

Governance and Quality of Infrastructure / Services in The Peri-Urban Settlements of The Benue Basin, Nigeria

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Abstract: Literature has shown that in many countries of the global south, increasing urban growths since the contemporary urbanization trend has provoked the emergence of new peri-urban settlements with severe governance challenges for sustainable development of cities. This study assessed governance issues and infrastructure provision in fringe settlements of five (5) capital cities in the Benue Basin (Lafia, Makurdi, Lokoja, Jalingo and Yola). In each of the five capital cities, the first two largest peri-urban settlements were selected for the study. The required data was collected through focus group discussions, questionnaires interviews and by field observation while descriptive statistical tools such as percentages and averages as well as charts and tables were the basis for data analysis. Findings revealed that the peri-urban settlements around the major cities of the Benue Basin are generally poorly governed. This is manifested in poor control of physical development and poor land administration. Also the result shows that level of provision of public amenities and infrastructure in the fringe settlement is low and that the few existing facilities are poorly maintained. Consequently has been recommended that to improve the quality of life of residents of the peri-urban settlements, the administrative boundaries of the cities should be redefined properly to encapsulate the emerging settlements at the fringes into the main urban fabric for effective administration facilitate effective delivery of urban amenities /infrastructural facilities.

Key words: urban governance, peri-urban settlements, urban infrastructure services.

Date of Submission: 04-03-2019

Date of acceptance: 20-03-2019

I. Introduction

As the greater percentage of the global society is increasingly becoming urban since the beginning of the 20th century, development at the peri-urban areas has attracted increased attention because of the rapid horizontal expansion of the cities. At present approximately 54% of world population live in areas considered as urban and according to Avis (2016) this is expected to rise to 66% by 2050. Much of this rapid population explosion and physical expansion of towns and cities is nonetheless occurring in countries of the developing world especially in Africa, South East Asia, and Latin America. In Africa, Nigeria has one of the fastest urbanisation trends and urban centres within the last 50 years have witnessed unprecedented growth rates. In the Benue Basin, whereas 50 years ago there were few settlements with up to 50,000 population, the number today is more than 10 with scores more having between 20,000 and 50,000. This growth has been characterized not only by population agglomerations and physical expansion of the cities but also a characteristically high rate of emergence of small and medium settlements at the city fringes.

While cities command a dominant role in the global economy as centres of both production and consumption due to good governance, rapid urbanization and urban growth trends throughout the developing world have seemingly overwhelmed government authorities in terms of administration and service provision. Consequently, in most large urban centres, the lean resources available are often directed more towards servicing of the more core or inner areas of the city. While the new settlements that have organically evolved at peripheral locations due to pressure at the centre are sparingly catered for. In Nigeria since the creation of states, the state capitals in the Benue basin have expanded tremendously and several new residential districts have emerged; some of these lie at peripheral locations from the centres of these cities. Given the lean capacities of government authorities to manage urbanisation it is not clear whether the new peri-urban districts are being properly serviced (by public agencies /institutions charged with the responsibilities of providing urban services). It is against this background that this paper examines the effects of governance on the provision of urban services/facilities in the peri-urban settlements around the major cities in the Benue basin.

II. Literature Review

The sprawling expansion of cities occasioned by contemporary urbanization has in recent years drawn the attention of scholars to peri-urban development, particularly because of the conflicts/competition between new (urban) and traditional (rural) land uses (Busck et al., 2006; Qviström, 2007). Consequently several terms have been employed to describe this geographic space: the urban fringe, urban periphery, inner rural and the urban commuting zone (Bryant et al 1982). In the same vein various attempts have been made to define the concept 'peri-urban'. According to Anthrop (2000) and Ode and Fry (2006) the peri-urban areas are those areas adjacent to built up areas of high population concentrations where traditional farming activities come into conflict with alternative economic, residential and recreational interests. To Wiggins and Proctor (2001) it is the zone engaged in intense interactions with the urban - by daily commuting. Finally, Maconachie and Binns (2006) focusing on African peri-urban areas characterize the peri-urban zone as the area with a "blurring" between rural and urban that is highly dynamic in terms of competition for basic resources. In this study however, the peri-urban areas are defined as those areas which are transitioning between the urban and traditional rural landscapes as determined by daily commuting distance to the CBDs of the nearby city and or town.

In Western Europe and much of the developed world, urbanisation debuted in the later part of the 20th century largely due to steady economic and population growths and stable patterns of governance. This created what has been referred to as dynamic and/or multiple use landscapes (Busck et al., 2006) in the fringe areas. On the contrary, African urbanisation has been rather rapid and chaotic, and is imbued with deficiencies in regulation and inadequate governance systems (Maconachie and Binns, 2006). According to Avis (2016) urban governance refers to how government and stakeholders decide how to plan, finance and manage urban areas. This involves the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a city's affairs at all levels.

