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Rapid Urbanization and Urban Housing Policy Implementation in Enugu Metropolis: Issues, Challenges and Prospects for Sustainable Development

Joy Ngozi Eleje Department of Political Science Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities Enugu State University of Science and Technology (ESUT), Enugu joy.eleje@esut.edu.ng

Abstract

Urban growth in relation to urban housing development has become the aspiration of nations thus making it a global development paradigm currently sweeping through developing countries like a wild fire. In the circumstance of the magnitude and speed of rural-urban migration many state governments in Nigeria are seemingly overwhelmed and unable to cope with such challenges. Thus the confronting reality is that basic infrastructure and social services are seldom provided as urban growth proceeds lopsidedly haphazardly with severe threats to the well-being of the people and state as a whole. In this context, Enugu metropolis been one of the emerging urban areas in Nigeria is currently confronted with the challenges of urban growth and development with housing provision of particular concern. This study was motivated by the current inadequacy in urban policy implementation in relation to housing in Enugu; it is a qualitative study based on extensive literature review. The paper identified salient features of the urbanization process in Enugu, Nigeria and the challenges they pose to adequate housing. These include rapid population growth and changing demographic structure; poverty and unemployment; difficulties in accessing housing delivery inputs; and lack of adequate capacity on the part of government. The study examined the implications of these challenges in housing provisioning especially for poor households and concluded that proper housing policy in developing cities if properly implemented and managed would bring about economic and social development.

Keywords: Enugu, implementation, sustainable development, urbanization, urban housing policy

Introduction

Urban growth or urbanization has a long history as since the early 1800s, movements of people especially from the rural to more urban areas have been recorded (Muggah, 2012). O'Neill, Ren, Jiang and Dalton (2012) noted that "population of people residing in urban areas increased from 13% in 1900 to 49% in 2005. Numerically, this represented a move from 220 million people in 1900 to 3.2 billion people in 2005. By 2011, there were already 480 cities with populations in excess of one million as against 80 of such cities in 1950". Currently, more than half of the world's population lives in cities (Griffith 2009; O'Neill et al 2012). More than three billion people currently reside in urban centers and this figure is expected to rise to five billion by 2050. Perhaps most striking is the fact that most of the population growth in the coming decades will occur in low- and middle-income countries (Muggah 2012). Though Africa is reportedly a late starter in the urbanization race (UN-Habitat 2004); it is urbanizing at such an alarming rate that predictions suggest Africa will enter the urban age around 2030 when half of Africans will live in urban areas (Celik, Zyman, & Mahdi, 2009; UN-Habitat, 2004). Nigeria



is notably the most populous African country and predicted to drive this population growth (United Nations, 2012). At current growth rate, Lagos was said to be the third largest city in the world with a population of over 24m by 2020 (Dung-Gwom, Hirse & Pwat, 2008).

Trivedi, Sareen and Dhyani (2008) assert that, "Urbanization is driving the economies of most of the nations of the world especially developed nations", and living in cities offers individuals and families a variety of opportunities (O'Neill et al, 2012). O'Neill further adds that, "It brings with it possibilities of improved access to housing, transportation, road networks, health facilities, education, jobs, goods and services for poor people in developing countries and beyond as globalization connects cities world-wide" (O'Neill et al, 2012). Urban areas as hubs for civilizations and culture and with their unquestionable potential are expected to offer employment, shelter, stability, prosperity, security, social inclusion and more equitable access to services. All these, according to Celik et al (2009) would make lives safer, healthier, sustainable and more convenient. Regrettably, urbanization in developing countries has followed a different trajectory from the above premise, leaving many overwhelmed urban residents and their governments in frustration, despair and confusion (Lwasa, 2009). The physical manifestations of rapid urbanization in many developing countries like Nigeria are often chaotic and reflective of the profound and far-reaching demographic, social and economic transformations occurring in these countries. Unfortunately, the opportunities of urbanization are jeopardized akin to policy inconsistency, lack of adequate resources or rather misuse of available resources, resulting in deficient basic infrastructure, inefficient services and wellconceived planning cum implementation (Celik et al, 2009). Urbanization process in Africa has consequently been described as "pseudo-urbanization" (Lwasa, 2009).

