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The Routledge Handbook of Planning Megacities in the Global South

Edited by Deden Rukmana

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Urban Planning Practices in Lagos, Nigeria

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Introduction

The world's urban population has been annually increasing by around 60 million people, and by 2030 urban areas will be home to 68% of the estimated 9.7 billion global population (UN-DESA, 2015). Within three decades (2000-2030), the global urban areas could nearly increase twofold from 652,825 km² to 1,210,475 km² (Seto et al. 2012). While countries of the global North have attained urbanization levels above 85%, urban population growth in the global South is unprecedented. Africa and Asia would be home to around 90% of the estimated increase in the global urban population by 2030 (2.5 billion people), with 37% of the increase expected to happen in China, India, and Nigeria alone (World Bank, 2016). In the least developed countries, excessive urban growth is anticipated to happen in regions including the coast of West Africa, notably in Nigeria, which poses overwhelming challenges, including physical planning, employment, housing, essential public services and socioeconomic infrastructure required to sustain the population and economic sectors demands (Muhammad and Abubakar, 2019; Seto et al., 2012). The challenges of planning are multiplied in countries where the extent of the challenges intensifies every day with rapid urbanization, and with fewer resources to confront them (UN-Habitat, 2012). Consequently, urban development stakeholders must seek opportunities in innovative urban planning capacities and tools (Abubakar and Aina, 2019).

Urban planning is an important land use management tool that can address urban development challenges, and for achieving some socioeconomic, political and sustainable urbanization goals (UN-Habitat, 2009). It can serve as a sustainable urbanization strategy to guide the development of inclusive settlements that can provide affordable housing and essential public services such as drinking water, refuse collection, sanitation, and hygiene (Abubakar, 2018a). Contemporary urban planning began in the West to respond to problems of rapid urbanization, unhygienic living environments, vanishing open green spaces, and the resulting sociopolitical unrest in the industrial city (Abubakar and Doan, 2017). In the Global South, urban planning commenced during the colonial period for mainly improving public health and aesthetics. It was also used as a tool for segregation as can be seen in the Government Reservation Areas versus native areas, a precursor to the dual city paradigm that shapes many cities today (Abubakar and Doan, 2017). Urban planning is increasingly being utilized as a major tool for confronting urban growth challenges.

In several African cities, due largely to weak planning administration and regulatory frameworks as well as limited financial and technical capabilities, city administrators are less able to effectively manage rapid urbanization (Abubakar and Dano, 2018; Sawyer, 2014). This is especially prominent in primate cities like Lagos, Kinshasa, and Nairobi (Obia, 2016; Dano et al., 2020; Lawanson, 2015). Lagos, with a 5.7% annual population growth rate, is among the world's fastest-growing megacities (UN-Habitat, 2013). Its population of over 20 million people makes it the second most populous city in Africa after Cairo (UN-DESA 2014). However, this enormous

population increase has overtaken the provision of housing, and physical and socioeconomic infrastructure, resulting in explosive growth of slums and shantytowns (Agbola and Agunbiade, 2007; Badmos et al., 2018), lack of essential public services such as drinking water, sanitation and garbage collection (Aliu et al., 2014; Ayeni et al., 2016), traffic congestion (Ibitayo, 2012), and environmental degradation (Ajibade et al., 2016; Oduwaye and Lawanson, 2012).

Since year 1999 when Nigeria was restored to democratic rule, Lagos has embarked on some initiatives toward addressing its urbanization challenges (Dano et al., 2020). The place of planning was effectively captured in the Lagos State Development Plan, 2012 – 2025, where extensive planning administrative reforms and the development of a model city and sub-regional master plans were proposed (LASG, 2014). This paper, therefore, explores the extent to which these urban planning paradigms are being implemented in managing the megacity. This study is important because Lagos is West Africa's leading harbor, where over half of Nigeria's non-oil economic activities are taking place (Dano et al., 2020). It is also a critical location for implementing the nation's industrial, commercial, innovation and technological aspirations. The paper is organized as follows. The next section is an overview of the city, highlighting its history, urban planning framework, and key urbanization challenges. This is followed by an outline of how development plans and the urban planning framework are being implemented to address the city's urbanization challenges. The paper concludes by recommending some approaches to strengthen the operative urban planning and governance framework.

