Inclusivity in the Implementation of Federal Capital City Vision in a Developing Country: The Nigerian Experience

Achuenu, A. S.

Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Environmental Sciences, University of Jos, Jos – Nigeria

saachuenu@gmail.com

Governance for sustainability of cities presents an enormous but unavoidable challenge. The problem is that most developing nations especially in Africa have challenges with capital city administration, as was the case with Lagos in Nigeria. The problem of sustainable city development in Lagos led to the creation new Federal Capital, Abuja. However, Abuja appears to be having similar problems as Lagos arising from the method of implementation of its vision(s). The author therefore, critically examines the approaches used in the implementation of Abuja city vision(s) with a view to substantiating the extent of inclusivity and participation in relation to sustainable development. The paper deploys both primary and secondary source of data to scrutinize the extent to which participation has evolved over the years to extend understanding in comparison to sustainable development. The study traces context understanding of the Abuja visions through the initiatives used for implementation and explored the paradoxical inconsistencies by assessing the adequacy of the administrative system and physical implication on the sustainability of the Abuja city vision. From the findings, it was observed that several initiatives employed in implementation of Abuja city vision between 1974 and 1989 excluded the involvement of major stakeholders as the vision for the city was conceived and implemented by mostly military administrators. Lack of continuity of successive governments' programmes led to distortions of the master plan and further exclusion of stakeholders' participation. However, from 1990, there was a boost and involvement of stakeholders in decision making and implementation of programmes. The general exclusion of stakeholders led to untold hardship to the indigenes and most residents of the city especially the poor and low income earners arising from demolitions, social stratification, injustice, crime and negative environmental impact. The study therefore recommended a holistic approach which demands the involvement of all stakeholders for a more sustainable city development for Abuja.

Keywords: exclusivity, governance and leadership, inclusivity, participation, sustainable city development

Introduction

Governance refers to the manner in which a social entity (whether at the scale of a company, a city or a country) is managed. It refers to the way one gets to act, through what types of interactions (negotiation, concession, self-regulation or imposing choice) and the degree to which actors reference their action to a collective perspective/direction/orientation (Okeke, 2010). It is the agreed-upon mechanisms and processes of steering an organization or social-grouping and includes the systems and methods used, how groups are to be structured, how to share information, how to make related decisions, who to include and how and to whom authority is delegated (Robertson, 2014). Governance is a critical factor towards achieving strong, sustainable city vision and programs. According to Kemp *et al.* (2005), concerns on governance and sustainable development emerged in the late 1980s, and both share similar characteristics and overlapping challenges.

Like the sustainable city development, governance became a highly contested issue and by mid-1990s governance gradually became an issue of professional dialogue because its meanings and implications carry several promises and pressure on those who exercise it.

On the other hand, Sustainable city development according to Holden *et al.* (2017) has its concept resting on three moral imperatives which are: satisfying human needs, ensuring social equity and respecting environmental limits. This reflects on World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987) (*'Our Common Future's)* central message which seeks to balance social, environmental, and economic targets. The transition to sustainable cities calls for new governance arrangements as approaches of urban governance have transformed over the past century particularly with regards to the paradigm shift in economic and urban development at the national and global levels. In line with this, cities are now been identified as leading players in the shift to a more sustainable means of invention and development as pronounced in the Sustainable Development Goals of 2016 (Swilling & Hajer, 2017; Klopp & Petretta, 2017). This calls for new governance approach which facilitates for collective action by diverse actors within the public sector and community stakeholders working together to achieve well-being along agreed target/indicators and guided by common goals/vision.

Van Zeijl-Rozema, *et al.* (2008) conceptualised two general methodological approaches to governance which are the traditional hierarchical model (mainly characterised a direct command and control system) and nonlinear model (where actors share information, participate in planning and are empowered/motivated to decide while ensuring that an efficient structure exists). Salat (2016) argues that integrated planning is one of the core elements used in governance to delineate the arrangement of cities and spatially distribute urban activities in ways that optimise the possibility of sustaining the cities infrastructural developments and land-use planning decisions. This is done in a way that takes into account the fact that a city's demand for physical organisations, infrastructure, housing and facilities will change with time as its inhabitants grow and experience increase in population. This study focuses on understanding the methodological approaches under the non-linear model and especially on the facilitation of participation and inclusiveness in planning and empowering decision-making from both the bottom-up and top-bottom. Van Zeijl-Rozema *et al.* (2008) is also of the opinion that transformation towards sustainability requires good governance and strong leadership that encourages bottom-up participation in ways that can advocate for change and provide support to traditional government institutions. As such, teamwork becomes the core of sustainability initiatives, such that the inclusion of all stakeholders ensures that the vision and goals come from the diverse range of actors which in turn would encourage the entire group to embrace transformative change. Okeke (2010) and Kelly (2010) also emphasise the need to use governance to guide the progression towards sustainable city development because of its normative nature and the lack of collective action. Fukuyama (2013) states that where a government carries out its duties guided by concise result-oriented mechanisms in ways that respect the will of the people, it promotes the people's capabilities through the goals of achieving self-reliance, sustainable development, and social justice. When coupled with the effective and efficient ways of working to achieve these goals, such a government can be viewed to be practicing good governance.

In that light, Freire (2007) noted that for a city to attain good governance that would culminate into sustainability, it has to focus on transforming its implementation approach towards visioning, planning, and decision-making processes. Such a transformation would provide a stronger platform for cities to improve their

procedural transparency while also enhancing public participation. Secondly, Freire (2007) also suggests that improving governance at the city level allows cities to translate global opportunity into local value for their citizens with subsequent enhancement of well-being as an essential outcome of the city. Leadership is most effective when it inspires and facilitates the participation and inclusion of people in their communities thus instilling an ethos of ongoing participatory/transformative change which involves all individuals and sectors.

