

## Coping With the Menace of Urban Sprawl Development through Good Governance in Maiduguri, Nigeria

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### Abstract

*The urban environment is increasingly threatened by uncontrolled urban expansion. Majority of low income groups live in non-formal settlements on the urban fringe, having little access to infrastructure, services and amenities. This has serious implications on public health, quality of life and the natural urban environment. This paper describes the relevance of good governance as an approach to ameliorate the problems of urban sprawl and reviews the development and understanding of illegal status of urban sprawl. Contemporary approaches to cope with sprawl situations were offered and the formation of stakeholders' forum through good governance to participate in decisions of environmental and security importance was recommended as strategies for solving problems of slum conditions. Most importantly, the paper recommends better urban environment could be achieved through all-inclusive decision making, consensus building, review and hearing, awareness building as well as access to sustainable infrastructure. Finally, it concluded that a blue print to guide and direct growth of the urban settlement is very paramount to curb the menace of urban sprawl in Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria.*

**Keywords:** Urban Sprawl, Good Governance and Sustainable Infrastructure

### INTRODUCTION

The state of the urban environment is of great importance to all and sundry. Global attention in the last half century has been on cities emerging as centers of deepening poverty and how to turn the situation around. It is true that cities have been major centers of economic growth and social development (Mabogunje, 2001) in recent past, maintaining this status requires special attention. Usually cities generate new ideas, create new jobs and foster creative and innovative civil cultures, which is probably responsible for the high influx of people and the attending social, economic, psychological and environmental problems.

Cities play a central role in generating economic growth. Usually a dynamic link exists between economic growth and human development because economic growth is an important input into human development without which improvement cannot be sustained (Ranis and Stewart, 2005). Cities are the future of the world (Taylor, 2001), but sprawl development that is phenomenal to large settlements continue to affect their performances. Uncontrolled urban expansion is increasingly threatening human development by affecting public health and the natural environment. Low income groups live in non-formal settlements on the urban fringe and make up 30% - 60 % of the urban population (Bartone, 1990). With an increasing proportion of world's population moving to live in cities, the situation become more pronounced. This is more

so in Africa, which is considered the least urbanized and is expected to have a majority of its population living in cities within 20 years (Taylor, 2001). Therefore, an increasing urban growth is expected with serious implication on the quality of life and environment of cities.

The situation calls for a kind of management that would protect the environment of cities and the quality of urban life. Evidently, the level of management adapted in the past does not seem to be coping effectively with issues of environmental development in cities. The problem was previously assumed to be that of poor planning, inefficient and in effective management (Mabogunje, 2001). While this view remained important, it was believed in 1996 by the United Nation conference to be a subset of more critical problems arising from the ways cities were being governed. In line with this the conference developed two themes through which the city conditions could be improved. These were “adequate shelter for all” and “sustainable urban development” and in the recent past, the “Millennium Development Goals”.

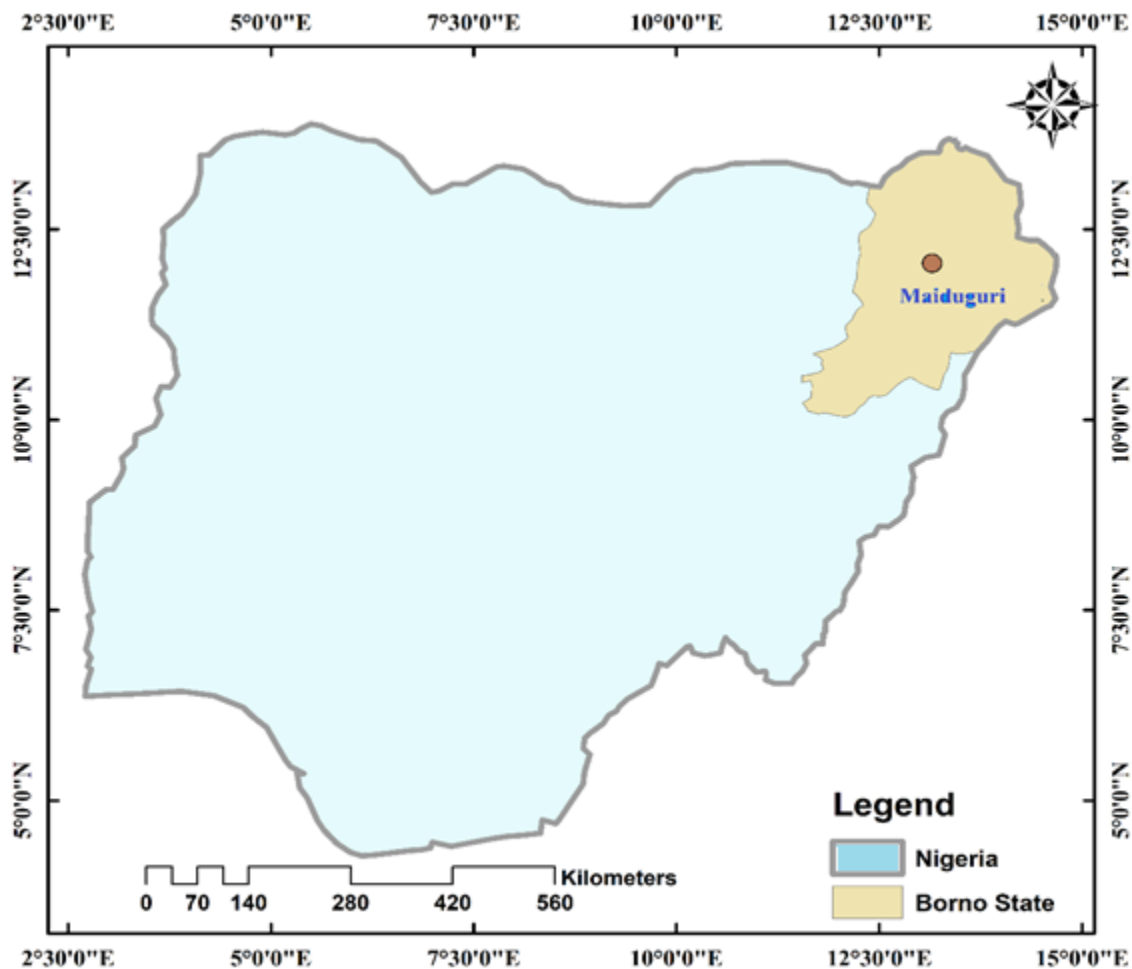


Figure 1: Map of Nigeria showing Borno State and the capital, Maiduguri

The first theme relates to the security of land tenure especially for the urban poor; while the other has to do with participatory decision-making processes that include the urban poor and the last targeted specific projects for human settlement development. These themes form the basis for the

