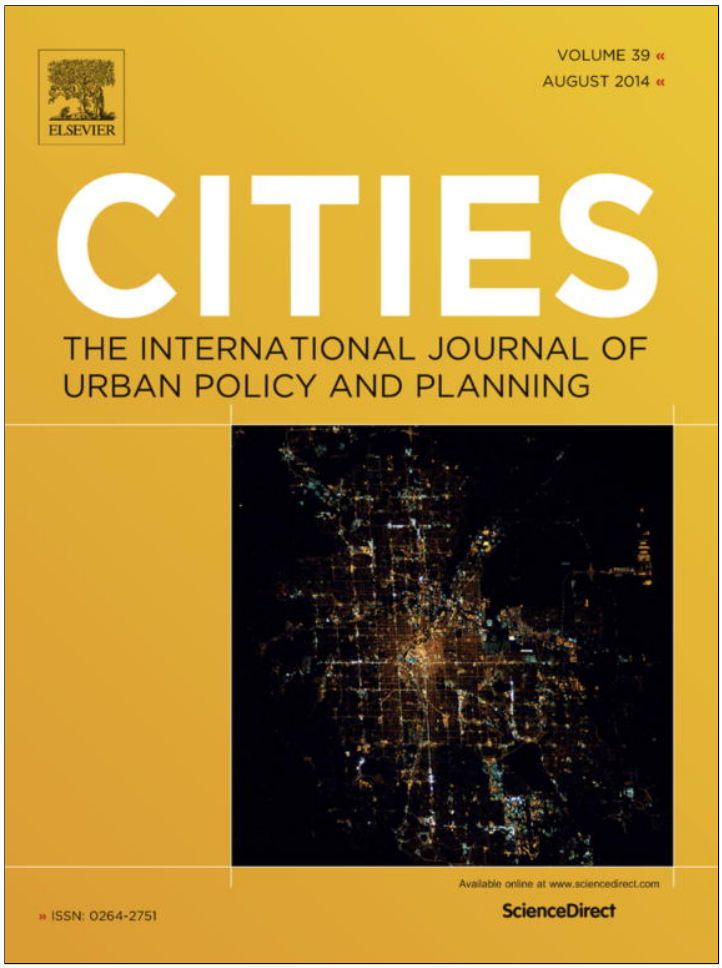
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Local and Community Driven Development approach in the provision of basic facilities in Jos, Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

Over the last decade, the government of Nigeria has introduced the concept of Local and Community Driven Development (LCDD) in the provision of physical and social infrastructure. The LCDD approach is adopted in Nigeria as a response strategy for tackling infrastructural deficiency in slum settlements. The use of this approach is becoming increasingly popular in Nigerian cities but there is limited empirical research to examine the key issues that influence project outcomes at the local level. This study fills this gap by presenting a case study from the experience of implementing physical and social infrastructure projects in the city of Jos. The project research adopts a case study strategy to examine the financial and administrative arrangement for the implementation of infrastructure projects. Primary data was collected through interviews with officers selected from the institutions that play relevant roles in urban development and housing provision in Jos. The interview data was then examined alongside the secondary source material collected. The findings suggest that: the decentralisation of administrative roles from central to local level impacted positively on the implementation of projects; the partnership between government and International Development Agencies promoted success in the funding of projects; and it is the political endorsement of the partnerships that gives the LCDD approach some legitimacy in Jos. However, the local bureaucratic system in Jos is side-lined in favour of newly created autonomous implementation agencies and the indigenous financial institutions are not involved. These flaws appear to create redundancy in the existing bureaucratic system and also threaten the sustainability of the LCDD in Jos. On the basis of these findings, recommendations for improvement are made.

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Introduction

Over the last decade, the Federal Government of Nigeria has introduced a Local and Community Driven Development (LCDD) approach in the provision of physical and social infrastructure. The LCDD is a process of harnessing synergy for improved coordination, efficiency, and responsiveness in local development processes (Binswanger-Mkhize, de Regt, & Spector, 2010, pp. 3, 4); the approach attempts to give control of development decisions and resources to representative local authorities and community groups (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2010, p. xiii). By employing the LCDD approach in urban development, the Federal Government of Nigeria aspires to shift the responsibility for the provision of infrastructure in poor residential areas to local states and the beneficiary communities. This ambition has a decentralisation effect whereby the administrative functions for urban development are devolved from the federal government to local states, the private sector and service beneficiary community (Federal Government of Nigerian-National Housing Policy, 2006).

Constitutionally, the roles of the local government authorities in Jos and Nigeria at large are concerned with the general administration of civil status register; the administration of pre-school and primary school education; the administration of primary care and health protection; the implementation of town and regional planning regulations; the administration of roads and transport; the management of environment and public sanitation; the maintenance of culture, leisure and sport facilities; and the administration of social welfare (Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 2012). These roles remain in the domain of the local authorities. However, they are expected to widen the scope of their activities to cover other pressing urban development issues such as the improvement of slums. In pursuance of this, the national housing and urban development policy directed the state and local government authorities to formulate their own policy and programmes

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within the overall framework of the national policy (Federal Government of Nigerian-National Housing Policy, 2006, p. 23). Similarly, the state and local government authorities are required to carry out the re-development and upgrading of blighted residential areas either alone or in collaboration with federal government or international bodies or the private sector. To achieve this, the state and local government authorities are directed to develop local strategies and plans for the implementation of projects in their areas of jurisdiction (FGN-NHP, 2006, pp. 23, 24).

The LCDD approach is intended at minimising the problems that often result from the bureaucratic management of public service delivery. To this effect, the policy statement (FGN-NHP, 2006, pp. 12–13, 23–25) gave instruction to the three tiers of government to partner with interested local and international financial institutions, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) and Cooperative Societies to finance and administer the development of community facilities. Lastly, the LCDD approach was introduced in a search for an efficient and accountable approach to the provision of public services. The policy designers assumed that this could be achieved if government's monopoly power over the provision of social services is dismantled and replaced with the participation and partnership of multitude of actors. Further, the national policy instructed the local authorities to administer the implementation of development projects. The assumption for this is that the embedding of administrative roles in local administrative system should promote accountable and transparent delivery of social services.