Historical overview of urban planning in Lagos

The history of urban planning in Lagos can be reviewed under three distinct periods relative to its growth and development. Separate urban planning policies and strategies were formulated for each period based on the exigency of the time. Although urban planning as practiced today was not operational in Lagos at the time of its establishment in 1660, evidence of a rudimentary element of planning as part of indigenous administration pre-date the arrival of colonial administration and was found to dot the Nigeria urban landscape especially around palaces (the focus of community activities) where a deliberate attempt at land-use organization took place. The nucleus of the Lagos traditional city (Eko as it was formerly known) was found to have a distinct urban design pattern (Aduwo, 1999). This urban design pattern reflects the socioeconomic and political organization of the indigenous settlers. Lagos island today still retains some of the pre-colonial inner-city settlement structure.

By the 15th century, Lagos had become both a trade center and seaport (Ilesanmi, 2010), and a significant slave-port in the 1700s (Opoko and Oluwatayo, 2014). Its location along the coastline led to its steady and continual growth, both demographically and spatially. In the 1800s, Lagos had a strong local planning framework that was based on the traditional land tenure system where the Oba (traditional ruler) had absolute power and authority. Though there was the absence of professional planners, pre-colonial development in Lagos was found to be coordinated and regulated as adequate circulation and other conveniences have been provided.

The annexation of Lagos as a British colony under the Secession Treaty of 1861 ushered in the beginning of formal urban planning in Lagos during this period. Before the establishment of the botanical garden at Ebute-Metta in 1886 and the railway construction 1895, existing streets though

narrow were planned to accommodate horse carriages. Urban planning during this period was restricted to certain localities and guided by a series of promulgations that focused mainly on segregation, public health, and city beautification. These include the Lagos Town Improvement Ordinance of 1863 for the control of development and urban sanitation, the Cantonment Act of 1904 for the segregation of Europeans from the natives, and administration of government reservation of 1908. The Nigerian town and country planning ordinance No. 4 of 1946 was the most significant planning legislation in the first half of the 2100s because it provided for planning, improving, and developing cities and regions, through the use of planning schemes, throughout the country, as well as the appointment of planning authorities. This ordinance was founded on the 1932 British Town and Country Planning Act and remained the country's most comprehensive planning law for half a century.

Urban planning practices in Lagos during the colonial era, as the case in other parts of the country, focused mainly on physical and socioeconomic infrastructure development. It was only during the mid-20th century that the national development plans of 1946–1956 and 1956–1962 prioritized economic and social development, to the exclusion of spatial planning. Thus, urban planning instead of addressing the problems associated with urbanization acted as centripetal force that attract more migrants into Lagos, leading to the growth and development of slums and shantytowns (Agbola and Agunbiade, 2007; Badmos et al., 2018).

Since Nigeria's independence in 1960 and the creation of Lagos State in 1967, the planning trajectory of Lagos has largely been reactive to the unprecedented population growth. As Lagos was Nigeria's capital city until 1991, many federal legislation and actions were operationalized in Lagos. The major planning activities can be summarized as follows.

- a) Planning authorities were merged with Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) in 1967 to form Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC). The LSDPC since then has prepared housing schemes, constructed houses, shopping centers, and other infrastructural facilities.
- b) With the creation of Lagos state in 1967, each area and/or district was assigned a planning authority for the sole purpose of implementing urban development programs.
- c) Recognition of the town planning profession with the establishment of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners in 1966, and the Town Planners Registration Council in 1988.
- d) Lagos State Town and Country Planning Law, cap 133 of 1973 was ratified to specifically integrate and synthesize the existing planning laws: Western Regional Law No. 41 of 1969; Town and Country Planning Amendment Law; the Lagos Local Government Act 1959-1964 cap. 77; the Lagos Town Planning (compensation) Act 1964; the Lagos Executive Development Board (Power) Act 1964, the Lagos Town Planning (Miscellaneous provision) Decree 1967; the Lagos State Town Planning (Miscellaneous Provision) Decree 1967 and the Town Planning Authorities (Supervisory Power) Edict 1971.
- e) The third national development plan (1975 - 1980) recognized the importance of planning, attempted to articulate a national urban development strategy and created a Federal Ministry to coordinate urban development issues and parastatals such as the establishment of Federal Housing Authority, Federal Mortgage Bank and River Basin Development Authorities.
- f) The Fourth National Development Policy (1981 - 1985) was not implemented due to the political tension in the country. However, it recognized the important function of physical planning in national development