However, making leadership effective in this manner has proven to be difficult, primarily because many of the parties may have conflicting interests and/or priorities. In particular most of the commonly used methodological approaches are inadequate for the highly complex and uncertain nature of the new applications on city visioning and planning processes. As such, there is the critical need for city planners and administrators to pursue innovation/adaptation of methodological approaches that integrate the goals of sustainable urban development collectively.

The primary reason for Nigeria's socio-economic stagnation and underdevelopment of most of its cities including Abuja are evident in corruption, poor implementation of vision-guided programmes, neglect of application of rule of law as suggested by Eneh (2011), Ogbeidi (2012), Omilusi (2013) and Nzekwe, Izueke, and Okeke, (2014) and Kwasi (2017) amongst others. This deficiency in governance has led to a critical shortfall in legitimacy and widespread loss of confidence in the state institutions as well as their processes. The administrative arm of governance needs to become sensitive to the citizens needs and get committed to developing vision and programmes that encourage inclusive participation. Ogbeidi (2012) suggests that there is a need to put in place mechanism for a continuous check on perpetually failed visions, lapses in policy implementation, and the escalating backlogs in urban infrastructure and services for all. Obo and

Adejumo (2014) argue that the shortcoming with the Nigerian system and its challenges is not solely the fault of the leaders but also that of its citizens, mainly through nonchalant responses and behaviour. They are of the opinion that Nigerian governance style should be such that it could re-inculcate the spirit of patriotism in the minds of its citizens so that they will be ready and willing to stand with the government in the targeted development efforts. Obo and Adejumo (2014) note that until Nigerians view themselves as one and not as belonging to one section of the country as commonly portrayed at present, the need to develop Nigerian cities cannot be initiated or sustained. Erhagbe (2012) noted that the most crucial missing link in Nigeria's drive towards the attainment of sustainable city vision is a responsive approach and governance style to its city visioning, planning, and subsequent implementation. As such, there is the need for some form of re-orientation primarily on the method of governance, regarding values, norms, and acceptable conduct. Given the consistency of poor leadership over the years, this has contributed to weak governance systems and the collapse as well as dislocation of the social order and the undermining of socio-values underpinning the Nigerian society as a whole (Erhagbe, 2012). As a result, the sustainable city development aspirations that Nigerians are now in dire need of remains a mirage unless radical transformation in values and respect for the rule of law is required.

In view of the above, the author critically examines the past/present approaches used in the implementation of Abuja's city vision(s) with a view to substantiate on the degree of inclusivity and participation in relation to sustainable development. The author anticipates exploring the effects of the growing gaps with inclusive participation and the problems spurred up leadership in ability to address this gap for sustainable development. This is with a view to recommending ways that might provide the thoroughfare to addressing the situation. It is the opinion of the author that achieving sustainable development will

continue to be a mirage in emerging countries in general and Nigeria in particular if the executions are not matched with balanced participation and inclusion in its development practices.

Methodology

The secondary and primary data used for the analysis in this paper were captured through historical exploration from both secondary (mainly obtained from archival documents) and primary sources (through direct observation). The appraisal of archival documents aimed for data that would facilitates for a clear understanding of the past and present state of Abuja's urban development approaches. Documents were appraised with regard to two sustainable city development era's; pre-sustainability era (1974 to 1989) and sustainable era (1990 to 2017). Within these two era various development initiatives and the extent of inclusivity in the implementation of Abuja city visions (amidst other urbanisation and city growth challenges and their impact) was studied in relation to sustainable city development challenges. The archival documents' constituted of primary text (not produced for research) comprising government documentation, newspaper, memos and letters, periodicals, senatorial briefings, journals articles (paired reviewed) including desktop internet materials amongst other sources. Archival documents were obtained from the Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) archives in Abuja. Data analyses were carried through thematic content analysis of exclusionary/inclusionary practices, their milestones and outcomes of these practices. Findings were organised and discussed on the basis of the assessment of the various implementation efforts of leadership and political impact on the vision(s) in context of the two specific periods which are before and during sustainability era (1974-1989 and 1990-2017 respectively) (see Tables 1&2). Direct observations were carried out primarily through photographs taken during fieldwork to further substantiate on the information's derived from the secondary sources.

Results and Discussion

Tables 1 and 2 present various Governments' development initiatives and the level of exclusivity/inclusivity in the implementation of Abuja City visions in the pre-sustainability (1974-1989) and sustainability (1990-2017) eras respectively.

Table 1. Presentation of some selected development initiatives and level of inclusivity in implementation of Abuja city visions in pre-sustainability era, 1974 to 1989

Period/ Regime	exclusionary practises /milestones	Outcomes of specific periods
1972-1974 Military	Military decide to relocate capital	Solely military decision to relocate the Federal Capital (FC) territory from Lagos
1974-1976 Military	Justice Aguda's commission report submitted Resettlement policy FCT Land use legal framework of 1976	The Aguda committee after extensive investigation (within and outside Nigeria) finally selected Abuja. The committee failed to recommend more than one site to the Federal Military Government (FMG) to choose, which does not agree with the principles and practice of sustainability by recommending 2 or 3 alternative sites for more inclusive contributions.
		The FCT land laws of 1976 authorized the creation of Abuja and complete evacuation/resettlement of the original inhabitants residing within the Territory of 8,000 sq.km2 evacuated (about 845 communities to be resettled outside the FCT). This was never achieved leading to exclusion. In addition, the FCT Act of 1976 conferred control of the whole land mass of the FCT in the authority of Government of the Federation.
		The new capital became a representation of Nigeria's goal for unity

