

The Evolution and Nature of Urban Planning in Nigeria

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9.1 Introduction

Historically, Nigeria had some rudimentary elements of city and town planning that was part of local indigenous administration in Nigeria long before the colonial administration (Olufemi et al., 2015). Examples of this are found in many indigenous cities, in the form of a deliberate spatial arrangement of land use around the palaces, such as found in the Sokoto Caliphate and much of the Oyo Empire. However, 1904–1946 heralded the emergence and introduction of modern city-oriented planning laws, frameworks and ideologies. Since independence, there have been many planning interventions, ranging from the macro level – the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners (NITP), the Town Planners Registration Council (TOPREC), the Association of Town Planning Consultants of Nigeria (ATOPCON), the Master Plan of the Federal Capital Territory, the Regional Development Plan, an increase in the number of planning schools in the country, and the enactment of the Urban and Regional Planning (URP) Law – to the micro level – domestication of URP laws in different states, urban renewal programmes and master planning of states and institutions (NITP, 2012 cited in Olufemi et al., 2015). The most important of these achievements will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

The evolution of the urban planning profession in Nigeria, according to Agbola (2005) is anchored in the goal of the National Urban Development Policy (NUDP), which ‘is to develop a dynamic system of urban settlements, which will foster sustainable economic growth, promote efficient urban and regional development, and ensure improved standard of living and wellbeing of all Nigerians’ (FRN, 2002 cited in Fajemirokun, 2010).

However, this has not been realised. Many Nigerian cities, which are a combination of local government areas, have failed to achieve orderly management and coordination of land uses. The growth of Nigerian cities has taken place without proper planning and remains uncoordinated and uncontrolled, so that cities are now plagued with housing poverty, urban sprawl and informal/illegal settlements (Aluko, 2011).

Urban planning has evolved as a technical, knowledge-based profession, and effective participation requires some education and knowledge of the planning system, but the practice of urban planning has had limited influence on the Nigerian landscape (Dung-Gwom, 2011). There is still little recognition of urban planning, it is accorded low priority by the federal, state and local governments, and cities keep developing haphazardly (Aluko, 2011).

In the same vein, Oduwaye and Olajide (2012) documented that there exist many gaps in planning training and education in Nigeria. There is a wide gap between the roles of planning idealists and planning educators in understanding and responding to Nigeria's planning challenges. According to Wahab and Agbola (2017), the ongoing planning problem is embedded in both the dearth of planners and the gaps in planning knowledge and training in Nigeria. To this end, Onyebueke (2017) suggested reimagining the country's planning pedagogy. This is because planning in the country remains static and short-term, and continues to undermine indigenous and traditional planning thinking and solutions.

This chapter provides a comprehensive discussion on the evolution of urban planning in Nigeria. It traces the history of urban planning in Nigeria and identifies the roles of planners, urban planning challenges and the prospects for urban planning in the country. The chapter employs secondary data from various development plans, journal articles, such as from the *Journal of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners*, and other relevant information from the internet. The authors' personal knowledge and experiences are also reported to provide insights and examples where needed.

9.2 Planning Challenges in Nigeria as a 'Wicked Problem'

As emerged from the academic dialogue by Horst Rittel and Melvin Webber in 1973, the theory of wicked problems provides a universal analysis and explanation of complex societal problems and challenges, which are generally associated with social pluralism (multiple interests and values of stakeholders), institutional complexity (the context of inter-organisational cooperation and multi-level governance) and scientific uncertainty. The theory is often used to describe complex socio-ecological issues characterised by the difficulty of problem formulation and the multiplicity of stakeholders involved in defining and addressing the problem (Niskanen et al., 2021).

Two planning problems in Nigeria, and in Africa more generally, are emphasised. They are conceptualised using the theory of wicked problems and the issues of poverty, community land rights and tenure problems (Abayomi & Omoyeni, 2018; Home & Kabata, 2018). Other planning challenges identified include environmental resource management; disaster management problems (fires, earthquakes, landslides, volcanic eruptions and flooding); housing problems, urban sprawl, decay and squatter settlements; transportation problems (road traffic accidents and traffic congestion); infrastructural decay; weak/poor governance; and land tenure problems. Amongst the critical problems is climatic change/ozone layer depletion in Nigeria due to increasing atmospheric warming caused by greenhouse gases (GHG), especially carbon dioxide (CO₂), increasing heat islands. All of these indirectly contribute to Nigerian cities' pollution and waste management problems.

Regarding the wicked planning problems, the authors, with over six decades of collective planning (teaching and practice) experience, are of the view that the plurality of planning problems in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular stems from the Eurocentric slant of planning education and practice. Planning education in Nigeria emerged in the early 1970s when the first planning school was established in the

Polytechnic Ibadan as a response to some of the environmental challenges in the south-western region of Nigeria. The school was based on a colonial curriculum with little or no ideological reference to the traditional setting of the region.

Oduwaye and Olajide (2012) mentioned that African planning education, which is too colonial, lacks basic 'local' planning challenges. This planning education in Nigeria has not given adequate room for a planning curriculum and training that is aligned with the needs and aspirations of the local environment. This also resonates with the fact that the initial conceptualisation of planning from the colonial era was more of an elitist ideology than a public good. The idea of Afrocentric planning is still alien and Eurocentric, and colonial planning is still the model in most African cities, which has made it difficult for planning to address the specific spatial challenges of the cities in Nigeria. This section has described the underlying issues that led to the wicked planning problems. The colonial planning ideology lacks consideration of the peculiarities of African cities. Plans are provided for in most African cities but they popularise segregation and exclusion right from education through to planning practice.

