SERVICEABILITY CAPACITY OF NIGERIAN CITIES

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ABSTRACT
As engines of development, cities are expected to play some unique roles in the process of intra and extra socio-economic and spatial growth. With a long record of 100 years of urban development in Nigeria, it is germane to ascertain the extent the urban centres can claim to have successfully played their catalytic role of generating development. The aim of the paper is to assess the serviceability capability of Nigerian cities with a view to highlighting their generative and or parasitic potentials measured from the perspective of their capability to stimulate development. Parameters used in the assessment are housing provision, employment generation, urban planning and management, generation of regional development and poverty reduction. Data were got from journal papers, textbooks, field survey and internet materials. Findings indicate that the housing sector which is still dominated by the private providers, is still saddled with both qualitative and quantitative inadequacies. The employment generative capacity is about 25.6% of the skilled and educated youths. Most Nigerian cities have commissioned master plans but only 1.6% of them develop in compliance with the dictates of their master plans, hence between 60-70.4% of Nigerian urban environment is deteriorated to the extent that slum conditions abound everywhere, therefore indicating low management and planning capabilities. Nigerian cities are more parasitic than generative because of their inability to stimulate sustainable extra urban and regional development. About 83.4% of urban residents in Nigeria are still under the grip of poverty. Households that earn N20,000.00 or less per month is about 60% to 68.2%, while, households that spend more than 20% of their monthly income as accommodation rent is about 68.4%. It is therefore concluded that the serviceability capacity of Nigerian cities, after 100 years of developmental experience, has nothing to write home about. To step up the generative capacity of cities in Nigeria, the urban economy must be strengthened by injecting more force into small scale enterprises as well as large manufacturing industries. Again the gap between the political class, the bourgeoisies, the proletariat, the traditional institutions and the CBOs must be eliminated for them to join efforts to work like a welfare team to rejuvenate Nigerian cities.

Keywords: Housing, Employment, Urban Planning, Poverty, Serviceability.

INTRODUCTION

Historically, there existed some settlements in Nigeria which by their population threshold were regarded as urban centers before the penetration of the European administration. Such settlements with population of 20,000 and above were referred to as pre-colonial traditional urban centres typified by Ibadan, Benin, Kano, Ife, Calabar, Lagos, Ilorin, Sokoto, Aba, Owerri to mention but a few. This era was succeeded by colonial administration which not only induced changes in the traditional urban centers but created new ones such as Enugu, Jos, Sapele, Port-Harcourt, Kaduna, Warri, etc. Efforts were made by the British administration to encourage the development of towns in order to ensure success in the British administration system in all parts of the country where there were no urban centres before the establishment of British colonial rule. These efforts were expressed in the formulation of the township ordinance of 1917 which led to the classification of both the traditional and colonial new towns into three categories known as first, second and third class towns based on their population sizes (Omuta and Onokerhoraye, 1986). This settlement classification ushered in the era of settlement dichotomy with its attendant

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implications on the spatial economy of the country because this created room for favoured and unfavoured centres. The favoured urban centres were chosen for investment and development since they served as administrative seats of the colonial masters to the neglect of the surrounding unfavoured villages. Thus, provision of infrastructures such as roads, schools, health services, electricity, pipe borne water, postal services, good houses etc, were concentrated in the chosen centres thus making them more attractive in relation to the unfavoured surrounding villages.

One obvious implication of this pattern of development was the emergence of push-pull factors which triggered off migration of people from the unfavoured to favoured centres. This immigration coupled with a high rate of natural population growth in these towns due largely to improved health conditions and the establishment of law and order led to their rapid growth during the colonial period (Omuta and Onokerhoraye, 1986). This trend continued till 1960 independence when the administration and management of those towns were handed over to indigenous government which they are still handling till date. From 1917, when urban centres were formally introduced in Nigeria till date, is enough period to evaluate their roles as catalysts of development of themselves and adjoining regions. Urban centres are universally acknowledged to be the main engines of development both at local, state, regional and national levels. The extent to which the urban centres in Nigeria have been able to do this is a question this study was set to answer. This can be achieved through the re-examination of the serviceability capability of Nigerian modern cities since inception. This serviceability capability of Nigerian cities was assessed along the provision adequacy of the following urban infrastructures and services; housing, employment, urban planning and environmental management, and development generativity.