On the basis of LCDD, the federal government has signed a number of Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) with the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP) and the UN-HABITAT for the purpose of implementing community and social development projects. As of 2012, the World Bank assisted projects were active in 26 out of 36 States of Nigeria and 310 out of 774 Local Government Areas were involved. The programme in Nigeria involved about 1600 community development plans, consisting of 3435 micro-projects, of which more than 50% were completed as of 2012 (World Bank, 2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c). Also, the UN-Habitat, in partnership with the African Development Bank and the Federal Government of Nigeria entered into a partnership for the supply of water and the improvement of sanitation conditions in communities that were lacking the supply of water. The city of Jos in North-Central Nigeria is the sole beneficiary of the pilot programme which was implemented in three informal settlements (UN-Habit, 2009, pp. 20–21).

The implementation of micro-infrastructure projects in residential communities through the LCDD approach is becoming increasingly popular in Nigeria but there is limited empirical research to examine the key issues that influence project outcomes at the local. This study fills this gap by presenting a case study from the experience of implementation of physical and social infrastructure projects in residential communities of Jos in North-Central Nigeria. By focusing on the policy strategy, funding mechanisms and the organisational arrangement, the study aims to identify and explicates the variables that affect the outcome of LCDD approach in the Jos. In keeping with this aim, a number of objectives are pursued. The first objective examines the extent to which the decentralisation of administrative roles from central to local authorities helps in the formulation of local-level strategy for urban development in Jos. This objective is examined by a research question stated in the data and discussion section. The second objective scrutinises the arrangement for mobilisation of finance for the provision of infrastructure in the context of the LCDD approach. This objective is examined by three questions which are presented in the analysis section. The third objective appraises the arrangement for organising and coordinating partnerships of institutional actors in the context of LCDD. This objective is examined by a research question which is contained in the analysis section. The last objective investigates the extent of involvement of local-level agencies and communities in the implementation of infrastructure projects in Jos. Two research questions are pursued in line with this objective.

Global urban problems and the emergence of the LCDD approach in Nigeria

The entire world is confronted with multiple urban issues that have become a source of concern to the international community (United Nations Environment Programme – UNEP, 1999, 2002). In brief, there is a problem of water supply which tends to aggravate as the world's population increasingly become urban. In developing countries where urbanisation rates are high, the problem is manifested through acute shortage of clean drinking water, health risk posed by the lack of adequate sanitation, and the inability of poor households to pay for basic water and sanitation services in peri-urban neighbourhoods. Another problem is the rising urbanisation which is causing urban sprawl in developing countries. Unfortunately, most of the developing countries are unable to manage their urban growth in a pragmatic manner, and as a consequence, a great number of people are marginalized in slum conditions. In addition, the world is worried about a problem that results from the putting of too much pressure on the natural habitat, and the extinction of plant and animal species. Furthermore, there is a problem of waste management in urban areas and closely connected to this is the issue of climate change and acidification. Climate change and acidification problem is recognised as current or potential problems in both developed and developing countries. There is also a concern arising from energy, environment and development. Energy is necessary for development and the improvement of people's productivity. However, its provision tends to deplete environmental resources and its usage has resulted in the unintended consequence of global warming. Lastly, there is a concern of public health which mostly affects the developing countries (Lusigi, 2008; UNEP, 1999, 2002).

The one and all encompassing policy solution to these problems is the ensuring of sustainability. In line with this, the United Nations has called on national governments around the world to ensure that all aspects of development are reconciled with the principles of sustainability. The argument in line with this is that all development activities should be consistent with the mainstream sustainability thinking which rest on three dimensions: environmental, social and economic (The World Conservation Union, 2006, p. 2). The United Nations has proposed a time horizon strategy for solving global problems in the context of (2015) goals of the Millennium Declaration; the two-generation goals (2050) of the Sustain ability Transition of the Board on Sustainable Development; and the long-term (beyond 2050) goals of the Great Transition of the Global Scenario Group. Over the last 13 years, the development agenda of the world has been geared towards the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which are due to expire in 2015. The Commission on Sustainable Development further elaborated that climate, clean air, land productivity, ocean productivity, fresh water, and biodiversity should be sustained; and that equity, health, education, housing, security and stabilised population should be developed. These are made with sporadic reference to 2015 (Kates, Parris, & Leiserowitz, 2005, pp. 12, 15).

The developing countries in the Sub-Sahara African region are faced with similar urban challenges. Some of the challenges are connected to weak institutional frameworks for adequate housing provision, infrastructure provision and poverty eradication (Habitat International Coalition – HIC, 2009, p. 14), growing populations, a looming urbanisation crisis, a prevalence of informal housing practices and poor housing conditions (International Housing

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Coalition, 2009, p. 11). Failure to deal with these issues is leading to the continued growth of slums and poorly serviced informal settlements on the urban periphery. Already, between 75% and 99% of urban residents in many African cities live in squalid slums of ramshackle housing (IHC, 2007, p. 11) and in many of Africa's cities and towns, less than 10% of the population lives in formal sector housing. A few examples are illustrative here: In Lusaka, Zambia, 74% of urban dwellers reside in slums; in Khartoum, Sudan, 85.7%; in Tanzania, 92.1%; in Madagascar as a whole 92.9% (IHC, 2007, p. 12), and 85% in Kampala, Uganda (IHC, 2009, p. 11). In Addis Ababa, about 70% of the city requires upgrading (Wubneh, 2013). As much as 70% of the urban housing stock in sub-Saharan Africa is of poor quality and not in compliance with local regulations (Habitat for Humanity, 2012 citing Kissick et al., 2006).

In Nigeria, the urbanisation crisis is worsening the housing situation in urban centres. A recent projection indicates that more than 60% of Nigerians will live in urban centres by 2025, and a sizeable proportion (mostly low-income earners and the poor) of these are likely to live in slums if action is not taken (FGN – MDG Report, 2010).The slums situation in Nigeria is already frightening for the reason that Nigeria's population and the proportion affected by slum conditions is such a significant element in the sub-Sahara Africa region. In 2012, the estimated population of 47 Sub-Sahara African countries was 910.4 million and of this, 167 million were living in Nigeria. Of the 167 million people in Nigeria, 61.1% were said to reside in slums (Pepple, 2012). In mathematical terms, 61.1% of 167 million is equal to 102.203 million. Thus, it can be inferred that Nigeria alone has over half of the 200 million slum dwellers in sub-Sahara Africa. Furthermore, Nigerian cities are urbanising quickly. The land area of Nigeria is 923,768 km^2 and the proportion of people living in urban areas has been on the increase, from 20% in 1970 to 38% in 1993 and to 48% in 2009. The current urbanisation rate is 5.5% per annum and the urban population was put at 50% in 2012 (Pepple, 2012).