Urban governments around the world are saddled with the mandate to plan and control use of lands, provide and manage basic infrastructure and services in the urban areas for the functionality of the urban communities. The planning mandate includes land administration which is conceptualized as the manner in which the rules and processes of land tenure are applied and made operational in any given place. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE, 1993) defines it as "the process of determining, recording and disseminating information about ownership, value and use of land and its associated resources". In Nigeria, such processes and rules are spelt out in the Land Use Act, 1990 as well as other regulatory documents. The scope of the study however limits this to only include mode of acquisition of land, types and security of tenure and the mechanism of resolving conflicts and disputes in the acquisition and development of landed properties.

Furthermore urban governments owe the urban citizens the responsibility of providing sufficient, affordable and good quality urban services such as solid waste management, sanitation and urban infrastructure. In Nigeria however, since there is no central administrative structure for the governance of cities, agencies of the different tiers of government (National, State, and Local) are saddled with the responsibility of providing these services. And because there are no official physical municipal boundaries and no clear boundaries to the mandates of the different agencies involved in the provision of these services their actions potentially lead to conflicts and or duplication of functions (Gyuse 2013, Iorliam 2010). Achieving effective delivery of services under this scenario could therefore be hampered by several challenges such as absence of strategic planning process, lack of production, implementation and enforcement of detailed land use plans, environmental degradation as well as inadequate or absence of infrastructure (Lamond, Lewis, Falade, Awuneh and Bloch 2015).

Granting therefore the rapidly emerging peri-urban settlements around the capital cities in the Benue basin on the one hand and the method of urban governance in Nigeria (that is characteristically diffused among several agencies with no clear mandates) on the other, what is the level of urban services' delivery to the new peripheral settlements around the cities? This is the crux of the matter and this paper is set to analyse the state of service delivery in the fringe communities of the 5 capital cities in the Benue basin. These include Lafia, Makurdi, Lokoja, Jalingo and Yola. The capital cities were chosen because they are not only the largest urban centres in the states and have the greatest attention by the government (in terms of physical infrastructure and urban services), but most fundamentally because they are places where for several reasons many new residential districts have evolved around their peripheries. The basic services included in the study were: physical infrastructure facilities and social services –roads, schools, markets, hospitals, recreation centres, water and electricity supply, waste management, security services –fire, police, and local vigilante.

III. The Study Area.

The Benue River Basin is a vast geographic region stretching from the North Central to parts of North Eastern states of Nigeria. It is located between latitudes $6^{\circ}13'$ and $17^{\circ} 11'$ North of the equator and between longitudes $12^{\circ} 07'$ and $16^{\circ} 27'$ East of the Greenwich Meridien (Figure 1a). The river basin is drained largely by the Benue River and its tributaries (Figure 1b). Geographically the River Benue drainage basin spreads across 7 adjoining states (Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba, Adamawa and parts of Kogi, Plateau and Gombe states). However, only five states namely Benue, Nasarawa, Adamawa Taraba and Kogi, were included in this investigation. Within these states the peri-urban fringe settlements of the state capitals were selected. These include Felele and Jimgbe around Lokoja (Kogi state), Tse-Pool and Mu around Makurdi (Benue State), Shabu around Lafia (Nasarawa State), Kona and Sabon-gari around Jalingo (Taraba State) and Bachure and Jambutu around Yola (Adamawa State).

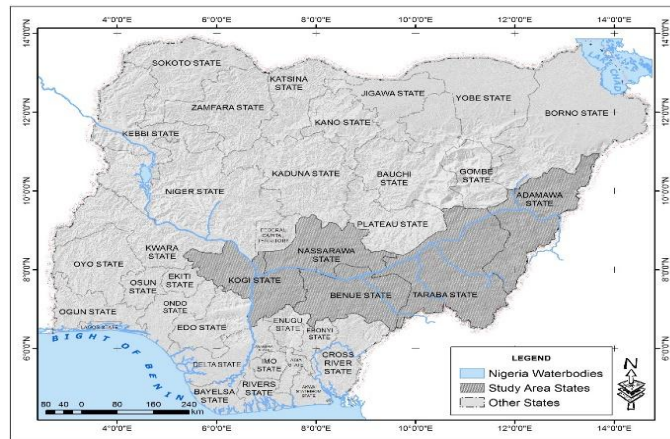


Fig. 1a: The Five States Within the Basin



Figure 1b. The River Benue Basin showing its drainage tributaries

IV. Methodology

The survey research design was employed for the study and focus group discussions FGD, questionnaires and field observation were employed for data collection. Governance issues studied were land administration and development control while infrastructure/social services studied include roads, water, electricity, schools, markets, hospitals, recreation centres, waste disposal, fire services and police security services. Data on infrastructure / social service delivery was acquired through FGD with community leaders (including youth leaders and elders) in the fringe settlements and through field observation. The study variables include what is available, its adequacy, who provided it, quality of service, present condition, and who maintains it. On the other hand structured questionnaires were administered to heads of households to collect data on land administration practices and development control activities. The data collected were descriptively analysed using tables, charts and percentages. Excerpts from FGD are summarised in tables. Fig. 2 illustrates one of the focus group discussion sessions with community leaders in a fringe settlement.