concept of good governance. It was believed that the problems of cities could be ameliorated through effective urban governance that will give voice and recognition to residents or the city dwellers and also offer the opportunity for participation in the development of city environment. It was believed that this approach would ultimately address the global problem of urban poverty. Major issues of urban sprawl include: policy formulation and implementation of development control policies; provision of infrastructure as a means of upgrading the environment, and slum improvement through community participation. These issues are intertwined and together constitute the bane of the urban sprawl generally. This is specifically so in Maiduguri, Borno State of Nigeria, where majority of the city were enclaves of existing traditional villages/settlements that later constitute the wards of the city as known today.

Goals and objectives of town planning are usually in the form of statement of direction in which planning or action is aimed. Usually they are derived from human values and as such are ethical and empirically invested. Based on the existing situation plans are prepared to establish the aims, policies and strategies for the development.

Planning generally exercises power of control over growth of development and change of use of land and buildings, where all developments must receive permission from the planning authority before they can be put into effect (Burke, 1980). The exercise of planning control has led the profession to be tagged as negative and a restrictionist process by the society, instead of being accepted as seeking to prevent injurious growth or change with a view to coordinating and rationalizing the public and private development interest towards implementing the authority's approved plans for the general good of the society.

Changes by way of building or rebuilding, or changing the use of buildings affect the interests of other people in the society. Thus the need for development control, which is an intervention to regulate growth and change as well as resolve conflict of interest in the use and development of land while maintaining continuous improvement in the environment.

In most cases the formulation of such development control policies are usually not in tandem with the aspiration of the people. The problem is that majority of the stake holders are not involved in the formulation of the policies they are expected to cooperate with its implementation. The situation becomes more pronounced where the growth of the city results in the enclavement of existing traditional settlements as it is experienced in Maiduguri, where the majorities of such traditional settlers have poor formal education and are inadequately informed. This bottleneck created by the gap between the planning authority and the traditional inhabitants of the enclaved settlements often result in patches of slums within the sprawl areas of Maiduguri. Efforts of the existing government machinery for urban planning and development control implementation such as Borno State Ministry of Lands and Survey, Borno State Urban Development Board and the Borno State Ministry of Works and Housing which is responsible for the formulation of development control policies and execution of infrastructural development projects respectively, have been noted. Similarly, government has shown commitment towards the provision of housing and other infrastructure as a means of improving the City and upgrading the sprawl environment. These have not yielded appreciable result in correcting the menace of urban sprawl development in Maiduguri. (The term slums and sprawl conditions is used in the paper to explain same phenomenon).

The focus of this paper is to provide the understanding of the nature of urban sprawl in Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria. The paper describes what governance entails and how it could be used to remedy most urban problems, such as slums and sprawl conditions. The paper also discusses issues of policy formulation and implementation as a means of controlling urban sprawl, and considers the provision of infrastructure for the upgrading of the sprawl environment while emphasizing community participation and advancing good governance as the panacea and a means of improvement.

### **Characteristics of Sprawl Settlements**

It is evident that many cities still retain significant features of their traditional or pre-industrial past. They tend to have a core of distinctive housing arrangements with rather narrow roads. Their centers witness unprecedented growth arising from industrialization, commercialization and / or political transformation, among others. Urban sprawl may have resulted from rapid rate of urbanization and inefficient management of cities.

Slums or sprawl settlements generally have very similar characteristics which include the lack of basic services, substandard housing or illegal and inadequate building structures, overcrowding and high density, unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations, insecure tenure; irregular or informal settlements, poverty and social exclusion and minimum settlement size (UN-Habitat, 2010). The term 'slum' is used to describe overcrowded urban areas exhibiting ubiquitous poverty, poor quality or even makeshift housing, unsanitary conditions leading to the spread of disease and lack of security resulting from a concentration of criminal activity. sprawling informal settlements that grow organically in and around cities as people migrate from rural areas to the city in search of greater economic opportunities has been described as slum (Jadnanansing *et al.*, 2009).

In view of the difficulty to restrict town growth, most urban centers became characterized by ribbon settlements along major roads leading into the towns and patches of infill development (Morgan and Leong, 1975). Squatters build makeshift shacks on unused land without any legal right to the land. This pattern of development resulted into series of informal settlements in the form of urban sprawl, haphazard or illegal developments and squatter settlements. Usually, they pose social, economic, physical and environmental problems resulting in sprawl conditions whereby residents have inadequate access to clean water, sanitation, employment, income, asset or shelter. Crime is also common and on the increase, while poverty and insecurity characteristic of urban existence (Taylor, 2001) is most prominent in the sprawl areas.

There are many reasons why people cluster together to live in close proximity. Since it is difficult for the government to provide housing for everybody, many individuals strive through self-effort to satisfy and fill the need. Urban sprawl may have developed as a result of the desire of the people to secure roof or shelter for themselves through self-effort or as a result of rapid rate of urbanization and inefficient management of cities. Also, nearby villages may offer the opportunity for sprawl development, where they form the nucleus for development of new residents seeking proximity to employment and urban life, hence, rural land adjoining cities provide alternative locations in proximity to city centers.

Maiduguri Metropolitan area offer a very good example of enclaved villages that have grown to blend with the larger city as wards like Gomari, Pompomari, Kuluri, Maduganari, Dala, Fori Galtimari, Jiddari and Mairi, among others (Figure 2). These areas provide accommodation for substantial population and often exhibit poor environmental health conditions, low levels of literacy, absence of social security and inadequate infrastructure among others. In most cases, the residents have no official (formal) claim to the land they occupy, and mostly consisting of unapproved buildings that do not conform to laid down regulations and the development control policies.