Urban housing in Nigeria

During the pre-colonial period, urban housing consisted of traditional housing, constructed with mud walls and thatched roofs. Housing design differed across the country in keeping with cultural variation. In the northern part of the country, it was quite common to see houses with clay walls and clay flat roofs spaciously built with interior decorations which existed side by side with huts that have conical roofs. In the south, rectangular mud houses with thatched roofs, usually erected in clusters to accommodate members of an extended family, predominated. Some notable common features of these traditional houses were that they generally lacked basic housing amenities, cross ventilation, privacy and durability.

The advent of colonialism in Nigeria brought about basically three forms of housing development, viz (i), Replacement of thatched roofs with corrugated iron sheets which led to the emergence of mud walled (plastered or unplastered with cement) houses with corrugated iron roofs. Enhancement of monetary economy and population increase brought about increase in the demand for urban housing. Thus, in several urban centres such as Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Enugu, Port Harcourt to mention but a few, where urbanization and modern processes were being introduced into housing production, house letting to immigrants became a source of income, thus creating incentive for further housing development. The rooming houses began to appear and existed side by side with the traditional houses. The rooming or tenement houses were rented to households at one or two

rooms per household depending on request. At that time, housing development was largely traditional and individualistic (Fadahunsi, 1985).

(ii), From 1900, the colonial administrators developed housing areas popularly known as Government Residential Areas (GRAs) for themselves in order to spatially segregate and protect themselves from "disease-bearing natives" who must be kept away (Aribigbola, 2000). The housing types were either bungalow or duplex apartments built in 30m x 30m plots with plot ratio not exceeding 35% thus making adequate provisions for good external landscaping.
(iii), Colonial administration also constructed quarters for their staff and service providers. Thus, for example, in Enugu there are the Railway, Secretariat and Colliery Quarters as well as Artisan and China Towns for service providers. These quarters were planned and developed as high density residential neighbourhoods. The housing types were predominantly multifamily bungalows with detached units for bathroom, kitchen and toilet. With increase in population during the later years, more residential layouts were established mostly as high density neighbourhoods. The housing types were as well predominantly tenement multifamily bungalows also known as "face-me-I-face-you" housing. In Enugu, for instance, such residential neighbourhoods include Uwani, Asata and Ogui New Layout.

By 1960 Nigerian independence, following the disproportionate provision of modern infrastructures and amenities in the urban centres, the desire to live in urban centres was on the increase resulting to uncontrollable rural-urban migration. Rural- urban drifts account for the rapid urban growth as well as the expansion of their spatial sizes. One major urban problem was the need to provide adequate housing for the ever increasing population. The immediate response was therefore, to provide accommodation for the huge number of urban dwellers which only aimed at satisfying the quantitative dimension of housing. This situation later created other housing problems which related more to housing quality.

At present, the quantitative inadequacies of housing in Nigeria are a reflection of the weaknesses inherent in the existing arrangement for housing provision. Both the private and the public sectors are actively involved in housing provision but unfortunately, the private sector which obviously plays a dominant role in housing provision operates without serious government control with the result that it was possible for housing qualities to be widely compromised with impunity. Therefore, the severe housing inadequacies have arisen out of the inability of government as well as the private sector to meet the quantitative housing need of the growing population (Olotuah, 2000) with adverse implications on the qualitative dimension of Nigerian urban housing. As a summary it can be said that Nigerian urban housing are qualitatively deficient and very low in liveability. For instance, only 29.6% of Enugu residents are satisfied with the characteristics of their accommodation. At Owerri, only 31% are happy about their housing. It is as low as 21% at Onitsha and 25% at Awka. This is an indication that urban housing in Nigeria has failed to provide urban dwellers with appropriate neighbourhood setting, adequate facilities such as water, transportation, electricity, playgrounds, shopping centres, parking spaces, health care services, waste disposal systems, security, drainages, acceptable densities and things like that which help to reduce drudgery of mere existence and eliminate stress. As such qualitative deficiencies have resulted to urban decay and dereliction. There is hardly any Nigerian city without slum areas and

sprawling problems. Common urban housing problems in Nigeria include high cost of housing production delivery with the result that only the privileged few have access to standard housing while the majority consisting of the medium and low income households are incapable of affording decent accommodation.