Fig. 2. A focus group discussion session with urban fringe community leaders at Tse-Poor settlement Makurdi, Benue state.

V. Results

(i) Land ownership and administration in the fringe settlements of the Benue basin.

Easy access to land facilitates speedy development of urban communities. Consequently good governance entails among other things administrative procedures that grants equal access to land with a minimum of conflicts. Urban governments around the world hold a central authority in land administration within their territories with clear laid down guidelines that facilitates easy land transactions and registration of titles. Without such a structure in place, multiple sales and other sharp practices may result in chaos and conflicts on the urban peripheral communities. This is especially so in communities like Nigeria where such lands are often held under traditional claims. The result of findings concerning land tenure and administration in the peri-urban settlements in the Benue basin are summarised on table 1 and in figure 3.

Table 1: Land ownership and administration at the city fringes in the Benue basin.

Variable	Yola %	Makurdi %	Lokoja %	Lafia %	Jalingo %	Total % Mean
i. Type of ownership						
Rental	29.91	3.73	3.84	31.10	5.58	15.39
Care taker	4.40	3.73	59.44	3.02	1.52	15.09
Owner occu.	65.69	92.54	36.71	65.88	92.8	69.43 *
ii. Mode of acquisition						
Inheritance	16.82	52.20	19.25	47.12	35.84	35.77
Purchase	61.53	44.50	53.47	43.55	58.01	51.63 *
Govt. alloc.	21.63	3.30	27.27	9.33	6.13	12.60
iii. Any statutory title to land?						
Yes	80.21	28.52	54.44	79.40	41.90	54.75 *
No	19.78	71.48	45.56	20.60	58.10	45.25
iv. Authority issuing title to the property						
Local Govt	45.99	50.55	77.56	33.32	62.70	46.42
State Govt.	54.01	59.45	22.44	66.10	36.50	53.25 *
Fed. Govt.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.58	0.80	0.38

Source: URN Team field survey (2017)

The findings in Table 1 revealed that predominantly people living at the fringe settlements acquire land mostly through owner (approximately 70%). The lesser percentage population are either rental living in rented places or are simply caretakers of other people's properties. This is further illustrated in figure 3

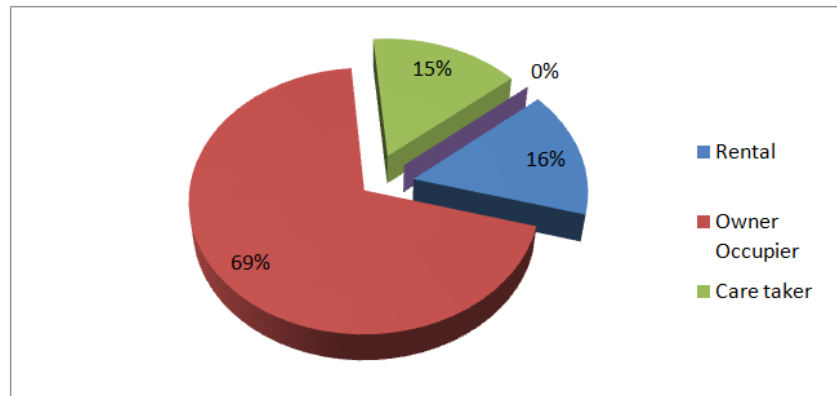


Fig. 3: Type of Tenure

In terms of how the land were acquired, table 1 also revealed thatt over half of the residents acquired their land through purchase probably from the native holders. This means that the locals have greater control on land at the peripheries than government agencies. As rents at core areas of the city are high, many people including new migrants choose to buy land from the native owners in the fringe community at cheaper rates whereupon they build their homes. Apart from those these dominating category, about one third or 35% of the fringe residents inherited their landed property. Since this is a zone of transition between the truly rural and truly urban, this category of land holders could have been the original inhabitants from the villages that have now been engulfed into the urban fabric. So they still retain their traditional title to the land of their fore fathers which they still liberty to sell out at will without any encumbrances. In the fringe communities, only barely 12% of the owners of plots got it through government allocations. This is also further shown in the chart in fig. 4