Sprawl settlements or slums are usually referred to as illegal in the official circles, in view of the inability to formalize with the authorities. They usually manifest as sporadic developments within the urban fringe at the periphery of the cities and often lack organization, infrastructural facilities and planning, and characteristic of urban poor. Consequently, such sprawl settlements develop into slums and gradually decay, thereby, threatening the surrounding areas and the city in general. However, it is the aspirations of urban development to prevent a situation of sprawl condition, which may result in dilapidation of urban structure and deterioration of functions. Therefore, governments often persisted in slum clearance or upgrading (Corburn & Sverdlik, 2017), however, the failure of such approach to combat the menace of sprawl settlements can be attributed to the failure of governance (UN-Habitat, 2010).

Finally, there is no single adequate definition of slums, since they are often heterogeneous in terms of housing types, poverty prevalence, tenure, insecurity, levels of infrastructure and service provision, environmental hazards and health risks. Similarly, there is no single definition of “slum upgrading”, as projects and policies differ based on region of the world, political and development histories, and other factors. In spite of significant international funding for execution of clearance, upgrading or resettlement, as well as public policies in this area, the expected successes of combating sprawl settlements are habitually not met with (Isabelle, 2006).

### **Illegal Status of Sprawl Settlements**

Any human settlement may be termed illegal if developed without the consent of the authority and on restricted or sites reserved for other purposes and particular use. Also, settlements thought to be injurious to existing or contiguous development or that is situated in areas incompatible with the proposed use may be termed illegal. Similarly, any settlement whose location threatens the security of the inhabitants and / or located in disaster prone areas or consisting of properties whose status have not been formalized and regularized with the Planning Authority, may be termed illegal or informal settlement (McNeil, 1993).

Majority of sprawl settlements share the qualities mentioned above, however, this may not be substantial enough to declare them illegal because illegality varies with localities. Development without planning permission is a serious issue that usually attract penalty of demolition in some regions. Therefore, the main reason why urban sprawl may be regarded as illegitimate is in view of the fact that some of the structures may not have been duly registered with the authorities concerned and the status of the property upon which the structure was developed may not conform to existing development control policies.

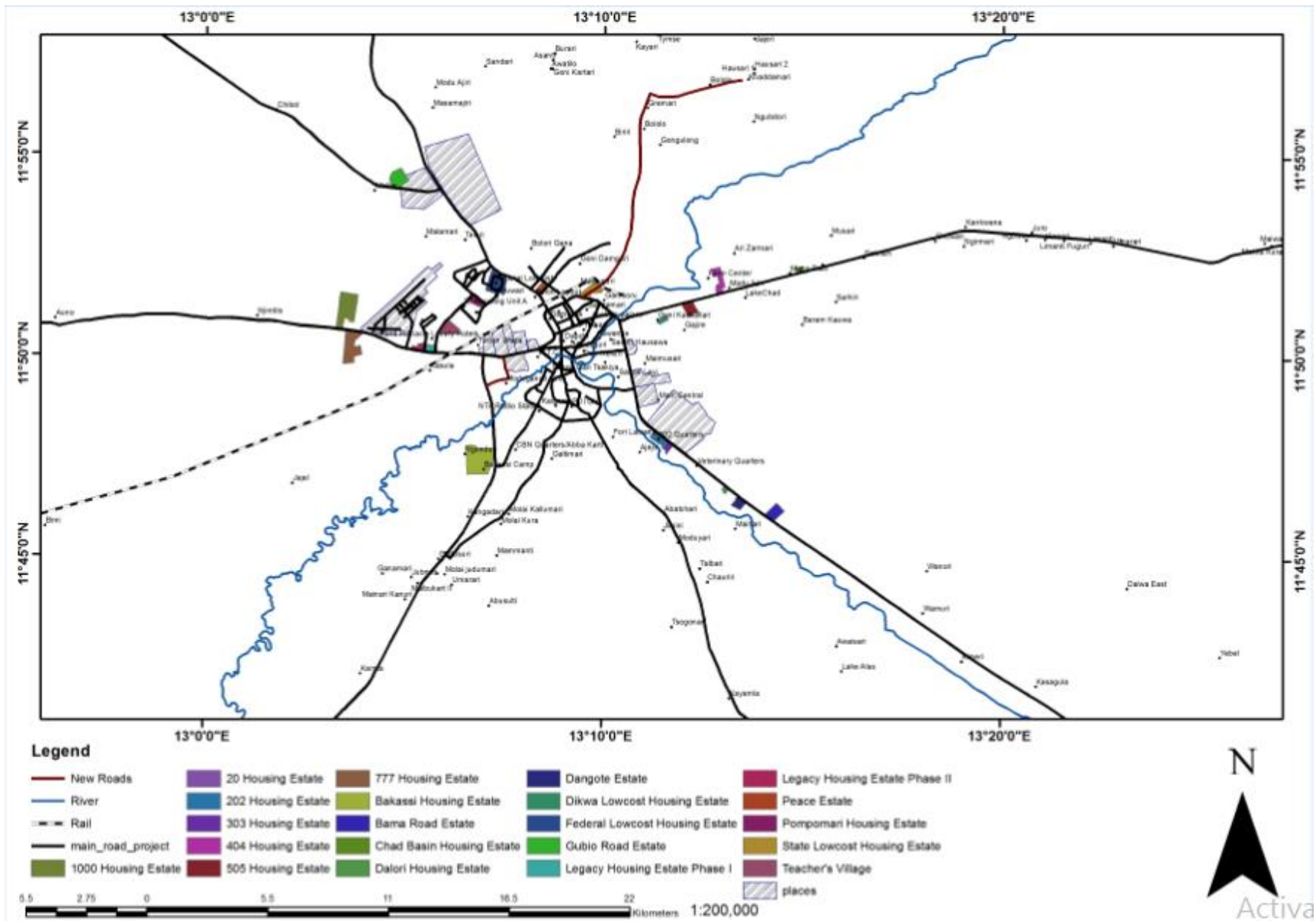


Figure 2: Map of Maiduguri Showing Enclaved Tradition Village / Settlements Housing Estates and New Roads

In view of the unsecured nature of the tenure, the houses are constructed in piecemeal fashion, and sometimes with poor materials and usually, developed without planning permission. Owing to the threats of eviction the residents seldom invest much finance on the houses and the environment in general. Though, with time the quality improves, facilities such as electricity may be provided (no matter how crude). The general appearance is usually informal and the occupants often treated as illegal and sometimes dehumanized and evicted without proper resettlement, while the properties in which they have invested their life savings are demolished without compensation. Unfortunately, such approaches seldom achieve the desired outcome; because the penalty of demolition or relocation often results into transfer of the slum location without provide a lasting solution, in which the problem remains unsolved as in Maroko Lagos, Piakassa, Chika and Karamajiji illegal settlements in Abuja to mention but a few.