The problems and challenges posed by housing in Nigerian urban centres are immense. Housing and associated facilities such as water, electricity, waste disposal are grossly inadequate. Millions live in substandard environments called slums, plagued by squalor, grossly inadequate social amenities, such as, a shortage of schools, poor health facilities and lack of opportunities for recreation and comfortable life. Significant proportions of the houses in major towns and cities have no access to electricity, pipe-borne water or hygienic toilet facilities. The proportion of existing urban housing stock that is dilapidated or is in need of major repairs is estimated at 22.3% nationwide, while about 3 million housing units are required to meet the backlog of housing needs and the replacement of substandard ones (Onibokun, 1987). In many Nigerian cities, the city centres are decaying without any programme of rehabilitation while sub urban areas are developing without physical planning or necessary infrastructure (Onibokun, 1987). Table 1 shows the distribution of housing qualities in some selected Nigerian states.

Table 1: Distribution of Housing Qualities in Selected Nigerian States in percentages

State	Good	Bad	Very Poor
Anambra	16.0	81.4	26.0
Bauchi	3.5	66.4	30.1
Edo	37.7	58.9	34.0
Benue	25.0	67.3	7.7
Borno	26.0	64.6	9.4
Cross River	26.5	69.4	4.1
Gongola	28.4	68.4	3.2
Imo	32.5	42.9	24.6
Kaduna	48.1	46.6	3.3
Kano	21.5	77.8	0.7
Kwara	57.0	41.4	1.6
Lagos	47.8	48.6	3.6
Niger	37.6	60.7	1.7
Ogun	16.3	82.7	1.0
Ondo	75.3	24.0	0.7
Oyo	42.0	56	2.0
Plateau	22.1	71.3	4.7
Rivers	24.0	72.6	3.4
Sokoto	16.0	72.5	11.5

Source: Adapted from Onibokun and Faniran, 2011.

Table 1 shows that the percentage of housing under bad category which requires rehabilitation and renovation is quite high in all the states while there is no state without very poor housing hence no state is without acute housing shortage which results to high housing rental cost, squatting and sleeping under the bridge.

Employment

One of the daunting challenges facing Nigerian cities in the wake of unprecedented rapid urbanization growth during the last few decades is the escalating size of unemployment problems. As urbanization gathered momentum in Nigeria, the problem of inadequacy of job opportunities became too enormous and serious within the cities which have been the major receptacles of uncontrollable rural-urban migrants. Nigeria, like most countries in Africa, is undergoing a period of rapid urbanization but unlike the European and North American experience, where urbanization was preceded by industrialization and rapid economic development, Nigerian urbanization is taking place against the background of a weak economic rate of industrialization (Ogu, 2012). The direct consequences of this is lack of jobs for employable urbanites some of which are compelled by the situation to take to the low paid informal sector while others who cannot afford the entry requirements of informal sector remain openly unemployed. This situation stems from the fact that from empirical evidence, the public sector remained the major actor in capital investment in Nigeria for development programmes since the population growth has continued to influence the pattern of government expenditure. Rising population size and change in composition over the years have been reflected in the demand for specific services such as water, health, education and security which are immediately required by the population. Giving the desire of various governments in Nigeria to meet the demand for these services, coupled with the need to improve the quality of services provided, there has been a great increase in government expenditure on consumption and social overheads at the expense of more productive ventures. Thus, the federal government as well as the state government's expenditure between current consumption and capital formation since after the Nigerian civil war was in favour of current consumption, thus limiting what was available for enhancement of productive ventures (Onokerhoraye, 1985).