- g) The establishment of a new federal capital at Abuja in 1976, and the subsequent movement of the capital from Lagos in 1991 (Abubakar, 2018b). However, this did not mitigate the population expansion in Lagos
- h) The proclamation of the Land Use Act of 1978 to control land speculation, ease the procedure of acquiring land by the state, and coordinate and formulate tenurial modernization.
- i) Conceptualization and preparation of Masterplan of Metropolitan Lagos (1980 - 2000).
- j) Guidelines for Layout Approval, LSLN, No. 6 of 1983.
- k) Town and Country Planning Edict 1985.
- l) Town and Country Planning (Building Plan) Regulations of 1986.
- m) Nigerian Urban and Regional Planning Law: The review of the 1946 Town and Country Planning Ordinance was done in 1991 and resulted in enacting the Nigerian Urban and Regional Planning Law (Decree 88) of 1992 (NURPL), amended in 1999, which is operative today.
- n) Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Edict No. 2 of 1998 was enacted as a derivative of the NURPL of 1992.

By 2002, Lagos attained a mega city status with a population far exceeding the 10 million mark, and a continuously growing boundary extending beyond its jurisdiction into neighboring Ogun state (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2006). This growth has been accompanied by severe challenges including traffic congestion (Ibitayo, 2012), environmental degradation (Ajibade et al., 2016; Oduwaye and Lawanson, 2012), and the development of slums and shantytowns and settlements (Agbola and Agunbiade, 2007; Badmos et al., 2018); thus leading to physical, socioeconomic and environmental problems (Dano et al., 2020; Sawyer, 2014). This situation was compounded by the major challenges in the planning administrative framework which are discussed in greater detail in the next section.

Urbanization and planning challenges in Lagos

Lagos is confronted with serious urbanization challenges. As population growth continues to outstrip planning efforts, there is an escalating crisis of basic services and infrastructure provision (see table 35.1). Access to potable public water supply in Lagos is the lowest for West African cities with fewer than 5% of households having a piped household connection (Abubakar, 2019;) and only 28.1% of households have access to improved sanitation (UN-Habitat 2014). Also, most of the 13,000 metric tonnes of solid waste generated daily end up in landfills, drainages, beaches, and water bodies (Economist, 2014).

Table 35.1: Access to infrastructure and basic services in Lagos

Population and growth indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Population - 23 million - Population Density – 6871persons/ km² - Growth rate: 4-5%/ annum
Socio – economic indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low Income: ≤\$1.9/day: 79.5% - Middle class: \$2-10/day: 18.7% - Upper class: ≥\$10/day: 1.8% - % employed in informal economy: 68% - Gini Coefficient: 0.64

Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Housing deficit: 3 million units - 69% living in slums and informal settlements
Public transportation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 3% via BRT - 72% via informal bus service
Access to basic services and infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Water: ≤ 5% of households have a piped household connection - % vulnerable to flooding: 50% and 79% - Access to electricity: 1000MW vs 4000mw required - Access to improved sanitation: 28.1%

Source: <http://globalmunicipaldatabase.unhabitat.org/>; <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/24376>; <https://ng.boell.org/2016/02/12/urban-planning-processes-lagos>; <http://urn.icfwebservices.com/publications/pathways-out-of-urban-water-poverty>

These challenges are exacerbated by rising inequality and the over-concentration of infrastructure in predominantly elite areas (Elias and Omojola, 2015); criminalization of informal economic actors (Lawanson, 2018), as well as corruption and technical deficiencies in the planning bureaucracy (Oduwaye, 2009). The next section will evaluate the existing planning administrative framework and its approach of addressing these challenges.