9.3 Historical Dimensions of Urban Planning in Nigeria

Town/urban planning is concerned with the spatial ordering of land uses in rural, urban and regional settings for the purpose of creating functionally efficient and aesthetically pleasing environments for living, working, travel and recreation (Chiaka, 2017, p. 2; NITP, 2016). Planning can be seen as a profession that is interested in promoting healthy neighbourhoods and communities through the management and solution of social, physical and spatial planning challenges in the environment (Olujimi, 2016). The historical dimension of urban planning and planning practitioners in Nigeria is multifaceted. Olujimi (2016) mentioned that planning history in the country can be divided into three eras: pre-colonial (traditional), colonial and post-independence/post-colonial planning ideologies.

9.3.1 Pre-colonial/Traditional or Informal Planning in Nigeria

The NITP (2014) documented that historical indigenous planning in Nigeria, which dates back to 1914, was mainly evident in the spatial design and geographical configuration of kingdoms (in the south-western region), empires and northern emirates and surroundings. This was the era without a colonial footprint, and its spatial configuration and design followed the knowledge and dictates of traditional leadership. This is because the allocation of land and its corresponding development was within the purview and command of traditional leadership (family, lineage or entire community). Such leaders (local chiefs) held land as *trustee-beneficiary* (NITP, 2014).

During this period, there were in existence big towns and villages (NITP, 2014). Traditional planning in Nigeria during the pre-colonial era was focused on ensuring convenience for the residents as well as the functionality of urban spaces. Some of the emirates and empires emerged out of the local settlements' or communities' religious (Ile-Ife, Kano), trade

(Aba, Benin) or defence needs (Ibadan, Oyo). The settlements were structured according to the culture and customs of the people. Despite the influence and authority of the traditional leader, community members, mostly through family representatives, had a say in the development of the community. Joint and collective administration and settlement control was practised in traditional Nigerian settlements, while the local chief acted as the administrator, protector and trustee of the land that belonged to the community.

The pre-colonial planning of the eighteenth century was likewise characterised by limited technology, as planning was geared towards agriculture and local crafts. Management and development planning involved only the organisation of land uses structured by local customs and practices. Olufemi et al. (2015) suggested that pre-colonial physical planning was administered through indigenous institutions and communal ownership. The Obas, Emirs and Obongs made plans and supervised development processes through orders and decrees. For example, marketplaces were usually situated in front of the Oba's palace in western Nigeria. It must be stressed that such factors as land tenure, the prevailing occupation of the people and local transportation played prominent roles in structuring the traditional settlements. In addition, consideration was given to defence, topography (as in the walls of Zaria, Kano), religion and trade in locating and structuring settlements (Omisore, 1999).

9.3.2 Formal or Colonial Planning in Nigeria

A combination of political, social, economic and health factors gave rise to the introduction of formal town planning. Lawal (2000) wrote that formal planning in Nigeria is a direct product of the prevailing social and economic systems. He further writes that with the colonial administration, population growth and movement were stimulated by planning. Population increase in commercial centres and administrative headquarters and increased Westernisation, as evidenced by technological advances, were drivers. According to Olufemi et al. (2015), this type of planning was entrenched in British colonial rule. Dung-Guom (2011) mentioned that Nigeria's first indigenous town planners were British-trained. Lawal (2000) concluded that all these factors inevitably brought about gradual changes in the mode of living, which called for planning and development control of settlements by colonial administrators. However, since such planning and development controls had to be regulated, this led to calls for the introduction of the Town Improvement and Planning Ordinance of 1928.

Colonial-era (1863–1959) planning in Nigeria came with the colonial administration and the indirect rule policy, where district officers in charge of urban settlements administered planning in those settlements. The colonies, following orders from the British Colonial Office, prepared a long-term (5–20 years) British-oriented development plan to access the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds in 1940 (Wicker, 1958, pp. 171–181). The development plan reflects the colonial masters' planning identity and ideology. It includes investment in transport and communications infrastructure (Ayo, 1988), with limited investment in the development or establishment of industries. This planning dispensation was characterised by many planning ordinances, discussed next.

The 1863 Town Improvement Ordinances

The first piece of legislation in Nigeria was the 1863 Town Improvement Ordinance, which was intended to control development and improve sanitation in the Lagos colony (under the Treaty of Cession in 1861). This ordinance, which was derived from Britain's Towns Improvement Act of 1847 and the Public Health Act of 1848 (NITP, 2014), kick-started formal planning activities in Nigeria (Adeyeye, 2010; NITP, 2012).

The Cantonment Proclamation of 1904

The Cantonment Proclamation of 1904 saw the creation of European and government reservation areas (GRA) and implementing the guidelines on environmental sanitation, such as the provision of incinerators, pit latrines and cemeteries. The paramount objective of the proclamation was the protection and preservation of the health of the Europeans. The proclamation also focused on land use planning, creating open spaces and outstanding residential buildings. This led to the introduction of standards across various city land uses. However, physical planning and infrastructural provisions were concentrated in European and government reservation areas.

The cantonment arrangement, which was a British-driven urban governance arrangement implemented through the Lugardian indirect rule policy on townships and local government ordinances (Home, 2019), was framed to serve the colonial masters. Home (2019, p. 61) observed that the increasing cantonment decrees, as a subset of numerous colonial-driven spatial planning and local government laws and regulations, was devoted to the detail of urban local government, as the colonies and their exclusionary land use were 'threatened' by the increasing urban migration. See, for example, the spatial arrangement of places like Lokoja and Zungeru cantonments in Niger State shown in Figures 9.1 and 9.2.

The Township Ordinance of 1917

In 1917, the Town Improvement Ordinance was amended to Township Ordinance to extend its influence to all other urban centres, especially with the 1914 amalgamation of southern and northern protectorates. Thus, it can be said that the first statute on town and country planning in Nigeria was this 1917 Township Ordinance. The ordinance was noted for classifying cities into first- and second-class townships. First-class towns functioned as town councils and undertook an administrative role. The local authority through the district officers in second-class towns that were responsible for the collection of tax and rates reported to the town council. The ordinance emphasised the physical layout of urban areas. Studies assert that the ordinance, which legalised GRA (residential areas meant for colonial masters and a very few well-placed Nigerian civil servants), was characterised by land use segregation policies (Agbola & Falola, 2016; Alabi & Omirin, 2021; Bigon, 2012).