With reference to Enugu metropolis the rapidity of urban growth and the corresponding housing deficit gives cause for concern. The governments over the years have neglected the poor in housing policy in the state to the extent that even as housing estates are developed in various parts of the metropolis they remain unaffordable to the low income households. The consequence has been the rise in squatter or slum settlements in the city. It is in the light of the above that this study examines urbanization phenomenon in the light of issues in urban housing policy implementation; challenges and prospects for sustainable development in Enugu State, Nigeria.

Objective of the Study

The main goal of this study was to investigate the issue of rapid urbanization and urban housing policy implementation in Enugu metropolis; challenges and prospects for sustainable development. To realize the above goal, the study is aimed at the following specific objectives:

- 1) To explore urbanization, its causal and functional elements;
- 2) To identify salient issues in urban housing policy implementation in Enugu metropolis;
- 3) To interrogate the challenges of urbanization in relation to housing policy and measures towards attainment of sustainable development.



Comments arising from theories and empirical studies relating to the effect of urbanization on sustainable economic development polarize into two: The Optimists and Pessimists schools. The optimists (Boserup, 1981; Hoover, 1948) suggest that urbanization leads to greater productivity either by inducing innovation, producing innovation, or through creating greater economies of scale, specialization or agglomeration. The pessimists posit that urbanization could impact negatively on economic performance if it is excessive or haphazard. This is because urban growth means high aggregation of people. With a larger population, each worker will have less productive factors (especially capital) both accumulated and non-accumulated to work with. As a result, even if output grows in the aggregate, per capita output will tend to be smaller. This pessimist view is based on the Malthusian tradition, though with substantial modification and improvements. Pessimists therefore suggest that rapid urbanization can only be beneficial, if accompanied by massive capital formation or other major stimuli which will be sufficient to off-set the low level equilibrium trap which may be created through rapid population increases (Henderson, 1999; MacManara, 1984). Therefore, effective housing policy implementation is among the critical stimuli that drive urbanization and thus very imperative in the enhancement of sustainable development

Urbanization: A Conceptual Insight, its causal and functional elements

Urbanization is a global phenomenon that has transformed and continues to alter landscapes and the ways in which societies function and develop (Griffith, 2009). Cities offer the lure of better employment, education, healthcare, and culture; and they contribute disproportionately to national economies (Trivedi, Sareen & Dhyani, 2008). Urbanization is one of the major demographic and economic phenomena in developing countries, with important consequences for economic development, energy use, and well-being (O'Neill et al, 2012). According to Potts (2012), definitions of "urban" vary from country to country. Basically, urbanization is the shift from a rural to an urban society, and involves an increase in the number of people in urban areas during a particular period (Trivedi et al, 2008; O'Neill et al, 2012). The United Nations Habitat (2006) described it as the increased concentration of people in cities rather than in rural areas. Urbanization is the outcome of social, economic and political developments that lead to urban concentration and growth of large cities, changes in land use and transformation from rural to metropolitan pattern of organization and governance. Urbanization also finds expression principally in outward expansion of the built-up area and conversion of prime agricultural lands into residential and industrial uses. This process usually occurs when a nation is still developing (O'Neill et al, 2012).

According to Gould (1995), London was the major city of the world in the nineteenth century, being the first to reach the population of one million, a feat not attained by Paris until the midnineteenth century, New York until 1871, Berlin until 1880 and Vienna until 1885. Outside Europe the largest cities were Tokyo and Beijing. Today, the distribution of the world's largest cities is markedly different being dominated by cities in developing countries. United Nations (2012) revealed that, "by 2011 only three cities from the developed countries, namely Tokyo



(37.2 million), New York (20.4 million) and Los Angeles (13.4 million) were among the world's top twenty cities. Lagos (11.2 million), Nigeria was ranked 19th".

Literature suggests three features which distinguish the current trend of global urbanization. Firstly, it is taking place mainly in developing countries; secondly it is occurring rapidly and thirdly the severance of its occurrence and impact appear unevenly distributed across the globe, as Cohen (2006) observed. Between 2011 and 2030, it is projected that the urban population of Ukraine will decline by 2 million and that of Bulgaria by 0.2 million (United Nations, 2012). Similarly, between 2030 and 2050, more countries like Japan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Korea and Ukraine will experience varying degrees of reductions in their urban populations. Thus while many developed countries are either growing very slowly or are on the decline, populations of developing countries are growing rapidly (The International Federation of Surveyors (FIG) 2010). The world urban population is expected to increase by 72 per cent by 2050, from 3.6 billion in 2011 to 6.3 billion in 2050. Virtually all of the expected growth in the world population will be concentrated in cities of developing countries whose population is projected to increase from 2.7 billion in 2011 to 5.1 billion in 2050 (United Nations, 2012). Lagos, Nigeria, for example was projected to have a population of 18.9 million which will place it as the 11th most populous city. This implies that most of the expected urban growth will actually take place in developing countries. Unfortunately, these are the countries that are ill-equipped to handle such enormous surge in population especially as it concerns housing provision and other infrastructures. Consequently, majority of the population increase will be accommodated via informal strategies.