Overview of the planning administrative framework

The institutional response to the challenges of urbanization and planning challenges in Lagos is the planning administrative framework. Major tasks include the preparation, monitoring, and implementation of physical development plans, and the implementation and enforcement of planning regulations, which are carried out through various planning agencies.

Planning agencies

The institutional structures tasked with physical planning administration in Lagos have evolved over time (Table 35.2). Even though planning activities have been carried out since the colonial era, physical planning was not given the priority it deserved until recently. The Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) was created in 1928 as the dominant agency responsible for major land use development. Most of its planning activities centered along with slum clearance. It was merged to establish Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) in 1972 to provide planning services, the development of planning schemes, and housing and industrial layouts. Since then, planning administrative framework, the provisions of the law and planning agencies charged with its implementation have constantly metamorphosed (Aluko, 2010). It often was a department in various ministries ranging from Economic Planning to Housing and Lands. During the era of military rule, the department of physical planning was an appendage to the Governor's office. It became a full-fledged ministry only in 2003. One can, therefore, conclude that physical planning and urban development became a state priority within the last sixteen years, shortly after crossing the 10million population threshold to become a megacity in 2002 (UN-Habitat, 2004).

Table 35.2: Lagos state planning administrative structure (1928 – date) (LASG, 2012)

Year	Agency
1928	Lagos Executive Development Board
1972	Lagos State Development Property Corporation
1973 – 1978	Ministry of Works and Planning

1978 – 1979	Ministry of Housing, Surveys, and Special Duties
1979 – 1984	Ministry of Economic Planning and Land Matters
1984 – 1985	Department of Lands, Housing and Development Matters
1985 – 1986	Department of The Environment
1987 – 1989	Department of the Environment and Physical Planning
1990 – 1991	Ministry of Environment and Physical Planning
1992 – 1993	Office of the Environment and Physical Planning
1994 - 1999	Ministry of Environment and Physical Planning
1999 – 2003	Office of Physical Planning, Ministry of Environment and Physical Planning
2003 – 2004	Ministry of Physical Planning
2004 – Date	Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development

The Lagos state ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development has the following statutory responsibilities (LASG, 2014)

- initiation, formulation, execution, monitoring, and evaluation of lan use planning, urban development, and urban renewal policies and programs
- preparing regional, master, model city plans, action and development plans for excised villages
- granting of approval and monitoring of layouts and development schemes for state and private agencies
- evaluating, relocating, and regularizing urban developments and activities: fuel stations, banks, eateries, markets, institution, and informal sectors
- supervising agencies charged with the various responsibilities (See Table 35.3)
- managing electronic document and geographic information systems
- selecting sites for state agencies and other institutions
- inter-agency linkages

Table 35.3: Physical planning agencies in Lagos State (LASG, 2018)

<p>Lagos State Physical Planning Permit Authority</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - issuance of development permit - preparation of lower-level physical development plans e.g. district plans, local plans, etc. - Monitoring compliance with operative development plans - keeping records and gazetting of planning permits 	<p>Lagos State Building Control Agency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Building control - Construction stage certification - Issuance of certificate of completion and fitness for habitation - Removal of illegal and distressed buildings
<p>Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monitoring and identifying areas qualified for upgrading - Advising the government on redevelopment or renewal programs - Holding, administering and maintaining government properties within areas designated as urban renewal areas 	<p>Urban Furniture Regulatory Unit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Registration of all owners and operators of masts, towers, parabolic antennae (VSAT), and similar structures - Developing, maintaining and updating the database of all existing telecommunication and similar structures - Ensuring compliance with high-quality infrastructural materials - Enforcement of appropriate physical planning law