In most developing countries including Nigeria, urban renewal has become a major element of urban policy. This became necessary in developing countries because people are increasingly moving to and living in urban areas. Thus, urban renewal is a response to the concern of urban sprawl in developing countries. For developed countries, this policy element is necessary for the renewal of old urban areas. It is also a regenerative policy for large quantities of abandoned urban areas. Though significantly different in terms of scale, the concepts of urban renewal, urban regeneration, urban redevelopment, and urban rehabilitation have nowadays been linked with sustainable development (Zheng, Shen, & Wang, 2013). In line with the idea of sustainable development, countries have devised innovative approaches for tackling urban problems. One strategy that has gained currency is that of participation of multiple actors. The concept of participation has been advocated as a solution to complex process of urban development and management. Kotus (2013, p. 236) observes that "the participation of 1980s/1990s, pioneering then, which suffered a crisis at the turn of the century and the spontaneously erupted in 2004–2010..., will enter an intentional, systematic, and model phase in the coming decades". Already, the participatory approach is being put to use in the upgrading of slums in developing countries. Some illustrative examples include: Jordan (Al-Nammari, 2013), Indonesia, the Philippine and Vietnam (Minnery et al., 2013), and Durban in South Africa (Patel, 2013). These studies (Al-Nammari, 2013; Minnery et al., 2013; Patel, 2013) examined aspects of slum upgrading and urban governance, and they both agree with each other in confirming that participatory approach can potentially engage the local community in its leadership and decision-making. The three studies also suggest that: not only does participation engage a community; it also improves the process of urban governance and fosters social inclusion and transparency.

Elsewhere in Hong Kong, there is a shift from the use public private partnerships (PPPs) to public private people partnership (P4) in the delivery of public infrastructure facilities such as roads, hospitals, schools, power plants and sewers. The P4 model essentially seeks to overcome the problems of stakeholder opposition, dispute over transfer agreement, and the issue of overlooking of peoples' interest. These problems are found to result in the failure of PPP projects. As a solution, the P4 Model aims to engage people in the implementation of project, to redistribute power to a certain extent, to facilitate information flow among different parties, to balance their interests, and to allow citizens to express their concerns. This process can potentially provide a constructive environment whereby groups with diverse interests can join forces to define an integrated infrastructure planning. The P4 process framework can potentially help the public sector authority and the private sector providers to effectively implement PPP practices by moving towards a more community oriented service production (Ng, Wong, & Wong, 2013, p. 370, 379–380).

In the search for effective means of tackling slum problems, the government of Nigeria adopted the LCDD approach in the provision of physical and social infrastructure in residential communities. It is important to note that community-led approach for development in the informal context is not alien to Nigerian societies. Previous study confirms the use of community development approach in the provision of social infrastructure (such as houses and market places) in the pre-colonial south-west of Nigeria, notably among the old empires of Oyo, Ife and Benin. In contrast, the use of the approach was less popular in pre-colonial south-east and far north of Nigeria (Uduku, 1994). However, the pre-colonial ethnic groups of the middle belt region were organised in communal style (Ochonu, 2008), which suggest that the approach must have been used in the provision of communal facilities. The traditional community development approach gained prevalence in most regions of Nigeria during the colonial era. And the interaction of colonial authorities with communities also infused some formality into the informal style of its practice (Uduku, 1994). In the last three decades, the failures of governmental authorities (federal, state and local) to provide adequate urban infrastructure in Nigeria has compelled both the rich and poor communities to undertake community development on the basis of self–help. Some cases studies of community development in Lagos, Kaduna and Umuahia were examined by Uduku. In drawing a conclusion, Uduku forecast that an adaptation of the community approach as used in rural development would seem to be the most successful model for future development in Nigeria's urban cities. This forecast would seem true as confirmed by Ibem (2009) in a study conducted in Ohafia town of south-east Nigeria. Drawing on the role of social capital, Ibem examined how resources for community infrastructure provision are mobilised for the accomplishment of various tasks. Ibem's study concluded that the harnessing of local resources and integrating it into urban development process can potentially improve the supply of infrastructure in developing countries.

The new idea for Nigeria is the use of LCDD in a formal context. This study is interested in examining the issues that arise from the new idea. The LCDD approach is a hybrid model of development which draws its principles from the Community-Based Development (CBD) and Community-Driven Development (CDD) models. The CBD and CDD models of development have the elements of decentralisation, participation, community empowerment and the development of local institutions. In practice, however, they are found to become centralised, bureaucratic and lacking in the proper coordination of actors on the ground (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2010, p. 12). The LCDD attempts to overcome these problems through the extensive transformation of political and administrative structures that should empower communities and local

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governments with powers, resources, and the authority to use these in controlling of their development.

The empowerment of people at the community level is the ultimate goal of LCDD. Empowerment in this sense is targeted at expanding the "assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives". Such empowerment should give people access to "voice and information, greater social inclusion and participation, greater accountability, and organisation strength". Thus the rationale behind LCDD is to "harness social capital through empowerment and to increase social capital through scaling up" (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2010, p. 4). The LCDD approach is advocated on the basis that many developing countries have "mixed record of state effectiveness, market imperfections, and persistent structural inequities that undermine the effectiveness of social policy" (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2010, p. v). These problems accounts for the poor delivery of services to urban and rural people in the developing world. They are also responsible for the concentration of poverty in rural areas and the formation of urban slums (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2010, p. 1). To overcome these problems, the World Bank feels that "social policy needs to move beyond conventional social service approaches toward development's goals of equitable opportunity and social justice" (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2010, p. v).