Amongst continents and even within a country or a city, urban growth is not uniform. Although the world has attained the 50% urbanization in 2007, Asia was projected to achieve that feat by 2020, while Africa is likely to reach the 50 per cent urbanization rate benchmark in 2035 (United Nations, 2012). According to the 2011 Revision of the World Urbanization Prospects the urban areas of the world are expected to gain 1.4 billion people between 2011 and 2030, 37 per cent of which will come from China (276 million) and India (218 million). The report predicted that between 2030 and 2050 another 1.3 billion people will be added to the global urban population. With a total addition of 121 million people, Nigeria will be the second major contributor next to India (270 million). Together, these two countries are expected to account for 31 per cent of urban growth during 2030-2050 (United Nations, 2012). Such rapid growth of the population in the more developed regions implies that the gap in the number of urban dwellers between the two will continue to increase (The International Federation of Surveyors (FIG), 2010).

Several factors are responsible for urbanization. These include population dynamics, economic growth, legislative designation of new urban centers and increases in densities of rural trading centers. Early urbanization was attributed to the push and pull factors of rural-urban migration. Early migrants, usually males, went to the city in search of job and better life. Even in modern times, the lure of the city and the opportunities it should offer continue to be a major driving force of urbanization in many countries, (Cohen, 2006; Thomas, 2008; O'Neill et al, 2012). In



Africa, most people move into the urban areas because they are 'pushed' out by factors such as poverty, environmental degradation, religious strife, political persecution, food insecurity and lack of basic infrastructure and services in the rural areas or because they are 'pulled' into the urban areas by the advantages and opportunities of the city including education, electricity and water.

Over the years, it has been argued that urban growth is attributable to natural growth, (Cohen, 2006; Thomas, 2008 and Watson, 1993). Also Watson identifies demographic trends especially declining mortality rates in most developing countries which have not been matched by a corresponding decline in fertility. According to Thomas (2008), research indicates that natural increase can be responsible for about 60% of urban population growth in some developing countries. While acknowledging that urban populations are still growing in sub-Saharan Africa, in many cases rapidly, Potts (2012) concurs that, "such growth is largely attributable to natural increase as births exceed deaths in towns, especially among the poorest sections of the population". The large-scale rural-urban migration required to generate sustained increases in urbanization levels has evaporated since the 1980s.

On the contrary, Cohen (2006) argues that "because rates of natural increase are generally slightly lower in urban than in rural areas, the principal reasons for rising levels of urbanization are rural-urban migration, the geographic expansion of urban areas through annexations, and the transformation and reclassification of rural villages into small urban settlements". Natural increase is fuelled by improved medical care, better sanitation and improved food supplies, which reduce death rates and cause populations to grow. Data from various countries however strongly suggest that current urban population increase may after all be due to natural increase (United Nations, 2009). The United Nations report asserts that many countries embarked on policies aimed at modifying the spatial distribution of their population by reducing migrant flows to large cities. Consequently, by 1976, 44% of developing countries reported implementation of such policies and by 2011, 72% of developing countries had put in place measures aimed at curbing rural-urban migration (United Nations, 2009). A third reason for urban growth is the reclassification of rural areas as urban or a change in the criteria for "urban" or annexation (Cohen, 2006). Over time, some rural areas accumulate sufficient population to qualify them to be classified as urban. In recent times the proportion of migrants to towns and cities who leave again - a phenomenon known as circular migration - has increased significantly (Potts, 2012). Confronted by economic insecurity and other hardships worse than where they came from, Potts (2012) note that people behave as rationally in Africa as anywhere else. Rationality may therefore dictate relocation back to the rural area or even another urban area.