1976-1979 Military	Establishment of the Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) (1976) Partial resettlement programme (1978-1984) Land Use Act of 1978 The FCDA commissioned a team of US international planning consultants, to prepare a draft Master Plan for Abuja, the FCC (1979)	FCDA was established with the sole responsibility of planning and building the city, and subsequently managing the greater FCT. The Master Plan was for the purposes of providing a framework for the orderly development to achieve the dream of Abuja, the Federal Capital City (FCC) vision. Land Use Decree of 1978 conferred all lands in the territory on the President to hold in trust for the usage and shared advantage of all Nigerians. This law becomes necessary because the ideal planning cannot be achieved without adequate and efficient land administration tools. By 1979, the time the Abuja Master Plan had been sign up and accepted by the FCDA, the complete relocation plan had been rejected (due to high cost of resettlement) and made optional. The partial selective resettlement of human population led to squatter developments, indigene-ship politics and land racketeering and slum development leading to exclusion of residence in the implementation process.
1979–1982 Civilian	Encouraged private sector participation developing Abuja Integration policy for villages located within the precincts of the FCT territory.	From 1976 to 1979, there was little or no thought for the integration of the indigenous population. However by 1981 the high cost of relocating the indigenous population made relocation plan a very expensive undertaking for the Nigerian state. Hence in 1984, came the idea of a much cheaper option to integrate villages situated within the precincts of the FCT. By 1999 only 1,800 units of Shagari's low cost housing scheme was built out of 8 million components prearranged to be built before the year 2000
1982–1983 Civilian	4 consultants submitted report on central area plan in 1981. Third plan submitted Jan.1983	The different teams' report together constitute the Abuja Master Plan, as such the Master Plan took the declared nationalistic aspirations of the decree and expounded on them.
1983–1984 Civilian	Development of the satellite towns (1984) encourage the participation of the private sector to come and partake in its development The five-yearly national housing development plans / Shagari's low cost housing scheme	For a very long time developmental efforts for Area councils and their satellite towns were neglected with regards to infrastructures and improved quality of life for its residence. Due to the invasion of people looking for employment in the city, led to considerable squatting, particularly in districts adjacent to the capital city thus encouraged haphazard development The Shagari's Low-Cost Housing Scheme failed to meet target because the existing housing stock was too expensive for civil servants or irregular wage employees in the informal economy. Provision not made for non-civil servants to be accommodated lead to increased unlawful tenant settlements. Virtually all low-income houses provided were located outskirts of the city, where transportation and inadequate basic services are a problem.
1984–1985 Military	Introduced the first ever mass transit in the capital city	This was the first attempt at carrying out a people and poor oriented development approach using by making available cheaper means of transportation for both the rich and poor in the city.
1986–1989 Military	By 1986 introduced the demolition exercise in the FC using development control standards	Through development control measures, government and implementing officials used the Abuja development as a prospect to show that Nigerians, can create a well-ordered city. However the military/civilian administrations that were expected to ensure strict compliance failed to enforce relevant development control measures to developing/managing the city.

Source: Compiled from Nigerian Tribune (1975), International Planning Association (IPA) (1979), FCT (2002), Flower (2008), CORHE (2008)

Table 2. Presentation of some selected development initiatives and level of inclusivity in implementation of Abuja's city visions in the sustainability era, 1989-2017

Period/ Regime	Exclusionary practises/milestones	Outcomes of specific periods
1989-1993 Military 1993-1998	1990 National Housing Policies Re-location of the FCT from Lagos to Abuja city in 1991 Integration Policy (1992)	The 1991 re-location of the capital and the change in settlement policy from total re-settlement policy of 1978 to integration policy of 1992, all led to abandonment of phased movement, sporadic slum, and squatter settlements and over population.
1998-1999 Military	Review of the Abuja Master Plan (1998) Revert to complete resettlement (1999) The 1999 Federal Constitution. Re-introduced the aborted owner occupiers housing scheme.	As a result of the complete failure of the integration policy another change was initiated reverting to the previous policy of complete resettlement. This was in 1999. The policy though not changed was however never implemented. The 1999 Federal Land Use Act, vested all land in the FCT in the hands of Federal Government, thus implying that millions of Abuja's poor migrants have no legitimate means to buy or rent land. The unsurprising result is widespread squatter settlements within the FCT.
1999–2001 2001–2003 Civilian 2003–2007	From Integration to Evictions (2003). From 2003-2007, Vision 20:20 and National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) became the growth policy of Nigeria Social Housing Programme (2006) aimed at providing housing for low and middle income groups. 'Abuja at 30' is a housing plan aimed at erecting 1000 social housing units but only 500 were constructed The creation of Satellite Towns Development Agency (STDA) 2004 Privatization (2003) Greater attention was given to the Satellite Towns Thorough review of Resettlement Policy, which saw the revision of valuation, rates for compensation from 1979 levels, and enumeration of all squatters and original inhabitants affected by developments in the FCC. Selected resettlement sites for relocating 49 villages by 2006	Vision 2020 is a 10year plan attached to NEEDS II for stirring Nigeria's economic progress onto a path of continued and fast economic development by 2020. The continued review of the Abuja Master Plan in 2005/2006 led to large scale evictions and demolition exercise affecting over 800,000 people directly. This action was seen by the international community as a contravention of both national and international laws. The demerger of MFCT and FCDA began the era of re-consideration of the poor and low income-earners by subsequent government in their plans and development. Privatization became major focus in 2003; with the launched of a pilot scheme on delivery of solid waste in Abuja. Privatisation of waste products was aimed at reducing financial burden on the city administrators and, broadens stakeholders/community participation. The need to restore the Abuja Master Plan and decongestion of the FCC gave birth to the Satellite Towns Development Agency (STDA)
2007–2008 Civilian	Re-initiated the forced evictions in 2008 Coalition of NGOS, CBOS and Government Departments (2008) to facilitate inclusivity in both decision-making and development	The Alliance of NGOS, CBOS and Government Departments in 2008 was aimed at moderating the negative effects of forced ejection and demolition on the urban poor within Abuja and stabilise the security situation of the capital city because crime rate had risen to an unprecedented level.
2008–2010 Civilian		Same as above
2010–2015 Civilian	Abuja Millennium City Project was one of such projects. It was planned to be a major distinct private venture on housing in Africa	As at 2015, it was never implemented due to change in governance/administration
2015–2017 Civilian	Change Agenda	By 2017- the time of this study most developmental projects inherited from past administration were stopped, banned or revoked due to policy reversal exercise with the aim of ensuing transparency and effective development of the FCT.