The implication of weak productive ventures and activities is that job opportunities in the urban centres are very limited which resulted to massive unemployment particularly among young graduates of tertiary educational institutions. The unemployed consists of all persons who during a particular period are not working but who are seeking work for pay or profit, including those who never worked before (Ilo, 2008). Unemployment occurs in two forms in Nigerian cities, namely, open and disguised unemployment. Open unemployment refers particularly to young school leavers and those who have completed their skill acquisition training or apprenticeship in formal or informal modes who are first time job seekers. Included in this group are also those who lost their jobs before the voluntary or statutory retirement age and are seeking second time job. On the other hand, disguised unemployment refers to those who are either underemployed or inappropriately employed. For example, underemployment occurs when a doctorate degree holder who is a first or second time job seeker is offered a part-time lecturing appointment in a tertiary institution of education or a medical doctor who is a first time job seeker is

employed by a household as family doctor or trained nurse working in a private hospital. In disguised employment, even though the individual is employed but is not utilized to full capacity and as such does not earn what he or she should earn vis-a-vis his/her intrinsic quality. Similarly, inappropriate employment is said to exist when a skilled job seeker is employed to perform duties he/she is not trained for. For example, a Laboratory technologist being employed as a receptionist in a hotel or a teacher being employed as a cleaner in the bank or even a university graduate being employed as petrol filling station pump attendant.

To this group may be added those who are unfortunate victims of the misguided orientation of Nigerian education system that tend to prepare their products for white collar jobs only. Such people include some graduates of Faculty of Agriculture who detest being associated with anything faming or agricultural work but prefer to work in petrochemical industries or oil industry or also products of Faculty of Education who hated classroom teaching but wished to work in banks. Such class of people remain first time job seekers for a long time. They are also part of open unemployment.

All the aforementioned types of unemployment abound in almost all the urban centres in Nigeria irrespective of size, historical origin and location. While it is relatively easy to measure open unemployment it is quite difficult to measure disguised employment. This is because even though they have something doing to earn a living but work without satisfaction which is the reason why they continue seeking for job and still regard themselves as unemployed until they secure jobs considered appropriate for their training and skills. However, the Federal Bureau of Statistics (FBS), Enugu (2012) report indicates that in Enugu city, a civil service town, about 46.3% of the residents is unemployed out of which 68.4% are first time job seekers. In terms of gender distribution, 74.2% of job seekers in Enugu city are males while those involved fall between the ages of 18-32 years. About 64.4% of the skilled and educated youths in Enugu are unemployed.

Nigerian population is currently being quoted to be about 170 million. Given this figure, it means that the 23.9% reported as the national unemployment rate represents about 40.6 million Nigerians most of which are youths living in urban centres and are within the active age of 17 to 65 years (FBS, 2012). In Nigeria, accurate unemployment rates are but controversial and near difficult to access but the statistics from the Manpower Board and the Federal Bureau of Statistics (FBS) indicate that youth population in Nigeria is about 80 million. This represents about 60% of the entire population of Nigeria. About 64 million of the youths, defined as ages of between 17 years to 45 years, are unemployed while about 1.6 million are under-employed. The 1991 record of the Federal Bureau of Statistics on youth unemployment indicates that the largest group of the unemployed is the secondary school leavers. Furthermore, 40 percent of the unemployed involves the ages of 20 years to 24 years while the rest involves ages 24 years to 45 years. Table 2 shows the unemployment rate in Nigeria between 2000 and 2009.

Table 2, Unemployment Rate, 2000 – 2009

Year	Percentage
2000	31.1
2001	13.6
2002	12.9
2003	14.8
2004	13.4
2005	11.9
2006	13.7
2007	14.6
2008	14.9
2009	19.7

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2012.

In view of the rate with which Nigerian schools, both secondary and tertiary levels, are producing their products annually vis-à-vis, the lean opportunities for labour employment; the rate of unemployment in the country is bound to be on the increase. Table 3 shows the state share of unemployment situation in Nigeria as indicated by Abarshi (2011).