The LCDD approach is applied to development on a number of assumptions. Firstly, it is assumed that "it has the explicit objective of reversing power relations in a manner that creates agency and voice for poor, allowing them to have control over development assistance". Secondly, it is assumed that LCDD approach could make "the allocation of development funds more responsive to their needs, improve the targeting of poverty programmes, make government more responsive, improve the delivery of public goods and services, and strengthen the capabilities of the citizenry to undertake self-initiated development activities" (Mansur & Rao, 2004, p. 2). Thirdly, there is an assumption that if there is a clearly defined decentralised framework that devolves real power and resources to local governments and communities, then local development could be planned and managed by local citizens, their communities, and their local governments (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2010, p. 1). Lastly, there is an assumption that LCDD approach will result in an efficient and sustainable management of shared facilities by communities that benefit from such projects. This assumption will hold on three conditions: one, the residents of benefitting community should be allowed to fully participate in the project initiation, part-financing, and managing the implementation process (Alexander, 2006). Two, the beneficiary communities should be encouraged to take ownership of the projects after it is executed. They should also be encouraged to take responsibility for operation and maintenance. Three, there is an assumption that the LCDD approach is capable of enhancing the capacity of the beneficiary community to operate and manage the facilities provided (Binswanger-Mkhize et al., 2010, pp. 2).

Participation and empowerment are intertwined, and Wilson (1996, p. 627) asserts that "as individual empowerment dismantles the sense of personal isolation, the act of participation creates a feeling of belonging and interconnectedness, which in turn produces commitment and cooperation" This assertion is affirmed by Brodie et al. (2009, p. 17) who demonstrates that participation has a wide spectrum and the process through which it occurs should lead to information dissemination (provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions), consultations (to obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions), involvement (work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered), collaboration (to partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution); and empowerment (to place final decision-making in the hands of the public). There are developing countries that have attained a phase of decentralisation which result into empowerment. Examples are Botswana and South Africa. Others, including Ethiopia, Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda are seen to consolidate on their decentralisation but Nigeria and other Sub-Sahara African countries are categorised among the incipient, where decentralisation is territorially limited and fiscally constrained. Nigeria's decentralisation is also functionally constrained because the responsibility for delivering public services is retained by the central government and its deconcentrated structure (Serrano-Berthet et al., 2010, p. 124). In theory, the LCDD approach should effectuate changes in Nigeria. This study will empirically examine the extent to which theoretical solutions applies in practice.

Method, strategy and data collection

The study aims to identify the variables that influence project implementation outcomes in Jos. To fulfil this, a case study strategy is adopted to examine how the theoretical assumptions for LCCD approach apply in practice. A case study strategy is chosen within this study for two reasons: first, it is both a process of learning about a case and the product of that learning. Secondly, it helps to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of complex phenomena in their real context (Crowe et al., 2011). In regard to method, a combination of two or more of these can be used: interviews, documentation, archival records, direct observations, physical artifacts, participant observation and questionnaire survey (Tellis, 1997). In this study, the relevant methods are interviews and documentation. Thus, the primary data was obtained through interviews conducted during a field visit in Jos. A non-probability purposive sampling technique was adopted in selecting the people to be interviewed. Creswell and Clark (2007) provide that purposive sampling may be used where the researcher intends to select participants who have experience about the central phenomenon or key concept being explored. In this case, people who were considered as role-players in urban development and housing provision were the target. Flick (2009) states that the purposive sampling technique may be adopted when the researcher intends to group participants according to preselected criteria. The criterion for selection in this study was based on the institutions responsible for urban development and housing provision.

Eight interviews were conducted in all. The respondents were selected from the institutions that play relevant roles in urban development and housing provision. At the Federal Ministry for Land, Housing and Urban Development in Jos, the Controller (a director in the federal civil service) was interviewed. Three representatives of state government bureaucratic agencies were interview as follows: one Assistant Director and one Chief Architect from the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development; and one Deputy Director from the Ministry of Lands, Survey and Town Planning. At the Local Government Councils, a Senior Administrative Officer and a Chief Town Planning Officer were interviewed. Two representatives of agencies responsible for the administration of slum improvement in Jos were interviewed: a National Programme Officer (WAC II) and a Monitoring and Evaluation Manager (Plateau State Community and Social Development Agency). The pseudonyms use for respondents in the analysis is shown in Table 1. A semi-structured interview was used in the discussion and this was considered suitable because it permitted the conducting of interviews with a fairly open framework which allows focused conversation and two-way communication. This advantage is supported by Cohen and Crabtree (2006). The interviews were

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Table 1
Schedule of interviews. Field Survey (2012).

Interview representation by agencies	Pseudonyms used for respondents
Representative of the Plateau State Community and Social Development Agency	CS
Representative of the Water for African Cities Project office, Jos	WC
Representatives of Jos North and South Local Government Councils	JS & JN
Representatives of the State Ministry for Housing and Urban Development, Jos	UD1 & 2
Representative of the State Ministry for Lands, Survey and Town Planning	LS
Representative of the Federal Ministry for Lands, Housing and Urban Development, Jos	FM

recorded on a tape recorder where the respondent consented to it. This was supplemented by note-taking.

The documents used comprised of national housing and urban development policy and strategy papers (obtained from the Federal Ministry for Lands, Housing and Urban Development and the National Planning Commission), local strategy and action plans for urban development which were obtained from the local authorities (the Ministry for Housing and Urban Development, the Plateau State Community and Social Development Agency, the Water for African Cities – Jos City Programme Office, and Local Government Councils) in Jos. The documents were obtained during a field visit to the organisations in Nigeria. Other documents collected include reports published by the World Bank and the UN-Habitat about their partnership with the government of Nigeria. These materials were retrieved from the websites of the publishers. The data collected was analysed in the following sequence: the first stage involves the transcribing and documentation of the data. The second stage involves the organising/categorising of data according to its relevance to research questions and concepts. This stage was followed by connecting of the data to show how one concept influence another. The next stage was corroborating of evidences by evaluating alternative explanation. The last stage was representing of account and reporting the findings. The stages followed in the analysis are consistent with the procedure outlined by Chambliss and Schutt (2012, p. 325).