Source: Compiled from FCT (2002), FCTA (2007), Flower (2008), The Modibbo Administration (2008), Daily Trust Newspaper (2010), Vanguard online Newspaper (2015) People Daily online news (2017)

The Abuja visions and planning approach unarguably over-relied on physical planning principles/theory as elaborated in Tables 1 and 2 assuming that such principles would invoke the type of city Nigerians wanted (Tobin, 2017). From Table 1, it was observed that there was very little consideration for inclusivity in the approaches used by various governments in the implementation the Abuja vision while in Table 2; there was an increased effort at improving the level of inclusivity especially from 2006. So many factors were responsible for the level of exclusivity/inclusivity in the implementation of Abuja city visions as discussed below:

Stimulants of exclusivity in the Implementation of Abuja vision

In the process of implementing Abuja vision the following approaches stimulated exclusivity:

Exigent need for an FCT in lieu of Lagos:

The development of the city was seen by the military leaders as an urgent project that needed to be completed within a short time which led to the design and construction undertaken by foreign firms with hardly any investment in demographic, geological, and impact analyses. The military leaders did not trust the quality of work and the likely associated delays of indigenous employees leading to exclusion of the indigenes in major decisions concerning the vision for the city. Although, this period pre-dates the era of discussions on sustainability which become prominent in 1984, it violates the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the rights of indigenes in development of their communities (UN, 2007).

Inappropriate urban planning approach:

The planning approach adopted depends largely on delineation between the poor and the rich leading to stratification and exclusion of most citizens. Sadly, with measures mainly subjective to the partisan climate in the nation, the urban planning approach and the nature of infrastructure implemented had a considerable effect on the unity and equality of the city's residents. Worst still, the foreign expert consultants employed were unable to understand the needs for unity and peace as the basis for promoting nationality. Abuja city has now become a replica characteristic of spatial delineation of race and class where the urban poor were meant to live in the outskirts of the city (within satellite towns). In a bid by the urban poor to find a place to stay, the new city was transformed into the fastest growing slum in Nigeria (Latessa, 2014).

Figures 1a and b show high level of inequality exhibited in the development of Abuja. The implication is that the leadership of the city tried to enforce control on the low-income residents living in the informal areas in the town through the use of development control standards which unfortunately led to spatial distancing and exclusion (Latessa, 2014).

Figure 1.a) Rich settlement at Gwarinpa   **b) Poor settlement at Mpape**

Policy reversal:

Policy reversal on the other hand has been the bane of the development process of subsequent Nigerian government as a nation with adverse effect on the sustainability of the development efforts. Right after the first policy statement of relocating the capital city was issued in 1976, resettlement policy was made with the initial intention of getting every person residing within the 8,000 km^2 of the territory evacuated and resettled outside the FCT, (Section 1[3], FCT Act, 1976). By the end of 1981, the implementation of the policy shift to partial relocation appeared very costly resulting to another change in policy. Integration policy became a much cheaper option than relocation for those communities that remained located inside and outside the precincts of the FCT territory (Jibril, 2006, COHRE, 2008). Some of the satellite towns such as Kuje, Karu and Kubwa were to serve as resettlement centres for the indigenous population relocated from areas covered by the FCC Master-Plan (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1990) (see Figure 2 a and b). The population explosion and attendant challenges in turn slowed down developmental process for these satellite towns. This explains why FCT at 42 years is still unable to provide adequate infrastructure to meet the demands of its ever growing population particularly for those residing in villages within area councils and satellite towns (Okoro, 2014).

The challenge of slummy development led FCDA to establishing development control measures in the use of land and in the pursuit of communal purposes as well as the establishment of suitable and improved standards of living (FCDA, 1986). The control was informed to a large extent by the muddled up situation in most of Nigeria's older cities. Activities of the development control in the FCT had a comprehensive effect on the environment, wellbeing, welfare, and convenience of the people (Ikejiofor, 1998), as the city and its environs have without a doubt undergone a three-dimensional, economic, sociocultural and radical change. But on the other hand, the control made life difficult for the ordinary citizens since they could not comply with the terms of the pursuit of the stringent control, thus, leading to further environmental disasters and profound hardships for residents with complex situations of rush-hour traffic, inadequate accommodation and uncollected refuse dump sites on the streets, shantytown and squatter's settlements particularly in the satellite towns (Adama, 2007).

These unintended outcomes distorted the hope of constructing a city from scratch on a somewhat bare expanse of land in a manner that would allow the city administrators and developers the opportunity to escape the problems plaguing Lagos and other cities (Mabogunje, 2001).

Figure 2 a & b. Poor road infrastructure at Karu: Source: Author's fieldwork 2016

Housing provision
Between 1991 and 1999 several development efforts were made by government (particularly in mitigating housing deficit caused by the rushed movement from Lagos to Abuja) primarily through the National Housing Policy of 1991 and the National Housing Programme of 1994-1995. In addition, the previously aborted owner-occupier housing scheme was also re-introduced, as well as the construction of other basic infrastructure in the satellite towns especially those of Gwagwalada. As from 1992, the integration policy provided for local inhabitants to remain in their original locations was re-enacted with Garki District serving as a test ground. Unfortunately, only 1,800 housing units by the end of 1999 had been completed. The shortfall in housing at the time lead to shanty and slummy development scattered around the city, in the bid of residents trying to put shelter over their heads (see Table 2). The problem is that people were not carried along in the

major decisions taken in planning and execution of this process leading to its failure (Kalgo & Ayileka 2001; CORHE, 2008).