Table 3, Unemployment Rates in Nigeria by States.

State	Percentage
Zamfara	42.6
Bauchi	41.4
Niger	39.4
Gombe	38.7
Nasarawa	36.5
Jigawa	35.9
Edo	35.7
Yobe	35.6
Adamawa	33.8
Kaduna	38.3
Borno	29.1
Katsina	28.1
Delta	27.2
Imo	26.9
Rivers	25.6
Plateau	25.3
Kebbi	25.3
Kano	21.3
Abuja	21.1
Akwa Ibom	18.2
Cross Rvier	18.2

Sokoto	17.9
Kogi	14.4
Taraba	12.7
Ondo	12.5
Anambra	12.5
Abia	11.2
Bayelsa	23.9
Benue	14.4
Ebonyi	23.1
Ekiti	12.1
Ogun	22.9
Enugu	25.2
Osun	3.0
Kwara	7.1
Lagos	8.3
Oyo	8.9

Source: Abarshi, 2011

Even though, as Table 3 indicates, Zamfara, Bauchi and Niger States are the worst hit with regards to unemployment rate, no state in Nigeria is free of the problems of unemployment, most of which occur in the urban areas. The conclusion is that Nigerian urban centres are not economically vibrant enough to provide adequate employment for the teeming employable job seekers.

Youth employment appears to be one of the most intractable problems of the Nigerian urban centres. This is because of the weak industrial base of these centres coupled with the fact that only few employment generating projects are undertaken in the cities which is again compounded by the half-spirited approach adopted in the development of agriculture that would have created jobs for many Nigerian youths.

Urban planning and Management

The principles of urban planning and management are applied in the cities essentially as a physical planning and management tools to address effectively the spatial and economic problems of the urban centres. By extension, urban planning and management includes all programmes that are intricately involved in environmental planning which principally aims at producing healthy and beautiful homes, pleasant and dignified cities as well as salubrious sub-urban areas (Carmen, 2007). It is a general knowledge that urban environmental planning in Nigeria is not comprehensive, not progressive, badly coordinated, poorly documented, have patchy data or in some cases non-existent data, not based on specific unique individual environments and circumstances. More so, physical planners appear to be unable to comprehend the assortment of the conflicting issues that are necessary for urban planning policies. The outcome of all these is the inability to control forces that stimulate urban development and which shape both the macro and micro environment. Thus, the utilization of the urban resources has been disjointed, haphazard and uncoordinated with the result that Nigerian urban centres are characterized by unplanned and haphazard development which partly accounts for why Nigerian cities are

centres of chaos, decay and disorganization.

Urban planning and management traditionally concerns itself with the management, appearance and functionality of cities and in particular the shaping and uses of urban public and private spaces. It therefore deals with all the dimensions of the urban environment, physical, economic, social, cultural and demographic issues of agglomeration with emphasis on physical improvement of the urban environment. Its purpose is to secure proper sanitary conditions, amenities and of preserving buildings or other objects of architectural, historic or artistic interest and places of natural interest or beauty and generally of protecting existing amenities in the urban and rural portions of an area (Mabogunje, 1985). Urban planning helps to determine and invigorate such vital urban issues such as urban structure, spatial density and sustainability, community maintenance, accessibility and way finding, functionality, segregation of non-conforming uses, character, security, cultural preservation and civil society.

The weakness of urban planning and management in Nigerian cities meant that all its benefits are non-existent, thereby denying urban residents the good life they crave for. The common features of Nigerian cities are inadequate infrastructural amenities, sub-standard housing, overcrowding, poor ventilation in residential and other work places, poor sanitation level, non-compliance with building by-laws and development regulations (Ahianba, Dimuna and Okogun, 2008).