Case study projects

The activities of two agencies that are responsible for the implementation of micro-infrastructure projects in Jos are the focus of study. For the purpose of discussions, the agencies are described as case study one and two. Case study one is the "Water for African Cities Phase Two" which was implemented locally by the WAC II Project Office in Jos. This arose from the UN-Habitat's partnership with the Government of Nigeria. The programme started in 2005 and was designed to achieve the following: basic water supply and sanitation services for the underprivileged communities; Water Demand Management (WDM) strategy development; development of strategy for the empowerment of the community to manage and operate the facilities; and hygiene education in schools as well as hygiene promotion for the targeted communities at large (as confirmed by WC). The second case study is the "Community and Social Development Project (CSDP)" which arose from the World Bank's country partnership with Nigeria. The programme started in 2009 and was being locally organised by the Plateau State Community and Social Development Agency (PLCSDA). The Community and Social Development Programme (CSDP) is designed to achieve the following: (i) to empower communities to develop, implement and monitor micro-social infrastructure projects; (ii) to strengthen the skills and capacity of LGAs and sectoral public agencies to support communities and build a partnership between them (World Bank, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, p. 5); (iii) to strengthen partnerships between communities and local government authorities in sectoral and multisectoral interventions; (iv) to strengthen the skills and capacity of LGAs and sectoral public agencies to support CBOs; (iv) to promote the decentralisation of social services delivery; and (v) to facilitate participation and civic engagement in development programme. The CSDP is focused on developing the following sectors: general water, sanitation and flood protection; general public administration; road and highways; education; and other social services (World Bank, 2008, p. 5). As at the time of this study, the PLCSDA had completed 155 projects, 70 were ongoing while 96 had been identified for implementation. The completed projects comprised of: road rehabilitation, electricity supply, school and health centres, borehole drilling, and community shopping malls (Sunwar, 2013).

Data and discussions

Decentralisation and policy strategy

This section examines a question of: does the decentralisation of urban development roles from the federal to state and local government authorities bring about a local-level policy strategy in Jos? The views of state (UD1 & 2, and LS) and local (JS & JN) government officials are combined with relevant documents to examine this question.

The idea of decentralising the role of policy formulation is supported within the LCCD approach. In line with this, the federal government in partnership with donor agencies notably the UNDP, the World Bank and the UN-HABITAT came up with a strategy termed: 'National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy' (NEEDS). The first version of NEEDS was designed in 2004 and was meant to achieve four objectives: one, to ensure that the three tiers government develop, publish and implement a strategy that advances their targets. The second was to promote a responsible public financial management and a transparent budget process at the three tiers of government. The third was to ensure that government strategies to improve service delivery both in terms of quality and in terms of reach are developed and can be implemented. The last was to ensure that policies were planned and implemented in a transparent and accountable manner.

The success of NEEDS depends on the implementation of the state and local government versions of the strategy (FGN-NPC, 2005, pp. 20–21). Thus, NEEDS is expected to serve as a basis for the design of State-, and Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (SEEDS and LEEDS). These strategies are the methodologies for poverty alleviation and general development at the grassroots. Their operational format requires the mobilisation of relevant stakeholders such as local government officials, civil society groups, private sector participants, community leaders, traditional rulers, women and youths to participate in development programme in local-level. A survey of official documents in Jos (see Table 2) reveals the existence of the state government version of SEEDS but LEEDS has not been formulated by the local government councils in Jos (confirmed by JS & JN). The survey also identified a number of federal government authored policy

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Table 2
Decentralisation and the adaptation of national policy decisions in Jos. *Source:* Author's compilation based on survey of official documents and interviews (2013).

Forms of policy strategy	Policy strategies categorised based on producing authority		
	Federal government	State government (Jos)	Local government councils (Jos North & South)
Housing	National Housing Policy (1991) and (2006), Revised (2012)	4-Year Strategic Plan for Housing and Urban Development (2007–11)	None
Land use	Land Use Act (1978)	None	None
Urban development	Urban Development Policy (1992), Revised (2012)	Greater Jos Master Plan (2008–25)	None
Empowerment and Development	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS, 2004–07; 2008–12)	Plateau State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy	None
Others	Vision 2020 Thematic Reports: Housing (2009); Governance (2009); Urban & Rural Development (2009); and Water & Sanitation (2009)	None	None

strategies that are concerned with local-level development in the aspects housing, land, urban development, economic development and poverty eradication, governance, and water and sanitation. Some of these have been adopted by state government authorities such as the Master Plan document (2008–25) (LS was able to confirm the involvement of his agency in the design of the Plan). UD1 & 2 confirmed that a Strategic Plan for Housing and Urban Development which spanned from 2007 to 2011 exists. They however confirmed that their organisation only played an advisory role in the design of the strategy. This happened because the state government gave out the responsibility to an independent constituted committee. The LGC officers (JS & JN) state that the Councils in Jos have not been able to adopt similar strategies.

Furthermore, the SEEDS strategy produced by the authorities in Jos is termed 'Plateau State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (PLASEEDS)' and was designed to span the period: 2005–2015. The document contains plans for the implementation of national public policies at the state government level. It provides policy targets, action plans and activities for different aspects of economic development including housing and infrastructure development. The PLASEEDS strategy is however, not sufficiently elaborated upon in terms of specifying how projects will be funded, who will contribute to funding, and how roles will be assign to local agencies. In spite of this, the PLASEEDS strategy create some basis for collaboration between government agencies, the private institutions (local and international financial institutions) and non-governmental actors (CBOs and NGOs) to finance and execute housing and urban infrastructure.

Funding mechanisms

This section examines three questions: one, to what extent does the use of LCDD approach facilitate participatory financing of urban infrastructure in residential communities of Jos? Two, does the national government contribute to the financing of urban infrastructure at the local-level in Jos? Three, what are the levels of financial commitment of state and local government authorities, and the project beneficiary communities in Jos? The views of respondents (CS, WC, JS, JN, UD1 & 2 and FM) are examined to provide answer to these questions. However, CS and WC provided more information because they were better informed about the financial mechanisms. Relevant documents are cited to corroborate evidence.