The 1928 Lagos Town Planning Ordinance

The Lagos Town Planning Ordinance of 1928 was introduced as a management response to continued environmental deterioration, which led to the outbreak of bubonic plague. Under the ordinance, the Lagos Executive Development Board was instituted as the administrative

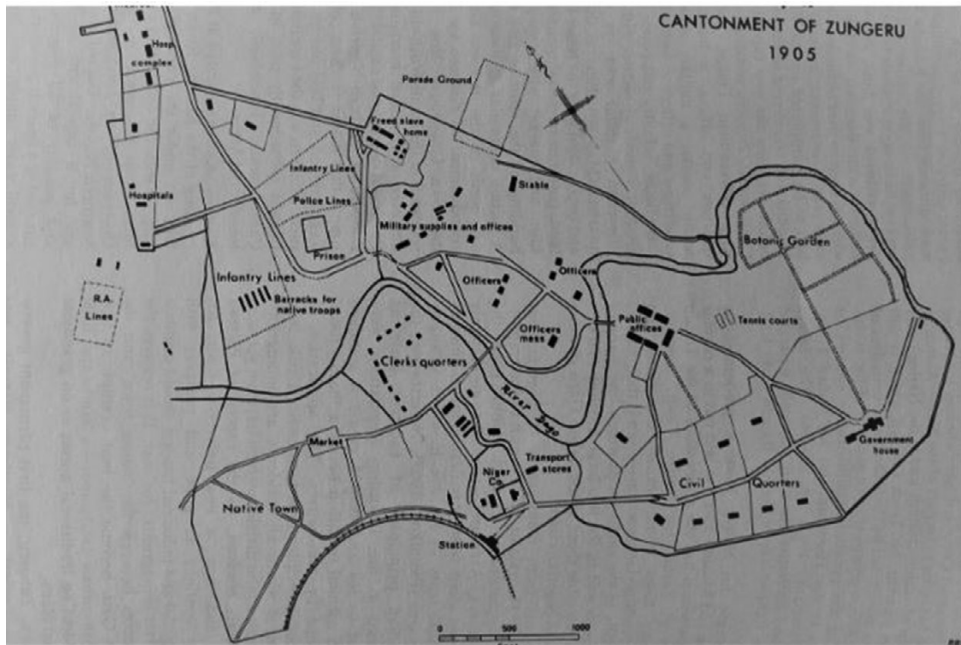


Figure 9.1 Cantonment layout at Zungeru, Nigeria

Source: Urquhart (Planned Urban Landscapes) in Home (2013).

arm. This board was set up as the town planning agency for Lagos. As Lagos was the federal capital territory of the country, the board's role entailed the planning, management and coordination of various land uses in the city. Some of the management and planning principles of the board included slum clearance through renewal and redevelopment projects and a few housing resettlement programmes (Omisore, 1999). The board had extensive powers to undertake comprehensive improvement schemes within the city limits.

According to Bigon (2016), the introduction of the legislation was a reflection of the failure of the British colonial masters to undertake inclusive and responsive planning. The bubonic plague was an outcome of this spatial segregation and neglect by Europeans. Drawing from the Lagos experience, it was argued that many of the projects and programmes introduced under this legislation were not inclusive of all classes and groups (Figure 9.3). Bigon (2016, p. 212) mentioned that 'while some attempts were made to create a white residential area rather than to foster a healthy-for-all city, these attempts were not preconceived as master plans. Spatially delimited and occurring at different times, these plans were determined by the racial and cultural chauvinism of senior officials or left incomplete due to local agitation'.

The 1946 Town and Country Planning Ordinance

With the initiation and preparation of the ten-year development plan (1946–1956), there was a piece of information from the plan concerning town planning and reconstruction of villages. Omole and Akinbamijo (2012, p. 26) wrote that by the 'early 1940s, ... there was