Urban sprawl is mostly inhabited by the urban poor who believe that planning actions usually favor the elites of the society. Therefore, corrective measures are perceived as hash and irrational usually giving rise to other numerous problems of economic, cultural and socio-psychological consequences. In view of this and the believe that governments' effort to provide housing for large majority have been largely unsuccessful, cotemporary government approach now focus on the fact that "the informal efforts of the people themselves should not be seen as a problem but rather as the solution to the problem of housing the poor" (Wakeham and Meeuwissen, 1993).

This movement of thought may shift the role of government from the "provider of shelter" to the "facilitator of human settlement". The people can provide shelters by themselves; therefore the government should focus on provision of the things that the people cannot provide for themselves (such as infrastructural services). Most slums and sprawl conditions could be improved with government's assistance especially in areas of electricity supply, drainage, sanitation, potable water, and all- weather roads among others. This approach would compliment and foster the efforts and investments of the poor towards meeting their basic and housing needs. Even though they may be prone to decayment, obsolescence and injurious to other areas, while having tendencies to spread and cause strain on facilities, sprawl areas and squatter settlements are no longer considered illegal in some quarters (Mwelu & Aderson, 2013; McNeil, 1993; Minnery *et al.* (2013). The focus of many governments are changing lately from the previous measures of demolishing "illegal" settlements to that of improvement of the existing conditions of such settlements (Kampung Improvement Program "KIP" in Indonesia).

Finally, the people should be given the opportunity to improve their own housing condition according to the needs and priorities defined by them. However, mix of national and city government initiatives, civil society involvement and international donor agency support, where people are involved in formulating policies regarding standards through good governance. The government could have offices dedicated to slum upgrading with considerable powers and responsibility to provide basic services while supporting the participation of civil society groups including community based organizations, family and corporate foundations, socio-civic clubs, faith-based groups and other non-government organizations (NGOs) in active governance as experienced in Philippines.

### **Role of Housing, Infrastructure and Services in Human Settlement Development**

The provision of housing has been a major concern of most governments. Despite huge financial investment committed to its development, the problem of housing has been stubbornly persistent, especially among the urban poor. Housing and provision of infrastructural facilities are essential for a healthy and vibrant community. However, inadequate quantity and supply of housing has been the problem in some areas while poor quality and inadequate services has been the bane in others.

In view of the nature of housing problems and as a matter of necessity, people have erected shelters of their tastes and in accordance with the sizes of their pockets in areas of their choices or wherever they found a piece of land at affordable prices. While it is possible to provide housing units in this manner, infrastructural facilities cannot be provided by individuals, anywhere and at will. The nature and quality of services thus become much more important than the provision of shelters that can be realized through individual efforts. Notwithstanding access to infrastructure and services remain low in the sprawl areas as a result of the haphazard pattern of development, which makes the provision of facilities difficult and very expensive.

The issue of infrastructure has become very famous among National Governments, Multilateral Aid Agencies and all stakeholders. The situation of infrastructure in our cities has been variously criticized as being “a static physical entity; a myriad of collection of technologies; a necessarily public sector activity which often seem to be in such poor shape” (McNeil, 1993). Infrastructure enables the functional life of every settlement, resulting in a thriving and lively environment where it is adequate and efficient and produces a slum condition where it is deplorable. The huge sums of money spent on infrastructure over recent decades have not resulted into greater benefits especially in developing countries (Wakeham and Meeuwissen, 1993). The deteriorating roadways and bridges as well as shrinking finances have led to traffic clogs on urban streets. Water and sewage facilities are non-existent in most cities of developing countries or are over-stretched and utilities fail to provide reliable sources of power. Deteriorating infrastructure often has serious constraints on the productivity of many cities of developing countries. This has detrimental effect on housing sector and results in failure to attract private investments as well as threatening public health and safety.

In realization of the role of infrastructure in human settlement development, the World Bank launched urban upgrading projects in 1972 to improve services, infrastructure and housing with the hope of reducing poverty and meeting basic needs and as a means of slum upgrading (Corburn & Sverlik, 2017). Although by the 1980s–1990s the approach shifted to slum upgrading where governments acted as “enablers” by offering financing mostly for projects of non-governmental organizations and international development agencies. However, another shift occurred in early 2000s and a greater emphasis was placed on in-situ upgrading, limiting slum clearance and launching policies that aimed to integrate the urban poor into the larger fabric of growing metropolitan economies (Corburn & Sverlik, 2017).

The issue of infrastructure is complex as it seems to require more and more in time and planning. It provides the crucial enabling environment for economic growth and enhances quality of life, and therefore has to be sustained to ensure replicability. As a means of upgrading the sprawl in, government should focus on provision of infrastructural services, approved layouts design as



well as a blue print to guide the development of the periphery which the people cannot provide individually or as a group. However, desirable level of success can be achieved through effective governance by involving the private sector and developing a form of partnership between different actors.

There are many examples of successful government sponsored infrastructural programs. for instance, the rural piped-water program in Malawi, extended access to potable water from highland sources to villages at very low cost through a high degree of community participation in construction and maintenance of infrastructure (Wakeham and Meeuwissen, 1993). Also, the provision of infrastructure and services in Calcutta based on consultation and planning with slum residents is another example of “slum improvement program”. Similarly, in Sri Lanka, the government agency responsible for housing provision contracted out the construction of housing to the community as a form of partnership. The result was excellent and provide job for the skilled and unskilled of the community as well as ease maintenance because the residents were involved in the construction process.

In essence, government should focus on the provision of infrastructure to encourage economic development and give opportunity for organized physical environment enhance improved quality of life, eradicate informal/illegal human settlement as well as ensure security of tenure. Evidently, the provision of infrastructure is an effective means of upgrading slum environments. This is in view of the dynamic nature of urban areas where the supply of infrastructural facilities often falls short of demand and with time become dilapidated as a result of over-stretching and over population.