Even though the planning legislation makes provisions for the establishment of the Physical Planning and Building Control Agency Appeals Committee (Appeals Committee) and the Technical Advisory Committee on Physical Planning and Building Control, these are yet to be institutionalized. However, since 2015, two new agencies have been established under the jurisdiction of the ministry in direct response to chronic challenges of the city. The Lagos State Planning and Environmental Monitoring Agency is responsible for identifying illegal developments and shanties, while the Lagos state material testing laboratory is responsible for ensuring the structural integrity of buildings and also ensuring construction materials are of good quality to mitigate building collapse (LASG, 2018). Between 2011 and 2015, at least 200 blighted communities and 22 cases of building collapse were recorded in Lagos (Adetunji, Oyeleye and Akindele, 2018). A recent case of a school building collapsed in March 2019 resulted in twenty deaths (Africanews, 2019)

Planning laws

The first national post-independent planning law for the country is the NURPL 1992 with drastic provisions aimed at overhauling the administration of urban and regional planning throughout the nation. The significant feature of the law is the provision of a federal planning framework that recognizes the three tiers of government: Local, State, and Federal; as the basis of planning and empowering each tier with specific planning responsibilities. Lagos was the first sub-national entity to domesticate the NURPL of 1992, with the promulgation of the Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Law, Edict No 2 of 1998. In line with the provisions of the NURPL, the 1998 Edict assigned various responsibilities to the urban and regional planning board at the state level and local planning authorities at local government levels, respectively. The law focused heavily on development control to the exclusion of other planning functions.

Due likely to these shortfalls, a new State law was enacted for the "Administration of Physical Planning, Urban and Regional Development, Establishment and Functions of Physical Planning and Development Agencies" (Lagos State Official Law No.9, 2005). This law focused on centralizing urban planning powers within the Ministry of Physical Planning, against the spirit of democracy on the one hand, and the concept of bringing planning close to the local level on the other. In addition to the major provisions of the 1998 edict, the following are the major highlights of this edict:

- The Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development shall be in charge of all physical planning and urban development in the State.
- The following authorities shall be created under the authority of the Ministry: Lagos State Physical Planning and Development Authority; and Lagos Urban Renewal Authority.
- The Ministry shall be in charge of preparing and approving the following hierarchies of plans: regional, sub-regional, master and urban center plans.
- The Ministry shall be in charge of processing and issuing all building development permits and ensuring compliance.
- The Ministry shall provide technical assistance to all government ministries and agencies on physical planning matters.
- The Physical Planning and Development Authority shall have powers to exercise operational control and supervision over its constituent District Town Planning Offices and Local Planning Offices.

- The Urban Renewal Authority shall be in charge of identifying, preparing and implementing areas approved for upgrading and redevelopment.
- Every State physical planning agency shall with the approval of the Commissioner set up programs for preparing and reviewing development plans.

This law was replaced with the 2010 Urban and Regional Planning law which was formulated to guide the conceptualization, preparation and implementation of spatial plans, policies, and programs targeting urban development, renewal and building control within the state (Alabi and Bako, 2018). The law provides for the administration of physical planning and centralizes planning power within the Ministry. Some other laws relevant to planning administration in Lagos are as follows:

- Lagos State Emergency Management Agency Law, 2008, which regulates the activities of agencies charged with disaster preparedness, response, and management, including cases of building collapse, distressed buildings, and fire incidents. The law also established procedures for removing hazardous structures.
- The Lagos State Model City Development Law, 2009 for the implementation of approval orders, upgrade of existing facilities, provision of infrastructure and management of the same within the context of the various Model City Plans.
- Lagos State Public-Private Partnership Law, 2011 that guides the collaboration of agencies of government with private sector partners for the preparation, development, and implementation of strategic master plans for public infrastructure in the state. The law established the basis for the collaboration of all relevant ministries and government agencies in this regard.

While these laws are explicit, there have been varying levels of success with their implementation and enforcement. These will be discussed in the next section.