Most Nigerian cities such as Enugu, Awka, Ibadan, Port Harcourt, Kano, Kaduna, Owerri, Abuja, Lagos, Calabar to mention but a few have master plans elaborately designed by a team of foreign cum indigenous consultants to guide the development of the cities which were commissioned and launched with much fanfare and with substantial waste of public fund but which were either never implemented or half-spiritedly implemented on ad-hoc basis. In some cities such as Abakaliki, Enugu, Awka and Owerri, the implementation of their master plans are being impaired by poor job specification which resulted to counter-productive overlap of functions between Local Town Planning Authorities and Capital Territory Development Boards. Such assignment overlaps frustrate the smooth and steady implementation of well-intentioned master plans. Following from this, only about 1.6% of Nigerian cities are being developed in accordance with the provision dictates of their master plans with minimal challenges. Most of them became abandoned projects just immediately after the tenure of the administration that launched the master plan. As such the urban centres exhibit problems of inadequate infrastructure typified by lack of good roads, functional power supply, pipe borne water, waste disposal systems, poor drainage systems and intensification of haphazard physical development.

Lack of master plan or poor implementation, result to overcrowding and high densities of people and dwellings which lead to high occupancy ratio and ventilation impairments. High densities and juxtaposed buildings can exaggerate the environmental problems of flooding, fire disaster, traffic jam, lack of parking spaces and recreational parks, social vices and security issues. Furthermore, some environmental anomalies such as the existence of non-conforming land uses such as industrial activities, and, petrol filling stations within residential areas which result to neighbourhood nuisances such as odour, smoke, noise, fire outbreak, filth, and, sanitation problems. As such, there is hardly any Nigerian city without environmental problems particularly those relating to structural obscolensence and hence, about 60-

70.4% of Nigerian urban environment is deteriorated to the extent that slum conditions abound everywhere, indicating low management and planning capabilities.

Generation of Regional Development

Cities differ in their capabilities to generate extra urban development. With regard to this, the cities are dichotomized into two, that is, those that are orthogenetic and those that are heterogenetic transformation along the lines of their generative capacity. This is similar with what Todaro and Smith, (2003) regarded as parasitic and generative cities where parasitic cities approximate orthogenetic and generative cities are equivalent to heterogenetic ones. Heterogenetic cities are socio-economically buoyant because of the existence of several propulsive industrial activities that have the potential to create and induce other related industrial activities within and outside the cities to the extent that the outlaying surrounding settlements are as well socio-economically transformed through backward and forward linkages. In other words, a heterogenetic or generative city is not only economically self-reliant but also capable of inducing economic development within its zone of influence. Conversely, the orthogenetic or parasitic city does exactly the opposite, because, rather than induce growth to the outlying settlements, it only serves to milk them dry and eventually stagnate them economically.

As illustration, Enugu and Awka cities were used to study the generative capacity of cities in Nigeria. For Enugu city, four outlying settlements, namely, Ugwuaji, Akwuke, Nji Nike and Neke Uno were used for the survey while two outlying settlements to Awka, namely, Amansi and Mgbakwu were used. Findings indicate that there is no identifiable socio-economic projects undertaken in the outlying areas by these cities since ever, rather the worsening social and economic conditions in the rural outlying settlements can be attributed to their proximity to the cities. Apart from mere welfare functions of making certain services such as education, health, banking and hotel services easily accessible to outlying residents through link roads, there was no sign of economic projects or functions located in them which can perform the function of stimulating increased rural productivity such as agro allied activities that have linkages with the local economy. Even though these cities have big viable markets for the agricultural products of these rural areas the level of efficiency of the inter transportation services is very low, thereby constraining the rural farmers from reaping the full benefits of ready markets for their products which otherwise would have induced greater rural productivity.

Another finding relates to the fact that industries in these two cities do not source their raw materials from the outlying rural communities. Sourcing of raw materials from the rural outlying areas by urban activities creates demand-processing economic relationship which has the potential of binding two separate geographic areas together into an economic system where the economic benefits of forward and backward linkages can be reaped. This kind of economic relationship is unfortunately lacking between the cities and their outlying zones.