Therefore, infrastructure development can be an approach to improve the conditions of sprawl settlements as a way of harmonizing them with the existing urban setup. This could be more effective in Maiduguri, especially among the enclaved villages that constitute major wards of the Maiduguri Metropolitan area today.

The implementation of sites and services program by the federal government of Nigeria for instance, contributed positively to the development of many settlements in the country. Development in this direction was accelerated because government prepared the layouts and in addition, furnished them with roads, water, electricity and other facilities. None the less, the successes recorded by the program differ with states and regions. In many states, implementation got delayed by almost 30 years after. This was not unconnected with political differences among other factors. Therefore, caution is required and governments should decide and select which projects are desirable where and evolve how to finance them. This may improve the quality and materials used in housing construction by individual property developers.

The trend is that private individuals are beginning to invest in the provision of some facilities like potable water and refuse collection among others in the urban settlements. For instance, it is not uncommon in Maiduguri, to have privately owned bore-holes servicing the community water supply through water hawkers popularly known as *Mai-Moya*. Notwithstanding, the private sector should strive to achieve greater success in matters that affect the society, while government should provide the enabling environment that will further encourage increased participation in this direction.

Finally, attempt must be made to emphasize the need of getting the community involved, because it is extremely difficult to match the supply of infrastructure with the demand. It is true that basic needs among low-income groups still remain inadequate, partly because of demographic pressure and rapid urbanization. The un-served communities should be made to recognize that the only way to afford and maintain services is to provide it themselves and be encouraged to initiate construction, pay for, and maintain their own services.

### **Challenges of Slum Upgrading in Maiduguri**

Slum upgrading is the process of delivering place-based environmental and social improvements to the urban poor (Corburn and Sverdlik, 2017). The processes and products of slum upgrading can address multiple environmental determinants of health such as land tenure, housing, infrastructure, employment, health services and political and social inclusion. The challenge of curbing sprawl through process of upgrading is not an easy task in Maiduguri, capital of Borno State, Nigeria. This is because of the continuous enclavement of surrounding smaller settlements and villages which is very phenomenal due to high rate of town expansion. Therefore, coping with urban sprawl in such a setting is a serious issue. The problem is more serious in view of favorable physical, political, social and economic forces resulting from a thriving commercial society in view of the long history of Maiduguri as an ancient Tran Saharan trade route.

The resulting problems are numerous. Usually, the most common planning problems are that of improper control of developments and the provision of basic amenities especially around the threshold areas to cope with the expanding city. The creation of political boundaries (such as Local Government areas) has compounded issues by establishing areas of overlapping influences. The authorities become very active only in terms of revenue generation rather than provision of amenities in such areas.

Management and coping with urban expansion in Maiduguri has not been easier with subsequent political authorities. This is because, although the government ought to determine the direction of growth through development of layouts, the customary or traditional land tenure system remains very much active. Furthermore, the influence of traditional leaders like the district heads (Ajiya) and the ward heads (Bulama) on land matters remains very prominent to date.

The bane of the problem is that aside of the Government's inability to effectively involve the traditional rulers in the development control processes, the State Government did not involve fully, the planning authority in development matters nor have they observed the development control policies efficiently. This is partially due to lack of development plan or any blueprint to guide project implementation. Therefore, developments executed by the government appear to be uncoordinated, and are not in line with the practice of good governance. The developments either lack people's approval or fail to involve the people and other stakeholders in the plans and are without the blessings of the planning authority.

For instance, the state government in the last decade has embarked on a program of in-fill as a process of housing development whereby open spaces within existing layouts have been relocated for developmental purposes. About 4000 housing units have been constructed at

different locations in Maiduguri within the last 2 decades by successive governments of Borno State. Some of these include the 101, 202, 303, 505, 707, 1001 Housing Estates (1999 - 2009), as well as Teacher's Housing Estate and Legacy Gardens Estate in Bulunkutu ward, among others (2010 – date). Similarly, construction of roads and drainage systems, water, electrification, Model Schools are among the on-going projects within the city.

Table 1: New Construction of Government Housing Estate in Maiduguri (2010 - 2018)

	Name of Estate	Number of Units
1.	Teachers village	300
2.	Legacy Gardens (phase I)	246
3.	Legacy Gardens (phase II)	40
4.	Dangote Estate	200
5.	Bakasi Estate	300
6.	Gubio Road Estate	300
7.	Konduga Road Estate	300
8.	Muna Road Estate	300
	Total	1,986

It is evident that over the years, the governments of Borno State have frequently embarked on improvement of the physical environment of Maiduguri through continuous investment in provision of Drainages, Sanitation, Schools, Hospitals and Health Facilities, Roads, and other infrastructure as remedial measures to upgrade the settlements. However, the demand is insatiable because the more the provision of these facilities the more the requirement.

Other examples of such interventions by the state government are the provision of infrastructure and housing by the State Government through the construction of housing estates at many locations of the city as measures of improvement to curb the menace of urban sprawl in Maiduguri. Table 1 presents some of the Estates constructed in recent times between years 2010 – 2018. About 2000 housing units were constructed at various locations within the city and in the outskirts. Similarly, the State Government embarked on the construction and improvement of intra-urban roads to link and upgrade some of the sprawl areas (e.g. Fori – Bama Road, Sir Kashim - Maduganari - Damboa road link, Kano Motor Park – Maduganri – GRA link, Giwa Barrack – Pompomari – Bulunkutu Link, among others) and ease movement within the city (Table 2).

Such approach of curbing the menace of urban sprawl is very commendable. Notwithstanding, most of the projects have been criticized to be politically motivated, more so, that only a few of the houses have been allocated to the public, years after completion. In view of the overall importance of the newly constructed roads, the decision of the choice and types of roads, the location of schools, health facilities and other infrastructure were also criticized for not involving the people at inception and therefore lack the participation of the stakeholders.