Individual efforts at provision of basic infrastructure
Individuals comprising of professionals, investors, civil servants and traders in the quest for sustainable livelihood contributed to the city's development through estate development to individually built residential buildings. Residents also operate various businesses, organisations, transportation services and many other initiatives geared towards the development of the FCT.

Education, health and human services were provided by both the public and private sector personnel. Water supply was also complemented by initiatives of residents, who constructed boreholes both for private and public use (see Figures 3a and b). However, this cannot be viewed as participation or inclusiveness.

Figure 3a. Borehole water supply at Mpape b) Borehole water supply, Idu neighbourhood.

Stimulants of improved inclusivity in implementation of Abuja vision

Below are a few examples of some of the past and present efforts made to improve inclusivity in the implementation of Abuja city vision

Deliberate effort at considering the poor and low-income earners:

The effort to restore the fundamental principles of the city's vision started in 1999 which began the era of re-consideration of the poor and low income-earners by subsequent governments in their plans and developments for the city.

One major reason was to address the growing gaps with exclusion of low-income-earners and indigenous people from owing decent housing and shelter within the FCT. Since then a number of expansion initiatives have sprang up both on paper and in real terms that boosted inclusivity.

Involvement of non-governmental organisations:

For empowerment, various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) came up with multiple plans to empower the residents of the city who are not gainfully employed. Public and Private Partnerships were reached in order to combat the security and environmental problems around the city.

Millennium development goals:

Between 2003-2007 Nigeria's Poverty Reduction Strategy (NPRS) was translated into National Economic, Empowerment and Development Strategies (NEEDS) (also known as Nigeria's home-grown growth and poverty reduction strategy) with emphasis placed on community participation in governance issues. The strategy prioritised two approaches of previous development programmes that had to be changed: the heavy reliance on the country's oil production to finance the programmes and the lack of participation of the population in governance issues. These programmes at different levels were designed to stimulate economic development in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals Strategies (MDGS) through the concept of good governance and the participation of the community in policymaking. Through initiatives under the programme women, men and the youth benefited from training and skills-development as well as mentorship in businesses development. Most of the approaches used began to present social agenda such as poverty reduction, education, health, housing, women and youth empowerment, the welfare of children, sports, peace and security.The practice of some of these new approaches led to an improved relation between the different levels of government; the federal, state and local levels and the development of new and more complex relationships between the state and civil society, voluntary organisations and local communities at large (Gbadegesin & Ayileka, 2000). Also included are strategies like MDGs, reforming government and institutions, and growing the role of private sector, primarily through Public Private Partnership (PPP) amongst other strategies.

Re-launching of new housing development policy:

In 2002, after reviewing the housing policy with regards to low-income earners, a new housing and urban development policy was launched in 2003 to address housing provision through several housing schemes (ranging from 2-bedroom bungalows, resettlement flats, units of terrace houses and apartments on owner-occupier basis) distributed across many neighbourhood of the FCT. The many bottlenecks in the implementation of the Land Use Act of 1978 was also reviewed as it was limiting access to land and resulted in indigenous people losing their rights to own property (FCT, 2002).

Re-focussing of FCDA:

Between 2003 and 2007, there was massive development with re-organization of the FCT transportation services, establishment of Agriculture and Rural Development Secretariat (ARDS), long-term Education Development Plan for all levels and the employment of more teachers through its Federal Teachers' Scheme amongst others. As the FCDA refocused on the development needs of the FCT in several areas, privatization became the primary focus from 2003 especially following the launch of a pilot scheme on the management of solid waste in Abuja. The programme was aimed at facilitating stakeholder and community-participation in order to ensure sustainability and as a way of significantly promoting privatization and inclusivity (FCTA, 2007).

Development of satellite towns:

Notably since the establishment of Abuja in 1976, and particularly since 1991 when the city administrators and other government offices were fully relocated to Abuja from Lagos, the city observed a huge invasion of people from all over Nigeria seeking better life and opportunities. As a result, the frequency of erection of new houses, infrastructures and substructures became much dawdling than the speed of urbanisation. Planners and the city developers, therefore, called for the expansion of more satellite towns to make available homes for in-coming migrants and thus, decongest the city centre through directing development to other parts of the city. As part of the effort marking the strides of the changing socio-political topography of Abuja, the decongestion program was expected to decentralise the city's population and economic activities to new areas. In response to that call by 2003, ten (10) satellite towns were opened by 2003 which include Bwari, Karshi, Kubwa, Dobi, Kusaki-Yanga, and Kuje. The then defunct STDA was therefore reinstated in order to fast-track development in both the area councils and satellite towns through the provision of infrastructure for the increasing rural dwellers. On the other hand, the Federal Capital Towns Development Agency (FCTDA) continued to focus on the development of the FCC in a bid to give Abuja a new character and direction (FCTA, 2007). The STDA was governed by the FCTA with mandate to undertake administrative/development responsibility outside the territory of the FCC. However, the FCTDA was not able to obtain direct financial aid from the National Assembly for the STDA primarily because the FCT Act only identifies the FCDA and not the STDA. In practice, the STDA therefore works under the Department of Urban and Regional Planning of the FCDA. It can be argued that these new towns and residential areas still remain under the development and management responsibility of the FCDA. This runs against the wish of FCTA because the local area councils lack the necessary ability and resources to effectively manage or sustain their growth (Adama, 2007).