Urbanization in Nigeria: Issues in Urban Housing Policy Implementation in Enugu Metropolis

Available data on urbanization in Nigeria is largely conflicting (Gould 1995; Adepoju 1995; Oucho 1998). Abiodun (1997) opines that such data constrains effective discourse. UN-Habitat and the World Bank are the most frequently cited sources of urban population statistics. However, their data are sometimes misleading and appear exaggerated as opined by Potts



(2012). In Nigeria, virtually every census since 1952 has been highly contested (Potts, 2012). This is perhaps due to both political and economic reasons. Economically, federal statutory allocation to states is influenced by their population. Thus states with reportedly low populations are disadvantaged in resource allocation from the federal level. Politically, in the democratic setting politics is a game of numbers and political parties controlling large population can be at an advantage. Population is also one of the indices upon which parliamentary representation is based. Despite the controversies, available data give sufficient indications of Nigeria's urban status.

However, it was not until the period between 1970 and 1995 that Nigeria witnessed an unprecedented high level of urbanization reputedly the fastest urbanization growth rate in the world at the time (United States Library of Congress, 2013). By 1991, Nigeria was reportedly 37% urbanized. The rapid growth rate of urban population in Nigeria was spurred by the oil boom prosperity of the 1970s and resultant massive development projects in the country which catalyzed a great influx of people into urban areas.

Aniah (2001) summarized factors responsible for high urbanization in Nigeria as follows:

- 1. The oil boom of the 1970s and early 1980s;
- 2. Government policies which resulted in the creation of new states and local government areas;
- 3. Creation of a new federal capital territory in Abuja;
- 4. Establishment of new universities; and
- 5. Large scale government sponsored construction projects including sea ports, refineries and steel companies.

In 1990 there were twenty-one state capitals in Nigeria, with estimated populations of at least 100,000 inhabitants each which were projected to double every fifteen years (U.S. Library of Congress, 2013). According to Agbola and Agunbiade (2009) "43.5% of the Nigeria people lived in urban areas as at 2000 with predictions that the urban population will hit the 50% mark by the year 2010 and 65% by 2020, given an annual urban population growth of 5.5%".

Like what obtains in other developing countries, rapid urban growth in Nigeria has outpaced capacity of government to plan for it. Often, growth occurs so quickly that government officials do not have relevant statistics needed for sustainable development. Another constraint has been dwindling national resources which have further been depleted by massive and uncontrolled corruption. Consequently, development is meager, insufficient and not associated with the commensurate economic growth and effective redistributive measures required to alleviate poverty and create economic opportunities needed to improve living standards and quality of life of the people (Oyesiku, 2002; UN-Habitat, 2004).

A crucial aspect of this is that city growth and expansion in Nigeria has been largely uncontrolled (Egunjobi 2002; Oyesiku 2002 and Olanrewaju 2004) thus compounding problems in Nigerian. These problems include inadequate and poor housing; slum areas; inadequate water supply; waste disposal; traffic and human congestion; high rates of unemployment and underdevelopment; poverty; crime and other social problems (Rotimi,



2003; Dung-Gwom et al, 2008). Although studies have shown that the problem of housing is universal (Aina, 1990; Lawanson, 2005 and Olotuah & Bobadoye, 2009) opine that it is more critical in developing countries like Nigeria because of its magnitude and lack of resources to tackle it. About 60-70% of Nigerian urban dwellers live in slums or squatter settlements (Dung-Gwom et al, 2004).

Enugu urban originated from the discovery of coal in 1909 in Enugu Ngwo, a village situated at the top of Udi Plateux. With the commencement of the mining of the coal resources in 1915, settlers began to settle on the foot of the hills and on the wide plains that currently constitute the centre of Enugu urban (Iyi, 2007). It was classified a second class Township in 1917 by the Township Ordinance No. 19 of 1917 (Nigerian Institute of Town Planners, 2011). As a town, Enugu has a checkered history. It started from when it took over from Calabar as the headquarters of Eastern Nigeria, capital of the defunct Republic of Biafra, capital of East central State, Capital of Old Anambra State, and Capital of Old Enugu State, up to 26th August, 1996, when it became and is currently the capital of the new Enugu State (Iyi, 2007). Over the years, the political seat of power in Enugu urban took precedence over industrial development with the exception of the rail maintenance yards and coal mining. Older residential sections included Ogbete, Ogui, Asata, Uwani and G.R.A. (Government Residential Area) established by virtue of colonial housing policy. These areas, apart from housing included small business establishments.