Table 2: Rehabilitated / Resurfaced Roads and Drainages in Maiduguri (2010-2018)

NAME / LOCATION	LENGTH OF ROAD	DRAINAGE
Fori Ward	3.5 KM	7 KM
Moduganari Ward	3.2 KM	6.4 KM
Lagos Street	2.9 KM	5.8 KM
		(Dualised)
Bulumkutu Kasuwa Ward	16 KM	32 KM
Bulumkutu Abuja Ward	16 KM	32 KM
Jidarri Polo Road	3.4 Km	-
Eyehospital Bye- Pass	800M	1.6 KM
Gidan Madara Bye Pass	860 M	1.72 KM
Kofa Biyu Junction – Old Maiduguri	820m	820m
Kukawa Road	560m	1120m
Gamboru 1 Pry School Rd.	360 m	720m
Mafoni Liberty Road	6.8 Km	13.6 Km
Circular Road	4.2 Km	8.4 Km
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>59.4 kilometers</b>	<b>111.26</b>

Generally, projects of this nature would record greater acceptance of the good will of the government by partnering with the stakeholders and involving the representatives of the community, civil based organizations (CBO) among others in the formulation and implementation of projects. People are usually committed to projects that they are aware of and cooperate to implement the decisions they help to make. Therefore, education and awareness are important aspects of good governance that could ease participation and promote popularity among the community to support political actions of the government.

While these developments are appreciable, critics believed that government should not involve itself in housing construction. More so that the government end up selling official residences in view of the owner occupier policy, as in the case of Ibrahim Taiwo and the State low-cost housing Estates, Maiduguri where about 850 and 720 have been sold off respectively. Similarly, more than 1000 government residential houses in the Government Reserved Areas (Old and New GRA) and in other government housing layouts within Maiduguri were sold off. The argument is that investment in the provision of urban amenities and facilities will reduce stress on the existing facilities, open up more areas and encourage private participation in housing provision and city developmental should be paramount. However, encouraging the participation of the stakeholders’ forum may enhance continuity and eliminate the inconsistencies in government policies such as the selling off of public housing properties only to commit a huge investment later in further provision of public housing.

### **Concept of Governance**

Governance refer to the manner in which public officials and public institutions acquire and exercise the authority to provide public goods and services, including the delivery of basic services, infrastructure, and a sound investment climate.” (World Bank, 2006). It is the manner in which power is exercise in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for its development (Mwelu & Anderson, 2013). Governance comprises the mechanisms, processes,

relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations as well as mediate differences.

Governance is not the same as government, although it includes the state (government), but transcends it by taking in the private sector and civil society (Cheema, 1997). Naturally, the state, private sector and civil society are all critical for urban development. For instance, government creates a conducive political and legal environment within which the private sector generates jobs and income, while the civil society (such as individual groups and organizations) facilitates political and social interaction- mobilizing groups to participate in economic, social and political activities. The objective of governance is to promote constructive interaction among the three for a better result.

Governance operate within the legal forum and policy setting defined by the state, but exercise independently the policies and actions directed towards promoting sustainable development in urban environment and human societies. Subsequently, governance provides the framework within which the State or Government's functions are delegated to, or assumed by other institutions and organizations in the private sector and civil society. It is therefore the mechanism for growth and development, which involve all the stakeholders pursuing a common goal, because it provides the forum, which gives opportunity to all stakeholders to air their views and address issues of mutual benefits for the development of the environment. Therefore, good governance can curb the menace of urban sprawl by exercising the political, economic and administrative authority to manage the city's affairs.

The primary purpose of government is to promote sustainable human development in ways that reduce disparities in income, well-being, education and opportunity among all people without depriving future generations of similar levels of well-being security and choice. Therefore, it is expected that when slum exists within a territory over which a particular government holds power, government is at least partially capable of affecting the circumstances in which the inhabitants of the slum live by enacting governance. However, this is not the case, since more than one billion people currently live in slums and that number is growing (Jadnanansing *et al.*, 2009).

The weakness of interventions of slum upgrading approaches in the past has been the failure to realize that governance arrangements can guarantee maintenance and improvements of the slum (Minnery *et al.*, 2013). Focusing Slum upgrading on the improvement of physical services such as roads and drainage as well as improve the quality of housing, in addition to policies that address earning capacity and enhance job opportunities is ultimately the most useful approach of urban governance. However, a more comprehensive approach focuses on 'sustainable livelihoods' so that community capital can be maintained and improved over the longer term. In view of the above, good governance is very relevant as a suitable approach to ameliorate the problems of urban sprawl, where the various parties could seek and achieve correctiveness. This would eliminate the view of one party as "illegal settlers" and the other as "unnecessarily restrictive", so as to achieve an environment that is conducive to social and economic growth within an assured political setting.

Therefore, in order to curb the menace of sprawl in Maiduguri through governance, it is necessary to guarantee support for a strong governance framework for infrastructure services, so as to enhance efficient and effective use of public and private resources as well as ensure a strong result monitoring systems to measure the access and sustainability outcomes of infrastructure spending. It is also essential to promote commitment and effective anti-corruption programs through education and awareness among the community of the urban settlement.

### **Formalizing and Upgrading Informal Settlements**

Comparative study of urban slums in South East Asia (Minnery *et al.*, 2013) presented three varied approaches to slum upgrading. These include the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) initiated in Jakarta in 1969 and funded by the Jakarta City administration and the World Bank represents the world's first slum upgrading program, with long history of top-down upgrading through National Development Plan in Indonesia). KIP focused on improving physical conditions by providing basic infrastructure and upgrading housing and became a model for slum improvement worldwide.

In the Philippines, the approach of civil society is the most striking aspect of slum upgrading. Although the city government has offices dedicated to slum upgrading; nevertheless civil society is heavily involved in partnership with government. Considerable powers and responsibility including that of providing basic services is devolved to local government, however, the gains made in slum upgrading is credited to the determined and often militant efforts of politically active groups such as the community-based organizations, family and corporate foundations, socio-civic clubs, faith-based groups and other non-government organizations (NGOs).

While in Vietnam, public ownership of land and the complex registration system acts as a counterpoint to the common concern about land tenure security in slum upgrading. The difficulty of acquiring legal land-use rights certificates is characteristic of the task of slum clearance in Vietnam. Tenure security is an all-important element of housing security and without some form of security, residents of informal settlements felt they had no base upon which to build permanent livelihoods.