An integrated stakeholder's involvement

Between 2003 and 2007, the FCDA ordered mass demolitions of businesses and homes in Abuja in a bid to mitigate the shortfalls with the implementation of the Master Plan, particularly in those parts of the city where local developers believed that land had been misallocated developed (see Figures 4a & b). The main eviction period was between 2005 and 2006 and affected approximately

800,000 people directly. This action was seen by the international community as a contravention of both national and international human rights (UN-Habitat, 2007). In particular it was argued that the FCDA did not effectively cross-check with the public, obtain court orders before ejections, nor did they arrange for satisfactory, official notice before evictions or provide compensation or relocation to those evicted. The evictions left residents destitute or living in congested households and thus susceptible to further human rights violations such as physical violence and rape (COHRE and SERAC, 2008: 39, Fowler, 2008). This reflected lack of the continued participation by the stakeholders in the implementation of government decisions thus raising serious social-justice concerns on the sustainable city goal/vision.

a)   b)

Figure 4a & b. Demolition at Mpape neighbourhood. Source: Vanguard Newspaper, September 25, 2012

In late 2005, after a public outcry, the government started a Revised Resettlement Policy (RRP) by initially revising the valuation rates under the 1979 compensation program. The government began the enumeration process of evicted victims and subsequently offered them right to use to plots of land within the resettlement locations (Federal Capital Development Authority, 2015). A new resettlement site was identified for relocating 49 villages which were slated for resettlement/relocation outside the city within 2006. In line with this new policy, a new mass-housing scheme was proposed for construction by the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) in partnership with Private Sector Operators (PSO), which required that 5% of the houses had to be allocated to the poor. Funding was to be provided by various entities such as the National Housing Fund, cooperatives and home loans, the Government Revolving Fund and the private sector (FHA, 2007).

Since 2008, a more encouraging approach to the condition of those facing forced removal in Abuja emerged and in order to achieve this, a team headed by UN-Habitat and comprised of NGOs, CBOs, and government departments collaborated towards the mitigation of the effects of forced evictions and demolition of homes owned by the urban poor within Abuja. In particular, amongst them are Nigerian organizations (such as Women Environmental Programme (WEP), Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP), The Greater Abuja Indigenous Assembly, Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC) and Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) and others. These organisation not only adopted a participatory plan for addressing the problems faced by the poor who were evacuated and affected by the demolitions, they were also able to raise international attention towards the ongoing forced evictions and rights violations (UN-Habitat, 2007a; 2007b and 2007c). They advocated for a halt to the evictions until the FCDA

could come up with an inclusive plan and reach a treaty with affected people on how to implement the master plan in a manner that would not violate human rights. The team recommended the FCDA embark on a social housing scheme called 'The Abuja at 30' of which, as at 2007, only 500 units were completed out of 1000 units planned for those affected by the evictions. The houses were sold eventually in the open market but they turned out to be unaffordable for the poor. Since 2003, little progress has been made after the massive demolition, as only a handful of those ejected have been able to gain entrée into the schemes out of the over 800,000 victims and even fewer have been able to afford to build new homes, as estimated by COHRE in 2008. In addition, no large-scale pro-poor housing schemes have been implemented by 2017.

Through the intervention of WEP activities over the years, CBO's and associations such as Okada commercial motorcycle riders, women associations, scavengers-Yan Bola, market women, farmers, displaced and evicted persons became affiliated under the Federation of Urban Poor (FEDUP) (a local network initiative) in order to effectively advocate for improved participation (between government and other stakeholders in the society on developmental issues within the territory) (WEP, 2007).

In 2007 to 2010 the FG was able to re-enforce the city development objectives as stipulated in the masterplan but this time using the rule of law with the determination to inject community spirit into the city through dialogue. This was the beginning of a more meaningful approach to participation of stakeholders in decision making in implementation of Abuja development programmes. It was the conviction of the FG that it is possible to construct for Nigeria, a capital that is people-centered not just in architecture but also in governance. Good as it may sound the FG still continued with forced evictions in 2008 by evicting residents of Gosa Sariki and Gosa Toge (COHRE, 2008). The FG particularly took significant steps to ensure that residents of

the territory enjoy good quality social amenities especially in the area of education, health and the environment through Public-Private-Partnership initiative thereby promoting participation.

In 2010, the FG again conceptualised a long-term plan to develop Abuja into one of the best 20 capital cities in the world by the year 2020 and the mission was to be responsible for useful infrastructure, services, and administration that would inspire the city's development (FCT Administration, 2013). In the light of this, several projects and programs were put in place to achieve this vision by first breaking the vicious circle of land racketeering which in turn allow for the advancement and relocation of land administration in the territory. In 2010, the FG equally recorded tremendous achievements through the PPP arrangement in diverse sector such as agricultural development and railway modernization (through construction of the first phase of the Abuja Light rail with a capacity of 700,000 passengers daily and the second phase of the Abuja Railway connecting the ever busy Nyanya-Mararaba axis) But this gigantic plan was never implemented due to change in government (FCTA, 2013).

In order to address, the tasks posed by speedy population growth, education, health, security and crime an initiative named "Land-Swap" and the Abuja Millennium City Project were programmes introduced in late 2012 to ease partnerships with private investors in the development of the city's housing and infrastructure through site and services schemes. The projects were to be controlled by a consortium under the incorporated name, Nigeria Centenary City Plc which was strictly a PPP initiative between FCTA and COHART Group. The project was strictly under FCTA's control and supervision. This initiative was intended to avoid a repeat of the difficulty of undeveloped plots in some districts in Phases II and III owing to the failure of the government and allottees to provide the necessary substructure (Jiriko et al., 2014). The purpose was to create a sustainable new

city that would be better than the present Abuja through combining and harmonising social, economic, cultural and environmental factors in conformity with international standards. The city was to be developed at no cost to the Federal Government. The FCDA was to be actively involved only in the monitoring of the programme to ensure it complied with the Abuja Master Plan and also see to the speedy delivery by 2019 because all terms relating to financing and technical capabilities (as required by the Federal Government) had to be met. Unfortunately, due to change in administration in 2015, the project was put on hold, and currently, communities have begun to encroach into lands that had been earmarked for the project.