As can be seen, Enugu urban began as a coal mining town. After sometime, mining activities declined but being an administrative centre, it gained importance over the years. Residential districts sprang-up to absorb the rapid growth in population. The earlier districts developed by government comprise Riverside, Independence Layout, New Haven Layout, Ekulu Layout, Abakpa-Nike, Aria River Layout, Ogui Nike Layout, Uwani Southern and Northern extensions, Republic layout, Maryland layout, Achara layout, New Era layout, Idaw River Extension and others. It must be noted that as at this period there was no clear cut housing policy in Enugu. But the government at every point in time developed housing programmes that were intended at urban expansion to accommodate rising urban population.

Interrogating the Challenges of Urbanization in Relation to Housing Policy

The urbanization trend in a city of the developing world like Enugu poses serious challenges for housing development. Housing is of significance because of its role in the socio-economic and political life of not only the individual but society at large. Some of these challenges are highlighted below:

- a) Housing Deficit in Enugu Metropolis
- b) Rapid population growth and changing demographic structure;
- c) Growth of slums and informal (squatter) settlements;
- d) Difficulties in accessing housing delivery input (land, finance, building materials and labour);



These challenges have serious implications on the quality and quantity of housing demand in Enugu some of which are discussed below:

Housing Deficit in Enugu Metropolis

As the pace of urbanization and urban growth proceeds almost unabated in Enugu the Coal City State, the State government's capacity to manage the consequences of undesirable urban trends decreased due to inadequate funding and institutional capacities (Cohen, 2006; Dung-Gwom et al, 2008). This is evident in poor services delivery, lack of adequate and affordable housing, proliferation of slums and squatter settlements, chaotic traffic conditions, poverty, social polarization, crime, violence, unemployment and dwindling job opportunities (Celik et al, 2009). The social, economic and environmental effects of these failures fall heavily on the poor, who are excluded from the benefits of urban prosperity. Construction of houses has not kept pace with urban rapidly expanding populations leading to severe overcrowding and congestion in slums. In some areas of Enugu metropolis, the cost of living has forced residents to live in low quality slums and shanty houses (O'Neill et al, 2012). Slums are areas of concentrated disadvantage. Life in slums is characterized by serious problems of environmental pollution, lack of access to the basic social services, poverty, deprivation, and general human insecurity and life-threatening risks and diseases (Dung-Gwom & Oladosu, 2004; UN-Habitat, 2006; Daramola & Ibem, 2010). Growth of slums has been attributed to public negligence and unabated population increase (Nwanna, 2012).

The few houses available are expensive and unaffordable especially by poor households who are constrained to resort to informal housing procurement processes. Inability to afford better housing also force majority of residents to live in one room units (public yards popularly called face me, I face you). A 1990 Nigerian Government Urban Survey showed that 70% of the households in Enugu metropolis lived in one-room housing units (Oucho, 1998). By 2007, the figure had marginally risen to 72.3%, (National Bureau of Statistics, (NBS) 2009). Percentage of households residing in one room however reduced to 68.1% the following year. This form of housing is depleting fast due to its unattractiveness to landlords in terms of economic gains and management challenges. In the past, laws have been made to control arbitrary increase in house rents but such laws have been ineffective serving rather to reduce investment in building maintenance, construction of new housing. As deterioration of non-viable buildings continue, they fall into the hands of developers or higher income people who redevelop them to suit the tastes of higher income tenants. This process of property filtering known as gentrification has been reported in a good number of urban centres by Nwanna (2012).

Rapid Population Growth and Changing Demographic Structure

A closer look at the demographic data of Enugu reveals the following: a fast growing population; a predominantly young population; smaller household size; and preference for individualism. The combined implication of the above is the demand for more housing units to cater for the shelter needs of the resulting households. In doing this the current trend of smaller household size needs to be taken into consideration. However, it should also be noted that a



household made up of predominantly young people will grow. Such young households are composed of young persons who are leaving parental homes to start off life on their own. The accommodation needs of such persons, especially when fund is scarce will normally be basic and compact. However with time they get settled and venture into marriage and child bearing. As their household size increase over the household lifecycle, more household space becomes needful. Thus while housing units may be initially small, changes over the household lifecycle demand for flexibility. Flexibility provides a household room to adjust as family circumstances and needs change over time. Inability to achieve this subjects a growing household to housing stress which can trigger mental and psychological disorders. On the alternative a household may be compelled to adjust to such stress by relocation to a more appropriate accommodation.