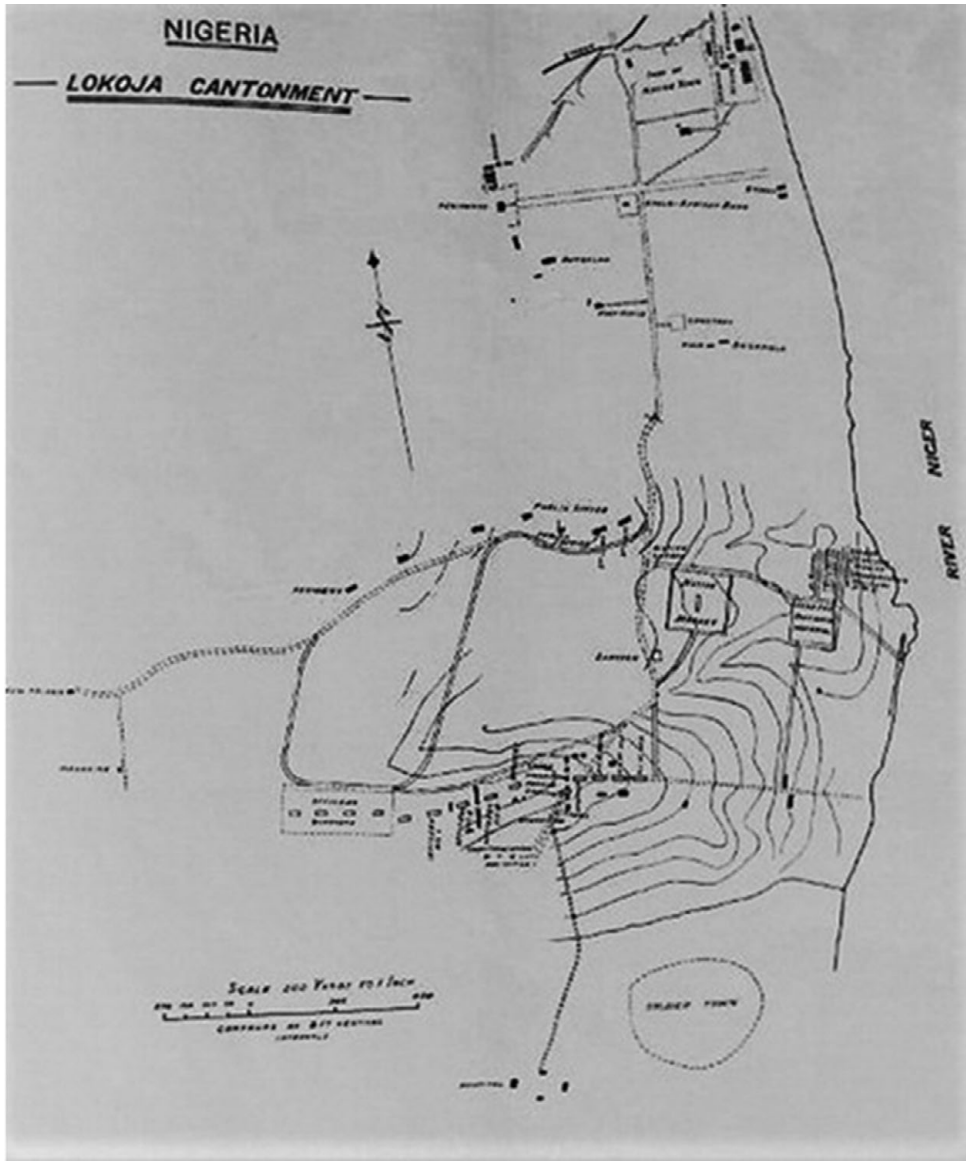


Figure 9.2 Plan of Lokoja cantonment in 1900

Source: KNA CO/1069 in Home (2013).

scarcely a town in the country that was not in dire need of re-planning and proper layout for future expansion'. This resulted in the enactment of the 1946 Town and Country Planning Ordinance. The ordinance was modelled on the 1932 British Town and Country Planning Act, and came into force on 28 March 1946 (NITP, 2014). The 1946 ordinance aimed to re-plan, improve and develop different parts of Nigeria through planning schemes initiated by the appointment of planning authorities. As a comprehensive town planning process, the

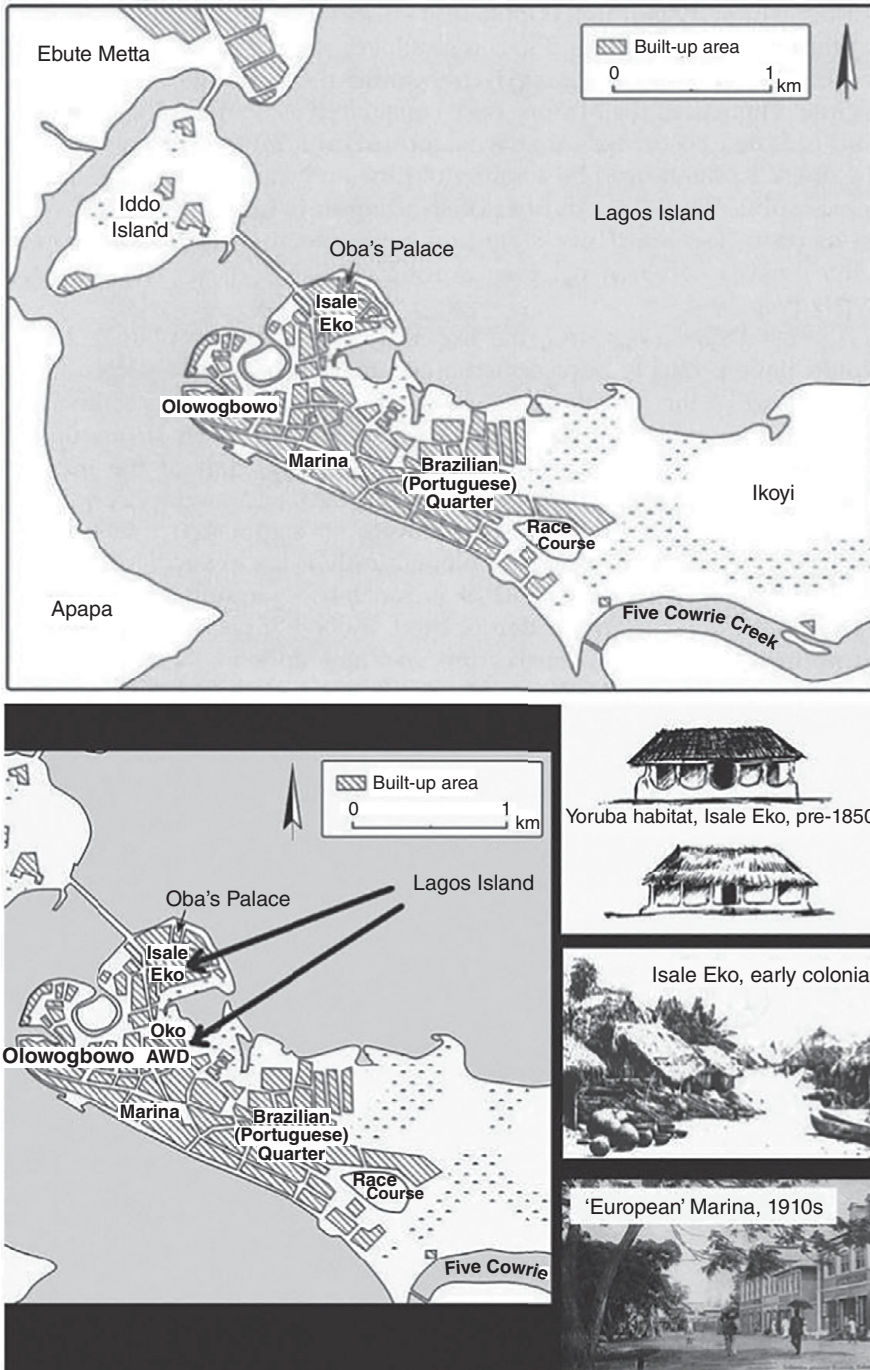


Figure 9.3 The built-up and spatial arrangement of British Lagos around 1890 and 1910
Source. Bigon (2009, 2016).