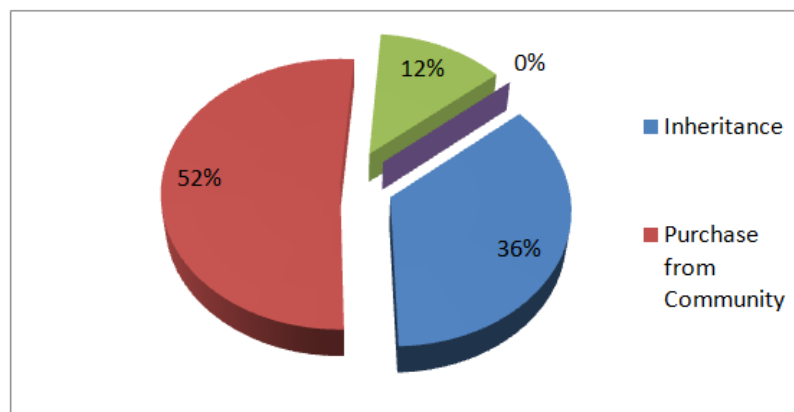


Fig. 4: Mode of Acquisition of Property Rights

The chart in fig.4 shows that the urban governments of the various major cities have only little control on land administration in these communities. The implication is that control of physical development through planning is still at much minimal level and is open to resistance from the natives since they still maintain strong grip on their fore fathers lands. This shows also that both government and locals are participating in the allocation of land with the later having an upper hand.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they obtained land titles for their land. Of the 1021 respondents, 55% indicated that they have statutory title over their land before building thereon. while 45% of the population had no legal title and by extension, the no development permission. Extracts from FGDs indicate that, there is low compliance to development regulations due largely to complicated bureaucracies and weak enforcement. The result of all these and several others issues is as illustrated in figs.5 and 6

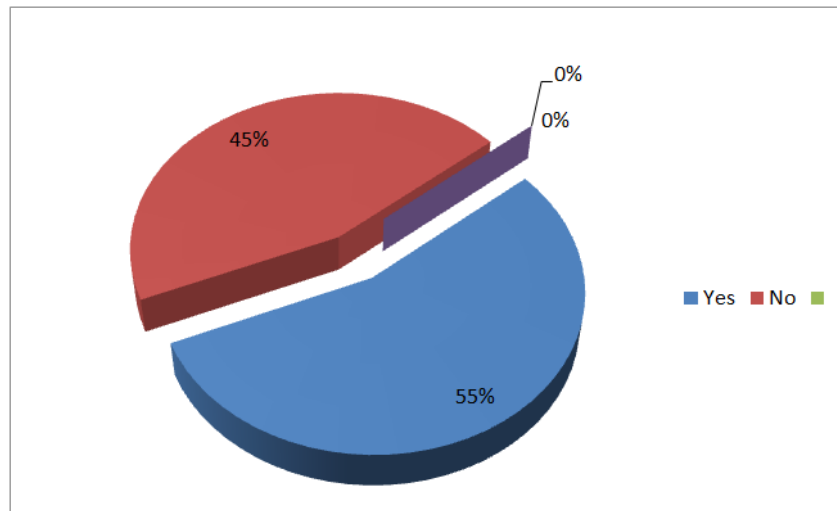


Fig. 5: Percentage of land owners with statutory titles to their Land in the Benue Basin

Out of those who had statutory titles on the land, 52% got these from state government while 48% were granted local government certificate of ownership titles (fig 6). The implication of the grant of legal title on land by two different authorities brings to the fore the problem of jurisdictional boundaries between state agencies that control land administration in the state capital cities and local government authorities that looks over rural settlements within their jurisdiction. Conflicts therefore arise as each arm of government lay claim on administration and control of the peripheral fringe communities.

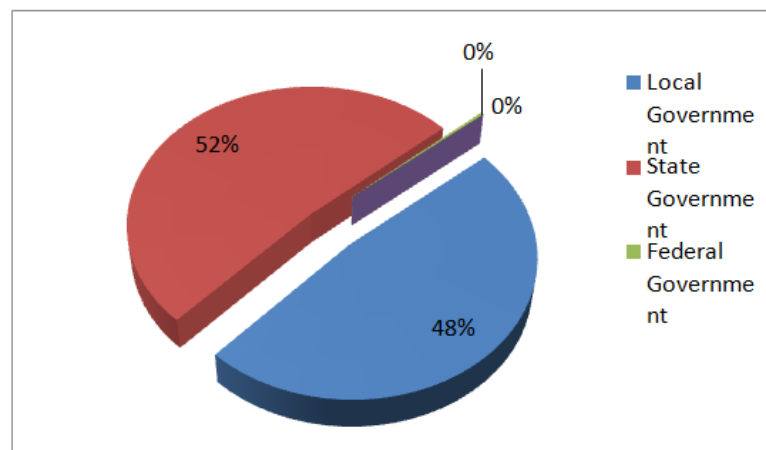


Fig 6: Who granted the legal Title (certificate of occupancy) on land in the fringe communities

Heads of households were probed further to ascertain if they encountered problems in the course of developing their property. A survey of the holders of properties in the fringe settlements shows that a greater percentage (80%) did not encounter any problem during the stages of development and occupation of their houses (see table 2 and fig 7). This may apparently be due to direct transaction between the buyers and native sellers without any third party influences in the process of the land transaction. The remaining percentage however indicated having encountered some challenges and the Table 2 also shows how the conflicts/challenges were resolved. From the table in the urban fringe settlements despite the influences of urbanization, community elders still maintain dominant influence in the resolution of any conflict or challenges that the residents face in the course of their day to day running.