Although none of the South East Asia cases were totally successful in their slum upgrading, the studies show that issues of security of tenure, governance and institutional arrangements, public participation (including the effective contributions of civil society), up-scaling and extension of programs, and the connections between slum upgrading and sustainable livelihoods are crucial aspects of the effective development and implementation of slum upgrading programs. The study provided lessons that can be incorporated into future program development.

In addition, other enabling approaches to formalizing and solving the problems of informal settlements was proposed by Wakeham and Meeuwissen (1993) These are political, security of tenure, services and infrastructure provision and community participation as explained below.

#### **i The Political Consideration– land right formalization**

Traditionally informal settlements not recognized as productive and creative solution to shelter needs. Therefore, it was common in the past to attempt to eradicate informal settlements and evict their inhabitants without providing alternatives or by providing one without proper

planning, resulting into “transfer of slum condition” as most of the people evicted soon constitute nuisance elsewhere. Official policies of eradication of informal settlements often fail because it lacks the forum for active partnership within which the public agencies could work. Also the absence of the informal community based organization that would provide a coherent overall framework for services, infrastructure and employment also contributed to failure in the formalization of land rights of Informal Settlements. Therefore, poor political approach (governance) is responsible for poor environments, government must include informal settlements to their plans for orderly development.

A major step of formalizing the sprawl settlement is through normalizing the land rights by issuance of statutory rights of occupancy to the properties. This approach will give the sense of belonging to the citizens and facilitate access to financial assistance where land rights are used as collateral to obtain bank loans to improve the housing conditions.

In Maiduguri, land right formalization is made possible in three (3) stages. The application to formalize the land right is directed to the District Head (Ajiya) after the consent of the Bulama (Ward Head). Upon approval such application is then forwarded to the local Authority, Maiduguri Metropolitan Council (MMC) for a Customary Certificate of Occupancy. The documents are then submitted for a Grant of Ownership which is later processed for a Statutory Right of Ownership approved by the State (Regional) Government for a period of 99 years. Notwithstanding, the people must be openly encouraged and supported by the government in order to make optimum use of their resources and talent to increase commitment. The official attitudes towards urban sprawl and informal settlements must change to break the barrier to adoption of enabling strategies.

#### **ii Provision of Infrastructure and Services**

The role of housing, infrastructure and services in upgrading the sprawl settlements has been exhaustively discussed above. Access to infrastructure and services remain low in the sprawl areas as a result of the haphazard pattern of development, which makes the provision of facilities difficult and very expensive. Provision of infrastructure and services is an enabling approach to solving the problems of sprawl and a major step towards orderly development of informal settlements and integration in government plans. This should not be left to the government alone as desirable level of success can be achieved through effective governance by involving the private sector and developing a form of partnership between different actors so that each works to its comparative advantage.

The nature and quality of services become much more important than the provision of shelters that can be realized through individual efforts, because without infrastructure and services, human settlements may not function effectively. More so, individual households may produce and improve their own houses but it is difficult to provide their own electricity supply, drainage sanitation and other services that require high levels of capital investments and coordination to ensure efficient development and maintenance of those services.

Correcting the poor infrastructure situation in sprawl areas may not be an easy task in view of the high capital investment and the complex level of coordination required for effective

infrastructure development, maintenance and replicability. However, it must be reiterated that subsequent governments in Borno State has contributed in this direction to date.

### **iii Community participation**

Community participation is a key enabling approach to solving the problems of slum upgrading. Issues of participation are very important in the provision and improvement of the environment. However, a program involving community participation takes different dimensions; it may be in terms of construction and cost-sharing in service provision or may involve the design or direction of project. Therefore, it is important to be clear from the onset who is participating in what and why.

Irrespective of the level at which the community is expected to play a role, it is essential that distinction be made between participation as a means to an end and participation as end in itself. The choice between the two will depend on the situation at hand and the objectives of the authorities as well as the nature of the task. A very important aspect of participation is the determination of the section of the population that is supposed to be involved. This is because it may be extremely difficult to facilitate the involvement of the less powerful groups such as tenants, women and the very poor in decision-making process. The community-based organizations can serve as the mouth-piece as well as a perfect tool for implementing decisions and actions to achieve desired goals.

Participation by users in design, construction and maintenance could be the key to shelter improvement and control sprawl and informal settlements development. The public should be involved in the decision, planning and implementation of policies that affect them. This would provide hope and opportunity for the poorer families to participate in housing initiatives and other government programs. Community participation strategy is the bedrock of the success of Chinese Human Settlement Development program (1996-2000).

It is worth mentioning that Community participation approach is not very famous in Maiduguri. This may be owing to the lack of strong community-based organizations, influential corporate foundations and civic clubs, therefore governance is usually a one-sided decision making process where the people seldom have say in slum upgrading and other environmental programs that affect them.

### **Strategies for Curbing the Menace of Sprawl Development in Maiduguri**

Solving the menace of urban sprawl development would require a sustainable approach as well as the political will to achieve long lasting and structured interventions. The Triad as shown in Figure 2 represents the proposed model for good governance to combat urban sprawl development in Maiduguri. These elements of good governance would constitute the key to success, particularly when accompanied by local ownership and leadership, and the mobilization of the potential and capacity of all the stakeholders, particularly the people themselves.