In response to the question of participatory financing, CS confirms that the funding for CSDP projects (case study 1) comes partly from the World Bank and partly from federal, state and local government authorities in Nigeria and the benefiting communities. The World Bank's contribution is provided on loan basis to the state government and LGC where the project is situated, and it is guaranteed by the federal government. Usually, the total cost of any community project selected for implementation should not be more than US$100,000 (World Bank, 2008, p. 20). For this reason, the beneficiary community, with the support of project officers and LGC officers should be involved in proposing the project. The benefiting communities are required to contribute 10% of the total project cost and any shortfall to the total project cost is paid up by the implementation agency (confirmed by CS). The World Bank is the only private investor for CSDP projects in Jos and its involvement in community-driven investment is done on conditions which will be examined shortly.

The funding for WAC II projects (case study 2) comes through a loan facilitated by the UN-Habitat from the African Development Bank for the government of Nigeria (confirmed by WC). This is corroborated by documented evidence (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 20) which shows that the total cost of the programme in Jos was US$1,911,828. The loan element from the UN-habitat was US$1,057,674 (55%) and the balance of US$854,154 (45%) came from a counterpart fund provided by the federal, state and local government. The conditions set by the UN-Habitat for the loan are highlighted below. In regards to community projects, the benefiting communities in Jos were not required to contribute to the project cost but are expected to take responsibility for operating and maintenance of facilities provided to their communities (WC). WC also confirmed that a micro-credit scheme for female headed households in Jos was designed as part of WAC II. This was implemented by an NGO and the funding was provided by a local micro-finance institution on loan basis to the households who are guaranteed by the NGO.

In regards to the funding mechanism for case study one and two, the respondents (FM and UD1 & 2) appear to have limited understanding of the arrangement. However the responses of CS and WC confirm that the federal government is involve in the funding of infrastructure projects in Jos. JN and JS also confirm the involvement of LGCs.

In regard to loan conditionality and project implementation procedure, the two international investors (the World Bank and UN-HABITAT) operate with similar principles. They both provided a loan to the federal government for use by state and local government authorities that fulfil a number of prescribed conditions. The first condition for state government is that it must set-up an autonomous managing agency through local legislation. Secondly, competent workers should be recruited into the agency and the process of recruitment should be agreed upon with funding partners. The interview respondents (CS and WC) confirmed that these conditions are applicable for both the UN-HABITAT and the World Bank loans. In addition, the World Bank has a requirement for any LGC that wishes to participate to provide a Local Governance Review Committee (LGRC). The process of creating an LGRC requires a supporting bye-law. The World Bank funded CDSP will not operate in any LGC that do not establish and fund the activities of the LGRC

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Table 3
Assessing the level and degree of community participation in the cases studied. *Source:* Author's assessment based on data collected from interviews and documents.

Stages in project implementation	World Bank's CSDP in Jos		UN-Habitat's WAC II Programme in Jos	
	Level of participation	Degree of intensity	Level of participation	Degree of intensity
Identification	*Consultation and involvement* – Communities were consulted and involved in deciding a project based on their needs and priorities	High	*Consultation and involvement* – Implementation agency undertook vulnerability assessment and selected communities to benefit from projects. Communities were consulted but not really involved in the process	Medium
Funding	*Involvement and collaboration* – Communities were asked to contribute 10% of the total project cost and to take responsibility of operation and management	High	*Involvement and collaboration* – Communities did not contribute to the project cost but were asked to take responsibility of operation and management	Medium
Planning	*Consultation and information dissemination* – Communities were consulted and engaged in discussions but there was limited information campaign through the local media to inform the public	Low	*Consultation information dissemination* – The public was provided with information through the local media to inform them on how to participate and benefit from the WAC II programme. Communities were consulted through the NGOs for discussions	High
Implementation	*Involvement* – The implementation agency engaged communities whose CSDP projects were selected for decisions. The communities were allowed to maintain control and have reasonable level of authority over financial resources during the implementation of project	Medium	*Involvement* – Female headed households were organised by two NGOs to access loan to finance the provision of Ventilated Improved Pit (VIP) toilet system in their houses. Interested male and female members of three communities were trained on how to design and build a VIP toilet and were subsequently hired by the households to provide such facilities	High

(World Bank, 2008, pp. 6, 7). The Council officers (JS and JN) confirmed that this condition was fulfilled before the implementation agency began to fund CDSP in their localities.

Thirdly, the participating state and local government were made to sign an undertaking with the federal government, agreeing to contribute counterpart funding and to repay loan invested by the World Bank and UN-HABITAT. The process of loan recovery applicable is at-source deduction from statutory allocation accrued to participating state and local government by the federal government and remitting directly to investors (confirmed by CS and WC). Fourthly, the investors require state government to adopt a community-driven approach in the execution of projects and also to decentralise decision making responsibility and control. Lastly, the state government was required to partner those LGCs and communities where projects are being provided. The fourth and last conditions were confirmed by CS, WC and JS. These respondents confirm that the conditions were all satisfied by the Plateau State Government before the investors began to release funds for project execution in Jos.

Organisation and coordination

The question that is examined in this section is: what effect does the use of LCDD has on the organisation and coordination of institutional actors and directing their effort at pre-set goals?

The two cases studies share similar coordination and organisational characteristics. For each programme, there are three levels of coordination and organisation. The first component is the federal level coordination and programme support. In the case of the CSDP, this component is being supervised by the Federal Ministry of Finance, while direct responsibility for the implementation rests with the Federal Project Support Unit (FPSU). The FPSU is responsible for: "the provision of technical support to state agencies on procurement, financial management, gender, environment, and local government capacity issues". The FPSU also "provides an overall result-based monitoring and evaluation framework for the CSDP project" (World Bank, 2008, p. 4). In the case of the WAC II programme, a similar component exists at the Federal Ministry of Water Resources and the Federal Ministry of Health. The Federal Ministry of Water Resources provides technical support to state government water agency to improve the supply of clean and safe water for domestic use while the Federal Ministry of Health, in collaboration with local education agencies promote water sanitation and hygiene among school pupils and their families.

The second component consists of local-level capacity and partnership building. In Jos, this component was implemented by the PLCSDA for the World Bank partnership and the project office of WAC II, for the UN-HABITAT partnership. For this component, the two agencies were involved in establishing and strengthening the partnership between LGAs and communities (CS and WC confirms this). Specifically, the World Bank documented that funds were made available for PLCSDA to carryout capacity building, skills training, as well as provide essential facilities for specific local government officials, such as community development workers. This was to facilitate their activities with community groups and management of local government subprojects. The responses of officials (LS, UD1 & 2, JN and JS) from the local bureaucratic agencies responsible for planning, housing and urban development suggest that they have been side-lined.