Table 2.:Land Conflict Resolution in the urban fringes of the Benue basin.

	Yola	Makurdi	Lokoja	Lafia	Jalingo	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	% Mean
i. Do you encounter any problem about ownership or during development of the property?						
Yes	7.20	14.80	18.40	21.00	19.60	16.3
No	92.80	85.20	81.60	79.00	80.40	83.6
ii. Who resolved the problem?						

Youth	10.60	15.60	8.11	2.94	1.04	6.4
Elders	39.40	84.40	43.24	61.80	75.00	64.8
Loc. Govt	18.40	0.0	29.70	17.64	12.50	14.4
State Govt.	31.60	0.0	18.90	17.64	11.50	14.4

Source: URN Team field survey (2017)

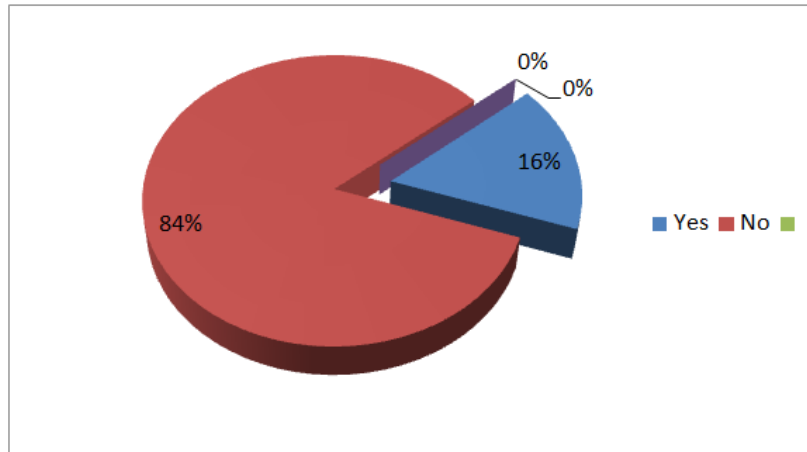


Fig.8: Problems encountered During Development of Property

Figure 9 shows that both local and state government had minimal roles to play in conflict resolution on land in the urban fringe settlements of cities in the Benue Basin. This is probably so as both state and local governments were scarcely involved in land acquisition within these settlements.

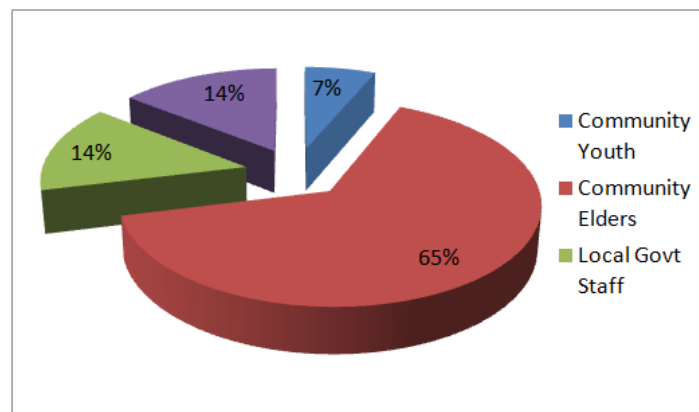


Fig. 9: Conflict Resolution in the fringe communities of the Benue Basin.

(iii) Control of Physical Development in the fringe settlements of the Benue Basin.

Development control is the process by which authorities manage the extent and nature of physical growth in local areas. It presupposes the existence of planning regulations which allows authorities to balance competing needs such as allocating land for farming, while accommodating the growth of cities and towns as well as protecting areas with particular values. Most development control is based on zoning and development provisions in the form of Town Planning Schemes where all land is surveyed and classified in zones. The schemes set out what types of development are appropriate in each zone, and the standards and guidelines that apply. Thus, proposals for development must comply with the requirements and Landowners or leaseholders wishing to develop on their land must apply and obtain or regularize land titles and Development Permission.

Nevertheless, in the fringe settlements of the Benue basin government has little control over land at the peripheries of the major cities and it has no existing plans and guidelines to regulate physical development in the fringe settlements. Enforcement of development control becomes more difficult as governments over the years have reneged in the provision of facilities. Attempts at spot development control in the few layouts produced by government are in some fringe communities such as Agan Toll gate, Mu and Apir in Makurdi, Shabu in Lafia and Bachure in Yola are violently resisted by residents especially the indigenes who feel such attempts may result to balcanisation of the plots they have already sold out or are presently occupying.