Physical development plans

Plan preparation has been documented in Lagos since 1964 when the Koenigsberger led Report on Metropolitan Lagos was released (Ilesanmi, 2010). LEDB's Draft Master Plan for Lagos (1965 - 1985) was released thereafter with no records indicating its completion or implementation. With Lagos State serving the dual role of the state capital and federal capital in the 1970s, efforts were made to guide developments across the state, and these brought about the preparation of two (2) comprehensive 20-years development plans. These are Master Plan for Metropolitan Lagos (1980 – 2000) by Wilbur Smith Associates and Lagos Regional Plan (1980 – 2000) by Doxiadis Associates, which was subsequently reviewed by John Asiyebi and Associates in 2005.

The Masterplan of Metropolitan Lagos (1980 - 2000) was a comprehensive plan to guide development in Lagos over time. The regional plan provided an economic and social development framework for the state and established the foundation for the preparation of other urban, metropolitan, district and local areas plans within Lagos State. The various volumes of the report examined the role of Lagos at the regional, national and international scale, with emphasis on challenges arising from the natural environment, population, economic development, and settlements. This plan identified 35 distinct districts as development nodes for the state. These include Surulere, Ikeja, Obalende, Ikorodu, Ipaja, and Alimosho among others. Unfortunately, the pace of growth of the state outstripped the provisions of these development plans. Furthermore, the guiding philosophies did not allow for flexibility, hence the response to the dynamic urban change was ineffective. The plan was quite unwieldy hence it was not effectively implemented.

With the population growth far exceeding projections in the plan, numerous challenges including housing shortage, the proliferation of slums, unequal distribution of economic activity centers, poor urban infrastructure, traffic congestion, etc became the order of the day.

With the advent of civilian governance in 1999 came the articulation of long-term development priorities through policy documents. The Lagos State Development Plan (LSDP) 2012-2025 came into being by harmonizing all existing policy documents to provide overall direction for the State's socioeconomic development. The LSDP recommended the review of the planning administrative structure and the establishment of a hierarchy of physical plans for the entire state starting with the Regional Master Plan at the apex (comprehensive plan), District Master Plans (sub-regional and model city plans) and Neighborhood Development and layout Plans (LASG, 2015).

Since 1999, a series of model city plans and regional plans have been prepared to address urban development challenges at the smaller time and geographic scales, leaning heavily on the categorizations of the Lagos Regional Plan of the 1980s. While nine plans have been completed, three are still on-going (Epe, Ikorodu, and Oshodi-Isolo), while two (Kosofe and Lagos Island West) are yet to commence. There have also been revisions of the various plans over time (Table 35.4). However, there is an urgent need to integrate existing and proposed development plans into the comprehensive city-level spatial planning framework to ensure a more coherent development planning process.

Table 35.4 Lagos state model city and sub-regional master plans.

Plan	Period	Plan philosophy	Status
Ikoyi-Victoria Island model city plan	2005 – 2015	Twin cities concept, compact city and growth management strategy.	revised to 2013 – 2033. completed
Ikeja model city pan	2010 – 2020	Model city philosophy; urban regeneration	revised to 2017 – 2036, completed
Alimosho model city plan	2010 - 2020	Green and Pleasant city, Sustainable city; growth management strategy, MDGs	completed
Badagry sub-regional master plan	2011 - 2032	Flexible master plan with walkable and accessible public open spaces	revised 2013; Completed
Apapa model city plan	2010 - 2020	A sustainable city, multi-dimensional city; green city, compact city	completed
Agege – Ifako Ijaiye model city plan	2013 - 2033	Compact city; green city concept	completed
Mainland central model city plan	2013 - 2030	Integrated multifaceted strategy encompassing infrastructure, planning, landscape, and urban design	completed
Lekki sub-region comprehensive master plan	2006 - 2030	Blue green environment city	Completed
Epe sub-regional master plan	2016 – 2036	Sub-regional development framework, Sustainable Environment	Final draft submitted 2017, yet to be signed off for implementation
Oshodi-Isolo model city plan	2017 - 2036	Compact city, sustainable city	Draft submitted 2018,

Ikorodu Sub-region master plan	2016 – 2030	Ecocity, resilient city, smart city, growth management strategy, SDGs	draft submitted 2018,
Lagos Island West enclave district plan			Yet to commence
Kosofe District plan			Yet to commence

The various plans have achieved varying levels of success due to poor implementation, administrative bottlenecks, divergence with extant planning laws and lack of access by the public. Institutional lethargy seems also to have set in as draft plans for Epe, Oshodi Isolo and Ikorodu submitted in 2017-2018 are yet to be concluded. With barely months to the terminal date of Apapa and Alimosho model city plans, there is also no activity towards the reviews of these plans.