Conclusion

The study revealed that several initiatives employed in implementation of Abuja city vision between 1974 and 1989 excluded the participation of major stakeholders as the vision for the city was conceived and implemented by mostly military administrators. Successive governments usually abandon the programmes of their predecessors leading to distortions of the master plan and further exclusion of stakeholders' participation. However, from 1990, there was increased involvement of stakeholders in decision making and implementation of programmes. The general exclusion of stakeholders led to untold hardship to the indigenes and most residents of the city especially the poor and low income earners arising from demolitions, social stratification, injustice, crime and negative environmental impact. It is therefore recommended that for there to be a leap in the development of Abuja, there is need for all-inclusive programmes and decisions that require stakeholders' participation.

Based on this review, the exploratory process of this paper has helped to see if the participatory process reflects the significance of citizen's inclusion in decision-making, quality consultation and effective communication for a sustainable future for Abuja city.

References

Adama, O. (2012). State, Space and Power in Postcolonial Africa: Capital Relocation as a State Building Project in Nigeria. *Hemispheres 21.*

Adama, O. (2007). Governing from above: Solid waste management in Nigeria's new capital city of Abuja (Doctoral dissertation, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis).

COHRE-SERAC. (2008). In D. Fowler (Ed.), the myth of the Abuja master plan: Forced evictions as urban planning in Abuja, Nigeria (pp. 124). Geneva-Lagos: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) - Social and Economic Rights Action Center (SERAC).

Daily Trust Newspaper (2010a) By Ibrahim Muhammed, published date: March 12, 2010, (retrieved 10:16 pm Tuesday, July 4, 2017)

Daily Trust (2010b). The plight of the less-privileged in Abuja's development .<http://dailytrust.dailytrust.com/ September 01 (Retrieved 04.09.18).

Eneh, O. C. (2011). Failed Development Vision, Political Leadership and Nigeria's Underdevelopment: A critique. *Asian Journal of Rural Development,* 1, 63–69.

Erhagbe, E. O. (2012). Actualizing Nigeria's Vision 20: 2020 Goals: Imperativeness of Arts and Social Science Education. *African Research Revelat*ion. 6, 93–109.

Federal Capital Territory (FCT) (2002). 3 years of Democracy by MFCT Correspondents, Federal Government of Nigeria, 36-54. (Accessed from FCDA, Abuja archives 2016)

Federal Capital Territory Administration (2007a): Brief on the Activities of the Administration from 2003-2007, May 2007[retrieved May 23, 2016](Accessed from FCDA Abuja archive 2016)

Federal Capital Territory Administration, (2007b). The Federal Capital Territory Development Control Manual, The Federal Capital Territory Administration (FCTA), Abuja-

Nigeria (Accessed from FCDA, Abuja archive 2016)

Federal Capital Development Authority (1986). Abuja Capital Territory: Development Control Standards and Regulations (Abuja, Development Control Division, Federal Capital Development Authority) (Accessed from FCDA, Abuja archives 2016)

Federal Government of Nigeria (1990). Federal Capital Territory Act. Common LII. URL http://www.commonlii.org/ng/ (accessed 8.11.14).

Federal Capital Development Authority (2015). The New Federal Capital-How it all Started. URL:http://www.fcda.gov.ng/ (accessed 6.5.15).

Fowler, D., (2008). Urban Planning Hypocrisy in the 'City of Unity'– Forced Evictions in Abuja, Nigeria. TRIALOG 98, *Journal for Planning and Building in the Third World*, 3, 10-16.

Fowler, D., Huchzermeyer, M. & Idahosa, J. (2008). The Myth of the Abuja Master Plan: Forced Evictions as Urban Planning in Abuja, Nigeria. The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Geneva, Switzerland). Home, RK (1983). Town planning, segregation and indirect rule in colonial Nigeria. *Third World Planning Revie*w, 5(2), 165

Freire, M. (2007). Sustainable Cities; the Role of Local Governance in Managing Change. In: Symposium on a Global Look at Urban and Regional Governance: The State-Market-Civic Nexus, Emory University. 1–12.

Fukuyama, F. (2013). What Is Governance? *International Journal of Policy Administration Institution*, 26, 347–368.

Gbadegesin, A. & Ayileka, O. (2000). Avoiding the mistakes of the past: towards a community oriented management strategy for the proposed National Park in Abuja-Nigeria. *Land Use Policy*, 17(2), 89-100.

Holden, E., Linnerud, K. & Banister, D. (2017). *The Imperatives of Sustainable Development Sustainable Development,* John Wiley and Sons, Ltd and ERP Environment, UK, 25, 213–226

Ikejiofor, U. (1998). Access to land, development control and low-income housing in Abuja, Nigeria: Policy, Politics and Bureaucracy. *Planning Practice and Research,* 13(3), 299-309.

International Planning Associates (IPA)(1979).The Master Plan for Abuja the New Federal Capital of Nigeria, Federal Capital Development Authority, Federal Republic of Nigeria, (15 Feb. 1979), p. 171.

Federal Capital Development Authority (2015). International Planning Association (IPA) (1979). The Master Plan for Abuja the New Federal Capital of Nigeria. Abuja: FCDA.