The third component is community-driven investment. In Jos, this component is managed by the PLCSDA and WAC II Project Office. Here, the two agencies embarked on information campaigns through advocacy, awareness-raising and information exchange. The two agencies were also involved in the identification of micro-projects in collaboration with communities (CS and WC confirm this). One of the respondent (WC) also adds that the

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micro-projects being experimented in two settlements of Jos South LGA by UN-HABITAT, were identified after the WAC II Project Office carried out a vulnerability assessment of settlements in Jos. Six were found to be very vulnerable with two of these identified as the most vulnerable (Gwarandok and Longwah). The two settlements were situated on rocky terrain and lacked water supply for domestic use thus poor sanitation conditions were being experienced. In addition, the two settlements were committed to tackling water shortage and sanitation problems through community efforts. For CSDP, the PLCSDA specifically provide support for vulnerable communities to identify projects based on needs and priorities, which are then included in the Community Development Plans (CDPs) (This was confirmed by CS). WC indicates that their project office was involved with pushing forward pro-poor policies to local communities in Jos and trying to draw the community members to actively participate in the planning, provision and management of water and sanitation. In this component, the WAC II tried to forge partnerships and development of innovative financial mechanisms for the mobilisation of local funds. Urban catchment management, Water Demand Management, water education in schools and communities, expansion of water network, and provision of toilets in schools and communities are part of this component.

Participation and partnerships

Two questions are examined in this section: one, what is the extent of involvement of local-level agencies in the implementation of infrastructure projects on the basis of the LCDD approach in Jos? Two, does the use of LCDD approach allow for the participation of communities in the implementation of projects provided for their benefit in Jos?

The two case studies have partnerships of multitude of institutional actors. As regards funding, the investors (World Bank and UN-Habitat) have devised a participatory funding arrangement that allows the federal, state, and local government authorities to contribute counterpart funds for the implementation of community projects in Jos. The benefiting communities are responsible for the operating and running costs of the facilities provided. For CSDP, the World Bank in partnership with government authorities in Nigeria provides 90% funding for any micro-project while the benefitting community itself contributes 10% and takes responsibility for operation and maintenance of the facilities provided. For WAC II programme, the micro-credit and revolving fund scheme for the provision and improvement of sanitation facilities by female-headed households is a collaborative programme between the WAC II Project Office in Jos, one micro-finance institution and two CSOs: the Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN) and the Centre for Gender and Rural Development (CEGERD) (confirmed by WC). These NGOs serve as platforms for the mobilisation of women to participate in the programme. The finance is being provided on a loan basis to the women by the micro-finance institution and NGOs serves as guarantor for the women. This is one area where partnerships have developed and the relevant actors did participate as planned.

Partnerships have evolved through the process of information campaigns and enlightenment programmes. WC confirmed that the WAC II projects involved the social marketing of the concept of sanitation microcredit in the media. For this purpose, a partnership was forged between the WAC II Project Office, the two CSOs involved and Plateau Radio and Television Corporation (PRTVC), which is a tripartite media houses made up of, FM, AM and TV arms. The PRTVC was involved in various awareness campaigns about the activities of WAC II. CS also confirmed this for the PLCSDA. Other partners involved with WAC II on this project include WaterAid Nigeria, Ministry of education, and Plateau State Sanitation and Environmental Protection Agency (CS).

There is a partnership of multiple of actors at the level of project implementation. WC confirmed that the process of water extension by WACII involved the laying of new pipes, provision of water kiosks, installing stand up pipes in schools and providing toilets, and water tanks in communities. This project is handled by the Plateau State Water Board. In addition, the WAC II Project Office engaged the services of the National Water Resources Institute to carry out integrated water catchment management in Jos. The Plateau State Ministry of Justice was involved to enforce any operational legislation while the Ministry for Women Affairs in Jos assisted in the mobilisation of women to participate in sanitation projects. Finally, the Jos Metropolitan Development Board was engaged to help acquire land on which toilets were constructed. However, UD1 & 2, LS and FM confirmed that the core bureaucratic agencies responsible for housing, urban development, land management and spatial planning in Jos were not involved in the project implementation. This implies that the existing bureaucratic system is indeed side-lined in favour of the newly created implementation agencies.

In regard to the coordination, CS confirmed that PLCSDA was responsible for coordinating the activities of its partners to raise the quality of life in communities through the implementation of micro-projects. To achieve this, the agency partnered communities and relevant agencies for the purpose of project implementation. The agency has partnered with: the Plateau State Water Board and the Ministry for Water Resources to supply water in some communities; the Power Holding Company to execute an electrification project; the Plateau Environmental and Sanitation Agency to provide sanitation facilities; the Plateau State Ministry of Health to provide health centres; and the Ministry of Education to provide schools. In this instance, the PLCSDA would only partner with an existing government agency to accomplish a specific project. The respondents (CS, JS and JN) confirmed partnerships of Councils with the PLCSDA, but UD1 & 2, LS and FM confirmed that they were not involved.

The project implementation processes benefits from the delegation of responsibility and because the programmes are being coordinated by agencies situated in Jos, this confirms the devolution of roles from central to local states. The roles were further deconcentrated from the implementation agencies to other public and private agencies and CSOs. The participation of institutional actors is confirmed by the preceding discussions and the extent of involvement of communities is confirmed in Table 3. During project identification, the people were consulted and equally given the opportunity to be involved. However, the degree of intensity of the consultation and their involvement in the process is assessed to be high in the process of selecting a CSDP and medium in the identification of the WAC II projects. In regard to financing, the communities were involved but the degree of intensity of participation is adjudged to be high in the funding of the CSDP and medium in the funding of the WAC II projects. In the planning stage, the views of the communities were sought for through consultation and information dissemination. This is assessed to be low in the programme for the implementation of the CSDP and high for the WAC II programme. As regard to the involvement of communities and households in the actual implementation of projects, the degree of intensity is assessed to be medium for the CSDP and high for the WAC II projects. All these suggest that the LCDD approach allows for the participation of communities and has the potential of empowering people at the local level.