Assessment of the Lagos planning administrative framework

Despite the extensive planning reforms since 2000, the urban development challenges in Lagos remain relatively insurmountable. Literature highlights three important elements that must be in place for the effective implementation of any urban development agenda¹. These are governance structures (decentralized government, urban planning, and management institutions); means of implementation (finance, capacity, partnerships, and enabling policy frameworks) and evidence base and practical guidance (data, interdisciplinary research, and academia - policy interface). Casting a lens on these elements in the context of Lagos is necessary.

Governance structures

Despite the clear three-tier planning hierarchy established through the NURPL of 1992 which provides for the local planning authority at the local government level, and the planning district and commission at state and federal levels respectively, planning administration is highly centralized in Lagos. The Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Law (2010) only recognizes the creation of planning offices at the state level and “*Local Planning Permit Offices in cooperation with the Local Governments and Local Development Areas for the discharge of its functions at the Local Government level.*” The role of the Local Planning permit Offices is confined to development control activities and does not recognize the gamut of planning responsibilities including the preparation and implementation of local, action and neighborhood plans. This has resulted in a situation where the state planning agencies are overwhelmed and unable to discharge their functions efficiently and promptly. The resultant effect is the proliferation of squatter settlement across the state and the erosion of local community participation, contrary to the principles of participatory planning.

There is a huge gap between residents and the planning administrative framework. Lagos ranks 16th and 37th out of Nigeria’s 37 states on ease of registering property and accessing construction permits respectively on the World Bank’s “*Ease of Doing Business index*”². Planning is top-down and autocratic, with many residents only interacting with the planning agencies during enforcement and/or demolition exercises. The failure to set up the Appeals Committee as provided for in the 2010 law to provide an avenue for residents to seek redress on actions of the planning agencies is also indicative. Furthermore, the model city and sub-regional masterplans, though public documents, are largely inaccessible to members of the public.

Another gap in the planning administrative framework in Lagos is the absence of clear distinction in the functions of statutory agencies. This results in a lack of coordination between and among agencies as well as the overlapping and duplication of some functions. The 2010 Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Law distinguishes development control from building control, with two agencies established for different purposes (Adediran, 2017). While development control is extensively outlined in the law and tasks for the Lagos state physical planning permit authority, the Law made little provision for operations of the Lagos Building Control Agency. Hence, there are tensions between the two agencies as to their working briefs and jurisdictional powers. This is due largely to the inability to develop the subsidiary regulations to guide planning and building control recommended since 2008. The enforcement of the National Building Code 2006 would be a more fit-for-purpose guiding document of the agency, hence the domestication of the building code should be expedited.

The planning administrative framework is also encumbered by political challenges. For example, the process to conclude the physical development plans for Epe, Oshodi Isolo and Ikorodu and have them signed into law as policy documents have been stalled for about two years. This has rendered the purposive role of the planner as development guide redundant as Lagos has been expanding informally with little input from urban planning professionals (Dano et al., 2020). In recent times, the role of the planner in the implementation of physical development plans is more responsive (development control and urban regeneration).

Means of implementation

An assessment of the budgetary allocation to the Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development reveals significant gaps. The subvention grew from ₦254 million in 2010 to ₦338 million in 2012 and then fell consistently in 2013 and 2014 until it reached an all-time low of ₦232 million in 2015 (Table 35.5). Personnel costs also fell sharply between 2014 and 2015, indicating a massive lay-off of professional expertise, likely through retirement. The reduction in subvention to the Physical Planning Ministry has far-reaching consequences for the urban environment, as the remaining officers will no doubt be overwhelmed and ill-equipped to carry out their mandates of guiding spatial development of the state. It is also noteworthy that recruitments into the State's public service, particularly for the professional cadre was stalled for many years. While it must be stated that oftentimes, the budget is not fully implemented, the allocated figures are grossly inadequate for the ministry to establish and maintain all the institutions that are statutorily required for urban planning and administration.