1946 Town and Country Planning Ordinance touched on issues such as preparation of planning schemes, their approval and implementation, the planning authority, development, land acquisitions, compensation and betterment, powers and functions of the planning authorities.

Documenting the effect of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1946, Adelusi-Adeluyi (2017) reported on the impact of the colonial masters in the mapping and remaking of the Lagos area. It was documented that due to the natural features (coastline) of the city, Lagos was a protectorate that needed to be preserved by the British colonisers. Adelusi-Adeluyi (2017), wrote that ‘there are references to the inhabited parts of Lagos, and most frequently these are fringes of the island where Europeans worked and lived. There is an emphasis on the “natural” environment that demonstrates the attention to detail in their composition, proving that the omission of “native space” is deliberate’.

9.4 Post-colonial Planning in Nigeria

Despite the independence of Nigeria on 1 October 1960, the 1946 Town and Country Planning Ordinance remains a relevant planning law, since it was applied as a planning tool for 46 years (Ifesanya, n.d.). The law was also referred to as ‘Chapter 123, Chapter 130, and Chapter 155 of the Western, Northern and Eastern laws of Nigeria’ (Omole & Akinbamijo, 2012, p. 27). However, between 1960 and 1992, five development plans with diverse objectives were introduced in Nigeria.

9.4.1 First National Development Plan

The First National Development Plan was launched in April 1962 and covered six years (1962–1968). The plan had a broad scope encompassing government policies aimed to achieve national economic growth. During this era, physical planning was not emphasised as it neglected issues of urban development (Agbola, 2007; Peters, 2015)

9.4.2 Second National Development Plan

This plan was launched after the civil war in 1970. It was drafted as a post-war development plan that focused on reconstructing a war-battered economy and promoting economic and social development in Nigeria. According to Olaniyi (1998), the plan was a post-war reconstruction project for social (building communal unity), political, economic (promoting economic recovery) and physical development through the rehabilitation of war-affected groups, and the reconstruction of roads.

9.4.3 Third National Development Plan

This five-year (April 1975–March 1980) plan was a watershed in the evolution of economic planning in Nigeria. It was the first document to produce a thoughtful conceptualisation of

Nigeria's urban development policy statement. The plan came up with a better understanding of the development strategy, which integrated city and rural development, provision of infrastructure, rectification of physical planning inadequacies, redesigning local government for effective and efficient administrative management, and the establishment of federal ministries of housing and urban development (Agbola, 2003).

9.4.4 Fourth National Development Plan

This represented the first democratically drafted plan after independence; it was introduced in 1981 during the regime of President Shehu Shagari. The plan was focused on advocating for long-term economic and social development through local government participation (Ogunjimi, 1997). It also included physical planning measures by recognising rural planning as an essential element of holistic planning and it established the Town Planners Registration Council by Decree No. 3 in 1988. This decree was enacted to regulate and control the practice of urban and regional planning, determine the standard of planning education and set the criteria for the registration of town planners in Nigeria. The plan also featured the revitalisation of rural development to curb rural–urban inequality.

9.5 Planning Education and Practice in Nigeria

Africa's educational foundation and planning system has significant roots in the old colonial planning system, often described as a modern approach to planning. In this chapter, Nigeria's planning education and practice are discussed along the pre- and post-colonial divide.

9.5.1 Planning Practice in Nigeria

In Nigeria, activities that fall within the purview of what is now termed physical planning have a pre-colonial history. There were many human settlements of over 20,000 population as far back as the nineteenth century (Onifade & Lawanson, 2019). These settlements had a well-organised land management structure based on monarchism and rooted in the traditions of the inhabitants. Typical examples of this monarchical system include the old Oyo Empire in south-western Nigeria, the Sokoto Caliphate in the northern part of Nigeria, and the Kingdom of Benin, which flourished in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the southern part of Nigeria. The physical development of these settlements was controlled and managed so that land uses were complementarily arranged, avoiding conflicts and incompatible development.

While describing the physical structure of the pre-colonial Yoruba towns, Omole (1999) notes that the settlements were communal, taking a concentric shape with the Oba's palace at the core. The towns were connected adequately with roads and footpaths. Onifade and Lawanson (2019) summarised the land use patterns of the Igbo communities as mostly characterised by a series of self-governing villages, having unique layouts but commonly

including a village square centrally located in each village. They further described the northern cities' settlements as being heavily influenced by Islamic culture, which promotes domestic privacy and is mainly characterised by courtyard designs. This era lacked formal planning training and practice. Land use administration was solely the responsibility of the monarchy. Pre-colonial planning activities were coordinated by local chiefs through communal ownership and representative participation before the first formal law was enacted in 1863 (Alabi & Omirin, 2021). Planning practice and transfer of planning skills were rooted in the indigenous knowledge system.

The advent of colonialism brought about a paradigm shift in planning practice. Western planning styles accompanied the colonial administration. During the colonial era, public authorities and planning practitioners introduced development-driven policies to regain 'territorial integrity' (Agbola & Falola, 2016). Lagos was the first recipient in Nigeria and the most strongly influenced by colonial rule. The annexation of Lagos as a British colony in 1861 was accompanied by a replacement of the traditional settlement development styles with colonial methods (Alabi & Omirin, 2021).

Planning practice is primarily driven by planning legislation; as such, most of the changes in practice and training were shaped by planning-related laws, regulations and policies. Planning legislation in virtually all countries focuses on 'developmental objectives and strategies for districts, dealing with land use and physical development as a distinct sector of government activity, and coordinating sectoral policies such as housing, recreation, transport, agriculture, and environment' (Agbola & Falola, 2016, p. 130).