(ii) Infrastructure development/ service provision in the fringe communities of the Benue basin.

Infrastructural development is key to effective functioning of urban communities. Effective urban governance is supposed to make live easy and worthwhile for city residents by providing the basic infrastructural facilities and services for the city to function effectively. Excerpts from Focus Group Discussions with community leaders/elders of the fringe settlements surrounding the major capital cities in the Benue basin (Lokoja, Yola, Jalingo, Makurdi and Lafia) that summarises the performances of the various governments in infrastructure provision and maintenance is here presented in Tables 3-7

a. Urban infrastructure provision in the fringe communities of Lokoja town.

The level of infrastructure provision in the peri-urban settlements of Lokoja town is presented in table 3. According to the report in table 1, fringe settlements surrounding Lokoja the capital of Kogi state are poorly provided with urban infrastructural facilities and services. The local residents indicated that where these facilities were provided at all, they are either inadequate or poorly maintained or both. In Jimgbe settlement for instance, responses from the community leaders and elders indicate that though few roads were provided, they have no drainages, culverts and are poorly planned and maintained, consequently network connectivity within the settlement is poor.

Table 3: Excerpts of Focus Group Discussion on infrastructure provision around fringe communities in Lokoja, Kogi State, Nigeria

S/ no	Infrastructural facilities / services	Fringe Settlements	
		Felele	Jimgbe
1.	Road	Government has developed few roads with no drainages in the area. The connectivity of the roads is poor. All the roads are in poor maintenance condition.	Poor road network, not planned
2	Water supply	No government provided water to the community. Two boreholes are provided by community efforts. Quality of water is good but the amount supplied by the bore holes is not enough.	This community has only two boreholes which are through community efforts.
3	Electricity	The community initiated and paid for all the electrical installations such as electric poles, cables and transformers. Electricity is provided by PHCN. The services are not satisfactory. The quality of electricity supply low shedding/voltage and irregular.	Electricity provided by a government parastatal- Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN).
4	Waste management	There is no waste management system in the area. Individuals disposed waste as they want. Some dispose waste into natural channels, nearby bushes by the road side	There is no waste management system
5	Fire service	Not in existence	Not in the existence
6	Police services	No police surveillance	No police surveillance
7	Local vigilante services	There is vigilante service organized by the community to keep watch over this area. The local vigilante is made up of members of the community	The vigilante is made up of registered members of the community
8	Market	There is no market provided in this area. We have to travel to city centre	No market in the area
9	Schools (Nursery/Primary)	Government provided one primary school. There are 2 private primary schools, one secondary school and a Tertiary institution	The local government provided only 1 primary school while private individuals provided 2. There is no secondary school
10	Hospitals	No government owned health care centre. There are 2 private clinics in this area	There are 2 private clinics in the area
11	Recreational centre	No park or public recreational centre	No park or recreational centre

Source: URN Team field survey (2017)

Furthermore, there is no public water supply in the area. They stated that their source of water is from the two boreholes provided by the community through self help effort. The settlement is however provided with public power supply by the government even though the quality in terms of voltage is often low and the supply is often erratic. In terms of education services, the local government has established one public primary school in the village. This is supplemented by two private schools. Nevertheless, the residents of Jimgbe settlement according to our FGD are not provided with urban services like health care and waste management services, markets, recreational centres and security services (police) and fire services. Local security in the community is sought through the local vigilante consisting of registered members of the community.

b. Urban infrastructural provision in the fringe communities of Yola town.

The level of provision of urban infrastructure in the fringe communities of Yola town has been presented in table 4. Result from FGD in Table 4 revealed that in the fringe communities of Yola Adamawa state, out of the 12 urban services highlighted for study 7 of these are not provided for by government. According to the table, government presence can be felt only in the provision of education and health services at Bachure and Jambutu settlements as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Excerpts of Focus Group Discussion on infrastructure around fringe communities in Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria

S/ No	Infrastructural facilities / services	Fringe Settlements	
		Bachure	Jamabutu
1.	Road	Road condition is dilapidated characterized by potholes and are un surfaced	Road is paved and in good condition. However some part is covered in laterite
2	Water supply	No government provided water. Water is sourced from nearby streams/ponds and shallow wells.	Water is sourced from nearby streams/ponds and shallow wells. No pipe born water.
3	Public Electricity supply	Not available	Not available
4	Waste management	Not available	Not available
5	Fire service	Not in existence in the area	Not in the existence in the area
6	Police services	No police services	Available with skeletal services
7	Local vigilante group	There is vigilante service organized by the community to keep watch over the area. The local vigilante is made up of the members of registered members of the community	Available vigilante services consisting of the community members
8	Market	There is market in this area	There is market in the area
9	Schools (Nursery/Primary)	There is a primary and secondary school in the area	There is a primary and secondary school in the area
10	Hospitals	There is a primary health care	There is a primary health care and private clinic
11	Recreational centre	No park or public recreational centre	No park or recreational centre
12	Others	No central motor park	There is a central motor park

Source: URN Team field survey (2017)

Accordingly, urban facilities and services provided at both Bachure and Jambutu include schools and health clinics, markets and access roads (though these are in poor state of maintenance). Also there is one only one police station at Jambutu. As there is no police presence, security in the settlements is generally covered by local vigilante groups that are organised by communal self help initiatives. Other services including recreational parks, fire services as well as public water and electricity services were not provided by the governments.

c. Urban infrastructure provision in the fringe communities of Jalingo town.