Growth of Slums and Informal (squatter) Settlements

A major feature of the Enugu urban landscape is the proliferation and persistence of slums and informal (squatter) settlements. These have evolved in response to government inability to provide adequate housing for the teeming population. These slums and informal settlements provide accommodation for majority of the people and are usually the first point of call for new migrants. However, they are urban manifestations of government neglect and lack of planning. They evolve haphazardly on precarious locations prone to flooding, rising damp, building collapse, fire outbreak and epidemics (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009).

Proactive moves by government will curb the emergence of informal settlements. Such intervention will anticipate the directions of city growth and thereafter move in to plan the layout and provide basic infrastructure prior to people moving in. this way the chaos that is usually evident in informal settlements will be minimized. In addition, while government needs not get involved in direct construction of houses, it should provide the guidelines for development and ensure compliance of the people through effective monitoring. Most of the houses in informal settlements are characterized by lack of planning of the house types depicting horizontal densification. Due to low floor area ratios in the emerging house types the capacity of the government authorities to efficiently and effectively supply needed services is further constrained.

Difficulties in Accessing Housing Delivery Inputs

As a result of the high cost of renting accommodation and the idiosyncrasies of shylock landlords, the average urban resident in Nigeria prefers to own his residence. This preference is observed to be very strong among Enugu residents. Mabogunje (1968) has observed several other benefits of homeownership which include: creation of greater stability in the community, reduction of the tendency to vandalism and violent protests, enhancement of patriotic ardour and love for one's home and community as well as facilitating the process of civic engagement with the affairs of the community and local government. Nonetheless, Osho (2010) found that, "about 60% of urban residents are tenants and have to pay rent as high as 50-70% of their monthly incomes. Thus access to decent housing whether on rental or owner-occupier basis has however remained a fleeting dream for many urban residents". This is mainly attributable



to the difficulties encountered in accessing vital housing inputs like land, finance, building materials and labour.

Owing to rapid urbanization, access to land for housing development has become an almost insurmountable challenge. Land prices have been rising extraordinarily in the urban areas since the 1970s' occasioned by the oil boom then and high rates of demand due to explosive urbanization. In recent years, the price of land has risen exponentially, making it unaffordable to many low and middle-income earners. Land is a major component in housing provision and delivery. Without land, houses cannot be built. Due to high cost of land, the urban poor are pushed to inaccessible locations for land, areas prone to disasters (steep slopes, rocky areas, too close to river channels, etc), and engage in minute subdivision of land and building below minimum standards.

The problem of affordable housing in Nigeria is further exacerbated by the constraints imposed by the Land Use Act, a moribund and repressive Act that hinders mortgage financing and creates enormous obstacles to private sector involvement in the housing industry and which has constrained the transfer of titles and made mortgage finance extremely difficult. As a result of the Land Use Act, obtaining a Certificate of Occupancy (popularly known as C of O) has become a big time avenue for large scale corruption. Other constraints with land administration identified by Banire (2009) include; "regulatory and planning controls for building and construction that constrain the efficient utilization of the land, as well as high inflation rates in the Nigerian economy". Similarly, instances of fraudulent land transactions abound, whereby a piece of land is sold to multiple unsuspecting buyers by unscrupulous land owners is becoming increasingly rampant as reported by Nwanna (2012).

Conclusions

Urbanization is an inevitable process, which unfortunately was not adequately planned for in the case of Enugu. The challenges posed by rapid urbanization in a city like Enugu are many but not insurmountable. The extent of the housing shortage in Enugu is enormous. The inadequacies are far-reaching and the deficit is both quantitative and qualitative. Tackling such challenges will require good knowledge of the characteristics of the people accessing the city as well as accurate projections of future urban growth and associated housing needs. While housing should not be treated in isolation, sustained effort including adequate budgetary allocations and strengthening of relevant agencies are required to address the protracted housing and other infrastructure challenges as precondition for sustainable development.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are apt for effective urbanization and housing development in Enugu metropolis;

1. Urgent multi-faceted intervention is needed to address the housing deficit in Enugu metropolis by adopting a pro-poor housing development strategy through public-private partnership.



- 2. Urban development policies should be targeted at integrating commercial and industrial activities in urban areas with rural production and consumption. These policies must be practicable and ingenuous.
- 3. There is need to make conscious efforts to slowly but firmly adapt to vertical city expansion as this will help free some land for other uses and ease communication difficulties.
- 4. Efforts must be made to ensure a high level of output growth in order to generate the necessary resources to meet the needs of rapid urbanization otherwise urbanization will continue to constitute its own developmental challenge.

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