9.5.2 Planning Education in Nigeria

Over the years, specialised teaching and learning programmes designed to pass knowledge from one generation to another have sustained the planning profession. The various teaching programmes are based in educational institutions worldwide. Planning education provides knowledge, skills, training and development through teaching and learning (Olufemi & Jimoh, 2013). The evolution and development of the planning profession coincided with developing a body of knowledge and skills to practise and sustain urban planning. The early twenty-first century saw theorists start to develop urban planning models to mitigate the consequences of the industrial age (Fainstein, n.d.). According to Junaid et al. (2019), planning education in Nigeria followed European and American planning theories.

In Africa In Africa, planning education and training have undergone gradual changes influenced mainly by ideologies that have origins in the United Kingdom and United States. In this regard, the African Planning Association (APA, 2013) argues that planning practice and administration in the post-independence era relied heavily on an 'imported planning system' and have remained largely the same. For decades after independence, planning practitioners and instructors were trained in Europe and North America at planning schools imbued with Western traditions. Agbola and Falola (2016) argue that, until recently, teachers in African planning schools were educated at European and American planning schools and had no other knowledge base. The knowledge base

Box 9.1 Evolution of planning education in Nigeria

Urban planning education started in 1962 with a three-year sub-professional diploma in town planning offered at the Technical College in Ibadan, now the Polytechnic of Ibadan (Olujimi & Enisan, 2015). In 1972, Ordinary National Diploma (OND) programmes in town planning were introduced at Yaba College of Technology and Kaduna Polytechnic while about 12 more polytechnics and colleges of technology offering town planning courses were established in 1977 (Olujimi & Enisan, 2015). The diploma course run at the polytechnics and colleges of technology was intended to train a middle-level technical workforce in Nigeria. Aside from these diploma programmes, master's degree programmes in urban planning were also introduced at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in 1972 and the University of Ibadan in 1981. The degree programmes were aimed at training higher-level policy executives in urban and regional planning. Over the years, urban planning schools have grown in number in Nigeria. As of 2019, there were about 38 polytechnics and 28 universities offering urban planning courses. These institutions offer various levels of urban planning programmes and many students have trained and graduated who are now practitioners in the field of urban planning.

Source: Junaid et al. (2019, pp. 21–22).

acquired in these planning schools was transferred to planning students in Africa through teaching, supervision and mentoring. This perpetuated a Western-tailored curriculum based on foreign ideologies, which were used to train planners who would be expected to solve local planning problems. Consequently, in many cases, the early generation of planners trained in African planning schools had difficulties translating the knowledge acquired in planning school into practice. On this reality, Watson and Agbola (2013) echoed the need to narrow the gap between planning education and urban realities in practice.

The 1946 planning legislation favoured the expansion of formal planning practices, which, in turn, encouraged the setting up of professional bodies – NITP and TOPREC – that oversaw the standards of planning education and practice in Nigeria. In Nigeria, commencement of formal urban planning education can be traced to 1959, when a town planning course was started in the Town Planning Division of the Ministry of Lands and Housing under the western regional government (NITP, 2016). The development of planning education across the various levels of academic institutions is documented in Box 9.1. Many planning schools were established in the early 1970s, notably Yaba College of Technology and Kaduna Polytechnic. Many university-level planning programmes were established during the 1970s, offering courses at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels (NITP, 2014).

9.6 Planning Idealists and Their Contributions to Practice and Research in Nigeria

Planning in Nigeria is, to some extent, a reflection of the thoughts of some notable early planning scholars who shaped the theory and practice of planning in the country. Prominent in the scholarship of planning in Nigeria was Professor Akin Ladipo Mabogunje. Professor

Mabogunje's interest in the planning profession is reflected in his past research, which focused on urbanisation, rural-urban migration, development, environment, governance, social welfare, poverty, rural development and inequality in Nigeria. One of his earliest works was *Urbanization in Nigeria* (Mabogunje, 1968), which captured urbanisation and state formation in the country.

In some of his works, he looked at urbanisation in Nigerian cities, the complexities involved and ways to mitigate rural-urban migration (Mabogunje, 1970). He proposed new initiatives and urban planning and management strategies in Nigeria, identified the factors for urbanisation in the country since independence, and came up with issues of urban planning ideologies and social relations emanating from the colonial period and how these could shape the vision of city development and training of future urban planners in Nigeria, and in Africa at large (Mabogunje, 1990, 1999). He opined that the developmental process in sub-Saharan Africa is faulty, having created and widened the urban-rural, regional and socio-economic gaps in the various countries, thus increasing the levels of poverty in the region. He also contributed to the argument for a radical transformation of institutions and for effective planning and development on the African continent. He emphasised that governments in Africa need to focus more on institutional transformation towards achieving sustainable development.

Aside from his enormous contribution to academia through research and teaching, Mabogunje has distinguished himself in the public service sphere in Nigeria and the world at large. He is regarded as the father of geography in Africa. Aside from becoming the first Nigerian to rise to the rank of Professor of Geography at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1965 he became the first African president of the International Geographical Union (serving from 1980 to 1984) and he was the first African to be elected, in 1999, as a Foreign Associate of the United States National Academy of Sciences. Nigeria has benefited significantly from his planning expertise, particularly in the conception of the Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) in 1986 and the establishment of the National Board for Community Banks in 1990. Other responsibilities he took on were as chair of the Presidential Technical Committee on National Land Reform in Nigeria, the Lagos Mega City Development Authority, and the Technical Committee on Housing and Urban Development (The Nation, 2021). He also led the team formed by the federal government in the 1970s that provided relevant information for the establishment of the new federal capital territory, Abuja (Falola, 2017).