It was also discovered that the cities lack propulsive industries. Appairaju and Safier (1976) defined propulsive industry as a key industry or a dominant industry which plays a leadership role among and within other industrial complexes to the extent that it has the quality that when it increases its output and productive inputs, it is capable of increasing the output and inputs of other industries within the complex. As such, a key propulsive

industry may be regarded as the economic base or foundation of the larger economy because to a very large extent its performance determines the performance of the larger economy. Such industries have the quality of inducing subsidiary activities that contribute to the growth of the wider economy beyond the city through various forward and backward linkages and through various interactions within the input and output matrix. Therefore, a city with such industry will be capable of attracting specialized and potentially dynamic activities which provide a self-sustaining momentum of growth and change by introducing a new spatial structure of production and interregional activities and diffusing a range of innovations throughout its surrounding area. In turn, this process of industrial organization and diffusion will transform the existing pattern of population or transforming the inherited national space-economy (Appairaju and Safeir as quoted by Onokerhoraye, 1986). Unfortunately, this is not happening between the cities and their surrounding settlements because of the absence of propulsive industry or a collection of industrial complexes that would have performed similar functions.

It was also found out that the cities are the major agents of rural depopulation. This is supported by the demographic analysis of non-migrant households of the selected settlements which is as shown on Table 4.

Table 4 indicates that the population of the rural settlements surrounding these cities consist of 79.4% dependant group indicating that the labour force has been lost to the cities. This stems from the so called urban bias in the provision of modern social and physical infrastructures and amenities as well as job opportunities in the cities which tend to act as magnate to rural population. Thus, it can be argued that these cities have deprived the surrounding rural areas of their labour force which would have been the stimulants for rural transformation.

Urban Poverty

One of the most widely discussed aspects of Nigerian urban centres relates to poverty which is believed to be a direct outcome of the defective mechanisms of urban governance and dysfunctional national political institutions.

The rapid rate of urbanization in Nigeria and the consequential explosion of urban population have not been matched by a corresponding commensurate change in social, economic and technological development (Mabogunje, Hardey, and Misra, 1978). The urban economy was stagnant and the rate of growth of industrialization quite negligible. Consequently, there is the preponderance of the population living

Table 4: Age Distribution of Non-migrants

Age groups (Years)	Percentage %
0-5	35.2
5 – 15	25.6
15 – 30	8.2
30 – 60	12.4
60+	18.6
Total	**100**

SOURCE: Field work, 2014

without any identifiable means of livelihood or underemployed resulting to a wide spread of urban poverty. Unfortunately, these poor households which make up about 70% of the urban residents live in more vulnerable physical and human environments (Adelekan, 2009). In view of the increasing urban poverty as a result of rapidly growing urban population without proportionate economic growth, 6 layouts in Enugu consisting of Asata and Ogwuagor Abakpa (high density), Idaw River and Achara layout (medium densities), Independence Layout and, GRA (low densities) were surveyed. 50 residential houses were systematically selected from each of the 6 layouts and a household purposively selected from each of the houses was administered with structured questionnaire for the purpose of determining the structure of income poverty in Enugu city. The outcome of the analysis is as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Monthly Income Characteristics of Respondents

S/N	INCOME (IN ₦)	Percentage
1	0.00 – 5,000.00	23.7
2	5,000 – 15,000.00	57.7
3	15,000.00 – 30,000.00	6.7
4	30,000.00 – 60,000.00	5.0
5	60,000 – 100,000.00	3.0
6	100,000.00 and above	1.9
7	**Total**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Table 5 indicates that about 81.4% of Enugu residents earn less than the national minimum wage of N18,000.00 per month while only about 18.6% earn above national minimum wage. One may be tempted to attribute this pattern of income poverty at Enugu to the fact that Enugu is both a civil servants' town as well as low in propulsive industries having lost coal mining industry on which its fame and prosperity depended,

but the situation at Enugu is just similar to what is observed in other Nigerian cities be it pre or post-independence in origin. No matter the criterion adopted in the measurement of poverty, Nigerian cities are inhabited predominantly by households whose income characteristics indicate that 59.7% are poor while 23.79 are the core poor. Measurement of poverty adopts two interrelated criteria namely; relative and absolute yardsticks. While relative poverty measures the percentage of households whose yearly income are so poor that they cannot afford basic goods and services necessary for survival and decent living, absolute poverty tends to compare household income with a standard absolute standard line. The absolute poverty line is an internationally determined poverty threshold below which households or individuals are considered to be lacking the resources to meet the basic needs for healthy living, having insufficient income to provide the food, shelter and clothing needed to preserve health (United Nations, 2014). Thus the World Bank uses 2 dollars a day as absolute poverty line and 1 dollar a day as poverty line for extreme poverty (Akinluyi, 2012).

