship between community leaders and members, clear layout of responsibilities for all the stakeholders in the land development and management activities]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q34. Please indicate on a scale of 1-5 (1 = Very low & 5 = Very high) rate
the level of satisfaction with development and management processes as per the activities in the Table below in Nyikangbe/Ugbo – Odogwu:

1 = Very Low, 2= Low , 3= Quite Low
4= High, 5 Very High

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>User-based goals</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of satisfaction of participants with land development and management processes</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The level of satisfaction of the public/community members with the land development and management processes</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q35. Please indicate on a scale of 1-5 (1= Very low & 5 = Very high) rate the extent of the effect/impact of the land development and management arrangements as per the activities in the Table below in Nyikangbe/Ugbo – Odogwu:

1 = Very Low, 2= Low , 3= Quite Low
4= High, 5 Very High
### Outcome/effect/impact of land development & management arrangements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Access of the poor to land and secure land tenure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Access of women to land and secure land tenure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Awareness of community/family members of the revenue generated from land and resource administration and management</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land and resource administration and management provide opportunities and benefit such as employment opportunities, infrastructure and social amenities etc to community members</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opportunities and benefits created by land administration and management specifically target the marginalised such as the poor households and women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fair, adequate and timely compensations are paid to people who suffer losses/injurious affection as a result of land development and arrangements</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The benefit of land development and management arrangements is at least equal to the cost</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additional Comments for the research:

Please provide below additional comments you wish to offer

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Urbanisation Research Nigeria (URN) is delivering research accompanied by data collection on key themes concerning urbanisation, urban development and the provision of infrastructure. URN will produce and disseminate thorough, relevant, interesting and readable research outputs which will contribute towards the evidence base for better urbanisation strategy, urban policy, and urban programming and management in Nigeria.

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