Findings and conclusion

The provision of micro-infrastructure in residential communities through the LCDD approach is undertaken on the basis of the

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decentralisation of roles. This approach resulted in the devolvement of administrative roles from the federal government to local authorities in Jos. In line with the idea of decentralisation, the state government authority was able to adapt the national policy decisions by formulating their strategy and action plans but the local government authorities were unable to do so. Furthermore, the methodology (NEEDs and SEEDs) proposed for local empowerment and development is not elaborate enough to guide the activities of local institutions in a pragmatic manner but the involvement of international agencies (the World Bank and the UN-Habitat) that proposed it has helped to influence its application in the process of executing micro-infrastructure projects in Jos. Elaborating further on the strategy SEEDS would enhance its usability in Jos. And as it is evident that the strategy of LEEDS does not exit, it is therefore recommended that it should be formulated. If this is done, it can potentially: improve on the governance of urban development; promote the involvement of civil societies and community based organisations; enhance the capacity of communities to manage urban development process; engender the spirit of ownership of facilities provided in residential communities; and also help the communities to express their needs.

The funding of micro-infrastructure projects is achieved through partnerships between government authorities in Nigeria, international investors (the World Bank and UN-HABITAT), and communities in Jos. This funding arrangement appears to work well except that local institutional investors are completely left out. Apart from the involvement of a micro-finance institution which provided credit facilities to disadvantaged households to provide toilet facilities as a means of improving their sanitation conditions, other local private institutional investors were not involved. Similarly, the two development finance institutions (UDBN and FMBN) that are statutorily created to supply finance for housing and urban development are not involved in the arrangement. The non-involvement of the local institutional investors puts the financial arrangement at risk of not being sustained in the event that international investors withdraw. It is concluded that this funding arrangement, as it currently stands, appears to lack an enduring capacity. On the basis of this finding, it is recommended that indigenous financial institutions should be encouraged to participate and partner with government and communities in the funding of urban infrastructure. If this is done, it can potentially sustain the financial mechanism for urban development in Jos and Nigeria at large.

The government authorities in Nigeria have shown sufficient support in the funding arrangement for the programme in Jos. This level of political commitment is critical to the success achieved in the provision of micro-infrastructure projects in Jos. The interviewees agree with each other in confirming that the politicians have shown commitment because they anticipate that a local system will emerge to take ownership and future responsibility of both funding and administering the process after the foreign investors withdraw.

The programme management agencies (PLSCDA and WAC II Project Office) are autonomous and free from government bureaucracy. In this way, bureaucratic restraints are significantly mitigated from the process of implementing projects by the agencies. The use of autonomous agencies helped to limit political interference from the national and local politicians. The project implementation process allows the management agencies to partner with selected government agencies from the federal, state and local government, and the private sector agencies. Also, roles are devolved from the central to the local and are further deconcentrated across multiple organisations. In these circumstances, politicians and bureaucrat are less able to interfere with the whole process. However, the complete isolation of the programme implementation process from the existing bureaucratic system is likely to create redundancy. This conjecture will be empirically studied in the future.

The autonomy of implementation agencies allows the opportunity to employ competent workers and to further improve their professionalism through relevant training. This is a major element of success in the implementation of micro-projects by the PLSCDA and the WAC II Project Office. The creation of autonomous implementation agencies was a condition set by investors because they recognised that the existing civil service systems and structure required essential reforms and a large dose of capacity strengthening before they could effectively and efficiently deliver the desired results. While it is possible to avoid bureaucratic restraints by creating autonomous agencies to administer the World Bank and the UN-Habitat assisted programme, the overall process of urban development cannot be completely taken away from the existing bureaucratic set up. Therefore, essential reforms are necessary for agencies concerned with this role. In this case, reform of the development finance institutions (FMBN and UDBN), the Federal Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, the State Ministry for Housing and Urban Development, the State Ministry for Lands, Survey and Town Planning, the Jos Metropolitan Development Board (JMDB), the federal and state housing corporation, and the land registries should be given priority.

The international investors were able to mitigate risk and to safe-guard their investment. This was possible because of their capacity to bargain with the government from a position of strength. For instance, the World Bank and UN-HABITAT decided on how and what the loan given to Nigerian government should be allocated. In this way, the investors are able to monitor financial flow and build security around their investment. To further safeguard their investment, the international investors made the federal government take full responsibility for loan recovery from state and local governments who benefit from the loan facility through micro-projects provided to communities situated in their territory. Technically, the loan is given to the federal government on prescribed terms and conditions. The federal government in turn gave loans to state and local government on terms and conditions which were set in agreement with the international investors. Furthermore, the monitoring and evaluation mechanism put in place as a pre-condition for the participation of investors serves as a check against any lack of transparency in the application of finance. The monitoring and evaluation team comprises of the FPSU which represents federal government, the implementation agencies (PLCSDA and WAC II Project Office) that represent the interest of investors and state government, the LGRC that represents participating LGCs, and various CSOs that represent communities. In addition, the investors carry out mid-term review to appraise the implementation status and the results achieved. These measures may not be necessary for the local investors that wish to invest in financing of infrastructure. The government need to provide regulations that could enable them invest in the financing of micro-infrastructure in partnership with the affected communities and be able recover cost.

The coordination mechanism for project implementation is a critical factor for the success realised in Jos. Public enlightenment and awareness added to the success achieved. In addition, the mechanism employed in organising the two cases helped to improve the chances of completing the micro-project. Overall, the application of the LCDD approach in the provision of micro-infrastructure in residential communities is progressive. However, there are issues that are deserving of further research: firstly, the policy provides that government should encourage the participation of civil societies in urban and rural development. In Jos, only two civil societies were found to be involved in one of the case studies examined. And due to time and financial constraint the reasons for this low participation was not adequately studied. This

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aspect is recommended for future research. Secondly, the role of civil societies in urban management and governance in wider sense is yearning for research in Jos. Thirdly, the interaction of government with citizens and community groups was evaluated only on the basis of data collected from the project implementation agencies. Given additional resources the involvement of communities would have been examined from the perspectives of the citizens. Future study should look in this direction. Finally, the post-implementation role of beneficiary communities is not examined. Specially, the level at which beneficiary communities took ownership and management of facilities is not ascertained. This will be empirically studied in future research.

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