As at April 2014, 2 dollars is approximately equivalent to (N250.00) two hundred and fifty naira. When the

pattern of households' income was compared with rent payment, it was discovered that about 68.4% of Enugu residents spend more than 20% of their monthly income as accommodation rent. This further deepens the poverty situation in the city where life is expected to be at maximum and where income enhancing activities ought to be in superlatives.

Conclusion

The parameters used to evaluate the serviceability capacity of Nigerian cities indicate that in spite of the reasonable long history of urbanization in Nigeria, the expected traditional roles of the cities in the overall socio economic and spatial developmental processes are yet to be realized. The magnitude of the quantitative and qualitative deficiencies of urban housing make it imperative for greater number of urbanites to live in housing and environmental conditions that are clearly an affront to human dignity (Abiodum and Olutunde – accessed April, 2014). The rate of supply of urban housing which predominantly comes from the private sector, lags exceedingly behind the rate of demand due to uncontrollable rate of urban population growth, thus forcing many households to mass themselves in one or two-room accommodations within insalubrious circumstances. Private sector driven housing is fraught with myriads of unsatisfactory situations such as high delivery cost resulting to exorbitant high rent, compromise of housing development bye laws and regulations, deficiency in basic amenities and services as well as unhealthy landlord-tenant relationship. Accommodation rents are frequently reviewed upwards with very short notices with the result that about 68.4% of urbanites spend more than 20% of their monthly income as accommodation rent which is outrageous. Employment generative capacity of Nigerian urban centres is still very low due to their weak economic base since they lack propulsive leading industries thus forcing majority of the urbanites into informal activities, which then created condition for wide spread poverty and unemployment. The issues of urban planning and management are still very much politicized with the result that most Nigerian urban centres develop without adherence to their master plans leading to haphazard and uncoordinated physical development with the result that slum conditions and problems of urban sprawling abound in Nigerian cities. Against this background, it is concluded that Nigerian cities are more of parasitic than generative, meaning that after 100 years of urbanization, the serviceability capacity of Nigerian cities has nothing to write home about.

1. Recommendation

For Nigerian cities to effectively perform their catalytic role in socio-economic and spatial development, a number of issues must be drastically addressed which are stated as follows;

1. The degree of involvement of government in housing provision need to be increased to the extent that private sector involvement becomes proportionately minimal. This will produce the needed improvements in urban living conditions,

2. There is need for the strengthening of the urban economic base in Nigeria by undertaking investments into the productive urban activities. Both the heavy and small scale industrial activities should be expanded, supported and encouraged. This will help provide more meaningful job opportunities and thereby reduce the rate of disguised employment and open unemployment which will produce positive implications on poverty reduction,

3. To achieve high quality physical urban environment, the issue of urban

planning and environmental management must be divorced from politics. There is need for these urban activities to be vested into one statutory authority rather than into parallel organizations. Such organization must possess the right caliber of professionals with requisite training and competence to handle the multidimensional issues involved in urban planning and management. If this is done, the provisions of the master plans will be adhered to for the satisfaction of all. Because of this, the use of Town Planning Authorities as the sole organization for urban planning and environmental management is hereby recommended, and

4. Urban management is a multifaceted professional activity and as such requires that all hands must be on deck. Both the government, the affluent, the civil servants, the business persons, landlords, the traditional institutions, the non-governmental organizations (NGO) as well as the community based organization (CBOs) must unite and co-operate as welfare seekers and stakeholders to rejuvenate Nigerian cities.

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