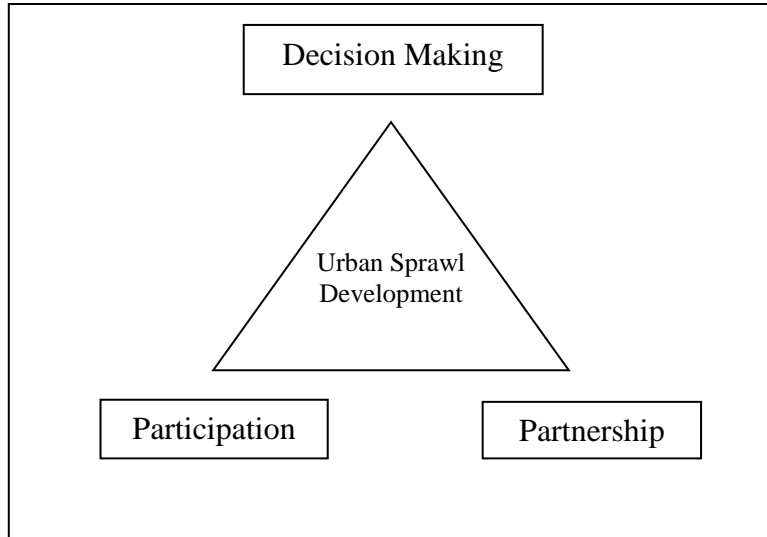


Figure 2: The Triad of Good Governance for Urban Sprawl Development

**i. Decision Making**

Sustainability is about inclusive decision making. Environmental decisions are taken daily, and it is those taken by the individuals, households and communities that have broad and lasting impact. It is imperative to take effective decisions that have positive impacts on the environment as a whole - local and global. Creating collective agreement and opinion reached by the community is important (consensus building) for action; initiating action on decisions taken necessitates the overall understanding of the causes and effects (awareness building), and the active involvement of all members of the community to discuss and debate the issues concerned (review and hearings). Decisions and outcome of stakeholders' meetings should be published for public criticism through reviews, hearings and awareness building. The final decisions could be gazetted for record and for the purpose of continuity.

**ii. Participation approach**

This involves commitment, communication and as its defining corners. The involvement of the community in any activity that affects their life is inherently critical. This is an important element in all stages of project or programme implementation where community are more committed to projects communicated and cooperate with the authority to achieve efficient implementation. Effective and comprehensive participation enables exchange of ideas and opinions both among themselves and also from external experts and resource persons, strong interpersonal rapport and sharing of information (communication), that is grounded in mutual respect and shared responsibilities (commitment), and working together towards common and mutual benefit (cooperation). Participatory approach entails dealing with forum of stake holders constituted to pursue the community requirement for infrastructural facilities which can be submitted to government directly or to politicians seeking political offices.

**iii. Partnership**

Partnership is a relationship between individuals or groups that is characterized by mutual assistance and responsibility for the achievement of an agreed, specified goal. It is defined by activities like interdependence, networking and clustering. The key to effective community partnership is that members of a community bring to the table different resources, skills and

knowledge needed to take action. This calls for mutual respect of each member's strengths and weaknesses (interdependence), of interacting with people who have similar interests or concerns, or providing support (networking), and bringing together the different skills and resources needed for a particular/specific action (clustering). Partnership may take the form of involving civil organization and traditional Land Administrators to get involved in the implementation of development control and other policies.

The model (Figure 2) is a movement towards Good Governance that will not only permit transparency and accountability, but also enable free flow of information where processes and institutions are directly accessible. This will empower community members via innovative responsibility for decision making and improve delivery of the city's aims and objectives by making best use of available resources to maximize output. This will serve as a panacea to combat the menace of sprawl development so as to achieve a functional city whose effectiveness would be governed by the contribution of all stake holders.

### **SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

City government can cope with urban sprawl more effectively by improving the efficiency of infrastructure sector which may improve the informal settlements and enhance the human settlements. The participation of all stakeholders in the management of the urban settlement through good governance could justify the legality of informal settlements and with little modifications, the penalties meted on such developments may not be necessary. Such strategy may conform to equity and justice, whereby the individual has a voice and can participate in matters that affect the public whose interests the city government claim to be protecting.

Good governance would involve the people in policies formulation, thereby making implementation easier to achieve desirable outcome. Similarly, the involvement of the civil organizations and traditional land administrators in development control implementation may prevent sprawl development. This can be achieved through the formation of stakeholder's forum, which should meet periodically to discuss issues of environmental and security importance that is affecting the city, and forward decisive and brilliant measures to the government and political office holders.

The decisions and outcome of the stakeholder's meetings on such issues should be published and made public for criticism after which the alternatives acceptable to the majority is then gazetted for reference and to ensure continuity in government administration. Ensuring continual improvement is a very important means of controlling urban slum. Therefore, constant monitoring and evaluation as a key operational component should be put in place to check the progress of planning and improvement as well as identify specific problems of the informal settlements. This is required to assess the needs of informal settlements in Maiduguri and give feedback to concerned authorities such as Borno State Ministry of Lands and Survey, Borno State Urban Development Board and the Borno State Ministry of Works and Housing. Such mechanism is currently lacking in the strategies for development, planning and Improvement the urban sprawl in Maiduguri.

Furthermore, there is a need for setting up of a corrective and preventive action system, as well as a learning environment that makes use of lessons learnt and involves all members of the

community. Also, an efficient needs assessment system is required to enable setting up targets and goals against which progress can be measured and monitored. Ultimately the feedback from community members would help in increasing efficiency and effectiveness as well as capacity building to effectively tackle the menace of the slums and squatter settlements.

Also, the research noted that current Master plan for the city of Maiduguri was prepared in 1976 to be reviewed by 1993, which was never done. The absence of development plans may very much be responsible for uncontrolled expansion and haphazard development of Maiduguri urban environment. The need for a blueprint to guide and direct the growth of the urban settlements is very eminent, because, unregulated expansion of settlements without proper planning could result in poor performance. However, such plans should have the contribution and endorsement of all stakeholders so as to afford easier implementation of the programs. With proper implementation, it will be difficult to encroach upon land areas already zoned and allocated for future proposed uses especially when such areas have been duly documented in the approved development plans. Thereby determining the direction of urban growth and also assisting in the provision of urban infrastructure and facilities to achieve a thriving urban environment.

The issues and challenges of the environment are enormous because human activities affect sustainability and have negative impact on the environment. Where the links between the economy, environment and society are weak, fixing the problems of sustainable development becomes very difficult and tasking. Slums must be seen as the result of a failure of national and local urban policies, laws and delivery systems, (UN-Habitat, 2010). It is the failure of policy is at all levels, in order word it the failure of governance, which can only be corrected through good governance.

In conclusion, the upgrade of squatter or informal settlements could avoid the consequent disruptive dislocation and usually produces immediate and visible results. It is recommended that government support in kind and cash be made available to inhabitants of informal settlements. Such incentives would assist the people to make investments toward to reduce poverty. Also, remedies for correcting the conditions of squatters should avoid disintegration of existing social forms that has been formed over a long period and could be resisted by the inhabitants. Finally, it is important to note that a blueprint to guide and direct growth of the urban settlement is very paramount to curb the menace of urban sprawl in Maiduguri. Therefore, Maiduguri Master Plan of 1976 should be reviewed and the recommendations fully implemented.

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