Another notable scholar in the history of planning in Nigeria is Samuel Babatunde Agbola, who has contributed greatly to the teaching and practice of planning in the country. Concerning teaching, Professor Agbola rigorously taught planning theory courses at one of the most famous planning schools in Nigeria, the Urban and Regional Planning Department of the University of Ibadan, where he inculcated good ethics of planning practice in students by shaping their theoretical and philosophical thought. He is a committed professor gifted with the ability to help students conceptualise urban issues and complexities in the Nigerian context. He gave students practical knowledge of the planning process and housing policy instruments. With the significant number of students that have passed through his tutorship and mentorship, it could be said that his contribution to planning

education in Nigeria is enormous (Egunjobi et al., 2019). Through collaboration with Bolanle Wahab (former Head of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning and the pioneer coordinator of the postgraduate programme in indigenous knowledge and development at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria), Professor Olatubara and Professor Layi Egunjobi, the Centre for Urban and Regional Planning under the Department of Geography was created in 1983 and then the Department for Urban and Regional Planning in 2004, with Professor Layi Egunjobi as the pioneer Head of Department.

In terms of research, Babatunde Agbola lays emphasis on areas including housing, flood, development, land, Nigeria and government. His works also span environmental planning and regional development. In the area of housing, his research is concerned with finance, affordability, delivery, production, building materials and Nigeria (Agbola, 1985, 2006; Adegoke & Agbola, 2020; Adegoke et al., 2020). Some of Agbola's works promoted public interest (Agbola & Falola, 2018). These paved the way for him to become the Chairman of the Independent Advisory Group of the World Bank-Assisted Ibadan Urban Flood Management Project from 2015 to 2018. Agbola's planning prowess and research activities exposed him to the broader world, where he was engaged in committee assignments and consultancy work at local, national and international levels. These include pioneer Director of Physical Planning at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria; Member of the Consultative Committee of the Ajoda New Town Corporation in 1984; Chairman, Model Village Committee of the Oyo State Directorate of Foods, Roads, and Rural Infrastructure between 1988 and 1989; and Deputy Project Manager to the Ibadan Urban Renewal Project in 1981.

Among other notable scholars are Layi Egunjobi, Steve Onu, Waheed Kadiri, Bolanle Wahab and Rotimi Obateru, whose contributions to planning education and practice in Nigeria are considerable. They have all left an indelible mark, making enduring contributions to planning research and practice. For instance, Uwaegbulam (2021) wrote that Waheed Kadiri is a renowned town planner who has continued to positively impact the built environment profession. He also took part in the accreditation of town planning programmes and curriculum development through the National Board of Technical Education and the Town Planners Registration Council of Nigeria. The management role of Waheed Kadiri included his role as national vice president of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners between 2004 and 2006, and then national president of the institute between 2006 and 2008. Likewise, he served as national president of the Association of Town Planning Consultants of Nigeria between 2001 and 2006. Over the years, he has edited five books on urban, regional and transportation planning. Likewise, Professor Layi Egunjobi served as president of the Town Planners Registration Council of Nigeria.

9.7 Planning Practice and the Post-colonial Predicaments

The planning laws, policies and regulations inherited by the post-colonial governments in most African countries, especially Nigeria, were implemented with little change. Given the fast pace of urbanisation and the attendant complexities in African cities, today's situation is more challenging. The peculiarities of these challenges were documented by the African Planning Association (2013, p. 12) as follows:

Amendments to the British Town and Country Planning system did not challenge its content of blueprint planning, development control, permits, and licenses . . . planning remained influenced by tools such as master planning, structure planning, and spatial development frameworks . . . approaches [that] assumed that . . . all developments would be mainly formal and modern.

Agbola and Falola (2016, pp. 140–141) further argue that laws that are meant to drive planning practice are:

Either outdated, dormant, or almost irrelevant. Instead, market forces, social norms, or political favouritism regulate land use. Social inequalities and haphazard physical development often accompany this. . . . Planning law that has little or no prospect of implementation in the present or foreseeable future is not of any value, as it imposes additional burdens and costs on a system that is already starved for resources.

Another dimension to the challenges in post-colonial planning practice was documented by Alabi and Omirin (2021). They argue that planning practitioners use formal policies, eligibility criteria and exclusionary zoning to divide a city into different residential zones. According to them, the activities of planners provide avenues for the rich to set themselves apart from the poor by constructing their houses in ‘gated communities’ or ‘government reservation areas’, which constitute the formal city otherwise known as the ‘city of the real men’ (Alabi & Omirin, 2021).

A notable by-product of the flaw in planning practice is the emergence and flourishing of informal and illegal settlements, especially in urban areas. These are primarily unplanned settlements and places where housing falls short of prescribed planning standards and building regulations. Nwaka (2005) argues that the lack of good urban governance in the enforcement of planning regulations and control of developments associated with the informal sector has created disorderly and unsustainable urban environments. Informality is a contemporary reality that many settlements in Nigeria are witnessing. Informal dwellings are constructed incrementally and never meet the planning requirements for formal housing (Arcila, 2007). The traditional planning practices have not successfully addressed the pace of urbanisation and the associated social exclusion, spatial segregation and informality/illegality.

The current planning challenges facing human settlements in Nigeria are consequences of ineffective planning legislation, evident in unsustainable planning practice. As rightly indicated by the Federal Republic of Nigeria’s second National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy document (NEEDS II), unsustainable planning practice is a major developmental issue confronting Nigerian cities (FRN, 2012).

9.8 Planning as a Common Good in Nigeria

Planning came into existence on the premise of serving the interests of the public, especially about the uses to which land is put. Therefore, planning is considered a common good due to its economic and socio-cultural development relevance to the public. Lai and Davies (2020) pointed out that planning starts with mere designs on paper but always ends up physically, on the ground. In addition, socio-cultural and economic benefits or

consequences are always long-lasting. Ayangbile (2015) identified the role of a new town at Ajoda, Ibadan, in reducing congestion in Ibadan city. Noting the social support through housing that the new town provides, Adedokun (2013) posited that the Festival Town (FESTAC) accommodated 24,000 dwelling units with a population of about 140,000 people. Planning should be seen as a public good, planning for the community's welfare, and especially individual well-being. In Nigeria, the planning-related decision and arguments are embedded in the 'public interest' debate, often expressed through planning emergencies such as the historical bubonic plague outbreak (Omole, 1999). Thus, planning is also seen as a common good in ensuring good public health and environmental protection.