Jibril, U. (2006). Resettlement Issues, Squatter Settlements and Problems of Land Administration in Nigeria's Federal Capital, Abuja, in: The Proceedings of the 5th FIG Regional Conference, Accra, Ghana.

Jiriko, G. K., DungGwom, J. Y. & Wapwera, S. D. (2014). The Evolution of Abuja as A 'Smart City' a Prognosis. https://www.researchgate.net

Kalgo, M. S. U. & Ayileka, O. (2001). The Review of Abuja Master Plan, in: Proceeding of the International Workshop for the Review of Abuja Master Plan.

Kelly, J. F. (2010). *Cities: Who Decides?* Melbourne: Grattan Institute.

Kemp, R., Parto, S. & Gibson, R. B. (2005). Governance for sustainable development: moving from theory to practice. *International Journal of Sustainable Development.* 8, 12–30.

Klopp, J. M. & Petretta, D. L. (2017). The Urban Sustainable Development Goal: Indicators, Complexity and the Politics of Measuring Cities, *Cities*, 63, 92–97

Kwasi G. B. A. (2017). Urban Development and Governance in Nigeria: Challenges, Opportunities and Policy

Direction, *International Development Planning Review*, 40(1), 27-49

Latessa, A. (2014). *Invisible Visibility: The Abuja Housing Deficit as a Mirage, Reading the Architecture of the Underprivileged Classes* edited by Nnamdi Elleh. Aldershot: Ashgate publishing company, 1- 277.

Mabogunje, A. L. (2001a). *Abuja: The Promise, the Performance and the Prospects." The Review of the Abuja Master Plan*, Ibadan: Fountain Publications.

Mabogunje, A. L. (2001b). *Abuja: The dream, conception and the Product' in Ministry of Federal Capital Territory, the review of Abuja Master Plan.*

Nigeria Tribune (1975)*.* Aguda's commission report, 31 October, cover page (Accessed from FCDA, Abuja archives 2016)

Nzekwe, F. I., Izueke, E. M. & Okeke, R. C. (2014). Women Participation in Governance: Panacea for Corruption in Nigeria? Scottish *Journal of Arts, Social Sciences and Scientific Studies*, 21(4), 83-90

Obo, U. B. & Adejumo, T. O. (2014). Uruguay's Jose Mujica and Nigerian Rulers: Selfless and Exemplary Leadership versus Prebendal and Ruinous Rulership. *Review of History and Political Science,* 2(1), 141-157.

Ogbeidi, M. M. (2012). Political leadership and corruption in Nigeria since 1960: A socio-economic analysis. *Journal of Nigeria Studies*, 1 (2), 1-25, Fall 2012

Okeke, E. (2010). *The Challenges of Governance in Nigeria: Broad Perspectives and Implications for the Engineering Practice*, in: Engineering Is Development. Conference organized by the Association of Consulting Engineers of Nigeria (ACEN).

Okoro, M. (2014). *Assessing the Environmental Health Hazards and Housing Development in the Slums of Abuja, FCT*. Retrieved June 4, 2015, from http://content.grin.com/

Omilusi, M. O. (2013). Interrogating Nigeria's Governance Failure through the Prism of Insecurity. *Global Journal of Human Social Science and Political Science*. 13(7), 1-10.

Robertson, M. (2014). *Sustainability Principles and Practice*. London: Routledge.

Salat, S. (2016). *Unpublished Paper Prepared for the First Meeting of the Global Platform for Sustainable Cities, Paris*: Urban Morphology Institute, Integrated sustainable urban planning: a preliminary approach

Swilling, M. & Hajer, M. (2017). *Governance of Urban Transitions: Towards Sustainable Resource Efficient Urban Infrastructures*, Environmental Research Letters, IOP Publishing Ltd, 12(12).

The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) and Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC) (2008). *The Myth of the Abuja Master Plan Nigeria*, May 2008, p.52

The Modibbo Administration (2008): One year of Progressive initiatives. Yaliam press Ltd. 2008

Vanguard online (2015). Bala Mohammed FCT legacies on April 19, 2015. 12:05 am By Rogers Edor Ochela (retrieved July 13th, 2016)

People Daily online news, Published and Retrieved -Wednesday 5th July 2017 by Musa Wada, a Public Affairs Analyst writes in from Abuja.

Tobin, T. (2017). Nationalism Can't Be Built: The Story of Abuja's Creation, Honors Thesis Submitted to the Department of History, 1-117, Georgetown University, Uk.

Ukoje, J.E & Kanu, K.U. (2014). Implementation and the challenges of the mass housing schemes in Abuja, Nigeria. *American International Journal of contemporary research* 4 (4), 209–218.

UN-Habitat (2007a). *Forced evictions–Towards solutions?* Second report of the advisory group on forced evictions to the Executive Director of UN-Habitat.

UN-Habitat (2007b). *Nigeria*: UN-Habitat Country Programme Document.

UN-Habitat (2007c). *A Guide for Municipalities : Sustainable Urban Development Planning*. Nairobi, Kenya: UN-Habitat. Retrieved April 2, 2016, from http://unhabitat.org/

Vanguard Newspaper, Demolition at Mpape neighbourhood, September 25, (2012a&b) (Accessed from FCDA, Abuja archives 2016)

Vanguard Newspaper (2013). Why Abuja demolition must go on–FCT Deputy Director of Development Control. http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/ March 02/ (Accessed 10.13.18).

van Zeijl-Rozema, A., Cörvers, R., Kemp, R. & Martens, P. (2008). Governance for sustainable development: a framework. *Sustainable Development*. 16, 410–421.

Women Empowerment Programme (WEP) (2007), World Habitat Day, A Safe City is a Just City, Report on WHD Celebration. www.hic-gs.org/

World Commission on Environment & Development (WCED) (1987). *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 60-65.