Table 35.5: Lagos State Budgetary Allocation to the Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development in millions of Naira (2010 - 2016)

Year	Revenue (Crf) (₦)	Revenue Dedicated Account (Recurrent) (₦)	Personnel Cost (₦)	Overhead Cost (₦)	Capital Contribution & Receipts (Inflow & Outflow) (₦)	Capital Expenditure (₦)	Subvention (₦)
2010	4,848	160.260	360.577	33.915	12900	2085	254
2011	3,855	198.975	506.384	50,510	8245	1460	264
2012	4,154	302.955	641,050	45.459	9760	4517.267	338.572
2013	3,481	255.558	884.495	63.679	7500	4618.439	242.320
2014	2,114	255.558	940.706	57.679	7500	3492.073	238.820
2015	2,041	263.574	572.602	58.586	4182.168	3479.542	232.421

2016	5.157	409.776	1093.204	100.000	5027.341	9331.400	315.729
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Source: Lagos State Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget: Approved Budget Omnibus: 2010 – 2016)

The ministry also benefits from loans and intermittent grants for urban regeneration and the achievement of the Sustainable Development goals by international organizations. Some of them include the Global Future Cities Program of DFID/UN-Habitat to support urban planning and transport sector reforms, and the World Bank-funded Lagos Metropolitan Development and Governance Program to support urban regeneration and institutional capacity reforms.

This is in addition to the state government exploring the public-private partnerships model to achieve some of its urban development objectives. The partnerships were deployed in the construction of 20,000 housing units via a rent-to-own scheme, and 5008 units through the mortgage scheme of the Lagos Homeownership Project (LSMOH, 2017). Even though the project implementation is slow, it is a commendable approach to addressing the 3million unit housing deficit. Though still at infancy, the urban regeneration model incorporating slum upgrading, leverage planning and local economic development for Bariga and Lagos Island respectively is expected to benefit more than 10,000 residents who currently live in precarious housing (LASG, 2018).

Conclusion: Towards a more effective planning administrative framework for Lagos

Lagos is one of the rapidly expanding megacities of Global South where the extent of urbanization challenges intensifies daily. The key urbanization challenges faced by Lagos include congestion, income inequality, and crimes, shortage of housing and proliferation of slums, inefficient transportation services, and inadequate delivery of essential public services such as drinking water, sanitation, and garbage collection. As such, since the return of democratic governance in 1999 the State Government has initiated an extensive planning reform paradigm, developing a few model city and sub-regional master plans to address the city’s urbanization challenges.

Whereas nine urban plans have been completed, three are still on-going, while two are yet to commence. There have also been revisions of the various plans over time. However, there is an urgent need to integrate existing and proposed development plans into the comprehensive city-level spatial planning framework for a coherent development planning process. Similarly, there is a need for more coordination among agencies to reduce the overlapping and duplication of some functions.

While access to data is a vital component of planning administration, the data required for urban planning is difficult to assess publicly. Despite the Lagos state government’s commitment to open and inclusive government, the Vital Data page (mepb.lagosstate.gov.ng/lbs-publication) hosting data sets such as transport statistics 2018, Lagos household survey 2016 has a paywall requiring log-in access. Similarly, the Lagos Geographic Information System (LAGIS), established to provide geo-referenced data to inform decision making in urban planning and governance is publicly available at a cost higher than what is obtainable elsewhere. It is, therefore, necessary to activate the state’s open data policy and make data and planning information more accessible to the public. Facilitating public access to data, improved budgetary allocation with judicious use of resources, decentralization of planning activities, transparency, and increased public involvement in the planning process are the *sine qua non* for transiting Lagos to a sustainable city with effective urban planning and governance practices.

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² World bank. Subnational doing business in Nigeria, 2018

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