The level of infrastructure provision in the peri-urban settlements of Jalingo is presented in table 5. In Jalingo town excerpts from the FGD at two fringe communities –Kona and Sabon-Gari in table 5 shows low provision of urban infrastructure and facilities. According to the result, the facilities provided by government include public electricity supply; some poorly maintained un surfaced roads and primary schools. Other facilities and services such as pipe borne water, waste disposal, and security (police) and fire services are not provided to the communities. Also not available were markets, and a recreational park or centres. There is however a public primary health care facility at Sabon-Gari while at Kona, this is not available. Table 5 shows excerpts of Focus Group Discussion on infrastructure development around fringe communities in Jalingo Taraba State, Nigeria

Table 5: Excerpts of Focus Group Discussion on infrastructure development around fringe communities in Jalingo Taraba State, Nigeria

S/ No	Infrastructural facilities / services	Fringe Settlements	
		Kona	Sabon - Gari
1.	Road	Government constructed the un surfaced access road here. But the condition is dilapidated and is characterized by potholes. We do not have access street here.	Government provided our access road. The road is paved and in good condition. We opened the streets ourselves.
2	Water supply	We do not have public tap water. Individuals have 2 bore holes.	We get water from the nearby stream and shallow wells.

3	Electricity	Available	Government provided electricity available
4	Waste management	Not available	Not available
5	Fire service	There is no fire service in existence	Not in existence
6	Police station	No police station but police from the central city do patrol frequently through the community.	Available with skeletal services
7	Local vigilante group	There is local vigilante group that is made up of registered members of the community and this has been organized by the community to keep watch over the area.	There is vigilante service in the settlement.
8	Market	There is no market in this area	There are some provision stalls but no market in the area
9	Schools (Nursery/Primary)	Government provided one primary in the area. There is however no secondary school in the area	There is a primary and secondary school in the area
10	Hospitals	There is no primary health care	There is a primary health care and private clinic
11	Recreational centre	We do not have a public recreational centre	There is no park or recreational centre
12	Others	No central motor park	There is no central motor park

Source: URN Team field survey (2017)

d. Urban infrastructural provision in the fringe communities of Makurdi town.

The level of infrastructural facilities and services provided in the peri-urban settlements of Makurdi town is presented in table 6. At the Tse-Poor and Mu peripheral of Makurdi town, basic urban services and infrastructure are also sparingly provided as represented in the FGD excerpts on table 6.

Table 6: Excerpts of Focus Group Discussion on infrastructure in fringe communities around Makurdi, Benue State.

S/ No	Infrastructural facilities / services	Fringe Settlements	
		Tse – Poor	M u settlement
1.	Road	The local government opened up the major access road to our settlement. However, there is no maintenance on the road so the road is characterized by many potholes un surfaced. Besides there are no interconnecting street network. Accessibility to individual plots is therefore poor	We have one major access road that passes through the town and this provided by government. Paved and in good condition. However we do not have a good street network that connects individual plots. There is full public electricity supply.
2	Water supply	Not available	Not available
3	Electricity	There is public electricity supply in some parts but not all areas.	Public power supply is available.
4	Waste management	Not available	Not available
5	Fire service	Not in existence in the area	Not in the existence in the area
6	Police station	No police station but police patrol is frequent	There is no police station
7	Local vigilante group	We have organized a self help vigilante group to keep watch over the area.	There is a local vigilante service
8	Market	There is no market in this area	There is no market in the area
9	Schools (Nursery/Primary)	There is a government primary school in the area	There is a primary school that has been established by government.
10	Hospitals	There is no primary health care and private clinic. We go to the city for medical care.	There is no government health care service. Only private clinics that is available.
11	Recreational centre	We don't have a park or public recreational centre	There is no park or recreational centre
12	Others	No central motor park	There is no central motor park

Source: URN Team field survey (2017)

According to the excerpts in the table, Tse-Poor residents have attested to the provision of public power supply from the national grid, a local government primary school, local vigilante services and skeletal police services. About 8 urban infrastructural facilities and services including Motor Park, recreation centres, markets, fire and waste management services and pipe-borne water supply have not been provided by the government. The situation of infrastructural development at Tse-Poor is a reflection of what kind of facilities has been provided at Mu fringe community. However, unlike Tse-Poor, the residents of Mu settlement indicated that the main access road to the settlement has been provided by government even though access streets within the community have not been developed.

e. Urban infrastructure provision in the fringe communities of Lafia town.