Considering the process of urban growth during early industrialisation, Mazzoleni (2003) mentioned that one planning objective was that industrial developments should preserve the city's physical and socio-cultural environment. The relevance of planning to health and environmental protection is reflected in 'building setbacks' accommodated in planning standards (Vagale, 2000). In Nigeria, Raji and Attah (2017, p. 21) reported that building setbacks, a 'common good' planning tool, positively influence the design of buildings and promote good health and welfare through the provision of functional and adequate outdoor spaces and well-lit and ventilated buildings. Owing to this, Okafor (2020) mentioned that the setback remains a tool for collaborative spatial development and management. Likewise, planning has been recognised as a tool for mitigating environmental issues such as climate change (Wahab & Popoola 2019; Wahab *et al.*, 2018), which affects urban and regional natural settings and the global population. This relates to planning in Nigeria to manage future urban growth issues (Adeleye *et al.*, 2018; Lasisi *et al.*, 2017).

9.9 Discussion

In this chapter, the chronology of urban planning in Nigeria was explored as a prism on the African context. Urban planning in Nigeria has evolved from the colonial era, taking its shape from various planning laws ranging from the British ordinances and proclamations during the colonial period to the quite ambitious post-colonial decrees and acts.

Ideally, urban planning is expected to be guided by legislation. However, the effectiveness of any well-drafted planning law is hinged on its implementation. The Urban and Regional Planning Law of 1992, which was meant to put the institutional framework for urban planning in place, has not been implemented at the state and local government levels. It has been over three decades since the 1992 law was enacted and about two decades since it became an Act in 2004, yet there is agreement among stakeholders in urban planning that the law has not been properly implemented, even at the federal government level. This, the chapter suggests, will be essential in reworking and reimagining the 'appearance' of planning in Nigeria.

The study points to the role of politics in achieving reimagined planning in Nigeria. The central government and the state governments seem to have different levels of political will

to implement urban planning laws. The national development plans that were implemented by various administrations of the central government were biased towards economic planning at the expense of physical planning. Different state governments have continued to haphazardly make policies that will promote the physical development of human settlements, but they have not resulted in sustainable practices.

The first step to reimagining urban planning in Nigeria is to revisit the implementation pattern of the existing planning laws, legislation and regulations. A total change in the law will not result in desirable change if the current system of implementation and institutionalisation of urban planning practice remains. In a 2022 press release, the president of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners called on the federal government to establish the Ministry of Physical Planning, rather than making urban planning administration an appendage to another organ of government.

A major precondition to achieving sustainable urban planning in Nigeria is for all stakeholders (governments at all levels, practitioners and professional bodies in the built environment, and urban planning schools) to work in synergy to achieve the goal of sustainable urban development. The central government, under a Ministry of Physical Planning, should act as a unifying force by coordinating, harmonising and managing different interest groups on matters relating to urban planning.

The implication of the Supreme Court ruling *Lagos State Attorney General v. Federal Government of Nigeria* (2003) is that, in its current state, the URP law of 1992 can only be effectively implemented in the federal capital territory, Abuja. While the law seems to be promising, if implemented, it cannot be pursued until there is a constitutional review with the input of all stakeholders. Thus, there is a need to first amend the URP law of 1992 (as amended in 2004) and then implement it in all 36 states and in all urban local government areas of the federation. The content of the law should be the interest of governments at all levels and sector.

The chapter suggests the need for synchronisation of planning education and practice. This is because planning education is key to shaping and reimagining the planning profession and practice. To give a firm foundation for planning practitioners, the practice of urban planning should be driven by planning theories, which are taught in planning schools. However, there is a common saying in the African urban planning milieu that what is taught in planning schools is 'theory' and it is different from the 'reality' that is found in the field of practice. The post-colonial planning predicaments being witnessed in most African urban settlements are due to the failure to appropriately adapt planning theories to planning practice and administration. This is not to say that the failures of urban planning should be addressed by changing the methods of training in planning schools. Rather, it should be seen as a need for planning educators to revalidate or modify the existing 'imported' planning theories to incorporate local commonalities. Thus, the emerging planning scholars should take a step away from the legacy of planning idealists by focusing more on theorising local planning problems and adapting them to planning practice in Africa. This would be a step in the right direction, towards reimagining urban planning in Africa.

9.10 Conclusion

During the early stages of Nigeria's planning history the government designed and developed new infrastructure as part of its modernisation and growth management strategy. The developmental strategy after military rule met the demands of the growing city. This needed to be controlled and regulated through a planning process, which produced various national development plans from 1965 to 1980. However, the military juntas interrupted the implementation of most of the development plans, and growth could only be managed through piecemeal efforts. The civil war between 1967 and 1970 also significantly impacted development efforts, with the reconstruction period spanning from 1971 to 1984 before the military incursions again interrupted the plans. Several planning documents were launched in this period, which show a more vital role for the various tiers of government from the federal to the local and attention to policy development. Planning came into existence on the premise of serving the interests of the public, especially regarding the use to which land is put.

Planning is considered a common good due to its economic and socio-cultural relevance to the public. Planning starts with designs on paper but ends up physically on the ground, and socio-cultural and economic benefits or consequences are long-lasting. A notable by-product of the flaw in planning practice is the emergence and flourishing of informal and illegal settlements, especially in urban areas across the country. In the final analysis, planning and infrastructure development in the Nigerian city setting must be complementary and prioritised for a liveable urban space.

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