The level of infrastructure provision in the peri-urban settlements of Lafia town is presented in table 7. In the FGD with residents of the peripheral settlements around Lafia town, community leaders/elders were asked to indicate which services were provided by the government and if any those provided through community self help efforts. Of the 11 services presented in table 7, roads, water supply, electricity, market and local vigilante group are provided through community-based self help initiatives while only police, health centres and schools are provided by the government.

Table 7: Excerpts of Focus Group Discussion in Lafia fringe communities in Nasarawa State, Nigeria

S/ No	Variable	Fringe Settlement
		Shabu
1.	Road	Streets are provided by community, some are not functional and are not accessible
2	Water supply	There are over 10 boreholes, out of this is provided by individuals
3	Electricity	There are 6 functional transformers. 5 Provided by community efforts 2 came as a result of support from individual (politicians)
4	Waste management	There is no facility provided for refuse collection and disposal.
5	Fire service	Fire service is not in existence in the area
6	Police station	Police station and Civil Defense Corps offices exist.
7	Local vigilante group	There is vigilante service organized by private organization.
8	Market	1 periodic market every Saturday
	Schools (Nursery/Primary)	1 senior secondary school
10	Hospitals	A functional primary health care centre provided by State Government
11	Recreational centre	No park or public recreational centre

Source: URN Team field survey (2017)

The foregoing discourse therefore shows that fringe settlements of the major cities in the Benue basin are characteristically poorly provided with urban infrastructural facilities and services considering the threshold and rate of urbanization. Specifically, roads, electricity and portable water supply are poorly developed. In some communities such as the fringe settlements of Lafia, Makurdi and Yola the few facilities available particularly roads are in various states of disrepair. According to the community elders, the local councils that earlier used to provide and maintain them have reneged from these roles due to incessant clashes with staff of the state (urban development agencies) of the central cities.



Figure 2. Waste dumps along an undeveloped street at Bachure settlement, a suburb of Yola town Adamawa state.

VI. Summary of Findings.

Results from the study revealed a number of findings. The first one is that, despite the proximity of the emerging fringe settlements as new parts of the central cities and the importance of infrastructure in the functional existence of human communities most of the fringe settlements have inadequate infrastructural facilities. The urban governments have played insignificant impacts in infrastructural provision within the settlements. Community self-help efforts were mostly reported in the initiation and provision of infrastructure in most of the fringe settlements. Injustice and deprivation of facilities has ever been the problem of informal settlements at the peri-pheral areas of cities especially in the developing world (Lee, 1979; and Lanjouw, et al. 2001). This nevertheless has implications on compliance to development control regulations. For instance at

some fringe communities of Makurdi city, residents resisted the activities of development control agencies basically because they have been long neglected in the provision of urban infrastructural facilities/services.

Furthermore, the processes of land acquisition and conflict resolution is largely in the hands of traditional holders who are indigeneous to the localities of the emerging peri-urban areas. Thirdly multiple sources of legal title acquisition has raised up administrative conflicts between the issuing authorities (states agencies and local government) of who controls the emerging fringe settlements. Consequently there is no development control in the rapidly growing fringe communities. Expectedly, lack of development control has implication for sustainability as uncontrolled development could unarguably jeopardize future developmental goals and degrade the capacity for future uses and users. Moreover, the conflicts between the state agencies and local government could have been responsible for the neglect of the fringe communities in terms of infrastructural provision. Nevertheless despite the apparent lack of enforcement of planning and physical development regulation in fringe settlements, there are significantly low cases of land disputes occurring within the areas. Even at that, the mechanisms for dispute resolutions are largely informal involving traditional set ups rather than civil courts and arbitrations.

VII. Conclusion and policy Recommendations

The sprawling of the major cities to hitherto rural peripheries has generated a set of governance issues that require attention of central city governments. Government has to make deliberate policies on the emerging urban fringe settlements in the form of decision on infrastructure, –plan making, finance and management of resources in the urban fringes in collaboration with the communities so as to provide equity within legal framework to the new settlements. Community participation in development brings about community cohesion which is one of the goals of SDGs building safer communities. These will promote healthy, viable and sustainable urban development of towns and cities in Nigeria.

Acknowledgement

Materials for this paper were developed from the final report on “URBANISATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE BENUE BASIN”, one of the research projects under the URN programme funded by DFID and implemented by ICF, UK and the DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING BENUE STATE UNIVERSITY MAKURDI NIGERIA.

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Iorliam Tarungwa Sylvester. "Governance and Quality of Infrastructure / Services in The Peri-Urban Settlements of The Benue Basin, Nigeria." *IOSR Journal of Environmental Science, Toxicology and Food Technology (IOSR-JESTFT)* 13.3 (2019): 42-53.